THE 'RICHARD RIOT'

A Socio-Historical Examination of Sport, Culture, and the Construction of Symbolic Identities

by
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the 'Richard Riot' of 1955. This incident has become a part of Canadian hockey history, but its place within the socio-historical framework has yet to be adequately explored. Integral to the overall event were the class, 'race', and national dimensions that gave the riot its symbolic significance. The 'Richard Riot' was thus an expression of the tensions that pervaded French-Canadian society for generations. The socially-symbolic identities that were bound up in the French-Canadian appreciation of Maurice 'The Rocket' Richard and the Montreal Canadiens Club de Hockey and the disdain for National Hockey League president Clarence Campbell paralleled larger social realities and revealed the social significance of professional ice hockey in Quebec. As hockey developed into an 'institutionalized' popular cultural pursuit within French Canada, it provided a stage upon which social tensions could be symbolically played out.

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These were just a few of the headlines that ran off the printing presses of Montreal's major newspapers and captured the atmosphere of outrage and antagonism which engulfed the city the evening of St. Patrick's Day, 1955. The headlines were a response to the suspension levied against Montreal Canadien superstar hockey player, Maurice 'The Rocket' Richard, by National Hockey League (N.H.L.) president, Clarence Campbell. Though Canadien fans in Montreal, Quebec, and the rest of Canada were disappointed by the news of the suspension, a clear 'racial' divide existed among them as to the degree to which their disappointment was felt and expressed. While English-origin fans attempted to understand the rationale behind the suspension and responded calmly, French fans, many of whom regarded Richard as 'one of their own' and a symbol of French Canada, felt personally victimized and were incensed to the point of reacting violently.

The 'racially' based difference of opinion was most evident in the province of Quebec, home to Canada's French population, and was largely the result of the efforts

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[1] *Montreal Matin*, 17 March 1955.
[2] *Montreal Matin*, 17 March 1955.
[3] *La Presse*, 17 March 1955.
[4] *La Presse*, 17 March 1955.

undertaken by the management of the Canadien team and the media in Montreal. Well in advance of the riot, the owners of the Montreal Canadien Club de Hockey, along with the assistance of the city's French-language press, laid the groundwork for the development of a volatile situation by following a tradition of molding their team into a French-Canadian institution not unlike the Roman Catholic Church in its importance, making its star player into a French icon highly popular and influential in Quebec. When Richard was suspended by the N.H.L.'s Anglophone president, the French media, which had recently come under the influence of middle-class neo-nationalist journalists, used the incident as a metaphor for larger socio-economic tensions. Their interpretation of Richard's treatment and Campbell's decision to attend the Canadien's subsequent match, stirred the emotions of Richard's French supporters. Campbell's authority and the actions he took to undermine the fate of Richard and his team reminded French Canadians of the control they lacked over their own destiny. By attending the Canadien match the night of 17 March 1955, the Anglo-president flaunted his authority over Richard, the Canadiens, and French Canadians, which ultimately unleashed pent-up tensions, frustrations and angers. What appeared to have been a simple sporting controversy was soon transformed into a social crisis that saw the violent eruption of French-Canadian sentiment and the expression of 'racial', class, and national solidarity. The uproar that occurred on the evening of St. Patrick's Day and continued into the early morning hours the following day came to be known as 'L'Affair Richard' or 'The Richard Riot'.

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[5] *Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1955.

CHAPTER I

Interpreting Popular Culture

To this day hockey fans and journalists throughout Canada, especially those in Quebec, are able to recall the events that surrounded a fateful evening in Montreal, 16 March 1955. While many point to the 'Richard Riot' as one of the darker moments in the history of the N.H.L., others see the incident as an historical turning point: the spark which ignited Quebec's 'Quiet Revolution'.[1] Though much may be interpreted from these events, what is certain is that the riot occupies an important place within Canadian social and sport history. This incident not only provides insight into the relevance and value of sport to the field of social history by reinforcing the relationships between sport and class, gender, 'race', and nation, it also exemplifies the influence which socially constructed symbolic identities exert upon these larger elements.

What is perhaps the most startling discovery about the 'Richard Riot' is that little has been written on the incident from a socio-historical perspective.[2] In fact, overall,

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[1] In his autobiography, Jean Béliveau hints at the riot's connection to Quebec nationalist feeling by writing "...the situation we have here in Quebec had its wellsprings in 1960 with Jean Lesage's Quiet Revolution, or perhaps in 1955, with the Maurice Richard incident." Jean Béliveau, Chrys Goyens, and Allan Turowetz, *Jean Béliveau: My Life in Hockey* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1994), 275. Other writers have expressed similar opinions. Rejean Tremblay of *La Presse* has said, "Too many people say Quebec's Quiet Revolution did not begin in 1960 with the arrival of Jean Lesage and the Liberals, but with the 'Richard Riots'. That told us that this backhanded attitude of the English establishment would no longer be tolerated." Chrys Goyens and Allan Turowetz, *Lions in Winter* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1986), 91. Rick Salutin adds to this by noting, "The Campbell-'Richard Riot' represents the height of identification of the cause of Quebec with Le Club de Hockey Canadien." Rick Salutin, *Les Canadiens: a play* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1977), 14.

[2] Jean-Marie Pellerin, in *L'idole d'un peuple: Maurice Richard* (Montreal: Les éditions de l'homme, 1976), and Jean R. Duperreault, in "L'Affair Richard: A Situational Analysis of the Montreal Hockey Riot of 1955," *Canadian Journal of Sport History* 12 (May 1981), provide the most in-depth analysis of the 'Richard Riot'. The former details the events that transpired the evening of March 17, 1955 and provides a sense of what the media's take on the event was. The latter applies theories of mob violence in order to explain why the riot occurred. Both studies are of value but they do not delve into the socio-historical significance of the incident and how it helps to shape our understanding of the interplay of class, gender,

studies in the field of Canadian sport history have been lacking. Canadian sport history has, for the most part, shied away from evaluating the social significance of sports. There are literally thousands of books, articles, and films that recount sport histories from the 'sports' angle, rather than from the 'socio-historical' perspective. Perhaps this lack of socio-historical research is the result of the commonly held view that sports are frivolous in understanding the past.[3] One historian, S. F. Wise, disagrees with this notion entirely. He notes that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Canadians "...were the most sports-minded people in the western world. They pursued physical activity with the same dedication they brought to politics and religion...."[4] This passion for athletics has grown throughout the twentieth century to the point where sport, especially ice hockey, has been embedded into the fabric of Canadian popular culture. Historians such as Frank Cosentino, Gerald Friesen, Richard Gruneau, Alan Metcalfe, Don Morrow, Morris Mott, Bryan Palmer, David Whitson and others have joined S. F. Wise to show that the study of sport is indeed important to understanding Canadian social history.[5] This paper joins these

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'race', and nation. The majority of other hockey history texts that examine the 'Richard Riot' do so purely from the sports perspective.

[3] C.L.R. James provides one explanation for the lack of socio-historical investigation into sport by stating the following: "If this is not social history, what is? It finds no place in the history of the people because the historians do not begin from what people seem to want but from what they think the people ought to want." C.L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 1st American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 183. Also referenced in Gerald Friesen, "Hockey, the Prairies, and Canada's Cultural History" (Paper presented at the Seagram lecture, McGill University, Montreal, November 1996), 5.

[4] S. F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec," in *His Own Man: Essays in Honour of A. R. M. Lower*, ed. W. H. Heick and Roger Graham (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 100.

[5] Some of the historical studies conducted by these individuals include the following: Frank Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education* 6 (December 1975); Frank Cosentino, "Ned Hanlan – Canada's Premier Oarsman: A Case Study in Nineteenth-Century Professionalism," *Ontario History* 66 (March 1974); Gerald Friesen, "Hockey, the Prairies, and Canada's Cultural History"; Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993); Richard Gruneau, "Sport and the Debasement of the State," in *Sport, Culture and the Modern State*, ed. Hart Cantelon and Richard Gruneau (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Alan

historians by examining a famous hockey riot that revolved around French Canada's most worshipped athlete, Maurice 'The Rocket' Richard.

To appreciate the socio-historical value of the 'Richard Riot', an understanding of what sport is and its place within society is required. At the simplest level, sport is a form of physical and mental leisure. It is a means by which individuals and/or groups of people express their physical prowess by participating in an athletic exercise or challenge. Sport can also act as a form of 'mental' pleasure. For those who participate as athletes or simply as spectators, it can stir emotions, function as a source of amusement and relaxation, and instill a sense of belonging and community. At the same time, however, sport can serve as an opiate by providing an escape from the hardships of the workday. Athletic pursuits, however, are more than mere forms of physical and mental leisure. They are practices and expressions of culture. As Metcalfe states:

> ...sport is a visible and pervasive social system that has become an important institution in the transmission of cultural characteristics. In fact, sport is one of the sub-systems of culture that transcends socio-economic, educational, ethnic, and religious barriers.... the patterns of behavior, attitudes, and values implicit within sport will be an excellent indication of basic cultural values.[6]

Metcalfe, "C.L.R. James' Contributions to the History of Sport," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 18 (December 1987); Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1987); Don Morrow, "Of Leadership and Excellence: Rubenstein, Hanlan and Cyr," in *A Concise History of Sport in Canada*, ed. Don Morrow et al. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989); Morris Mott, "The British Protestant Pioneers and the Establishment of Manly Sports in Manitoba, 1878-1886," *Journal of Sport History* 7 (Winter 1980); Bryan D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979); Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991*, 2d ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992).

[6] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 13-14.

Sports are as much a part of culture as the theater, opera, literature, fine art, and religion. More importantly, they have as great a value to and influence upon society as do these other traditional 'art' forms. To understand sport as a cultural experience, two questions need to be addressed: 'What is culture?' and, 'In what way(s) does sport form a part of culture?'

One of the more difficult terms to define in the English language is culture. Historically, debates among intellectuals have revolved around the use of this term and as the definition of culture has evolved through time, so too has the relationship between it and sport. Originally, the term was first used in the Old French language of the Middle Ages during which time it held religious connotations and referred to religious cults, or religious worship or ceremony[7]. In the eighteenth century the term took on social and historical dimensions when German philosophers and historians adapted it to define "...progress, the improvement of the human spirit, a step towards the perfection of humanity. Others used it to mean 'civilization'... the element of mores, customs, and knowledge."[8] It was not until the nineteenth century that the definition of culture came under the intense scrutiny of society's intellectual elite. They questioned what elements constituted culture and who qualified as being 'cultured'. During this period, the meaning of the term acquired a class dimension as it became linked to a way of life that excluded the vast majority of society. Culture generally referred to:

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[7] Guy Rocher, "What is Culture?," in *Readings in Sociology: An Introduction*, ed. Lorne Tepperman and James Curtis (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1988), 46.
[8] Ibid.

> ...those practices of thinking, speaking and aesthetic appreciation characteristic of men who had a nineteenth century upper class education. The cultured person was someone knowledgeable and discriminating about philosophy, literature, painting, music, and drama - what we now refer to as the arts.[9]

Such a definition established not only class, but also gender and ethnic boundaries that deemed culture to be beyond the comprehension and appreciation of the working class, women, and non-Europeans. To be cultured, one was required to be highly educated, a luxury afforded only to the male members of the upper class, who in Canada were predominantly Anglo-Saxon.

Within this exclusive definition, sport did occupy a position. It was considered an important part of traditional culture when its physical attributes were observed. Through sport, athletes practiced a visual form of art. Like the ballet, spectators recognized the value of the visual artistry involved in the execution of an athletic movement. Such artistry was undeniably associated with the continual drive of athletes to improve their physical skills in a wide variety of sporting activities.[10] While students of culture tend to ignore sports because of their lack of artistry, others argue that the artistic value is discovered in the "...expressions of line, colour and movement."[11] The drive of athletes to perform the perfect physical execution of an athletic movement is, in essence, the pursuit of self-improvement, an element highly regarded under the traditional definition of culture.

In addition to its visual artistic traits, the proponents of traditional nineteenth-century culture respected other basic elements of sport. As a dramatic spectacle sport

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[9] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 15.
[10] Ibid., 29.
[11] Friesen, "Hockey, the Prairies, and Canada's Cultural History," 11.

belonged in the same class as the theater, ballet, and opera. In his account of the development of the sport of cricket in the West Indies, C. L. R. James recognizes the dramatic elements that are found among athletic matches. He states:

> In a superficial sense all games are dramatic. Two men boxing or running a race can exhibit skill, courage, endurance and sharp changes of fortune can evoke hope and fear. They can even harrow the soul with laughter and tears, pity and terror. The state of the city, the nation or the world can invest a sporting event with dramatic intensity such as is reached in few theaters.[12]

Regardless of the level of involvement, all forms and practices of sport create artistic and dramatic spectacles. Spectators who attend sporting events are just as likely to be emotionally swayed by the performance observed, as those who frequent the ballet or opera are.

By the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century the relationship between sport and culture had significantly altered. The implications of these changes need to be recognized for they provide some explanation as to why professional ice hockey became a popular cultural pursuit among working-class French Canadians during the first half of the 1900s. The transformation that 'culture' underwent occurred as a result of the rise of industrial capitalism and the accompanied expansion of communication technology. With the introduction of mass communication and production techniques, new, affordable, and easily accessible 'mass cultural' mediums emerged, such as newspapers, radios, cinema, records, inexpensive books, and television. These new agents led to the erosion of traditional cultural experiences that were largely based on community 'get-togethers' for

they "...transformed culture into a potentially purchasable item.... mass culture was an individualized activity that moved workers who could afford to buy into it away from social interaction and into the confines of the unit of consumption, the nuclear family."[13] As an accommodation to the development of 'mass culture', state reforms were implemented which resulted in slight increases to the real wages of the working class and the curtailing of the length of the workday.[14] For some, these changes created enough leisure time and disposable income for the consumption of 'mass culture'.

In regards to sport, the transformation of culture had serious implications, particularly for working-class solidarity. During the pre-industrial era sporting activities gained importance among the lives of skilled workers. In *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914*, Bryan D. Palmer examines the culture of the skilled worker in nineteenth-century Hamilton. This culture is described as "...a rich associational life, institutionalized in the friendly society, the mechanics' institute, sporting fraternities, fire companies, and workingmen's clubs."[15] Sport was an important component of the lives of working-class men in Hamilton. Baseball, a distinctly working-class activity in the nineteenth century, drew men of the working class together and encouraged them to form bonds whenever games were played. Sporting events, along with festivals, picnics, parades and ceremonial suppers, were part of "...a culture that bred and conditioned solidarity, a prerequisite to any struggle attempting to better the lot of working men and women.... Moreover, sport could

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[12] James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 182-183.
[13] Palmer, *Working-Class Experience*, 232.
[14] Ibid., 232-233. State reforms included the introduction of old age pensions and allowances to the blind, widowed mothers, and orphans, as well as minimum wage legislation for women and children. The eight-hour workday became the standard among many industrial sectors.

illuminate class inequalities, and generate fierce opposition to the fundamental wrongs of the social order."[16] With the advent of commercialization and the rise of mass spectator sport, no longer were these individuals required to gather together at arenas or playing fields to experience the drama of the game. Instead, they could remain within the confines of their homes and follow professional sporting spectacles either by listening to them on the radio or by reading about them in newspapers. Such a change had a detrimental impact upon the formation of working-class consciousness. The introduction of radio broadcasts and newspaper reports resulted in the decline of local sporting events and breakdown of the working-class bonds that were fostered there. While culture, or what came to be known as 'mass culture', may have become accessible to a wider spectrum of society, this access remained largely dependent upon affordability and thus the experience became highly class based. Furthermore, the cultural vehicles that became 'affordable' and 'accessible', such as the radio and newspapers, encouraged familial closeness at the cost of working-class unity.

The profound societal and cultural changes introduced by the industrial revolution led to the development of further disagreements regarding the meaning of culture and the validity of its newly emerging forms and practices. A backlash to 'mass culture' emerged from society's intellectual elite and political leaders who regarded the lower classes as being "...incapable of achieving the intellectual and aesthetic discrimination required by serious literature, art and music."[17] These intellects emphasized the distinctions between traditional 'high culture' and 'mass culture', separations that had class, gender and ethnic

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[15] Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict*, 38.
[16] Ibid., 58.
[17] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 18.

biases. 'High culture' referred to the intellectual and aesthetic accomplishments that were rooted in long standing Western traditions, while 'mass culture' referred to the modern cultural forms and practices that were accessible by the working class and provided them the opportunity to appreciate some of the finer aspects of human civilization.[18] The intellectual elite denounced 'mass culture' since its practices lacked any intellectual or aesthetic value. By emphasizing the distinctions between 'high' and 'mass culture', society's elite attempted to protect the control they held over traditional cultural practices.

Sport also came under the close observation of the social elite. On the one hand, there remained traditional sport which, in placing emphasis on the demonstration of desirable social qualities instead of on winning, fit into the model of 'high' culture.[19] Not only did these forms of sport exclude the participation of non-Europeans, members of the lower class and, in some cases, women, they came to be "...widely understood as something that promoted the 'civilizing' values of the genuine, fairness, emotional control and respectability."[20] On the other hand, there was what the late-nineteenth century ushered in, mass spectator commercialized professional sport. The proponents of 'high' culture regarded these athletic forms as lacking any self-betterment qualities because they existed solely for commercial and competitive reasons. Professional sporting events were viewed as gambling havens that were "Often violent, involving bloodletting and pain, the games were practiced for financial gain and immediate pleasure and not for the demonstration of desirable social qualities."[21] Unlike traditional sport, the driving force

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 140; Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," 76; Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 101-102.
[20] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 17.
[21] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 140.

behind professional sport was the 'winning at all costs' mentality. For the cultural elite, such an ethos was trivial in comparison to the world of 'high' culture for it recognized amusement outlets only as mass appeal lacking in personal improvement features.

To detach and protect their traditional sporting pursuits from the growing popularity of mass spectator sports, the social elite attempted to formally differentiate the two at the participant level. During the nineteenth century, involvement in sport was largely based upon one's class standing. Up to the mid-to-late 1800s, sport was an upper-class reserve as these members of society had the free time and disposable income to pursue such cultural interests.[22] However, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, members of the working class began making inroads into sport as the amount of their leisure time increased. As the athletic interactions between upper and lower-class members became more and more prevalent, so too did the number of instances where the former suffered defeat at the hands of the latter. The 'monopoly' that the social elite enjoyed over sport throughout most of the 1800s was threatened by this working-class penetration and, in response, it attempted to restrict access to athletic competitions by delineating the distinctions between the 'amateur' and 'professional' athlete. The former was defined as:

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[22] Prior to the First World War, society's social elite created a network of private social sporting clubs, such as Winnipeg's St. Charles Country Club, the Toronto Hunt Club, the Ontario Jockey Club, and the Toronto Golf Club, whose entrance fees, religious and educational requirements, restricted access to only those members from the same social milieu. In Montreal, the social elite erected a number of private sport facilities (Victoria Skating Rink - 1862, Montreal Gymnasium - 1860s, Garrison Grounds, McGill College Grounds and Montreal Lacrosse Grounds - 1840s and 1850s) which resulted in their dominance of athletics. See Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 32-33, 133-145.

> ...one who has never assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises as a means of livelihood, who rows for pleasure or recreation only and during his leisure hours, and does not abandon or neglect his usual business or occupation for the purpose of training more than two weeks of the seasons.[23]

The 'professional', on the other hand, was described as anyone whose "...gainful employment was closely associated with their sporting activity, giving them an advantage over 'gentlemen amateurs'"[24] and "...anyone who earned money through sport."[25] Under these definitions, class obviously functioned as a marker that resulted in the exclusion of many working-class athletes from 'amateur' contests.[26] By the early part of the twentieth century the amateur/professional controversy began to fade in Canada, as the professional athlete became increasingly popular and accepted.

The inherent problem with the traditional late-nineteenth-century definition of culture was its exclusivity. Cultural practices were stratified along class, ethnic and gender lines. Following the advent of industrial capitalism in the twentieth century, new cultural

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[23] Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 103-104. This was the first definition of the term 'amateur' to appear in Canadian sport history. It was devised by the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen in 1880 and became the basis of future definitions established by other elite sport organizations and clubs. Alan Metcalfe points out, 'amateurism' was rooted in the eighteenth-century leisurely lifestyles of English aristocrats where sport "...was a vehicle for demonstrating that the person was a gentleman. The chase and the cricket field were locations for demonstrating courage, perseverance, fair play and honesty – abiding by the letter and, more importantly, the spirit of the law. Such behavior was expected of a gentleman." Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 120.

[24] Cosentino, "Ned Hanlan – Canada's Premier Oarsman," 241.

[25] Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," 79.

[26] Race also acted as an indicator of one's 'professional' status. African Americans and Native Indians were automatically classified as 'professionals' and were excluded from lacrosse and snowshoeing contests. They were only allowed to participate in exhibition matches or work as trainers. Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," 77-79. Part of the reason behind the implementation of the amateur/professional distinctions had to do with the unfair advantage held by working-class athletes. Another reason was tied to the 'respectability' of athletics. Working-class athletes, who were known to 'fix' sporting contests from time to time, were looked down upon, especially by the upper class that preached values such as fair play. Morrow, "Of Leadership and Excellence," 32. The main reason for the distinctions, however, had to do with the upper class desire to protect the exclusivity

practices became widely available to the public. What came to be known as 'mass culture' directly conflicted with traditional or 'high' culture. While both were based on the assumption that cultural practices were a means by which the self could be improved or refined, the difference between them lay in the actual methods that they endorsed to achieve this improvement or refinement. Among contemporary analyses, the term 'popular culture' has come to be widely used. More than just emphases upon the improvement of the individual, popular cultures have the ability to:

> ...encompass all the various modes of expression, pleasure-seeking, and entertainment through which people negotiate their relationships with one another, with an imagined past and future, and with the institutions and presumptions of a dominant culture... In this way the concept of 'popular cultures' builds on the ideas of culture as a noun of configuration - different ways of living – rather than on the more restrictive definition of culture as a type of cultivation, either of self or human refinement.[27]

The benefit of 'popular culture' is uncovered in the broader avenues for socio-historical investigation it creates. Sports are of value to socio-historical research because they are expressions of 'high', 'mass', and 'popular' cultures and, more importantly, they are meaningful to us. C.L.R. James acknowledges the social significance of sport by stating, with specific reference to cricket and football, that sports "...were the greatest cultural influences in nineteenth-century Britain, leaving far behind Tennyson's poems, Beardsley's drawings and concerts of the Philharmonic Society."[28] Canadian historian Gerald Friesen supports James' contentions by stating Canadian ice hockey "...belongs in the same

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of their sporting pursuits. Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," 77.

[27] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 28.

category as drama, opera and mime. Like its more 'respectable' partners, hockey expresses universal and timeless cultural meanings."[29] As an artistic spectacle, sport encompasses all the drama and excitement of other time-honoured cultural practices and triggers as much emotion and longstanding memories.

An appreciation of Canadian cultural life can be attained through an examination of one sport in particular, ice hockey. This sport provides a more than adequate probe into Canadian society for three reasons: its extensive history, its vast popularity and, more importantly, its powerful representational character. Ken Dryden, a former professional ice hockey player, summarizes the importance of his sport in Canada by stating the following:

> Hockey is part sport and recreation, part entertainment, part business, part community builder, social connector, and fantasy maker. It is played in every province and territory in this country. Once a game for little boys, now little girls play hockey as well, and so do older men and women; so do the blind and mentally and physically handicapped. And though its symmetry is far from perfect, hockey does far better than most in cutting across social division – young and old, rich and poor, urban and rural, French and English, East and West, able and disabled. It is this breadth, its reach into the past, that makes hockey such a vivid instrument through which to view Canadian life.[30]

However, ice hockey can also reinforce social divisions. While the rise of 'mass culture' adversely affected the formation of local community or neighborhood bonds, it also encouraged these bonds at the regional level. By the 1950s, professional hockey teams, such as the Montreal Canadiens, were able to create regionalized fan loyalty by

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[28] James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 70.
[29] Friesen, "Hockey, the Prairies, and Canada's Cultural History," 13.
[30] Ken Dryden and Roy MacGregor, *Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1989), 9.

establishing class and 'racial' connections with the residents of French working-class communities throughout Quebec. Professional sport brought these fans together en masse and instilled a sense of solidarity among them that was, on the surface, based on their common admiration of the team and its athletes. These associations were bolstered when the 'home' team challenged a visiting club that acquired a set of oppositional meanings. At times, the symbolic meaning behind the game evoked the emotions of spectators and transformed the spectacle into a contest of class, 'racial', and/or national superiority. This was especially true when the success of a team or athlete was threatened and the symbolism of the game led to the recognition of larger social tensions. It is in ice hockey's ability to produce highly charged symbolic spectacles in which class, gender, 'racial', and national identities interplay with one another that its socio-historical value within Canada is to be found. If it were not for hockey's development into a 'popular' cultural practice among French Canadians, the representational characteristics that encircled the 'Richard Riot', perhaps, would not have come to fruition as they did and the event would simply be regarded today as nothing more than an example of localized fan hooliganism.

To begin to uncover the socio-historical significance of the 'Richard Riot' the structure of Canadian society will need to be examined. Much of the symbolism behind the event was rooted in the historical development of the unequal socio-economic relationship between French and English Canadians. The formation, basis and meaning of the representational character of the Montreal Canadiens, Maurice Richard and Clarence Campbell also needs to be acknowledged. How these symbolic identities were conceived and what they were based upon will only add to an overall appreciation of the riot's socio-historical value. Finally, this study will conclude with an investigation of the 'Richard Riot'

itself. Some of the more enlightening discoveries emerge from an analysis of the events that sparked the incident, the individuals involved, the media's coverage, and the outcome of the affair.

CHAPTER I – i:

Quebec: 2 Nations, 2 Classes, 2 Cultures

Throughout the first 90 years of its history the population of Canada can be characterized by the duality found in its ethnic and cultural composition. On the one hand, there were the French who were overwhelmingly concentrated within the province of Quebec and, on the other hand, there were the English, who dominated the landscape of the rest of the country. On the surface, these two groups could be distinguished according to the differences in their ethnic backgrounds and cultural traits, such as the language they spoke and the religion they practiced. However, deeper and more profound differences existed. An unequal socio-economic relationship developed between the two which saw the dominance of the French by the English. Throughout Canada, and more so in the province of Quebec, the extent of these socio-economic inequalities were visible in terms of level of income, occupation, education, and ownership of industry.[31] When the relative position of the English and French populations according to these four factors are examined, what emerges is a portrait of a French 'nation' that has historically occupied a socio-economically disadvantaged position vis-à-vis the English majority.

The combination of the class based inequalities between these two groups, the geographical concentration of the French population in Quebec, and the existence of a strong nationalist sentiment throughout most of French Canada's history[32], strengthens the

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[31] These were the four main criteria used by the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism (1969) to determine the socio-economic status of Canadians in 1961.

[32] As Kenneth McRoberts points out, "French-Canadian nationalism, after all, can be traced back to the 1820s." Kenneth McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 3d ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993), 151.

plausibility of the existence of a French 'state' within the borders of Canada. For the purposes of this study, an understanding of the 'Two nation - Two class - Two culture' shape of Canadian society is needed in order to appreciate the importance of professional ice hockey in Quebec and the value of the symbolic identities established around the Montreal Canadiens Club de Hockey, its star player Maurice Richard, and the N.H.L.'s president Clarence Campbell. After all, what these figures came to represent for French Canadians was entirely rooted in the 'duality' of Canada.

DEMOGRAPHY

Unlike other countries that have been conquered and settled by Europeans, what has made Canada's formation unique is the dominance of what John Porter refers to as its non-aboriginal 'charter groups'.[33] 'Charter groups' are the first settlers to enter a territory not governed by Europeans, claim ownership to it, and thus have the most say in its colonization and political, economic and social development.[34] Canada is special in that its historical development has been directed by not one, but rather two charter groups: the British[35] and the French. The existence of a pair of 'charter groups' provides some explanation as to why the 'duality' of Canadian society developed.

The 'two nation' structure of colonized Canada can first be seen in its historical demography. Statistics from as early as 1871 reveal the ethnic and cultural dominance of the British and French populations. In that year, the country's population totaled 3,485,761, of which British ethnic-origin Canadians accounted for 2,110,502 (or 60.55

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[33] John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 60.
[34] Ibid.
[35] "British" includes the following ethnic groups: English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh. The former accounting for the majority of the entire British group.

percent) and French ethnic-origin Canadians for 1,028,940 (or 31.07 percent)[36]. Together, these two groups accounted for over 90 percent of the country's entire population and this early numeric dominance continued well into the twentieth century, as is reflected in the following two tables:

Table 1

Canadian Population by Ethnic Origin, 1871 to 1961[37]

(1891 omitted - insufficient data. Data for 1881 are also incomplete, particularly in treatment of small number of immigrants from Central Europe.)

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Canada*	3,485,761	4,324,810	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,787,949	10,376,786	11,506,655	14,009,429	18,238,247
British Isles**	2,110,502	2,548,514	3,063,195	3,999,081	4,868,738	5,381,071	5,715,904	6,709,685	7,996,669
French	1,082,941	1,298,929	1,649,371	2,061,719	2,452,743	2,927,990	3,483,038	4,319,167	5,540,346

*Newfoundland excluded up to 1951.

**British Isles includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh.

Source: Censuses of Canada

Table 2

Canadian Population by Ethnic Origin, 1871 to 1961 (Percentages)[38]

(1891 omitted - insufficient data. Data for 1881 are also incomplete, particularly in treatment of small number of immigrants from Central Europe.)

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Canada*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
British Isles**	60.55	58.9	57.0	55.5	55.4	51.9	49.7	47.9	43.8
French	31.07	30.0	30.7	28.6	27.9	28.2	30.3	30.8	30.4
British and French	91.62	88.9	87.7	84.1	83.3	80.1	80.0	78.7	74.2

*Newfoundland excluded up to 1951.

**British Isles includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh.

Source: Censuses of Canada

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[36] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 4, 247-248.

[37] Ibid., 247.

[38] Ibid., 248.

By the time Canada's population totaled over 18 million in 1961, the British and French continued to account for a significant majority (74.2 percent) of the population. At the time of the 'Richard Riot', the former accounted for approximately 45.8 percent of the population and the later for approximately 30.6 percent.[39] While both of these ethnic groups historically dominated the ethnic composition of the country[40], the British percentage of the population continually declined with each successive census. By 1961, its percentage of the country's total population was approximately 17 points lower than in 1871 (60.55 percent compared to 43.8 percent). The French percentage, in contrast, remained virtually unchanged, hovering at approximately 30 percent. Regardless of these trends, up to the middle of the twentieth century, these two populations maintained their status as the two largest ethnic groups in Canada and in being so they were able to influence the ethnic identity and cultural character of the entire country.

In every Canadian province the British formed the largest population, with the exception of Quebec. In 1871, when they accounted for over 60 percent of the country's entire population, their percentage of Quebec's total populace was only 20.40 percent.[41] Ninety years later, in 1961, when the national percentage of British-origin Canadians fell to 43.85 percent, their percentage in Quebec had fallen to 10.78 percent.[42] For the French, Quebec was the only province where they accounted for the majority of the population. Their percentage of this province's total population never fell below 78 percent between

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[39] Ibid., vol. 1, 20-21. Median figure calculated from 1951 and 1961 figures.
[40] Between 1871 and 1961 the percentage of the Canadian population that consisted of English and French ethnic-origin Canadians never fell below 74 percent.
[41] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 4, 247-266.
[42] Ibid.

1871 and 1961.[43] In fact, prior to 1961 at least 76 percent of Canada's French ethnic-origin population resided in Quebec.[44] Throughout this 90-year period this province's population could be characterized by the absence of a significant British-Canadian populace and its extremely strong French presence.

Based on the above demographic figures alone it is evident that Quebec was home to Canada's French ethnic-origin population. This province formed the geographical boundaries of an isolated French 'state' and the regions outside of Quebec formed the symbolic boundaries of English 'states'. As the rest of the country came under the ethnic and cultural influence of the English populace, Quebec matured into a vibrant and unique French enclave. It became the sole geographic area in which French Canadians could truly be French. It was in this province alone, then, that French Canadians could fully express, experience, share, and live their way of life with other French Canadians, as well as maintain their cultural identity. As sociologist Hubert Guindon notes:

> The French Canadian could stay French in public as well as in private, in official as well as unofficial life *only* in Quebec. His linguistic environment within the confines of his province encompassed his school, his place of work, his hospital, his town hall, and the public streets, and his loyalties (to French Canadians) could be more sharply differentiated (from other loyalties).[45]

With the French population being overwhelmingly isolated within the confines of Quebec and the rest of Canada's ethnic composition being dominated by the English, it is of little

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[43] Ibid. The percentage of Quebec's total population that was accounted for by French ethnic-origin Canadians between 1871 and 1961 is as follows: 1871-78.04%, 1881-79.01%, 1901-80.19%, 1911-80.10%, 1921-80.03%, 1931-78.97%, 1941-80.89%, 1951-82.04%, 1961-80.65%.

[44] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 4, 247-266.

[45] Hubert Guindon, *Quebec Society: Tradition, Modernity and Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 56.

surprise to find that Quebec developed its own cultural identity that was distinct from the rest of Canada. One only has to examine the endurance of its two main cultural features, language and religion, to recognize this.

LANGUAGE

Of all the expressions of culture none is more discernible than language. It is widely used by individuals to gain an understanding of others and to recognize commonalties. Like other cultural symbols, language functions to "...reinforce our sense of ourselves. We identify with and feel comfortable with familiar symbols. We feel we belong.... In addition to being an efficient means of communicating, language is an expression of group membership."[46] In Canada, language not only distinguishes ethnic groups and acts as a unifying element; it also indicates where one resides. This is especially true in the case of Francophones whose population has always been heavily concentrated in Quebec. More importantly, in addition to identifying one's ethnic, cultural, and residential background, in the world of work language can function as a marker of one's occupational and class status. In Quebec, language became a sorting mechanism in the labour force that fostered the development of a cultural division of labour. The centrality of this cultural trait to the shared identity of French Canadians can be appreciated by examining the linguistic composition and distribution of Canada's population. Such an analysis reveals parallels between the distinctiveness found in the ethnic composition of Quebec and the uniqueness of its linguistic character.

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[46] Susannah Wilson, "Culture, Change and Autonomy," in *The Social World: An Introduction to Sociology*, ed. Lorne Tepperman and R. Jack Richardson (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1986), 117-118.

Anglophones and Francophones have been the two largest linguistic groups throughout Canada's history. In 1961 the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism calculated the distribution of the Canadian population according to 'mother tongue' and discovered that Anglophones and Francophones accounted for 58.5 percent (10,660,534) and 28.1 percent (5,123,151) of the total population respectively. Together, these two groups accounted for over 86 percent of Canada's linguistic makeup. As with ethnic origin, the provincial distribution of the English and French-speaking populations followed similar patterns of concentration. The table below indicates the province by province distribution of the Anglophone, Francophone, and 'All others' language groups in 1961:

Table 3

Distribution of the Population by Mother Tongue - Canada and Provinces, 1961[47]

TOTAL POPULATION: 18,238,247				Percentage	
Province or territory	**English**	**French**	**All others***	**English**	**French**
Canada	10,660,534	5,123,151	2,454,562	**Total:** 100.00	**Total:** 100.00
Newfoundland	451,530	3,150	3,173	4.24	0.06
Prince Edward Island	95,564	7,958	1,107	0.90	0.16
Nova Scotia	680,233	39,568	17,206	6.38	0.78
New Brunswick	378,633	210,530	8,773	3.55	4.11
Quebec	697,402	4,269,689	292,120	6.54	83.34
Ontario	4,834,623	425,302	976,167	45.35	8.30
Manitoba	584,526	60,899	276,261	5.48	1.18
Saskatchewan	638,156	36,163	250,862	5.98	0.71
Alberta	962,319	42,276	327,349	9.03	0.82
British Columbia	1,318,498	26,179	284,405	12.37	0.51
Yukon and N.W.T.	19,050	1,437	17,139	0.18	0.03

Source: Census of Canada, 1961

In 1961, Francophones were highly concentrated in one region. Of the 5,123,151 Canadians who identified French as their 'mother tongue', 83.34 percent of them were

[47] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 1, 28.

located in Quebec.[48] The Anglophone population was more broadly dispersed across the country.[49] Considering the heavy concentration of the French ethnic-origin population in Quebec the above Francophone figure for this region is understandable.

Furthermore, the influence of the English language upon French Canadians who resided outside of Quebec cannot be discounted. Between 1931 and 1961, a significant percentage of this group increasingly recognized English as their 'mother tongue'.[50] During the same 30-year period in Quebec, however, the attraction of the English language appears to have been minimal at best. By 1961 only 1.6 percent of Quebec's French ethnic-origin populace identified English as their 'mother tongue'.[51] Comparing the provincial figures, it appears, as Hubert Guindon has noted, that people of French ethnic-origin could maintain their linguistic identity more easily in Quebec than in any other part of the country.

RELIGION

Another indication of one's 'racial' background is religion. The religious faith of an individual says much about his/her values. Like language, religion can reveal one's ethnic identity, which is especially true when an ethnic group is found to be religiously homogeneous. Up to and beyond the middle of the twentieth century, Roman Catholicism functioned in a similar manner to the French language as it shared an equally important

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[48] The remaining 16.66 percent were dispersed among the rest of Canada. The only other provinces to account for a noticeable portion of Canada's Francophone populace were Ontario (8.3 percent) and New Brunswick (4.11 percent).

[49] In 1961, even though Ontario accounted for 43.35 percent of Canada's English mother tongue population, Quebec accounted for 83.34 percent of the total French mother tongue population.

[50] By 1961 the percentage of French Canadians residing in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, and Yukon on the Northwest Territories that identified English as their 'mother tongue' was 85.2%, 55.1%, 56.9%, 12.1%, 37.7%, 30.3%, 43.2%, 49.7%, 64.7% and 46.6% respectively. Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 1, 33.

role in defining what it meant to be French Canadian. No other ethnic group in Canada was as religiously united in their faith as were French Roman Catholics. In fact, nowhere else in Canada was an ethnic group as homogeneous in its religious faith as the French-speaking Catholics were in their home province of Quebec. So unanimous was the Roman Catholic identity of the French population that its religious faith became an integral part of 'racial' identity, as important in daily life as language.

The role of the Roman Church in French Canada is worth recognizing for, in many ways, it had a more direct impact upon the lives of French Canadians than did the state.[52] The duality seen in Canada's ethnic and linguistic makeup prevailed in its religious demography. The country's population has historically been divided among two dominant Christian faiths, Protestantism[53] and Roman Catholicism. At the time of the 'Richard Riot', approximately 46.3 percent and 45.74 percent of Canada's population identified Protestantism and Roman Catholicism as their religious faiths respectively.[54] While these figures point to a spiritual duality, when the ethnic background of the followers of these religious denominations is examined, clear distinctions between the English and French-origin populations arise. The following two charts indicate the ethnic origin of Canada's Protestant and Roman Catholic populations in 1961:

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[51] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 1, 33.
[52] See McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*.
[53] Protestant includes the following major denominations: Anglican Church of Canada, Baptist, Lutheran, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, and United Church of Canada.
[54] *Census of Canada*, 1961, vol. 1, part 3 (Series 1.3-8).

Figure 1
Ethnic Origin of Canada's Protestant Population, 1961[55]

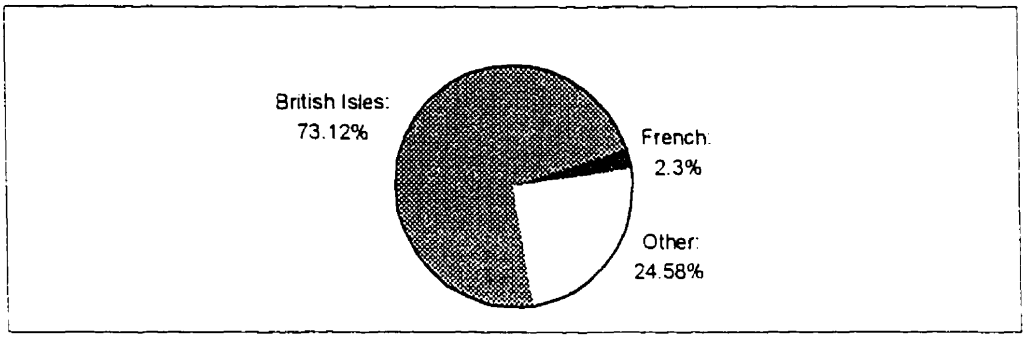
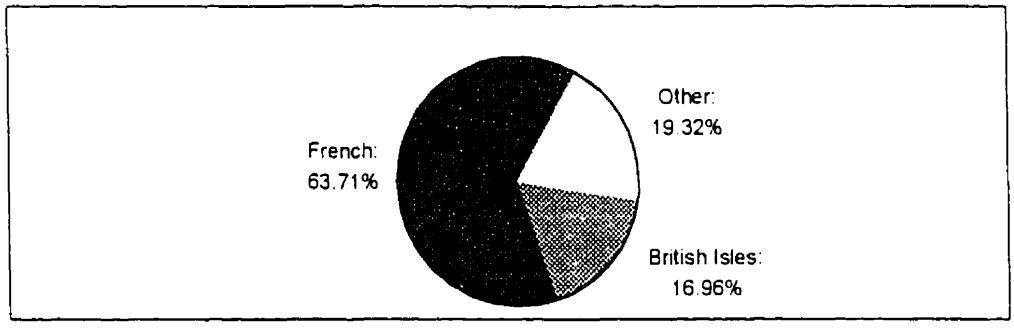


Figure 2
Ethnic Origin of Canada's Roman Catholic Population, 1961[56]



On the one hand, the ethnic composition of the Protestant population was overwhelmingly British (73.12 percent) and, on the other, the Roman Catholic population, though not to the same extent, was significantly French (63.71 percent).

Nationally, the 'duality' of Canada's religious faith is unquestionable. However, when the religious faith of Quebec is compared to that of the rest of the country, the separateness of this province's identity emerges. In addition to its distinct and cohesive ethnic and linguistic character, Quebec can also be considered a 'nation' unto its own because of its detached religious identity. It was the one region in Canada where Roman

[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

Catholicism flourished more so than any other religious faith. So unanimously unified was this province's populace under Roman Catholicism that this religious faith became inextricably linked to the French cultural identity and way of life. The table below compares the relative strength of the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and other faiths provincially:

Table 4

Percentage distribution of population by religion, 1961[57]

	Roman Catholic	Protestant*	Other
CANADA	45.74	46.3	7.96
Quebec	88.14	8.53	3.33
Newfoundland	35.74	55.20	9.06
Prince Edward Island	46.12	50.36	3.52
Nova Scotia	35.29	61.76	2.95
New Brunswick	51.95	46.05	2.00
Ontario	30.04	61.29	8.67
Manitoba	22.89	62.14	14.97
Saskatchewan	26.25	61.04	12.71
Alberta	22.43	62.11	15.46
British Columbia	17.51	70.67	11.82
Yukon	27.21	65.35	7.44
Northwest Territories	42.86	50.36	6.78

*Protestant includes the following denominations: Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, and the United Church of Canada
Source: Census of Canada, 1961 (Vol. 1 - Part 3)

The most striking figure is the Roman Catholic percentage for Quebec. The fact that this province was overwhelmingly Roman Catholic is an indication of just how strong the Catholic Church's influence was over the lives of Quebec's French population. In being populated by a majority French-origin populace, Quebec's cultural development escaped the influence of English cultural elements such as language and religion. Ultimately, as a result of the unimpeded development of the French culture, Quebec became unmistakably

branded as Francophone and Roman Catholic, unlike the rest of Canada which came under the influence of English, Anglophone, and Protestant values and morals.

Quebec's ethnic composition guaranteed the proliferation and survival of the French-Canadian culture as is evinced by the prevalence of the French language and Roman Catholic religion. When these two expressions are used as measuring sticks, clearly the only place in Canada where the French could practice their culture was in Quebec. Unlike the rest of Canada, whose evolution came under the influence of the British-origin and English-speaking population, Quebec's isolation resulted in the development of its distinct French character. The province's identity became intertwined with that of French Canadians as the vast majority of the population shared an inextricable ethnic background and linguistic and religious bond. From an ethnic and cultural perspective, Quebec was a 'nation' onto its own. Its people, its language, its religious faith and its way of life were quite different from what was found in other Canadian provinces. It was in this unique environment that the Montreal Canadien Club de Hockey and Maurice Richard emerged as 'national' symbols that embodied the ethnic and cultural distinctiveness of the province's French populace.

TWO CLASSES

The ethnic and cultural homogeneity of Quebec's French population, along with its geographic isolation, established an identity for French Canada that was undeniably distinct from that of the rest of the country. In addition to ethnic background, cultural characteristics, and demography, class equally figured in the uniqueness of Franco-Quebec. In relational terms, class distinguished the French from the English just as culture

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[57] Ibid.

and ethnicity did. Fundamental differences between these elements nevertheless existed. While ethnicity, and to a lesser extent culture, are inherent components that provide horizontal differentiation, class is an 'achieved' position that establishes vertical relationships among different groups by exposing socio-economic inequalities. Considered separately, the social implications of class disparities appear to be more serious than that of ethnicity and culture. In Quebec, this was especially true for, as historian Kenneth McRoberts recognizes, "...beyond the cultural division of labour and inter-regional dependence, Quebec's experience has been closely shaped by the relations among classes. In fact, many analysts would see class relations as the primordial factor."[58] As French Canadians became increasingly aware of their inferior socio-economic position vis-à-vis the English during the 1940s and 1950s, class combined with ethnicity and culture to form the basis of an emerging French neo-nationalist identity. As French-Canadian nationalism conveyed itself as a movement of difference that was articulated through recourse to 'race', its defining elements manifested themselves throughout society, including the realm of professional sport.

The inferior class position of French Canadians and Francophones can be evinced by a historical analysis of the socio-economic structure of Canada and Quebec. The extent of the subordination of the French population is evident when their levels of income, education, occupation and ownership of industry are measured and compared to those of the English. In this regard, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism concluded that:

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[58] McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 27.

> ...socially and economically, Francophones are in a far weaker position than Anglophones in the work world. They are decidedly and consistently lower in average income levels, in schooling levels, in occupational scales, and in the ownership of industry.[59]

A socio-economic examination of Canadian and Quebec society that encompasses the above mentioned variables provides yet another perspective from which to observe the 'Two nations – Two classes -Two cultures' character of the country and province.

INCOME

In a modern capitalist society, income levels provide one measure of the socio-economic status of an individual or group of people. The higher the level of income, invariably the greater the responsibility, influence and control one may have over society In a modern industrial setting such as Canada's, income is required not only for the acquisition of necessities, such as food, clothing, and shelter, but also for cultural preservation. When enough income is accumulated one is able "...among other things, to buy books, records and art objects, to undertake studies in his (her/their) own language, and to support either through taxes or directly the institutions which sustain his (her/their) culture."[60] Just as ethnicity and culture distinguished the English and French populations, so too did average total income levels. By the middle of the 1900s, throughout Canada and especially in the province of Quebec, noticeable disparities could be observed in the

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[59] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 5. For the purposes of this paper, the findings of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism that specifically deal with the relative positions of French-origin Canadians and English-origin Canadians and Francophones and Anglophones will be focused upon. Added attention will also be given to the relative socio-economic status of these groups in the province of Quebec, for it is here that the majority of French Canadians and Francophones resided. Finally, the 1951 to 1961 period will also be focused upon since the 'Richard Riot' occurred during this era.

[60] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 12.

average income levels of these two populations. These disparities reflected both the different class positions these groups occupied and the extent to which they were able to sustain their cultural identity.

The unequal socio-economic footing of the English and French populations is primarily seen in a measurement and comparison of their average total income.[61] The following table shows the national and provincial average total income levels of these two ethnic groups' male non-agricultural labour force in 1961:

Table 5

Average Total Income and Province (Dollars and Index), 1961[62]
(Average total income dollars and index of the male non-agricultural labour force, by province and ethnic origin – CANADA, 1961)

	All origins	British*	French	British-French Variance
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
CANADA	$4,414	$4,851	$3,871	$ 980
Quebec	$4,227	$5,918	$3,880	$ 2,038
Newfoundland	$2,972	$2,957	$2,776	$ 181
Prince Edward Island	$2,933	$3,091	$2,555	$ 536
Nova Scotia	$3,634	$3,728	$3,187	$ 541
New Brunswick	$3,499	$3,712	$3,002	$ 710
Ontario	$4,706	$5,031	$4,094	$ 937
Manitoba	$4,434	$4,806	$3,652	$ 1,154
Saskatchewan	$4,086	$4,466	$3,652	$ 997
Alberta	$4,595	$5,174	$4,278	$ 896
British Columbia, Yukon and N.W.T.	$4,772	$5,101	$4,543	$ 558

*British includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh.
Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

[61] Total income includes the following: labour income (salaries, wages, commissions, net income of businessmen and professionals working independently), investment income (interest, dividends, rents, annuities, etc.), and transfer payments (family allowances, old age pensions, and money received under other government social security measures). Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 22.

[62] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 18.

In 1961, the average total income of Canada's male non-agricultural labour force[63] was $4,414.[64] British Canadians, who composed 44 percent of this labour force, earned an average total income of $4,851, which was 9.9 percent or $437 above the national average for all ethnic groups. French Canadians, who comprised 28 percent of this labour force, earned an average total income of $3,871, which was 12.3 percent or $543 below the national average. The variance between these two ethnic groups was a staggering 20.2 percent or $980 in favour of the former.

When the average income levels of Quebec's French and British-origin workforces are examined and compared to each other inter-ethnically and inter-linguistically the inferior status of the French-origin and speaking populace is even more evident. The combined impact of ethnicity and linguistic knowledge upon average total income levels is visible when the average for the bilingual French-origin workforce is compared to that of the unilingual workforce, regardless of ethnic origin, and to that of the unilingual British-origin workforce. Bilingual French-origin Canadians in Quebec averaged a total income level of $4,523 in 1961.[65] This was $249 below the province's average total income level for the bilingual workforce and $979 below the level of the unilingual Anglophone workforce. An even greater discrepancy is discovered when the average total income of the bilingual French-origin workforce is compared to that of the unilingual British-origin workforce. At $6,049, the latter averaged the highest total income level in the province. This average was not only $120 above the level of the bilingual workforce of the same

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[63] In its examination the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism considered only the Canadian male non-agricultural labour force. Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 16.
[64] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 16.
[65] Ibid., 21.

ethnic origin, but also a startling $1,526 higher than the level for the bilingual French-origin workforce.[66] These variances indicate that together language and ethnicity had a detrimental impact upon the average total income levels of French ethnic-origin Francophones which reinforced their subordinate socio-economic position in relation to British-origin Anglophones. Due to their ethnic background and linguistic knowledge the latter group earned higher average total incomes than the former which resulted in the development of a two-class system within Quebec. In the world of work, British-origin Anglophones dominated upper-level positions that commanded higher salaries and French-origin Francophones were concentrated among the lower-level and lower-paying posts. The income differences between British and French Canadians were notably more pronounced in the province of Quebec, which provides some explanation as to why a French neo-nationalist movement developed there in the 1940s and 1950s.

EDUCATION

Education is one of the most important elements affecting the status of individuals or groups in society. The higher the level of education an individual attains, the further he/she can advance along the occupational ladder thus improving his/her level of income and status. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism recognized the influence education has upon socio-economic status when it stated, "...the socio-economic conditions for equal partnership depend in large part for their fulfillment on equality of schooling."[67] An unequal partnership between British and French Canadians existed as quantitative and qualitative analyses of schooling in the middle of the 1900s reveal numerous disparities between the two populations. The quantitative educational

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[66] Ibid.

discrepancies between the British and French can be gauged when their respective levels of schooling and average number of school years completed are measured and compared.

In 1961 the British-origin male non-agricultural labour force was more highly educated than the French. The table below indicates the distribution of these two ethnic groups' labour forces according to their level of education:

Table 6

Schooling[68]

Percentage distribution of the male non-agricultural labour force by ethnic origin and level of schooling – Canada, 1961

	Level of Schooling					
			Secondary			
Ethnic Origin	None	Elementary	1-2 Years	3-5 Years	University	Total
British	0.3	30.6	25.2	31.4	12.5	100
French	0.7	53.5	21.4	18.1	6.3	100
All origins	0.6	41.0	22.5	25.8	10.1	100

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

The French and British-origin male non-agricultural labour forces were respectively concentrated among opposite ends of the educational spectrum. While over 69 percent of the British-origin group was located among the post-elementary educational levels, the majority (54.2 percent) of the French-origin group did not pass beyond an elementary education. Furthermore, in the post-elementary education levels, the percentage variance between British and French representation at each successive level consistently increased to a maximum at the university level, where British representation was almost double that of the French. Compared to the labour force as a whole, the French had a higher percentage of their labour force and the British had a lower percentage of their labour

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[67] Ibid., 26.
[68] Ibid.

force concentrated among the pre-secondary education levels. In the post-elementary educational categories, the opposite pattern existed; the British percentage exceeded the national percentage at each plateau, while the French percentage consistently fell behind the national percentages.

The average number of school years completed or educational attendance provides another measurement of educational quantity or achievement. The table below reflects the average level of education or average last grade attained by the British and French-origin male non-agricultural labour force in Canada and Quebec in 1961:

Table 7

Education Level[69]

Educational level attained (last grade attended) by the male non-agricultural labour force in Canada and Quebec – 1961

	All origins	British	French
CANADA	8.45	9.43	7.08
QUEBEC	7.04	9.60	7.00

On the national scale, the average grade level attained by French Canadians was lower than that of the British. The average last grade attained by the French and British-origin male non-agricultural labour forces were 7.08 and 9.43 respectively.[70] The variance between the two groups was 2.35. While the British had an above average level of education, the French average fell below the national average by 1.37.

In Quebec, the educational disparity between those of British and French ethnic-origin was more noticeable as the former averaged higher educational levels and the later averaged lower levels than they did on the national scale. The average last grade attained

[69] Ibid., 28.
[70] Ibid.

by the British-origin group in Quebec was 9.60 versus 7.00 for the French-origin group. Compared to the national figures, the variance between the two groups increased from 2.35 nationally to 2.6 in Quebec. Quantitatively, the British averaged longer educational careers in Quebec than they did in Canada as a whole which suggests they enjoyed a more favourable socio-economic standing in this province.

Moreover, the outdated and misguided curricula of the French Roman Catholic schools, especially at the post-elementary levels, failed to instill the necessary skills for advancement within an industrial economy. As one historian states, these institutions produced a French labour pool that was more of "...a savant rather than a modern expert."[71] As a result, French-Canadian students were hampered from gaining access to the higher-status and higher-paying occupations[72] in Quebec's industrial economy and came to occupy subordinate socio-economic positions vis-à-vis the English. As the 1960s

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[71] Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965; Midway Series, 1983), 210.

[72] The relationship between education, income and occupation cannot be denied. Having established that French Canadians had shorter educational careers and received an education of lower quality in comparison to English Canadians, how this imbalance translated into income and occupational discrepancies needs to be explained in order to appreciate the impact of education upon socio-economic status. B. R. Blishen conducted an occupational analysis that considered both income and education factors from 1958. He established an occupational scale based on average years of schooling and average income. Occupations that required high education levels, but paid relatively low salaries ranked above those occupations with high incomes and low educational requirements. Blishen considered a total of 343 occupations, which he ranked and then grouped into seven classes. He then calculated the ethnic distribution of the population according to these classes. What he discovered was that, in comparison to British-origin Canadians, the proportionate distribution of French Canadians was less pronounced among the top two occupational classes and more pronounced among the lowest occupational classes. In the top two occupational groups, 13.1% of the British-Canadian labour force was to be found versus 10.1% of the French-Canadian labour force for a difference of 3.0% between the two. In the lowest two occupational classes, the variance between the British and French increased to 15.9% to the disadvantage of the latter. Almost half (49.8%) of the French-origin labour pool was located among the two lowest occupational classes, while only 33.9% of the British-origin labour force was found in the same occupational groups. The significantly higher proportion of French Canadians distributed among the lower-class occupations had much to do with their overall lower average education levels. English Canadians, on the other hand, were better off, as a smaller portion of their ethnic group was found among the lowest occupational classes and a higher portion was distributed among the upper occupational classes. When education and income

approached, the Catholic run classical colleges and universities were increasingly criticized for retarding the socio-economic advancement of French Canadians.

Both quantitatively and qualitatively it is clear English Canadians outscored French Canadians in the educational arena. The quantitative advantages of the former are evident when their levels of schooling and length of education careers are measured and compared to those of the latter. Qualitatively, French Canadians received an inferior education. This was particularly visible in the province of Quebec where French Roman Catholic schools provided students with less practical curricula. Ultimately, the educational inadequacies of Canada's French population thwarted their occupational progress, which in turn adversely affected their socio-economic status and created further class imbalances between themselves and the English.

OCCUPATION

Occupation, the type of work one undertakes in order to earn a living, is another element that can be used to measure and compare the socio-economic status of individuals or groups in society. The position one occupies in the world of work, to a large extent, determines the ability one has to "...influence the lives of others."[73] Generally, higher status occupations command higher incomes and in a modern capitalist society individuals occupying these positions wield a great amount of influence and control over society at large. Since occupational positioning is a partial reflection of an individual's or group's class standing, uneven population distributions among various occupational levels can reveal signs of larger socio-economic inequalities. For example, class differences between

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factors are combined. French Canadians were found not to be on an equal footing with English Canadians. Blishen's findings are cited in Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 85-86.

[73] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 35.

ethnic or cultural groups are apparent when one group's labour force is highly concentrated among upper-scale occupations and another's is concentrated among lower-status occupations. When the proportional occupational distribution of the British and French ethnic-origin labour forces is compared, it is clear that by the middle of the 1900s a cultural division of labour had existed which favored the former group and was detrimental to the latter.

As early as 1931 signs of the concentration of the British-origin labour force among upper-scale occupations and the French-origin labour force among lower-scale occupations were visible. John Porter's analysis of the socio-economic structure of Canada revealed this as he examined six different occupational categories[74] and determined the respective distribution of the British and French-origin male labour forces among them. The top-level category in his study consisted of white-collar 'Professional and Financial Occupations' and the lower-status blue-collar occupational category was comprised of 'Low level, primary and unskilled occupations'. Porter's findings are reflected in the table below:

[74] The six occupational categories (Professional and Financial, Clerical, Personal service, Primary and unskilled, Agriculture, and All others) which John Porter examined in his study were taken from the Census of Canada.

Table 8

Ethnic origin and selected male occupational categories - Canada, 1931[75]

Upper level – white collar occupations			
Professional and Financial Occupations (4.8% of total labour force)			
British*	6.4%	over representation by:	1.6%
French	4.0%	under representation by:	0.8%
Lower level – blue collar occupations			
Low level, primary and unskilled occupations (17.7% of labour force)			
British*	13.1%	under representation by:	4.6%
French	21.0%	over representation by:	3.3%

* *British includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh*

In the upper-level occupational grouping, 6.4 percent of the British labour force was employed versus 4.0 percent of the French. The British were over-represented in this category by 1.6 percent, and French were under-represented by 0.8 percent, resulting in a difference of 2.4 percent between the two groups. In the blue-collar occupational category the proportionate representation figures of the British and French labour forces were reversed from the white-collar figures. In this occupational category, over one-fifth (21.0 percent) of the French labour force was employed, compared to only 13.1 percent of the British. While the French were over-represented by 3.3 percent in this category, the British were under-represented by 4.6 percent, a difference of 7.9 percent between the two groups.

Twenty years later the position of the British-origin labour force on the occupational scale improved, while that of the French remained virtually unchanged. By

[75] Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 73-87.

1951 further signs of the increasing concentration of the British and French labour forces among opposite ends of the occupational spectrum appeared.

Table 9

Ethnic origin and selected male occupational categories – Canada, 1951[76]

Upper level – white collar occupations			
Professional and Financial Occupations (5.9% of total labour force)			
British*	7.5%	over representation by:	1.6%
French	4.4%	under representation by:	1.5%
Lower level – blue collar occupations			
Low level, primary and unskilled occupations (13.3% of labour force)			
British*	11.6%	under representation by:	1.7%
French	16.3%	over represented by:	3.0%

**British includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh*

Though not to the same extent, British and French representation in the upper-level occupational category of Porter's study increased. By 1951, 7.5 percent of the British-origin male labour force was employed in 'Professional and Financial Occupations', compared to 6.4 percent in 1931. French representation also increased from 4.0 percent in 1931 to 4.4 percent in 1951. The variance between these two groups' respective representation, however, grew from 2.4 percent in 1931 to 3.1 percent in 1951. Compared to the labour force as a whole, the British labour force's over-representation among Porter's top occupation category remained unchanged during the 20-year span at 1.6 percent. The French labour force, however, became further under-represented among the top-level occupational group.[77]

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[76] Ibid.

[77] When compared to the labour force as a whole, in 1931, the French-origin labour force was under-represented by 0.8% in the top occupational level from John Porter's study. In 1951, their under-representation almost doubled to 1.5%.

By 1961 the occupational inequalities between the British and French were obvious. The trend identified in Porter's analysis was supported by the findings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which painted a broader picture of the occupational distribution of ethnic groups in Canada. The Commission identified 11 occupational groups[78] and determined the distribution of the British and French-origin male labour forces' among them. The following table reflects the percentage distribution of the male labour force according to ethnic origin and occupation among four occupational categories which the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism deemed as most prominent or "trend setting"[79] in an advanced industrial society:

Table 10

Occupation and Ethnic Origin - Canada, 1961[80]
Percentage distribution of the male labour force, by ethnic origin and occupation

	CANADA		
	All Origins %	**British*** %	**French** %
Upper-scale Occupations			
Professional and Technical	7.6	9.3	5.9
Managerial	10.2	12.1	7.6
Lower-scale Occupations			
Craftsmen and Production workers	28.8	25.5	31.4
Labourers	6.2	4.6	7.5

**British includes: English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh*

[78] The occupational categories identified by the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism are as follows: professional and technical, managerial, clerical, sales, service, transportation and communications, craftsmen and production workers, labourers, farmers, other primary, and not stated. Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 38.

[79] The Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism identified the following as the four 'trend setting' occupational categories: Managers: includes managers in specific functions such as advertising, credit, and purchasing, and owners and managers classified by industry; Professional and technical occupations: including engineers, teachers, health professionals (physicians, nurses, etc.) artists, clergy, social welfare workers, photographers, librarians, etc.; Craftsmen and production workers: including blue-collar workers identifiable by function, such as bakers, shoemakers, bookbinders, welders, painters, etc.; and Labourers. The service occupations were not considered because of the census category's 'restricted

What is clear from the above is the higher concentration of the British-origin male labour force among the upper-scale occupations compared to the French and the higher concentration of the French-origin male labour force among the lower-scale occupations compared to the British. By 1961, the national occupational inequalities which Porter identified between the British and French were more noticeable and strongly hint at larger socio-economic disparities between these two ethnic groups.

Overall, by 1961, the concentration of the British and French labour forces among the opposite ends of the occupational spectrum was obvious. The British labour force was more heavily concentrated at the top of the occupational spectrum than at the bottom and the French labour force was more heavily concentrated among the bottom of the spectrum than the top. The sharpness of these occupational inequalities provides some explanation as to why income disparities developed between the English and French and why tensions arose between them. Moreover, they explain why the province's most industrialized city, Montreal, developed into the hub of French-Canadian nationalism.[81]

OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY

While a broad-based examination of the occupational distribution of the British and French-origin labour forces between 1931 to 1961 provides a partial reflection of the socio-economic inequalities that existed between these two groups, a comparative analysis of the status of those who occupied positions at the very top of the occupational ladder can produce further evidence in support of these disparities. In a modern industrial society such as Canada's, socio-economic power and influence is generally concentrated among

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and unrepresentative nature'. Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 37.

[80] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 38.

an elite group who own and control the largest industrial enterprises.[82] Owners of the most dominant industrial firms enjoy unmatched socio-economic advantages and their visibility in and influence over society is "...for most people a much more immediate sign of the relative status of Francophones and Anglophones than are income, education and occupation."[83] The composition of the industrial economic elite was not at all reflective of the ethno-cultural character of Quebec as this group was clearly marked by a cultural division of labour. Among the economic elite, Francophone owners of industry did not occupy the same status as did Anglophone and foreign owners. Even though the vast majority of the province's population was Francophone, the owners of the largest and most powerful industrial firms were not from this language group; instead they emerged from the population's linguistic minority groups, Anglophone and foreign. This ethno-cultural stratification or duality typified the composition of Quebec's industrial elite. Anglophone and foreign owners of industry who qualified as members of a 'big bourgeoisie' were to be found at the top of this group while, at the bottom, there remained the displaced Francophone elite, who qualified as members of a 'middle bourgeoisie'.[84]

The examination[85] of Quebec's manufacturing[86] industry by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1961 unveils the unequal status of Francophone,

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[81] See McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 74.

[82] John Porter describes the economic elite of Canada as consisting of those who occupy the major decision making positions in the corporate institutions of society. Between 1948 and 1951 this group consisted of 985 Canadian residents who held directorships in the 170 dominant corporations, banks, insurance companies and numerous other corporations not classed as dominant. Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 264-274.

[83] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 12.

[84] Observation made by Paul-André Linteau as cited in McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 100.

[85] The Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism's examination was based on a study conducted on its behalf by André Raynauld entitled "La propriété des entreprises au Québec." Quebec was chosen as the focus of the Royal Commission's analysis because it was the only province in Canada where

Anglophone and foreign-owned firms. When the Commission compared and contrasted the size and strength of firms owned by these groups it discovered that Francophone-owned firms consistently ranked behind those of Anglophones and foreigners. Francophones occupied a subordinate position among the ownership elite of Quebec's manufacturing industry primarily due to their lack of capital. Anglophones were able to more easily raise the capital needed to run large-scale industrial enterprises since the owners of the financial institutions which supplied such funding were predominantly Anglophone.[87] Being unable to muster as much financial support as the Anglophone and foreign owners of industry, Francophones could not keep pace and compete with the largest industrial businesses as the enterprises they owned were generally smaller in nature, controlled by members of a single family, and under-capitalized.[88]

The following chart indicates the percentage of Quebec's manufacturing labour force employed by establishments controlled by Francophone, Anglophone and foreign interests in 1961:

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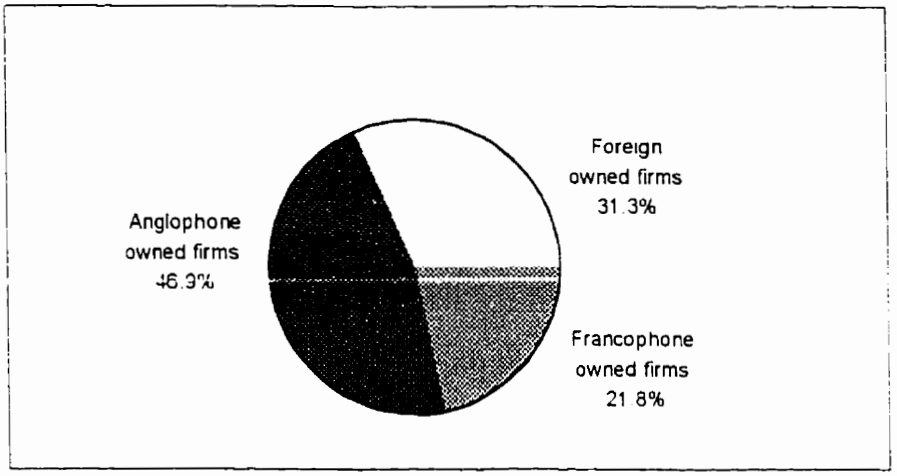
the majority of the population was of French ethnic-origin and Francophone. This being the case, it was considered to be the primary area from which to uncover evidence supporting the existence of Francophone ownership among the largest industrial enterprises and thus their presence in the province's economic elite.

[86] The manufacturing sector of Quebec's industrial economy was selected by the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism because, while it did not represent the rest of the world of work, it was most likely to "...reflect the way the rest of the industry was moving." Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 488.

[87] McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 71.

[88] Ibid., 101.

Figure 3
Percentage of Quebec's manufacturing labour force employed by Anglophone, Francophone, and foreign-owned companies, 1961[89]



Anglophone and foreign-controlled businesses accounted for the employment of 46.9 percent and 31.3 percent of the manufacturing labour force respectively. Francophone firms accounted for the employment of only 21.8 percent of this labour pool. In terms of the average number of workers employed, the latter run companies again ranked last. In 1961, the average number of employees in Francophone, Anglophone and foreign-owned firms in Quebec was 94, 145 and 332 respectively. On average, Francophone businesses hired approximately 35 percent less employees, or had an employee pool that was 65 percent the size of Anglophone firms. Compared to the foreign firms, the Francophone companies fared even worse.[90]

In terms of labour productivity and average wages, Francophone companies were again in a weaker position than their Anglophone and foreign counterparts. The average

[89] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 54.
[90] The average Francophone firm hired approximately 72 percent fewer employees than the foreign owned firm or had an employee pool that was 28 percent the size of the foreign owned firm.

value added[91] produced per worker in a Francophone-owned firm was less than that of a worker employed in an Anglophone and foreign-run company. In the former, the average worker produced a value added of $6500 per year in 1961.[92] In the Anglophone and foreign firms the average value added per worker was $8400 and $12,200 per year respectively.[93] Again, the lower productivity levels of the Francophone owned firms placed them in a disadvantaged position vis-à-vis the Anglophone and foreign firms.

Part of the lower-productivity levels of the Francophone businesses can be attributed to the wages they paid to their employees. Francophone firms ranked behind the Anglophone and foreign firms when average annual wages are compared. The average annual wage rate of the former group was 12 and 30 percent lower than that of the latter two groups respectively.[94] The lower wages paid by the Francophone firms was, in part, due to their smaller size and their lack of capital, which reflected their inability to compete with the high wage-paying Anglophone firms.[95] The higher annual average wage rates of the foreign firms were the result both of their larger size and the concentration of their firms among the higher-paying sectors of manufacturing industry.

When the largest industrial sector of the Quebec economy is examined to determine the position of Francophones among the province's industrial elite it is quite clear that they ranked well behind Anglophones and foreigners. In manufacturing industry,

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[91] Value Added is "...the value of the produced goods less the cost of energy and raw materials: it represents the transformation wrought by an establishment upon the products or materials it purchases." Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 55.
[92] Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 57.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] The lower average wages paid to the employees of Francophone firms was not significantly affected by the concentration of these firms among the lowest-paying sectors of the manufacturing industry since the lowest paying sector, clothing, was dominated by Anglophone owned companies. Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism*, 1969, vol. 3a, 57.

Francophone owners consistently stood down from their Anglophone and foreign counterparts when their business enterprises were compared in terms of size and strength. On average, firms owned by the former were less productive and hired fewer workers who were paid less. Their inability to compete with the larger and more diversified Anglophone-Canadian and foreign manufacturers relegated Francophone owners to a subordinate position among the elite of this industrial group. In essence, Francophone members of the economic elite "...were no more than a handful who, like the Simards of Sorel, could be classed as top ranking industrialists in their own province."[96] The composition of Quebec's 'industrial elite' provides yet another reflection of the disadvantaged socio-economic position occupied by the French. In dominating these elite positions, Anglophones maintained their control over the provincial economy and secured unto themselves its greatest rewards.

NATIONALISM (Quebec's Transition: the 1940s and 1950s)

As these English-French inequalities solidified in Quebec during the 1940s and 1950s, Anglophone and Francophone workers became increasingly concentrated in opposite ends of the occupational spectrum. The socio-economic polarization of these two groups fostered a growing cognizance among the latter of their ethno-cultural class based inequalities. This awareness, combined with the ethnic and cultural isolation of the French

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[96] Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 286. Along with the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism, John Porter recognized the disadvantaged position Francophone owners occupied among the industrial elite of Canada. Of the 985 people he identified as being members of Canada's economic-elite, 760 were closely examined. In the group of 760, those of British ethnic-origin were over-represented and those of French ethnic-origin under-represented. Only 51 or 6.7% of the 760 could be classified as French Canadian. The French were significantly under-represented when one considers they accounted for over one-third (30.8%) of the country's total population. Furthermore, of this 6.7% the majority (or two-thirds) were either lawyers or had important political affiliations. Therefore, one-third of the French economic elite came from those involved in the industrial economy. British-origin Canadians, who

population in and outside the world of work, created the ideal environment for the emergence of a French working-class consciousness and a middle-class led neo-nationalist movement during the decades preceding the 'Quiet Revolution'. An examination of these decades of social change will provide an understanding of the context of the era in which the 'Richard Riot' occurred.

During the 1940s and 1950s French Canada could be described as being in a state of 'transition'.[97] Quebec became more urban and industrial; Francophones became more aware of their inferior social, political,[98] and economic status. While the province underwent significant demographic and economic changes, traditional French ideological beliefs and institutions were increasingly questioned and criticized. Quebec's French population quickly became less rural and more urban as the industrial and service sectors rapidly replaced agriculture as the backbone of the province's economy[99] during these

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accounted for 47.9% of the country's total population in 1951, comprised approximately four-fifths or 81.4% of Porter's economic elite. Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 284-287.

[97] Hughes, *French Canada in Transition*, v-vii and McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 61-78.

[98] Of the 157 members of Canada's political elite, which consisted of Federal Cabinet Ministers, Provincial Premiers, Supreme Court Justices, Presidents of exchequer court, and Provincial Civil Justices, between 1940 and 1960, 75.1% of them were of British ethnic-origin, while only 21.7% were of French origin. Among the 88 Federal Cabinet Ministers represented in the group of 157 during the same period, 26% were of French ethnic-origin and 70% were of British ethnic-origin. The French were clearly under-represented among Canada's political elite as a whole and among the elite positions of the Federal Government. The ethnic make up of the political elite did not reflect the composition of the country's populace. The percentage of the Canadian population of British ethnic-origin in 1941 and 1961 was 49.7% to 43.8% respectively, yet this group accounted for over 75% of the political elite. The French ethnic-origin population, that constituted 30.3% and 30.4% of Canada's total population in 1941 and 1961 respectively, accounted for just over 21% of the country's political elite. The same over and under-representation existed among the elite positions of the Federal government. John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 389.

[99] The transition from an agricultural to an industrial/service economy was reflected in the employment shifts from the primary sector to the tertiary or service sectors. Employment accounted for by the former declined from 32.4 percent in 1941 to 7.5 percent in 1971. The proportion of the Quebec labour force employed in the service sector increased from 41 percent to 62.9 percent between 1941 and 1971. Furthermore, the industrialization of Quebec was seen when the province's gross domestic product increased by 45% in constant dollars between 1945 and 1956. Michael D. Behiels, "Quebec: Social

decades.[100] These changes furthered the ethnic stratification of the labour force and entrenched the cultural division of labour in Quebec which sparked an ideological transformation from within French Canada.[101] A new form of French-Canadian nationalism emerged which challenged the tenets of traditional nationalism.

By the early 1950s a neo-nationalist movement was being spurred on by middle-class French-Canadian intellects such as Michel Brunet, Maurice Séguin and Guy Frégault who attended the Université de Montréal. Their conflict was focused on the stronghold of the Church and the Anglo-Saxon business community of Quebec society. Michel Brunet,

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Transformation and Ideological Renewal, 1940-1976" in *Quebec Since 1945: Selected Readings*, ed. Michael D. Behiels (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Limited, 1987), 22-23.

[100] Michael D. Behiels states, "...the number of French Canadians on farms declined from 1.1 million to 285,000, that is, from 41 percent of the Francophone community in 1941 to 6 percent in 1971. The number of French Canadians living in urban centres rose from 1.5 million in 1941 to over 3.7 million or 78% of the Francophone population in 1971... Montreal became the new home for two-thirds of those French Canadians leaving their farms...." Behiels, "Quebec: Social Transformation and Ideological Renewal," 21.

[101] Kenneth McRoberts provides another explanation for these developments. In his socio-economic study of the history of Quebec, McRoberts applies Michael Hechler's 'internal colony' theory in examining the inequalities that existed between the English and French. Hechler's concept is based on the unequal relationship between a core region (Ontario) and a periphery region (Quebec), where the former, through discriminatory means, ensures that the economic development of the latter is tailored towards its needs. Kenneth McRoberts, "The Sources of Neo-Nationalism in Quebec," in *Quebec Since 1945: Selected Readings*, ed. Michael D. Behiels (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Limited, 1987), 85. By the early twentieth century, as the United States began to replace Great Britain as Canada's primary economic and trading partner, Ontario developed into a core region when, due to its proximity to their industrial centres, it established stronger economic relations with the Americans than did Quebec. As a result, Quebec became more of "...an outpost of the capitalistic industrial world rather than a controlling centre." Hughes, *French Canada in Transition*, 211. Per capita income figures, which provide an approximate indication of economic output per region, expose the advantages Ontario gained over Quebec. In 1927, 1947 and 1963 the per capita income for Ontario was 509, 981 and 2025 respectively, and 378, 709, and 1521 for Quebec respectively. Hugh R. Innis, *Regional Disparities* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), 9-10; see also McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 69. More importantly, Hechler's 'internal colony' concept encompasses the cultural division of labour. This becomes apparent when the core region supplies the periphery with the individuals needed to fill the most dominant, elite and upper-level occupations and the low paying and low status occupations are left to those from the periphery. In Quebec, it was the minority English-origin and Anglophone population that had more in common with Ontario and the rest of Canada than with Quebec that dominated the most prestigious positions on the occupational ladder. Consequently, ethnic and cultural traits became "...criteria for admission to occupational categories. As a result of this cultural division of labour, inter-regional cultural difference become the primary basis of collective identity for the residents of the periphery. Over time, it may also

the most outspoken member of the neo-nationalist cause, criticized traditional nationalism's glorification of rural life, its promotion of a French-Canadian spiritual mission, and its strong suspicion of the state, advocating instead greater intervention in the economy and society in order to promote the socio-economic development of French Canada.[102] The expression of this modernized nationalist sentiment, along with the demographic and economic changes occurring within French Canada, established the 1940s and 1950s as decades of social 'unrest' which saw "...more and more Quebecois come to question their society and its capacity to meet its needs."[103] The discontent of Francophones in Quebec could be seen in their expanded involvement in the labour movement, in the restructuring of the province's social welfare and education institutions, in the rise of a new intelligentsia among journalists of the print media, and in the protests voiced in the world of arts and literature.[104]

One cannot ignore how the interplay of nationalism and class inspired the alignment of middle and working-class French Canadians during this period of unprecedented social development in Quebec. While some have argued that the neo-nationalist movement of the 1940s and 1950s was unable to win the unified support of all Francophones because of the middle-class interest in defending its own agenda, pressure to attain total support for the movement grew as the upward social, political and economic

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become the focus of agitation for the autonomy and secession of the peripheral region." McRoberts, "The Sources of Neo-Nationalism in Quebec," 85.

[102] Guindon, *Quebec Society: Tradition, Modernity and Nationhood*, 50-51; Beheils, "Quebec: Social Transformation and Ideological Renewal," 29-41; McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 86.

[103] Guindon, *Quebec Society: Tradition, Modernity and Nationhood*, 126.

[104] See McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis* and Guindon, *Quebec Society: Tradition, Modernity and Nationhood.*

mobility of the middle-class was threatened.[105] By the early 1950s, the Francophone middle-class realized that its socio-economic advancement was being hampered by the province's Anglophone minority population. In recognizing that the instigation of social change depended upon the support of all French Canadians, the middle class pursued an alliance with working-class Francophones. While the benefits of such a 'union' appeared to have favoured the middle class, it proved equally favorable to the working class. As Kenneth McRoberts states:

> Some analyses of class alignments among Quebec Francophones have traced them to the skillful manipulation of nationalist ideology by the dominant middle-class leaders. In effect, some lower-class Francophones were diverted from their "true" class interests. But others have argued that in some instances working-class Francophones actually may have had a clear class interest in aligning themselves with middle-class Francophones. This interest could lie in an attack on national oppression for which all Francophones suffer, or in an effort to undermine a Francophone bourgeoisie and the English-Canadian bourgeoisie to which it is wedded.[106]

A middle and working-class alignment was possible when French Canadians, regardless of their internal class divisions, recognized the 'national' oppression they all faced in the presence of the English. A national consciousness needed to be forged among Francophones in order to unite this group. The unequal socio-economic relationship between French and English provided the impetus for such a formation. As the cultural division of labour reinforced the ethnic and cultural isolation of the French in the world of work, the English were identified as a socio-economic threat to all French Canadians. In

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[105] Beheils, "Quebec: Social Transformation and Ideological Renewal," 30.
[106] McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, 28.

response, French-Canadian nationalism developed into an expression of class difference that was voiced through the language of 'race'.

During the 'pre-Quiet Revolution' decades French Canadians became aware of the socio-economic disadvantages they all faced in the urban industrial world, recognized the failure of their social institutions to provide them with assistance, and realized that in order for changes to be made a united effort was needed. Within this atmosphere of social discontent and transition, professional ice hockey did serve a purpose. The fact that the popularity of ice hockey within Francophone society expanded during the 1940s and 1950s, and that the 'Richard Riot' occurred and captured the interest of both French middle-class neo-nationalist journalists and French working-class hockey fans, indicates that the realm of sport provided an outlet for the unified expression of Francophone discontent. More importantly, professional ice hockey contributed to an understanding of French-Canadian society during this era as Quebec's national feeling was manifested in the symbolic identities of the Montreal Canadien hockey team and its star player, Maurice Richard.

CHAPTER I – ii:

Les Canadiens and the National Hockey League

THE SYMBOLIC IDENTITY OF THE CANADIENS

The ethno-cultural based class divisions that existed between English and French Canadians spurred the growth of Francophone discontent in Quebec and the rise of neo-nationalist sentiments that penetrated all aspects of French-Canadian life, including the realm of sport and leisure. Sociologists have long recognized the social significance of sports in stating that they are "...not a 'reflection' of some postulated essence of society, but an integral part of society and one, moreover, which may be used as means of reflecting on society."[107] An appreciation of the socio-historical value of professional ice hockey in Quebec can, therefore, be gained by examining of the social significance of the Montreal Canadien Club de Hockey, specifically the symbolism embedded in the identities of the team, its players, and the N.H.L.

The founding of the Montreal Canadiens in 1909 and the formation of the National Hockey Association (N.H.A.) in 1910 were truly a reflection of the changing status of sport in Canadian popular culture. The Canadiens were the first professional sports organization in Quebec to provide working-class Francophones with a team to follow and familiar athletes they could aspire to. As these 'new' fans of the game enjoyed more leisure time with the redefinition of their workday, they began to closely follow the trials and tribulations of this team. The accompanied advent of technological developments in the field of communication, such as the growth of the print media and the introduction of

the radio, broadened the scope of the Canadiens' popularity throughout French Canada as up-to-date information regarding the team became widespread and readily available. Pursuing Canadien matches, either by attending their games in person, listening to them on the radio[108] or reading about them in newspapers, slowly developed into a popular recreational activity among Francophones. As this team's notoriety blossomed, so too did the overall interest of French Canadians in the sport of ice hockey. So widespread had the Canadiens' popularity become that, by the mid-1950s, the team had institutionalized itself within the popular culture of French Canada.

While the founding of the Canadiens during Quebec's 'industrial revolution' reflected the transition occurring in the realm of sport and culture, the more significant socio-historical contribution of this hockey team can be witnessed during the decades preceding the 'Quiet-Revolution', when the team became more popular and widely accepted as a symbol of French Quebec. This team's historical representation of Franco-Quebec ultimately resulted in its manifestation of Quebec nationalist sentiment. Since every aspect of the Canadiens' identity was rooted in French Canada's ethnic and cultural distinctiveness, the team became the first professional sports franchise in Quebec to have mass appeal and an aura that was undeniably associated with the majority of the province's population. The 'Canadien' name, which had a French-Canadian historical

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[107] Jeremy MacClancy, "Sport, Identity and Ethnicity," in *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, ed. Jeremy MacClancy (Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited, 1996), 4.

[108] The earliest record of radio coverage of Canadien games was in 1917, the year the N.H.L. was established. Canadien hockey games were broadcast exclusively in French up until 1938 when, following their merger with the 'English' Montreal Maroons, their games were broadcast in both French and English. Between 1924 and 1938, Maroon games were exclusively broadcast in English. The fact that the games of the Canadiens were broadcast only in French up to 1938 is a clear indication of the emphasis which team management placed upon attracting the interest of Francophone fans residing in Quebec. Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Montreal Canadiens – team files.

basis[109], became synonymous with Francophones and the composition of the team was intentionally arranged so that, with the assistance of the media's commercializing and promotional efforts, working-class Francophones, for the first time, could:

> ...aspire to a local team with a large following throughout Quebec. Francophone farmers and laborers could cheer for the sons of laborers and farmers. A working-class team had emerged for the working class, predominantly French.[110]

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[109] Unlike the other 'Original Six' teams of the N.H.L., the Canadiens' name was rooted in the socio-political history of French Canada. The earliest recorded use of the name 'Les Canadiens' was by a Francophone ice hockey team formed in Montreal in February 1937. This team challenged an all-Anglophone team, also from Montreal, called 'Dorchester', after the latter had claimed victory over another local team, the 'Nationals', during an epic match that was held during the rebellion of 1837 in Lower Canada. *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996). The meanings behind the names of the other 'Original Six' teams are less historically enlightening. The names of the Toronto Maple Leafs and Chicago Blackhawks were derived from names given to military regiments that served in World War One. The 'Maple Leafs' were named after a Canadian military unit and the 'Blackhawks' were named after an artillery unit that team owner Frederick McLaughlin served on. The 'Blackhawks' name originated from the great chief of the Sawk Indians who roamed the American Midwest in the 1880s. The Detroit Red Wings earned their name from a Canadian hockey team that owner James Norris used to play for called the Winged Wheelers. The Wheelers played in the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association and the name and logo were appropriate for the city of Detroit where automotive production dominated industry. The Boston Bruins name was selected from a 'name the team' contest in 1924. Boston owner, Charles Adams, set three rules for the contest: (1) the team colours had to be brown and yellow to match the colours of his business in Boston, (2) the chosen name had to be compatible with these colours, and (3) the name had to suggest strength and power. 'Bruins' fit all three criteria in Adams' opinion. The New York Rangers name had a less romantic history. The Rangers, established in 1926 by Madison Square Garden President, Tex Rickard, unofficially named the team, 'Tex's Rangers'. This name was derived from that of a Confederate Army unit that served in the southern states. The 'Tex' was eventually dropped from the name leaving just the 'Rangers'. Of all the N.H.L.'s 'Original Six' teams, the Canadiens were the only one to have a name that had any remote ethnic, cultural, or historical attachment to the identity of its local fans. 'Canadien' has always been a part of the team's name. When team ownership was transferred in November 1910, the team's name became 'Le Club Athlétique Canadien'. The team would maintain this name until 1921, when new owners reinstated the team's original name, 'Club de Hockey Canadien'. Since this team came to represent the hopes, dreams and aspirations of French Canadians, and more importantly, became an outlet for working-class French Canadians to express their superiority over the Anglophones who dominated the upper class, the use of the 'Canadien' name was fitting for its original use was by an all-French team that played hockey in Lower Canada during the 1837 rebellion era. Mike Lessiter, *The Names of the Games: The Stories Behind the Nicknames of 102 Pro Football, Basketball and Hockey Teams* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1987), 105-122.

[110] Paul R. Dauphanis, "A Class Act: French Canadians in Organized Sport, 1840-1910," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (December 1990): 438.

The basis of French Canada's identification with this hockey team is similar to that found among soccer fans in England during the late-nineteenth century. Wray Vamplew, in his study of sport crowd disorders in Britain between 1870 and 1914, has identified various team characteristics that foster fan loyalty, which include elements such as "...geographical attachment, or a common bond of religion, ethnic or national background."[111] In the case of the Canadiens, all of the aforementioned traits strengthened the bond between them and their French fans. How this team became a popular fixture within Quebecois culture and came to represent the 'racial', national, and class characteristics of French Canada in the middle of the twentieth century can only be understood by studying the history of the team's founding and early development, by comparing its ethnic characteristics and stature to that of the other teams in the N.H.L., and by analyzing the rivalries that were fostered with other teams, particularly those with the Montreal Wanderers, the Montreal Maroons and the Toronto Maple Leafs.

The ability of a professional sport franchise to take on socially constructed identities is largely dependent upon the relationship it initially establishes with its fans. For the Canadiens, their highly regarded status within French Canada was the result of first, "...a consistent presence and image. Second, it faithfully maintains that consistency with its fans. In other words, the organization enters into a social contract with its followers."[112] The idea of forging an affiliation with Quebec's French population was devised prior to the Canadiens' official date of birth of 4 December 1909. Two days prior to the founding of the team, the N.H.A. merged with the Eastern Canadian Hockey Association to form a

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[111] Wray Vamplew "Sports Crowd Disorder in Britain, 1870-1914: Causes and Control," *Journal of Sport History* 7 (Spring 1980): 8.
[112] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 18.

professional hockey league named after the former. This league consisted of teams that had been rejected from the Canadian Hockey Association, in particular the Montreal Wanderers and Renfrew Creamery Kings, because of the non-amateur status of their players.[113] The organizers of the N.H.A. appreciated the value in establishing teams with strong ties to their local communities. Clubs that were able to develop ethnic and cultural links with their fans, primarily through the makeup of player rosters, could generate enormous fan interest and loyalty, thus guaranteeing franchise owners with substantial box office revenue.[114] No other team throughout Canada's history has been as successful in fostering as strong a bond with its fans as the Montreal Canadiens. Since their founding, every effort has been made by team management to create and sustain its Francophone character and promote its symbolic representation of French Canada.

The history of the Montreal Canadiens begins with the initial financing of the team by two northern Ontario Anglophone mining moguls, J. Ambrose O'Brien and T. C. Hare.[115] These multi-millionaires provided funding for the creation of a professional hockey team in Montreal on the condition that "...the team be transferred to French-

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[113] The teams that formed the N.H.A. in its inaugural season were: the Montreal Wanderers, the Renfrew Creamery Kings, the Cobalt Silver Kings, the Montreal Shamrocks, teams from Ottawa and Haileybury, and the Montreal Canadiens. By 1912, the teams from Renfrew, Haileybury and Cobalt folded and two teams from Toronto joined the league. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 168-172 and *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

[114] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 27. Throughout the history of the N.H.L. there have been many instances where teams have used the ethnicity of their players to gain fan interest. For example, in 1926-1927 the New York Rangers changed the last name of their goaltender, Lorne Chabot, to Chabotzky in order to attract Jewish hockey fans residing in New York. During the 1930s, the Boston Bruins' top offensive line of Milt Schmidt, Bobby Bauer and Woody Dumart were nicknamed 'The Krauts' since they all came from the predominantly German city of Kitchener, Ontario. The Boston Bruins organization even held a contest to change the line's nickname when World War Two began. The new name became 'The Buddy Line'. When the three players returned from the war, the new name lasted for about a month until fans resorted back to the original nickname. Derik Murray (producer), *Legends of Hockey - Part II: The New Era, 1924-1939* (Toronto: Quality Video, 1996).

speaking ownership from Montreal as soon as possible..."[116] and that an all French-Canadian hockey team be organized.[117] From its inception, the Canadiens were destined to belong to Quebec's Francophone population. To ensure this association, the founders of the team and the N.H.A. orchestrated the creation of a hockey club that had an irrefutable French-Canadian design. In addition to its players, a Francophone presence throughout the organization, from ownership down to the coaching level, was needed in order to garnish the ethnic image of the team and reinforce its association with the local populace.

While the ownership of the Canadiens was not transferred by O'Brien and Hare until the commencement of the N.H.A.'s second season, French Canadians were nonetheless found throughout other team positions. The team's first general manager, coach, and player was a Francophone by the name of Jack Laviolette. Under the rules established by the N.H.A.,[118] Laviolette organized a team that was comprised entirely of French players. The roster of the 1909-1910 Canadien club consisted of the following athletes:

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[115] J. Ambrose O'Brien owned the Renfrew Creamery Kings and T.C. Hare was the owner of the Cobalt Silver Kings.

[116] *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996); Maurice Richard and Stan Fischler, *The Flying Frenchmen: Hockey's Greatest Dynasty* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1971), 13.

[117] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 27; Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 11.

[118] During the N.H.A.'s first three years, the league's constitution established the Canadiens as the only French-Canadian team in the league. They were permitted the use of only French-Canadian players and no other team in the league was allowed have players of French-Canadian origin.

Art Bernier	Jack Laviolette*
Joseph Bougie*	Edgar Leduc*
Joe Cattarinich*	Edward Millaire*
Ed Chapleau*	Didier Pitre*
Edmund Decarie*	George Poulin
Ted Groulx	Patsy Seguin*[119]
Newsy Lalonde	

Not only was this initial team made up solely of French-Canadian players, the majority of them, nine out of thirteen or 69 percent, were from the province of Quebec. Based on the ethnic origins of the first general manager, coach and players, this team's composition was well grounded in French Canada. In fact, during the first three years of the Montreal Canadiens' existence, the team's player roster consisted solely of French Canadians.[120]

On 12 November 1910 ownership of the team was finally transferred to a popular Montreal sports personality, George Kendall-Kennedy, who also owned the Club Athlétique Canadien. Given the fact that Kendall-Kennedy had legal claim to the 'Canadien' title and realizing the importance of maintaining the Montreal team's original name, the governors of the N.H.A. decided to award him possession of the Canadiens.[121] The team was renamed Le Club Athlétique Canadien and maintained its name until Kendall-Kennedy's death in 1921. Under his tenure, French players continued to monopolize the make up of the team's roster, even though team composition rules were

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[119] Asterisk denotes players who were from Quebec. Names compiled from Charles L. Coleman, *Trail of the Stanley Cup*, vol. 1 (Montreal: National Hockey League, 1969) and *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

[120] An exception was made during the 1910-1911 season, when the league allowed Frank Glass, from Kirks Ferry, Scotland, to play for the Canadiens.

[121] *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996); Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 27; Fischler and Richard, *Flying Frenchmen*, 17.

slightly altered by the league.[122] At this early stage, interest in professional ice hockey among Francophones in Quebec was in its infancy. The number of French Canadians who took an interest in playing the game and were skilled enough to pursue professional careers was minimal. Due to the lack of French talent, the Canadiens lobbied the league to alter its team composition rules and permit the use of non-French players.[123] This amendment instantly improved the team's competitiveness[124] while at the same time enabled it to sustain its French identity. During its first ten years, the average annual percentage of French players on the Canadiens was 75 percent. The team's early stronghold on French hockey talent can be attributed to the rules enacted by the N.H.A. By establishing itself as a 'French-Canadian' organization from its outset, the Montreal Canadiens Club de Hockey laid a solid foundation upon which a genuine connection with its Francophone fan base could be developed in the years to follow.

By 1917, the N.H.A. encountered a number of problems. As World War One raged on and players were being drafted for overseas duty, team owners debated whether or not to suspend league operations for the duration of the war. Added pressure to

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[122] On 11 December 1911, the N.H.A. changed its team composition rules to allow the Canadiens to sign non-French-Canadian players. The other teams in the league were allowed to sign French-Canadian players once the Canadiens had waived their interest in them. By 9 November 1912, the N.H.A. governors decided to once again amend the team composition rules. The Canadiens were permitted to have a maximum of two non-French-Canadian players on their team, while the rest of the teams in the league were allowed to have a maximum of two French-Canadian players.

[123] Because the Montreal Canadiens finished in last place in 1910, with a record of two wins and ten losses, and could not compete with their 'English' rivals, the Montreal Wanderers, who finished with an eleven win and one loss record and captured the Stanley Cup, the former requested for changes to be made to the player composition rules in order to improve the team's competitiveness and attract the attention of French-Canadian fans in Montreal. *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

[124] With only two wins and ten losses, the Montreal Canadiens ended up in last place during their first year in the N.H.A.. As indicated below, during the next four seasons the team's record improved dramatically:

1911-1912 eight wins and ten losses: fourth place (only two wins behind the first place team)
1912-1913 nine wins and eleven losses: tied for third place with two other teams

dissolve the league came from declining attendance figures and the financial collapse of teams such as the Quebec Bulldogs. In light of such circumstances, the N.H.A.'s board of governors decided, instead of postponing operations, to reinvent the league's image. Thus, on 26 November 1917 the N.H.L. was officially born at the Windsor Hotel in Montreal in place of the defunct N.H.A. Though the N.H.L. was virtually identical to its predecessor, it did charter a revised constitution with additional rules of play.[125] The league's constitution also had an impact upon the ethnic character of the Canadiens as it weakened the team's monopoly over French-Canadian hockey talent.

Instead of restricting the number of non-French-Canadian players on the Canadiens and the number of French Canadians on other teams in the league, the N.H.L. granted the Canadiens with the right of first refusal. Before any player of French-Canadian origin from Quebec could sign for a team other than the Canadiens, he would first have to be refused by the Canadiens. This rule change guaranteed that the best French players would play for the Canadiens and that other French Canadians could be given the opportunity to play in the N.H.L. if they did not crack the Canadiens' line-up. This rule remained in effect until 1967[126] and while it may have diluted the Francophone makeup of the Canadiens, the fact that the team's early composition was almost entirely based in Quebec and that no other team in the league carried a noticeable number of Franco-Quebecois players, the 'racial' association of this team with French Canada remained intact.

1913-1914 thirteen wins and seven losses: first place

[125] One rule change allowed goaltenders to block shots by whatever means possible. They were no longer penalized if they did not remain standing when preventing a puck from entering the goal as in the N.H.A..

[126] With expansion and the implementation of the universal draft before the commencement of the 1967-1968 season, the Canadiens' territorial rights in Quebec were revoked by the N.H.L. As compensation, for the next five years, the Canadiens were awarded the right to protect two Quebec junior players. The first two Canadien players to be protected/selected were Michel Plasse and Robert Belisle. Hockey Hall of

The 'racial' image of the Canadiens was popularized throughout Quebec when the team finally came under Francophone ownership on 3 November 1921. That year, following the death of Kendall-Kennedy, the team was transferred to three French-Canadian businessmen from Montreal. Known throughout the city as the 'Three Musketeers', Léo Dandurand, Joseph Cattarnich and Louis Létourneau purchased the Canadiens for $11,000.00 and officially reinstated the team's original name, 'Club de Hockey Canadien'.[127] From top to bottom, the Canadien hockey franchise was, for the first time, comprised of Francophones, an aspect that bolstered the team's French-Canadian image. This new spirited ownership group invigorated the ethnic character of the team as they actively pursed any means to augment the French identity of its player roster.

Of this new owners group, Dandurand was the most well known in Montreal. Unlike his predecessors, he had a keen marketing sense and an enthusiasm which gave new life to the Canadien franchise. He was described as:

> ...thoroughly outgoing, known for his flamboyant lifestyle and pluck. His fame in Montreal was sufficiently widespread that he was referred to simply as 'Monsieur Léo'. Dandurand had a broad interest and involvement in sports and was a promoter *par excellence*, whose executive ability matched his imagination and congeniality. He carefully nurtured the myth that he was the 'man with the Midas Touch' and maintained a reputation of always backing winning ventures.[128]

Fame Archives. Montreal Canadiens – team files; TV Eye Entertainment Limited (producer), *Forever Rivals [Montreal Canadiens, Toronto Maple Leafs]* (Toronto: Quality Video, 1996).

[127] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 27, 41. Joseph Cattarnich (b. Lévis, Quebec) and Louis Létourneau (b. Montreal, Quebec) were Quebec-born French Canadians. Léo Dandurand was born in the United States (b. Bourbonnais, Illinois). Though an American by birth, Dandurand, who moved to Canada at the age of sixteen, was known for claiming to be a 'native-born French Canadian'. Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 40.

Dandurand's character instantly attracted local interest in the team and his energetic efforts resulted in the soaring popularity of the Canadiens within Quebec. As the team's manager, he fortified the French image of the club by signing players who were capable, in his own words, of "...playing a very fast, slick game but not being bullied by anyone."[129] The Canadiens of the 1920s played 'firewagon hockey', a style of hockey which, like no other team, combined the elements of finesse, speed and toughness. On the one hand, there were the quick finesse players, such as Howie Morenz, Aurèle Joliat, Billy Boucher and Arthur Gagné and, in contrast, there were the team's 'enforcers', such as Billy Couture, and local Montrealers, Sprague Cleghorn and Odie Cleghorn.

Despite the greater presence of non-French Canadians among the roster of the Canadiens during this period,[130] the team still maintained an intimate relationship with its French fans. By the mid-1920s, American fans of hockey viewed the Canadiens as "...romantic foreigners from the North who spoke of a romantic North American tradition - Radisson, Marquette, the coureurs de bois, colourful fur traders."[131] This enchanting image emanated from the publicized backgrounds of the French players, many of whom were from Quebec, and the team's exciting style of play and success.[132] The promotional efforts of this new ownership group resulted in the team's "...personification of Gallic

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[128] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 40.
[129] Ibid., 38.
[130] The Canadien teams of the 1920s consisted of notable non-French-Canadian players such as George Hainsworth (English), Amby Moran (Irish), Marty Burke (Irish), Herb Gardiner (Scottish), Nick Wasnie (Polish), Gus Rivers (Polish) and Howie Morenz (German).
[131] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 35.
[132] Between 1921 and 1926, over three-quarters (28 out of 37) of the Canadiens' players were of French ethnic-origin. Of the 28 French Canadians, 21 or 75 percent were from Quebec. This group included some of the team's more popular players such as Georges Vézina, Pit Lépine, Wildor Larochelle, and Albert Leduc. Overall, more than half of the Canadien team during this period came from Quebec. Under Dandurand's ownership, between 1921 and 1935 the Montreal Canadiens won three Stanley Cups (1924, 1930, and 1931).

flamboyance, and the French love of style and speed. Montreal's 'French Connection' was, and is, rooted in the fact that most of the Canadiens have been natives of Canada's province of Quebec.... They were soon dubbed the 'Flying Frenchmen'."[133] The French-Canadian passion behind this team was witnessed during their home games. One section of the arena became known as the 'Millionaires Section', which consisted of "...working men who paid fifty cents for standing room, wore woollen toques in the Canadiens' colours, and cheered the team on by chanting 'Les Canadiens Sont Là!'...."[134] Through this chant, the French national identity of the Canadiens became so obvious that Peter Gzowski, a popular broadcaster/journalist, stated, "...I have sometimes wondered if their rallying cry, 'Les Canadiens sont là', is not a better motto for the national spirit of French Canada than 'Je me souviens'."[135]

Along with the team song, Dandurand's success in bolstering the connection of his team to French Canada was evident in the extent to which individual player identities were immersed in that of the team. Canadien players who were neither French Canadian nor Francophone could not escape the team's ethnic image and were unquestionably accepted as such simply because they played for the Canadiens. For example, even though Howie Morenz, the Canadiens' first superstar player, was a German-descended Anglophone raised in the rural confines of Stratford, Ontario, he was generally accepted as being

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[133] Stan Fischler, *Speed and Style: The Montreal Canadiens* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1975), 7; Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 35.

[134] This song was an adaptation of a chant ("Halte-là, halte-là, halte-là, les Montagnards sont là") devised for a popular French-Canadian snowshoeing club, Les Montagnards, in the early twentieth century. When this team folded and hockey's popularity grew, 'Montagnards' was replaced with 'Canadiens'. Claude Mouton, *The Montreal Canadiens: A Hockey Dynasty* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1980), 26, 101. 'Les Canadiens Sont La' translates into English as 'The Canadiens are there! are there!'. The chant was sung to the tune of 'It Ain't Gonna Rain No More'. Dean Robinson, *Howie Morenz: Hockey's First Superstar* (Erin: The Boston Mills Press, 1982), 66.

[135] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 20.

'French Canadian' by fans of the team.[136] The 'racial' image of the team was so pervasive and overpowering that, regardless of ethnic or cultural background, players were adopted by the French-Canadian community as 'one of their own'.

By the late-1930s the French character of the Canadiens was beginning to fade. Following the merger of the team with the 'English' Montreal Maroons in 1938, the predominance of French Canadians among the team declined as they acquired a number of English players from the former.[137] The influx of these new players altered the ethnic composition, character, and personality of the team. Following the merger, the proportion of Canadien players who were of French ethnic-origin dropped by more than 15 percent, from 57 percent during the 1937-1938 season to 41 percent the following season. This, combined with the poor performance of the club throughout the decade and the financial pressures of the Depression, caused Francophone interest in the Canadiens to wane.[138] To lure fans back, upon the sale of the team to the Canadian Arena Company in 1935, former

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[136] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 35. For further details regarding the life of Howie Morenz, see Robinson, *Howie Morenz*. The adoration Morenz received from French and English hockey fans in Montreal was witnessed during his memorial ceremony in the Montreal Forum on 11 March 1937. Over $20,000 was raised by fans for the Morenz family. Fifty-thousand people passed by his casket four hours prior to the ceremony and the city's streets were estimated to have been lined with 200,000 people. Robinson, *Howie Morenz*, 116-118; James Duplacey and Charles Wilkins, *Forever Rivals*, ed. Dan Diamond (Toronto: Random House of Canada, 1996), 42; *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

[137] The English-Canadian players who joined the Canadiens following the team's merger with the Montreal Maroons were: Toe Blake (half-French Canadian), Herb Cain, Jimmy Ward, Bill Mackenzie, Marv Wentworth, Stew Evans and Babe Siebert.

[138] Bernard Geoffrion and Stan Fischler, *Boom Boom: The Life and Times of Bernard Geoffrion* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1997), 15; Robinson, *Howie Morenz*, 69. Under Dandurand's control, the popularity of the Canadiens had peeked following the Stanley Cup victories in 1930 and 1931. The Canadiens would not win another Stanley Cup Championship until 1944. The team's popularity had fallen so drastically, that during a match between the Canadiens and the Toronto Maple Leafs in 1936, only 1,500 fans showed up at the Montreal Forum. TV Eye Entertainment Limited (producer), *Forever Rivals [Montreal Canadiens, Toronto Maple Leafs]* (Toronto: Quality Video, 1996). That season, 1935-1936, the Canadiens won only eleven games. With the faltering of the Canadiens' in the early 1930s and their inability to draw fan interest during the Depression era, the team faced financial ruin and rumors began to circulate about a transfer of the Canadiens to Cleveland. Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 25.

team owners Dandurand and Cattarnich recommended that Tommy P. Gorman be hired as the Canadiens' general manager.

Gorman, a fluently bilingual Irish-descended Canadian with an extensive hockey and media background,[139] recognized the importance of rejuvenating the cultural bond that was created between the Canadiens and their French fans during the early to mid-1920s. To accomplish this feat, he cultivated the development of a senior hockey league in Quebec that would supply the Canadiens with an extensive pool of highly-skilled French hockey players, the likes of which included Maurice Richard. In never losing sight of what initially attracted the interest of French fans, Gorman delivered to them a more competitive team whose distinct Francophone makeup distinguished it from the rest of the teams in the league. Outside of professional hockey, Gorman's bilingual background contributed to his popularity as he was able to socialize among Quebec's Anglophone and Francophone communities. For the latter population, he organized additional recreational sporting events that were traditionally longed for.[140] Aware of the French-Canadian

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[139] Prior to his involvement in professional ice hockey, Tommy Gorman first worked as a pageboy in the House of Commons where he captured the attention of Charlie Bishop, a reporter for the Ottawa Citizen. Bishop offered Gorman a job as a reporter at the Citizen and soon afterwards he was promoted to sports editor. Gorman first became involved with professional hockey when, after realizing that he could make more money owning a hockey franchise, he teamed up with Ted Day, to purchase the Ottawa Senators in 1917. Gorman was also involved in the formation of the N.H.L. in that same year. By 1923, he had become a very popular figure in the city of Ottawa as his team had managed to capture Stanley Cup Championships in 1920, 1921 and 1923. Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 50-52.

[140] Prior to the twentieth century, French Canadians established a set of sporting traditions that set them apart from other ethnic groups. In fact, out of fear of being assimilated into the Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture, since the conquest of 1759 French Quebecers deliberately avoided English sports and games. Cosentino, "A History of the Concept of Professionalism in Canadian Sport," 77. French-Canadian passion for sport had an obvious class element as these people pursued athletics that stressed sheer brute strength and muscular endurance. Individual strongmen contests and the sport of boxing were very popular in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century because these activities were considered "...honourable as they proved a man's ability to survive and overcome the harsh Quebec environment. They embodied a manliness which differed from the required gentlemanly behaviour in English team sports." Paul R. Dauphinais, "A Class Act: French Canadians in Organized Sport, 1840-1910," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* (December 1990): 436-437. The French interest in sports

interest in strongman contests, Gorman regularly promoted professional wrestling matches held in the Montreal Forum, which included popular French wrestler Yvon Robert.[141] His notoriety among French-Canadian circles is evinced by the nickname he earned, 'Tay Pay', which was the French pronunciation of the initials of his first and second name.

While Gorman's efforts may have given a boost to the level of French talent on the Canadiens, the team of the early 1940s lacked the personality, flare and success of the 'Flying Frenchmen' of the 1920s.[142] Gorman was able to regain some Francophone interest in the sport of ice hockey and the Canadiens by establishing the initial framework of a scouting system in Quebec, but the team still needed time to further develop the hockey talent in the province. For the Canadiens to escape the normalcy of the other teams in the N.H.L. and become a permanent, popular and symbolic part of French-Canadian society, they needed to acquire additional French 'star' players and recapture the on-ice success that they enjoyed during previous decades. Frank J. Selke, who replaced Gorman in 1946, masterminded the revival of the Canadiens both on and off the ice and can be given the most credit for transforming this hockey franchise into a modern-day

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that focussed upon sheer brute strength spilled over into the realm of professional sport in the early twentieth century as working-class Francophones were drawn to athletic events that usually involved physical and bloody violence, as well as gambling. Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play*, 140.

[141] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 61.

[142] The most notable French-Canadian player Gorman signed during his tenure with the Canadiens was Émile Bouchard. After hiring former Toronto Maple Leaf coach Dick Irvin Sr. in 1941, the Canadiens began winning during the tail end (last three years) of the Gorman era. The following are the season by season standings of the Canadiens in the N.H.L. between 1937-1938 and 1945-1946:
1937-1938 - fifth place out of eight teams: 18 wins, 17 losses, 13 ties
1938-1939 - second last place out of seven teams: 15 wins, 24 losses, 9 ties
1939-1940 - last place out of seven teams: 10 wins, 33 losses, 5 ties
1940-1941 - second last place out of seven teams: 16 wins, 26 losses, 6 ties
1941-1942 - second last place out of seven teams: 18 wins, 27 losses, 3 ties
1942-1943 - fourth place out of six teams: 19 wins, 19 losses, 12 ties
1943-1944 - first place out of six teams: 38 wins, 5 losses, 7 ties (Stanley Cup Champions)
1944-1945 - first place out of six teams: 38 wins, 8 losses, 4 ties
1945-1946 - first place out of six teams: 28 wins, 17 losses, 5 ties (Stanley Cup Champions)

social institution. From the middle of the 1940s through to the 1960s, his efforts solidified the Canadiens' ethnic character, elevated the social status of the team in Quebec, and firmly established the Canadiens as champions of French Canada and of the hopes and aspirations of the province's working-class Francophone population.

As managing director of the Canadiens, Selke took a two-pronged approach to revitalizing the team's French image and status. First, he channeled any and all public attention away from team ownership and management, which by the mid-late 1940s had become more Anglo-Saxon,[143] and directed it entirely towards the players. Like his predecessor and the early owners of the team, Selke realized the importance of manufacturing the ethnic and cultural identity of his team. Under Selke's direction:

> Everything depended on a carefully cultivated image.... In the Canadiens' early days the social and cultural attachments seemed more visceral as an entire class took the club's daily doings to heart.... In a detailed and systematic fashion, the hockey club became a part of the community's everyday activity. Defeats were taken personally while successes were honoured and recognized regularly. The hockey club managed to build an Ivory Tower, complete with imaginary drawbridge, which was occasionally lowered to allow fans to visit - quite unlike other barriers in certain areas of Montreal which remained forever raised, cutting off a large part of the population from the city's riches and beauties....[144]

For French-Canadian working-class fans, the most alluring features of the Canadiens were the ethnic background of the players and the team's on-ice success. Selke purposely

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[143] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 22. Following the purchase of the Canadiens by the Canadian Arena Company in 1935 from Léo Dandurand and Joseph Cattarinich, Anglophones played a more prominent role in the business affairs of the hockey franchise. While Donat Raymond, a French Canadian from St Stanislas de Kosta, Quebec, was President of the Company's board of directors, the majority (approximately 72 %) of the members on the board were Anglophone.

concealed the Anglo-Saxon penetration among team management so that the attention of Francophone fans would not stray from the actual producers of the game. The bond between Canadien players and their French fans was evident throughout the team's history. The response of the latter to changes in player personnel, particularly those changes involving French players, reveals how necessary it was for Selke to sustain the ethnic composition of his team.[145]

Part of Selke's awareness of the importance in establishing a 'personal' link between the Canadiens and the local French working-class population can be explained by his background and early exposure to the sport of hockey. Born the son of a Polish immigrant farmer in 1863, Selke grew up in a working-class neighborhood of Kitchener, Ontario. His interest in the management aspect of hockey began quite early when, at the age of 19, he organized and coached a team of working-class Polish and German players called the Berlin Union Jacks. In his own words, Selke characterized the team as follows:

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[144] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 22.

[145] Three particular incidents that sparked outrage on the part of French fans involved the replacement of Francophone players with Anglophone players: (1) 1922: Canadiens trade their most popular French-Canadian player, Newsy Lalonde, for Aurèle Joliat, an Ottawa native who was Protestant and of Swiss descent. Fans in Montreal were so furious with team owner Léo Dandurand that he had to disconnect his telephone after announcing the change. Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 38. (2) 1926: Montreal Canadien goaltender Georges Vézina, a French Canadian, dies and is replaced by English-Canadian Georges Hainsworth, who French-Canadian fans reluctantly accept until he gains their respect through his excellent play-making ability, and (3) 1942: Goaltender Paul Bibeault, another French Canadian, starts the season playing for the Canadiens and is traded to Toronto. In his place the Canadiens signed an English-Canadian goaltender, Bill Durnan. Like Hainsworth, French-Canadian fans reluctantly accept Durnan until he proves that he is a future Hall-of-Fame goaltender. Stan Fischler, *The Rivalry: Canadiens vs Leafs* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1991), 1, 60. Canadiens coaches also did not escape the 'racially' biased wrath of French fans in Montreal. When Dick Irvin became coach of the Canadiens in 1940, in place of Alfred Lepine, French fans, and especially the French-language press in Montreal, were skeptical of his hiring because of Irvine's English background. Several members of the press, after speaking to a disgruntled player on the Canadiens, even called for his removal. Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 77.

> We were the kids from across the tracks and everybody looked down on us... It seemed we always had to fight just to stick together and play, so we turned into a team of real scrappers. We owned the corners and we were proud of it.[146]

The above depiction is insightful for it suggests that Selke recognized the distinguishing and unifying features of class and ethnicity among his players. If class and ethnicity could foster camaraderie and unite the players of a hockey team, it surely could strengthen the connection between players and fans. In a sense, just as the players on the Union Jacks were 'kids from across the tracks', so too were the French-Canadian players who played for the Canadiens in both the N.H.A. and N.H.L. In these two English-dominated hockey leagues, the Canadiens and their French players formed a small minority group.

Upon his arrival in Montreal on 1 August 1946, Selke accelerated the work begun by Gorman and set out to "...develop the pool of players in our backyard, Quebec."[147] He organized a Quebec junior hockey system that developed the hockey talent in the province. The junior hockey league, which included teams such as the Junior Canadiens, the Verdun Maple Leafs, the Quebec Citadels, the Royals and the Nationals, produced for the Canadiens future French-Canadian Hall of Fame players such as Jacques Plante, Bernard Geoffrion, Dollard St. Laurent, Jean Béliveau, Philippe Goyette, and Henri Richard. Quebec became the exclusive scouting ground of the Canadiens as their junior and senior farming systems monopolized the development of Francophone hockey talent in the province. More importantly, because of the Canadiens stronghold throughout Quebec other teams in the N.H.L. avoided scouting players from the province and, instead,

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[146] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 98.
[147] Ibid., 108.

focused their attention on recruiting players from east of the province and the United States.[148] Selke's team was, therefore, given free reign over all French talent in Quebec.

It was at the player level that fan interest in professional ice hockey first developed for they were the ones that produced the drama in each and every game and instilled a sense of excitement among the spectators. Unlike their amateur predecessors, the vast majority of the professional hockey players in the N.H.L. did not emerge from the upper class; instead, they came from working-class neighbourhoods[149] and used ice hockey as a means to earn a living and support themselves.[150] This was very much true of most Canadien players. Hockey stars such as Maurice Richard, Henri Richard, Bernard Geoffrion and Jean Béliveau and others emerged from the Roman Catholic Francophone working-class districts of Montreal and Quebec.[151] The class identity of these players, along with their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, attracted the interest of French-Canadian

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[148] Ibid., 77; Fischler, *The Rivalry*, 59-60. During this period, every player in the Quebec junior hockey system run by the Canadiens was required to sign what was called a Form C. Essentially, this contract made a player the property of the Montreal Canadiens organization. Since the Canadiens had every junior league player in Quebec signed to a Form C, they virtually monopolized the hockey talent in the province. For this reason, other teams saw that is was pointless to scout players from Quebec. Geoffrion and Fischler, *Boom Boom*, 19; Béliveau, Goyens, and Turowetz, *Jean Béliveau*, 37.

[149] David Cruise and Alison Griffiths, *Net Worth: Exploding the Myth of Pro Hockey* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1991), 52-112.

[150] Professional ice hockey, like other professional sports, offered working-class members the opportunity to earn a more comfortable living. The income that could be earned through a professional sport career was an attraction for most. Early professional hockey players who came from northern mining towns looked to professional ice hockey as a means to supplement their income. One player lured by the monetary rewards of ice hockey was Newsy Lalonde. While playing for the Canadien between 1909 and 1922, he earned approximately $50 per week, which was more than what most laborers earned in a month. Dauphinais, "A Class Act," 438. Even Howie Morenz, the Canadiens' first superstar player, was raised in a working-class environment. Prior to becoming a professional ice hockey player, he opted out of secondary school to work as an apprentice machinist for the Grand Trunk Railway in Stratford. Robinson, *Howie Morenz*, 27. Once joining the Canadiens, Morenz continued to work for the company as a machinist during the off-season. Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 35.

[151] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 235-251; Geoffrion and Fischler, *Boom Boom*, 12-1; Béliveau, Goyens, and Turowetz, *Jean Béliveau*, 24-28.

fans throughout Quebec since they could relate to these athletes on a personal and socio-economic level.

In Montreal, more than any other N.H.L. city, ethnicity, culture, and class combined to foster an intimate relationship between the team and the local population. At the completion of every hockey season, French Canadien players would return home to their Francophone working-class neighborhoods and interact as any other member of society. Many, however, remained in Montreal and became involved with the local community for they were proud to represent the city and proud of what they meant to its residents.[152] Since they did not earn the exorbitant salaries of present day players, many of them sought employment, usually in labour intensive occupations, at the completion of the hockey season. Prior to the mid-1900s, it was not unusual to find N.H.L. players working alongside their fans in large urban industrial factories or in the mines of small northern Canadian towns.[153] This year-round local attachment to the average Francophone working-class community in Montreal and Quebec strengthened the bond and symbolic identity of the Canadiens with French Canada. Observing these professional athletes as equals off the ice, French fans could internalize their association with them and vicariously identify with them on the ice. More importantly, growing up as fans of the team, French athletes who ended up playing for the Canadiens recognized the hopes, dreams and aspirations that they and their team embodied and, as a result:

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[152] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 156.

[153] When Maurice Richard played with the Canadiens, during his first few hockey seasons with the team he regularly found employment with his fellow teammates at local munitions factories. Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 241-251.

> The team crest or logo became a symbol for Montreal and Quebec fans. The players who bore the crest bravely on their chests were charged with a meaningful set of responsibilities, for they were perceived as advocates of the community, rather than just simple representatives of a hockey team.[154]

French fans and players alike shared in the Quebecois identity of the Canadiens and in doing so they established this hockey franchise as permanent and important fixture within Francophone working-class culture.

Both Tommy Gorman and Frank Selke were aware of the extent to which the elements of class and 'race' contributed to the team's popularity in Quebec. Their efforts thus focused upon establishing a team that was not only competitive but also locally based and associated with the province's Francophone population. Reinforcing the norms of French-Canadian society, Selke valued strong family ties and he applied this belief to his managing of the Canadiens. He can be credited for transforming the image of the Canadiens' organization by having over $100,000 in renovations made to the Forum so that the arena presented a more familial and home-like atmosphere. For Selke, hockey had been a family-oriented activity and the arena was "...a respectable place, with no room for rowdyism from fans or poor manners from staff."[155] The Forum quickly earned the respect

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[154] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 22.

[155] Ibid., 106-107. Like other sport complexes, the hockey arena developed into an important social gathering place for all members of society. For the most part, these places "...required people to leave their homes and do or watch something collectively, in a crowd. They all owed some of their appeal by offering self-improvement as well as entertainment to populations who were generally thrifty, industrious, sober and well-behaved... although these leisure facilities were enjoyed by all social classes they each had a price structure which encouraged spectators to divide themselves according to the observed and accepted class structure." Eric Midwinter, *Fair Game: Myth and Reality in Sport* (London: George Allen & Unwin Publishers Limited, 1986), 107. In the Montreal Forum, the upper-balcony seats, which came to be known as the 'Millionaire's Section', is where one would find the most devoted Canadien fans. The fans in this section of the arena were predominantly working class and French Canadian. While the Montreal Forum

of French players and fans as the rink came simply to be known as 'la maison'. In the words of former Canadien player Yvan Cournoyer, "It wasn't my second home, it was my first. I was more comfortable there than anywhere else on earth. Most of the guys felt that way."[156] And so did Canadien fans. Selke's paternalistic values were also evident in the treatment of his players. Unlike any other team in the N.H.L., Selke showed his support for them in the 1950s by providing honoured players with a year's salary upon their retirement.[157] The paternalistic atmosphere, which the Canadiens' organization established, openly invited French fans and players to the arena, promoting it as sharing similar characteristics to those found within the average French-Canadian home.

PLAYERS

By the beginning of the 1950s, the recruiting systems set up by Gorman and Selke were paying dividends as the Canadiens were maturing into a hockey dynasty and the majority of the players on the team were emerging from either Montreal or other parts of Quebec. The success of these general managers, along with that of the team's early owners, in establishing the groundwork for the ethnic and cultural character of the team can be gauged by comparing the ethnic composition of the Canadiens with those of the other 'Original Six' N.H.L. teams between 1926 and 1955.[158] When the ethnic

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became an important locale for socializing, with the advent of radio broadcasts and television coverage of Canadien matches, the need to capture the live event in-person was somewhat diminished.

[156] Duplacey and Wilkins, *Forever Rivals*, 56.

[157] Ibid., 60. Even as N.H.L. players, under the leadership of the Detroit Red Wings' Ted Lindsay, attempted to form a union in the mid-late 1950s, the owners of the Montreal Canadiens were the only ones in the league to express any support for and understanding of the movement. Cruise and Griffiths, *Net Worth*, 96. While other team owners carried out extensive union-busting tactics, the Canadiens sat passively by which, to some extent, reflected the close relationship between the team's management and its employees. Even Richard refused to support the union drive because he felt he was being treated very well. Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 268.

[158] While the N.H.L. was officially established in 1917, the league's 1926-1927 hockey season marked the beginning of its monopoly status over professional hockey in North America as its two main rival leagues,

backgrounds of all the athletes who played during this 29-year period are analyzed, it is evident that the Canadiens were the one and only French team to ever play in the N.H.L.

A total of 998[159] players played among the 'Original Six' teams between 1926 and 1955, of which 12.38 percent or 128 were discernibly of French-Canadian descent. While players of this ethnic origin formed a minority group within the N.H.L., the vast majority of them played for one particular team, the Montreal Canadiens. Of the 128 French-Canadian players, 75 or 58.59 percent of them provided their services to the Canadiens at one point during their careers. In other words, out of every five French players in the league, approximately three had played for the Canadiens.[160] For the average French fan growing up in Quebec during the first half of the twentieth century this was the only team to relate to because of the familiarity of its players. It was the one professional sports

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the Pacific Coast Hockey League and the Western Canadian Hockey League, collapsed in the late 1920s. Cruise and Griffiths, *Net Worth*, 30-32. Not only did the teams in the N.H.L. now have the most talented players, they also gained exclusive possession of the famous and prestigious trophy which all hockey teams from various leagues in Canada vied for, the Stanley Cup. This trophy, which became the exclusive award of the N.H.L.'s post season championship, was donated to Canada by Lord Stanley of Preston, the country's Governor General, on 18 March 1892 as a "...challenge cup that would be held (of year in year) by the champion team of hockey for the Dominion of Canada." *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996). Thus, during the era of rising mass spectator sports, the N.H.L. took the lead in the sport of hockey. During the next forty years, play in the N.H.L. was dominated by the following 'Original Six' franchises: the Montreal Canadiens, the Toronto Maple Leafs, the New York Rangers, the Detroit Red Wings, the Chicago Blackhawks, and the Boston Bruins.

[159] The names of these players were taken from Charles L. Coleman, *Trail of the Stanley Cup*, 3 vols. (Montreal: National Hockey League, 1969).

[160] Not only did the majority of French Canadians play for the Canadiens at one point during their careers, they also played out the majority of their careers for this team. Of the total years of service provided by the 128 French-Canadian players the bulk of this time was spent playing for the Canadiens. A total of 490 years of service were accounted for by the 128 French-Canadian players who played in the N.H.L. between 1926-1927 and 1954-1955. Out of the 490 years, 242.5 or 49.5% of them were spent playing for the Montreal Canadiens. The remaining 247.5 years of service were divided among the other five 'Original Six' N.H.L. clubs as follows: New York - 75.5 (15.4%), Detroit - 59 (12%), Boston - 47 (9.6%), Chicago - 39 (8%), and Toronto - 27 (5.5%). Not only did the majority of French Canadians play for the Canadiens at one point during their hockey careers, they exhausted the majority of their playing days with this team. (The 'years of service' per player was calculated as follows: if a player's name appeared on only one team's roster in a given year, this would count for one full year of service for that team. If a player's name

franchise adored in Quebec and the only team which French-Canadian children dreamt of playing for.[161] Since the Canadiens appeared to be the sole team in the N.H.L. to have an interest in developing French players from Quebec, the stature of this team grew within French Canada. With the N.H.L.'s 'first refusal' rule and later the farm system set up by Gorman and Selke, the Canadiens became the principal team that taught the skills and provided the opportunities for French Quebecers to break into the professional hockey scene.

What indirectly confirmed the French image of the Canadiens was the non-French character of the rest of the league. A team-by-team analysis of the distribution of French-Canadian players reveals that this ethnic group was significantly over-represented on the Canadien hockey club and under-represented among the rest of the teams in the league. The following table indicates the total number of players that played for each of the 'Original Six' teams between 1926 and 1955, along with the numeric and percentage figures for their French players:

Table 11

N.H.L. Distribution of French Canadians by Team, 1926 to 1955			
TEAM	**# of Players**	**# of French Canadians**	**Percentage**
Montreal Canadiens	217	75	34.56
Detroit Red Wings	254	24	9.84
Boston Bruins	230	22	9.56
New York Rangers	252	23	9.12
Chicago Blackhawks	247	21	8.50
Toronto Maple Leafs	184	12	6.52

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appeared on the roster of two teams in a given year, the years of service for each team would be calculated as a half-year.)

The proportion of French Canadians who played for the Montreal Canadiens far exceeded that of any other N.H.L. team. Of the 217 players who played for this team between 1926 and 1955, 75 or 34.56 percent of them were of French ethnic-origin. This percentage was approximately 22 percentage points above the league average for all French Canadians during the same period. The team with the next highest percentage of French players was the Detroit Red Wings. Out of their 254 players, only 24, or approximately ten percent, were of French ethnic-origin.

A year-by-year examination of the ethnic composition of the 'Original Six' teams during the same 29-year span reveals the consistency of the French-Canadian presence among the Canadiens and the lack thereof on the part of the other teams. Throughout the 1926 to 1955 period, the annual average percentage of French players on the Canadiens was significantly higher than that of any other team in the league. This is reflected in the table below:

Table 12

Average annual percentage of French-Canadian players on the 'Original Six' N.H.L. teams from 1926/1927 to 1954/1955	
TEAM	**Average Annual Percentage**
Montreal Canadiens	40.8
New York Rangers	11.5
Detroit Red Wings	8.4
Chicago Blackhawks	6.4
Boston Bruins	6.4
Toronto Maple Leafs	4.7

Between the 1926-1927 and 1954-1955 hockey seasons, the average annual percentage of French Canadien players was 40.8 percent. This percentage was almost four times higher

[161] Geoffrion and Fischler, *Boom Boom*; Béliveau, Goyens, and Turowetz, *Jean Béliveau*; Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*.

than the next closest team, the New York Rangers, and more than eight times greater than the team with the lowest percentage, the Toronto Maple Leafs. Taken together, the above statistics point to the consistency with which the Canadiens maintained the French composition among its player body. Unlike the rest of the teams in the league, whose ethnic makeup was predominantly English, the Canadiens, with their undeniable and more pronounced French player presence, developed an image that was unique. Furthermore, the 'racial duality' that existed in Canadian society appears to have spilled over into the realm of professional ice hockey where the French Canadiens were counterposed to the other English teams. As in Canadian society, French Canadians formed a minority group among the players of the N.H.L., while English Canadians formed the majority. From the league's 'racial' structure the obvious parallels and comparisons to Canadian society did not go unnoticed and, indirectly, fuelled the Canadiens' symbolic representation of French Canada.

Not only did the Canadiens sign the largest number of French players, they also monopolized the most talented players from this ethnic group. The demise of the Canadiens' popularity during the late 1930s and early 1940s was largely the result of poor performances and a lack of recognizable French-Canadian 'stars'.[162] While Tommy Gorman may have initially founded Quebec's senior hockey league in order to develop French players, those who were the most talented, skilled, and popular began to emerge from this league once Frank Selke had become the team's general manager. By expanding the junior and senior hockey leagues in Quebec, Selke was able to unite the greatest French hockey players ever to play the game. The teams that he organized during the early

1950s became the most famous and are generally regarded by hockey enthusiasts as the best of all time. One only has to examine the number of French Canadien players that were named to the league's annual 'All-Star' team and Hockey Hall of Fame and the number of Stanley Cup Championships won in order to appreciate this.

A total of 144 'All-Star' player positions existed between the 1943-1944 and 1954-1955 N.H.L. seasons. Out of the 144 positions, 15 different Canadien players occupied one-third or 45 of them. Of the 45 Canadien 'All-Star' positions, French-Canadian players filled 19 or 42 percent. These French Canadians included the likes of future legendary Hall-of-Famers Maurice Richard, Émile Bouchard, Jean Béliveau and Bernard Geoffrion. Not only did the Canadiens provide the league with a substantial number of elite players, they also supplied all of the French-Canadian players who achieved the honour of being nominated to the 'All-Star' team, except for one.[163] Perhaps even more significant is that while French Canadians accounted for 11.67 percent[164] of the league's total player population between the 1943-1944 and 1954-1955 hockey seasons, they accounted for 13.2 percent of the 144 'All-Star' positions during that time. Therefore, among the best players in the N.H.L., French Canadians were over-represented by 1.5 percent. Not only were the Canadiens winning more games by the middle of the twentieth century, they were doing it with a number of first-rate French players who quickly gained notoriety throughout Quebec, and soon afterwards achieved legendary status.

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[162] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 81.

[163] The only non-Canadien French Canadian player to play for an 'All-Star' team during the 1943 to 1955 period was the Toronto Maple Leafs' Paul Bibeault (1943-1946). However, Bibeault began his N.H.L. career with the Canadiens prior to playing for the Maple Leafs.

The French Canadien players of the mid-1940s to the late-1950s attained unparalleled heroic status within Quebecois society. The combination of their ethnic backgrounds and skill level revived the Canadien nickname of the early 1920s, 'The Flying Frenchmen'. A total of 14 Canadien players who joined the team during the 1940s and 1950s were inducted in the Hockey Hall of Fame, ten of whom were from Quebec and six of whom were French Canadian.[165] During this period the team managed to capture eight Stanley Cup Championships[166] and became an inspiration to all Francophones. A winning tradition was crucial for the survival of the Canadien team within French Canada because their success, and all the symbolism surrounding their victories, "...helped ease the drudgery of everyday life; the French Canadian's association with a winning collectivity, especially at a time when he might have felt insecure in a province dominated by an English-speaking economic elite, and many others."[167] The achievements of the French Canadiens instilled French Canadians with a sense of optimism and a reason to flaunt their superiority over the English. As more and more Francophones began to see themselves through the Canadiens' players, this team became a social pillar within French-Canadian society. Individual matches embodied the hopes, dreams and aspirations of a French population that was coming to grips with their new industrial environment and the changes to their traditional agrarian way of life. If French Canadians could enjoy success on the English-dominated ice rinks of the N.H.L., they could do the same in society at large. Canadien victories were hailed as symbolic achievements of a nation of people who shared

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[164] During the 1943-1944 to 1954-1955 period, a total of 601 players played in the National Hockey League. Of this total, 71 players are discernably of French ethnic-origin.
[165] The French-Canadian players inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame were: Jean Béliveau, Émile Bouchard, Bernard Geoffrion, Henri Richard, Maurice Richard, and Jacques Plante.
[166] Montreal Canadien Stanley Cup Championships: 1943, 1946, 1953, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960.

a 'racial' and class bond with the predominantly French working-class players on the team. These professional athletes, like no others before or after their time, exposed the potential greatness, success and excellence of all Francophones. In hiring French players with elite hockey skills, the Canadien franchise was able to guarantee its success and survival while at the same time fortifying its institutionalization within French-Canadian popular culture.

The minority status of French Canadians, as seen among the players of the N.H.L., was apparent throughout other league positions. Amid the N.H.L. board of governors, N.H.L. presidency, referee, ownership, general manager and coaching positions, French Canadians formed minority groups and were increasingly under-represented the further they moved up the N.H.L.'s occupational power structure. In fact, the ethnic composition of the league and the status of French Canadians among its hierarchy are worthy of examination for parallels can be drawn to the subordinate position which French Canadians and Francophones occupied vis-à-vis English Canadians and Anglophones in Quebec's labour force. In professional sport, the organization of leagues is important to study for:

> ...the relation between the employer and employee in British football (and also in many other sports) is a concrete fulfillment of the bourgeois ideal of how the labour force should be governed and rewarded... In this context, control over players' lives by employers and controls over them on the field by the referee, becomes a symbol for the control which employers in general exercise over the labour force and which dominant groups exercise over society.[168]

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[167] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 18.

[168] John Hargreaves, "Sport and Hegemony: Some Theoretical Perspectives," in *Sport, Culture and the Modern State*, ed. Hart Cantelon and Richard Gruneau (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 129.

The Canadiens were marked as different in as much as the players, especially the likes of Richard, were identified as Francophone, while team owners and executives were Anglophones. The way the N.H.L was organized reflected the capitalist view of how the labour force ought be managed, the power which Anglophone employers exerted over the Francophone labour force, and the control which dominant groups, in this case English Canadians, exercised over society. The ethnic division of labour that existed throughout the N.H.L.'s occupational structure was truly representative of the socio-economic inequalities among ethnic groups in Quebec and Canada.

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE OF THE N.H.L.[169]

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

When the N.H.L. was established in place of the N.H.A. in 1917, the new league's board of governors, which was comprised of individual team owners and the president of the league, consisted entirely of Anglo-Saxons. The following is a list of the members on the original board:

> Frank Calder (N.H.L. President and Secretary)
> F. R. Gorman, owner of Ottawa Senators
> G. W. Kendall, owner of the Montreal Canadiens
> S. E. Leichtenhein, owner of Montreal Wanderers
> William Northey, Special Representative of the Toronto Arenas
> M. J. Quinn, Honourary President

Since the Canadiens franchise had yet to fall into the hands of a French-Canadian owner, representation of this ethnic group among the league's first board of governors was non-existent. In fact, for the next 40 years French Canadians would constitute a small minority

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[169] For the purposes of this study the organization chart in Appendix A will be used to reflect the hierarchical structure of the N.H.L.

among this English-dominated body. As the board guided the direction of the N.H.L.'s development from the 1920's to the 1950's, it maintained the distinct Anglo-Saxon membership of its original founding. While one of the 'Original Six' teams (16.7 percent) in the N.H.L. was clearly identifiable with French Canada, French membership on the board did not proportionately reflect this representation.

Between 1927 and 1946 a total of 33 different individuals served as N.H.L. governor.[170] Of this group, only three members (Léo Dandurand, Donat Raymond and Ernest J. Savard) or 9.09 percent, were discernibly of French ethnic-origin. The remaining thirty members or 90.91 percent were either English Canadian or English American. A year-by-year analysis of the ethnic composition of the board of governors during the same period reveals that, on average, 10.7 percent of the members were of French ethnic-origin and 89.3 percent were either English Canadian or English American. When one considers that one-sixth of the teams in the league were 'French', it is clear that this group was under-represented at the top echelon of the league's organizational structure, while the English were slightly over-represented. If the ethnic composition of the players in the league is used as a measuring stick for the representation of French Canadians among the board, the discrepancy between French and English participation is also visible. While 14.27 percent of the players in the N.H.L. between 1927 and 1946 were of French ethnic-origin, they only accounted for 9.09 percent of the members on the board of governors. The opposite was true of English representation. Since French Canadians formed a small and under-represented minority group at the pinnacle of the N.H.L.'s occupational ladder, they lacked any power or influence over league operations and strategic directions.

N.H.L. PRESIDENT

The under-representation of French Canadians was even more evident in the other elite position of the N.H.L.'s hierarchical structure, league president. The individual who occupied this position had final say over all 'on-ice' activity and was the N.H.L.'s most publicly visible upper-level management member. As with other sports, the league president, along with the officials that reported directly to him, are socially significant for they symbolize "...legitimate authority, whose duty it is to punish infringements of the norms, and whose decisions are beyond challenge. A good game/society is one conducted according to the established rules; a problematic game/society is one where infringements of the established rules occur."[171] In the case of the N.H.L., the 'norms' of the game were formulated by the league's 'Anglo-Saxon' board of governors and enforced by its 'Anglo-Saxon' president and referees. When, out of frustration, Maurice Richard directly challenged these 'norms' in 1955, his actions acquired greater meaning because, for the first time, a French-Canadian player and social icon rebelled against the Anglo-Saxon authority structure of the league. It was not difficult to establish parallels with society at large. Since the league presidency and referee positions were dominated by English Canadians, Richard's frustrations became a metaphor for the frustrations which working-class French Canadians shared in coming to grips with the socio-economic circumstances they encountered in their Anglophone-dominated industrialized work environment.

For working-class Francophones, the N.H.L. president was the equivalent of the Anglophone shop-floor manager who had complete control over the workplace. Since the

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[170] Names taken from Coleman, *Trail of the Stanley Cup*, vol. 2 (Montreal: National Hockey League, 1969), XXXIV.

[171] Hargreaves, "Sport and Hegemony: Some Theoretical Problems," 128.

founding of the N.H.L., a French Canadian has never occupied this post. The first N.H.L. president was Frank Calder, who served in this position until his death in 1943. Calder was replaced by Mervyn 'Red' Dutton, who briefly acted in the post until Clarence Campbell took his place in 1946. Campbell would fill this role for the next 30 years. While French Canadians had a noticeable presence among the Canadiens' organization, in terms of the league's elite occupations of president and governor, this ethnic group was visibly under-represented. The lack of a French presence among these occupations contributed to the league's overall Anglo-Saxon image.

REFEREES

As one moves down the league's power structure, from the board of governors to the president to the referees, the English imprint upon the league remained intact. While the governors and president were primarily responsible for managing the strategic planning and operations of the entire league, the league appointed referees, who represented the N.H.L.'s senior management on the ice, were responsible for enforcing the rules of play and ensuring that the on-ice activities functioned in an orderly and standard fashion. Once the puck was dropped at the commencement of a match, referees instantly became the authority figures of the president and played a crucial role during every match. At times, the officials gained as much attention as did the players.[172] Their notoriety was largely based on their ability to influence the outcome of a match. Any call made by a referee could alter a team's momentum and/or affect the final result of a match.

As in the case of the league governors and president, Anglo-Saxons dominated the composition of this occupational group. Of the 66 officials that served in the N.H.L.

between 1927 and 1946[173], only five (Louis Berlinquette, Albert Corbeau, Eusebe Daigneault, J. Laflamme and J. Primeau) or 7.58 percent of them were discernibly of French-Canadian origin. Evidently, the English dominance witnessed in the upper-level occupations filtered down to the referees' level. When the ethnic makeup of the referees is compared to that of the players, English-French inequalities can also be observed. Considering that 14.27 percent of the players in the N.H.L. were of French ethnic-origin between 1927 and 1946, French-Canadian referees were under-represented by almost 50 percent.

The obvious and favourable representation of Anglo-Saxons among the N.H.L.'s board of governors, presidency and referees did have some implications. The organizational structure of the N.H.L. portrayed itself as an English establishment where the role of French Canadians was, at best, insignificant. The presidents of the league, who had been chosen by the governors, came from similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This Anglo-Saxon flavour of the league also spilled over into the referee and linesmen occupations. For French Canadians, the public image of these occupational groups, especially the latter two, created the distinct impression that, as in society at large, Francophones in the N.H.L. were a powerless minority group and at the mercy of Anglophones. For example, with respect to Clarence Campbell, along with his personal background, the fact that he was president of the Anglophone-run N.H.L. enhanced his symbolic identification with English Canada. Some French fans and journalists in Montreal

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[172] Some of the more notable officials included: Bill Chadwick, Bob Hewitson, George Hayes, Mickey Ion, Mike Rodden, Red Storey and Frank Udvari.

[173] Names taken from Coleman, *Trail of the Stanley Cup*, vols. 1, 2 (Montreal: National Hockey League, 1969).

viewed his decision to suspend Maurice Richard in 1955 as the concerted effort of other team owners and league executives who were anti-Canadien.[174]

Furthermore, one cannot underestimate the impression left by the overwhelming Anglo-Saxon character of the N.H.L.'s officials. Because parallels could easily be drawn from the English-referee/French-player relationship to real-life French-Canadian experiences, when referees penalized the Canadiens, French fans would sometimes accuse these officials of 'racial' favoritism. Even Maurice Richard, for example, was known for occasionally accusing referees of being 'racially' biased. While he praised the officiating of referees such as Red Storey and King Clancy, he openly criticized others. In particular, he disliked two Anglophone referees, Bill Chadwick and Hugh McLean. Regarding the former, Richard publicly stated, "...he always struck me as being too fresh, especially when he handled the French Canadians. I always thought he held a grudge against us."[175] Due to the emotionally charged matches of the Canadiens and the symbolic importance which they held for French fans, calls made by English referees in favour of Canadien opponents could easily be construed by players and fans as being 'racially' slanted. If Canadien players criticized referees for being unjustly treated, it was more likely that French fans, who faced no league penalties and had a strong emotional stake in 'their' team, would be more vocal and aggressive in expressing condemnation of N.H.L. officials. Evidence of this can be seen in the events surrounding the 'Richard Riot'. Overall, throughout the elite management levels of the N.H.L., as well as among the powerful 'on-ice' positions, the league was clearly organized along Anglophone lines. On and off the ice the N.H.L. was an English-dominated organization that appears to have provided French

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[174] Duplacey and Wilkins, *Forever Rivals*, 58.

Canadians with little opportunity for advancement. As in society at large, Francophones were a minority group and under-represented at all levels of the N.H.L.'s operational and management structure which was a reflection of the English dominance over the league and society.

Aside from the overall operations of the N.H.L., individual teams had their own organizational power structures which, when examined, did not include a noticeable French-Canadian presence, except on one team, the Canadiens. As one moved up a team's occupational ladder, the representation of French Canadians declined. However, throughout all occupational levels the representation of French Canadians was more pronounced on this team than on any other. The fact that French Canadians played a more prominent role among the Canadiens reinforced the franchise's 'racial' symbolism.

INDIVIDUAL TEAM OWNERSHIP

At the top of an N.H.L. team's organizational structure, generally, there rests the owner(s) and/or board of directors. Among these positions, only the Canadiens had a noticeable French-Canadian presence. During the first 55 years of its history, ownership of the Canadiens fell primarily in the hands of French Canadians. The following is a list of the team's owners from 1909 to 1963: T.C. Hare and J. Ambrose O'Brien (1909-1910), George Kendall-Kennedy (1910-1921), Léo Dandurand,[176] Joseph Cattarinich and Louis Létourneau (1921-1935), Donat Raymond (1935-1957) and Hartland de Molson (1957-1963).[177] Since the Canadiens' founding up to the 1960s, team ownership has, for the

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[175] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 281.

[176] Though Léo Dandurand was born in Bourbonnais, Illinois, he moved to Quebec at the age of 16 and passed himself off as a French Canadian. Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 40.

[177] Donat Raymond was President of the Canadian Arena Company, which purchased the Canadiens in 1935. He would remain President of the Canadian Arena Company, and thus 'owner' of the Canadiens.

most part, belonged to French Canadians. Of the team's eight different owners, five (Dandurand, Cattarinich, Létourneau, Raymond and de Molson) or 62.5 percent were French Canadian. In terms of years of service, during the first 55 years of the Canadiens' existence, 46 or 85.2 percent of these years saw the team under French control. If the first two ownership groups of the team are omitted, from 1921 to 1963 the Canadiens' owners have all been French. Such a strong Francophone presence among an ownership group was not to be found among the other five 'Original Six' N.H.L. teams.[178] The Canadiens, in fact, were the only team in the N.H.L. ever to have non-Anglo-Saxon owners.

Though the majority of the Canadien owners were French prior to 1963, Anglo-Saxons did, nonetheless, have a presence among the upper-levels of team management. When the team was purchased by the Canadian Arena Company in 1935 and later merged with the 'English' Montreal Maroons in 1938, its front-office became more Anglophone as the Canadian Arena Company's board of directors consisted of a significant number of English Canadians. English board members outnumbered French board members. A

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until 1957. In 1957, Raymond would sell the Canadiens to Hartland de Molson and his brother, Thomas M. P. de Molson. Hartland de Molson would own the team until his death in 1963.

[178] During the first half of the 1900s, the owners of the five other N.H.L. teams consisted entirely of Anglo-Saxons. These owners included the following: Toronto Maple Leafs, Conn Smythe 1927-1961; Chicago Blackhawks, Major Frederick McLaughlin 1926-1935, James E. Norris 1935-1946, James Dougan Norris and Arthur Wirtz 1946 onwards; Boston Bruins, Charles Adams 1924-1936, Weston Adams, 1936-1969; New York Rangers, Tex Rickard (Madison Square Garden) 1926-1929, James E. Norris 1926-onwards (purchased controlling interest in Madison Square Garden through nominees - management of team under John Kilpatrick); Detroit Red Wings, James E. Norris and James Dougan Norris (Owned Olympic Stadium 1928) 1932-1952 (James Dougan Norris managed the team up to 1952 when Marguerite Norris took over Management role in 1952). The Norris family had an ownership interest in all the teams located in the United States. The teams in Chicago, Detroit and New York owed their existence to James E. Norris. The Boston Bruins, while not founded by Norris, were financially backed by him. While the N.H.L. did not permit multiple ownership of franchises, it did allow "...a corporation rather than an individual to be named as owner. Conveniently, the rules (of the N.H.L.) didn't require the disclosure of who was behind those company names." Cruise and Griffiths, *Net Worth*, 38. James E. Norris was the one person who controlled professional hockey in North American during the first half of the twentieth century. Cruise and Griffiths, *Net Worth*, 2. His control over the N.H.L. has been unmatched in the history of professional sport.

sample taken from the various annual game programs, which list the names of those individuals who formed the Canadiens executive group,[179] reveals that, between 1926 and 1952, 72 percent of the board members were English, while only 28 percent were French. Though French Canadians may have dominated the team's top position of owner, in reality they formed a minority group when the team's entire executive body is considered.

While the Canadiens' executive consisted of a French minority, when compared to the other 'Original Six' teams their presence appears to be much more pronounced. Prior to 1955, only one other team, the Toronto Maple Leafs, had a French-Canadian member among its upper-level management group.[180] On the remaining four teams, New York, Boston, Chicago and Detroit, no French Canadians were found among the executive ranks.[181] The Montreal Canadiens stood apart from other teams partially due to the significantly higher proportion and number of French Canadians found among their team's executive body.

GENERAL MANAGERS

The occupation level immediately below that of team executive or upper-level management was that of general manager. The general manager was responsible for managing the on-ice affairs of the team, which included determining the players that the team would sign and deciding upon who would be coach. This lower-management position was extremely important when it came to molding the identity and character of a

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[179] Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Montreal Canadien Game Programs: 16 January 1926, 28 January 1941, 6 February 1943, 21 December 1946, 1 February 1947 and 23 February 1947.

[180] G.R. Cottrelle was the only French Canadian among the Toronto Maple Leafs' executive group.

[181] Samples of team executive groups taken from the Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Toronto Maple Leafs Press and Radio Information Book, 1948-1949 and 1954-1955; New York Rangers Team Guide, 1946-1947, 1948-1949, and 1951-1952; Boston Bruins Press and Radio Guide, 1951-1952; Chicago

team. On the Canadiens, French representation among this occupation increased in comparison to the team's executive or upper-level management. Montreal had a total of six[182] general managers between 1926 and 1955. Of this group, two or 33.3 percent were French Canadian and four or 66.6 percent were English Canadian. Considering the post Canadiens-Maroons merger period (post-1938), the number of French general managers drops to zero. Compared to the representation of French Canadians among upper-level management, the proportion of Canadien general managers who were of the same ethnic origin increased by approximately five percent. In addition to their numbers, the English dominance of this managerial position is also evident when the years of service provided by the English and French general managers are compared. Of the 29 years of service (1926-27 to 1954-55), French general managers accounted for ten years (or 34.5 percent) and English for 19 years (or 65.5 percent).

Compared to other teams in the N.H.L., again the Canadiens' organization stands out because of the greater prominence of its French general managers. Throughout the rest of the league French general managers are difficult to find. The Canadiens were the only team to have employed more than one French general manager. The only other team in the league to have employed the services of a French general manager was the New York Rangers who hired Frank Boucher, a former player and coach. In the league as a whole, the French influx among this occupational rank was almost unnoticeable. Out of the 16 general managers who served in the N.H.L. between 1926 to 1955, only three or

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Blackhawks Media Guide, 1964-1965; Detroit Red Wings Media Guide, 1954-1955; Harikd Kaese and Herbert Ralby, *The Boston Bruins: The Complete History of a Great Hockey Team* (1946).

[182] Montreal Canadien General Managers: (Fre.) Léo Dandurand (1926-1934), (Fre.) Ernest Savard (1935-1936), (Eng.) Cecil Hart (1936-1938), (Eng.) Jules Dugal (1939-1940), (Eng.) Thomas P. Gorman (1940-1945), and (Eng.) Frank J. Selke (1946-1954).

18.75 percent of them were French Canadian.[183] The average years of service provided by these three fell below that of all general managers. During the 1926 to 1955 period, the average length of a general manager's career was 10.88 years. For English general managers, the average length of service was 11.92 years or 1.04 years above the league average. The French average of 6.33 years was not only 4.55 years below the overall average, it was almost half of that of the English. Within this occupational group as a whole, English Canadians were evidently more advantaged than French Canadians.

COACHES

The occupational level immediately above the players and below the general managers, was that of coach. On the Canadiens, the representation of French Canadians within this occupational rung declines in comparison to this ethnic groups' representation among the team's players. Next to the players, the coach is the most important public figure on the team.[184] This individual affects the outcome of every match for he is responsible for the training and conditioning of the players and his decisions directly revolve around game time strategies such as determining which players are to play each game, player match-ups against opponents, style of hockey to be played, and length of player shifts.

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[183] Léo Dandurand and Ernest Savard in Montreal and Frank Boucher in New York.

[184] In Frank Selke's opinion, French-Canadian coaches were an important component of the Canadiens' ethnic identity. Moreover, they were just as qualified as English coaches and, in Selke's own words, "If the Montreal Canadiens didn't hire French Canadian coaches, who would?" Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 17. For these reasons, along with the pressure from players such as Maurice Richard and French fans of the team, Selke hired a half-French-Canadian coach, Hector 'Toe' Blake, following the 1954-1955 season. Coaches, in some cases, captured just as much media attention as the players did and in knowing this, Selke decided to fill the position with a Francophone. A Francophone coach on the Canadiens could be more effective because he could communicate in the language of the mainstay players on the team and he could also communicate with the French-language media in Quebec. There was no need for the other teams in the N.H.L. to address the same ethnic and cultural concerns that affected the Canadien team and thus their hands were not forced when it came to personnel decisions.

The participation of French Canadians among the coaching ranks of the Canadiens was more evident than in the occupations directly above. Between the 1926-1927 and 1954-1955 hockey seasons, this team had a total of six different coaches. Four of the six (66.7 percent) coaches were English Canadian and two (33.3 percent) were French Canadian.[185] In terms of numbers, French Canadien coaches were slightly under-represented when one considers that 34.56 percent of the players on the team during the same period were French Canadian. When the years of service provided by these eight coaches is examined, further ethnic discrepancies emerge. During the 29-year span, English Canadians accounted for 25.5 or 87.9 percent of the coaching years and French Canadians for only 3.5 or 12.1 percent of these years.[186] On the only 'French' team in the N.H.L., throughout its history, coaching has rested primarily under the direction of English Canadians.

In comparison to the other N.H.L. franchises, Montreal was the only team to have more than two French coaches. A total of 40 individuals coached in the N.H.L. between 1926 and 1955, of which five or 12.5 percent of them were French. Compared to the average number of French Canadian players in the league (13.18 percent) there immediately appears to be an under-representation of French coaches. In terms of years of service, French coaches fell far behind their English counterparts. During the 29-year period, the 40 N.H.L. coaches served a total of 174 coaching years. Out of the 174 years, English coaches accounted for 155.5 or 89.4 percent of these years of service and French

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[185] English-Canadian coaches included Cecil Hart, Dick Irvin, Jules Dugal, and Sylvio Mantha. French-Canadian coaches included Newsy Lalonde and Alfred Lepine.

[186] Canadien coaches and their years of service (1926-27 to 1954-1955): Cecil Hart - 8.5, Newsy Lalonde - 2.5, Léo Dandurand - 0.5, Sylvio Mantha - 1, Jules Dugal - 0.5, Babe Siebert - 0.5, Alfred Lepine - 0.5, Dick Irvin - 15.

coaches for only 19.5 or 11.2 percent of these service years. Furthermore, English coaches had, on average, longer careers than the French coaches did. The average career length of an English coach was 3.89 years or 0.64 years longer than that of a French coach, whose average length of service was 3.25 years. Since the average length of a coach's career in the N.H.L. was 3.78 years, French coaches had below average career lengths and English coaches above average career lengths. It is clear that French Canadians were an under-represented lot and a disadvantaged minority group within this occupational rank.

Overall, the above evidence indicates that as one proceeds along the occupational scale of the Canadiens' organization the representation of French Canadians declines from 35.02 percent at the player level, to 33.3 percent at the coaching and general manager levels, to 28 percent at the executive level. However, when these representation figures are proportionately compared to those of the other 'Original Six' teams, the presence of French Canadians among the Canadiens' franchise is much more noticeable at each and every level as indicated by the following table:

Table 13

French-Canadian composition of the 'Original Six' N.H.L. teams according to occupational position, 1926 to 1955

Team	Executive / Upper-level Management	General Manager	Coach	Player
Boston	0%	0%	16.7%	9.56%
Chicago	0%	0%	0%	8.50%
Detroit	0%	0%	0%	9.84%
Montreal	28.0%	33.3%	33.3%	35.02%
Toronto	4.76%	0%	16.7%	6.52%
New York	0%	50.0%*	28.6%	9.12%

*This figure is accounted for by the fact that the New York Rangers had only two coaches during this period, one of which was French Canadian who accounted for 31.0% of the 29 coaching years.

The more prominent role French Canadians played among the Canadiens in comparison to other teams indicates the emphasis which this organization placed upon its association

with French Canada and Francophones. To a certain extent, in order for the Canadiens to have developed the impression of a French-Canadian 'corporate culture', a noticeable French-Canadian presence throughout the team's various occupational levels was required.

RIVALRIES

Rivalries also contributed to the development of the Canadiens' French cultural identity. This hockey franchise became a permanent fixture within French society for a couple of reasons. First, the team was geographically tied to French Canada by being located in Montreal and, second, the players on the team historically shared a similar ethnic, cultural and socio-economic background with their French fans. As the popularity of the Canadiens grew due to the expansion of communication mediums, such as the radio and printing press, the trials and tribulations of the team became easier to follow and they provided Francophones throughout Quebec with a shared source of popular culture. The Canadiens quickly became a symbol of French Canada both in and outside of Quebec and rivalries played an important role in advancing their symbolic identity and strengthening French loyalty to the team. The regular and on-going encounters with the same adversaries established the Canadiens' unique identity in oppositional terms. The mutual dislike for Canadien opponents united team admirers. Rivalries added to the social significance of the team in French Canada as they:

> ...provided for the regular dramatization of the French and English identities that were so much part of the popular consciousness of the day. There was no other cultural form, no other cultural practice, that brought the 'two solitudes' into regular engagement with each other in quite the same way.[187]

Soccer rivalries in Britain have long been characterized by the deep-rooted passion which fans extract from the identities embedded in the professional sport franchises they follow. On occasion, matches between rival clubs become so emotionally charged that they result in violent upheavals. The Canadiens are no different from the English soccer club that, for their fans, becomes a:

> ...reference group, conferring a sense of pride and esteem. Where supporters have developed a strong sense of collective identity, then 'us' versus 'them' conflict situations can erupt into disorder with matches becoming symbolic struggles for supremacy between Protestant and Catholic, between one area of the city and another, between England and Scotland. Team, group and personal status is at stake.[188]

Similar kinds of tension were present among Canadien matches, however, these tensions grew as the Anglo-Saxon identity of the Canadiens' adversaries became more obvious. This was particularly evident when the Canadiens challenged the Montreal Wanderers, the Montreal Maroons and the Toronto Maple Leafs. Whenever the team encountered these 'Anglo' opponents, Francophones rallied around the former and their matches were turned into symbolic battles of ethnic and cultural supremacy. More importantly, since these rivalries all had a geographic basis they encouraged class and national solidarity among

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[187] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 101.
[188] Vamplew, "Sports Crowd Disorder in Britain," 8.

fans at the local or regional level. Generally, for working-class people, sports tend to "...isolate one community from another and ...promote rivalries between them. In this way sports have traditionally encouraged a stronger sense of class solidarity at local and regional levels than they have nationally."[189] Since Quebec's French population was ethnically, culturally, socio-economically, and geographically isolated from the rest of Canada, prior to the arrival of the Canadiens on the sporting scene, the association of this team with Franco-Quebec was virtually unavoidable. At the local level, Montreal was clearly a divided metropolis. The city's west end was predominantly populated by upper and middle-class English-origin Anglophones and the east end by working-class French-origin Francophones. The Canadiens' rivalries with the Wanderers and Maroons became rooted in Montreal's divisiveness, while its later rivalry with the Toronto Maple Leafs was grounded in the broader 'duality' of Canada.

Since its founding, rivalries have played an integral role in fostering the Canadiens' French identity, as well as the English identity of their opponents. Throughout their history, the Canadiens have never been devoid of rivals. The team's first two rivalries were with clubs based in the same city, the Montreal Wanderers (1909-1910 to 1917-1918) and the Montreal Maroons (1924-1925 to 1937-1938). The other rivalry was with the Toronto Maple Leafs (1917 to present). While team owners may have intentionally orchestrated some of these rivalries, they never failed to capture the interest of fans and strengthen their attachment to the team. What made each of the Canadiens' feuds special were the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the athletes involved. While the Canadiens' players were primarily

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[189] John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sport in Britain* (Cambridge: Polity in association with Basil Blackwell, 1986), 216. Also see Allan Clarke and

of French ethnic-origin and Francophone, their opponents were predominantly English-origin Anglophones. The diversity found among these adversaries allowed for matches to become contests of 'racial' superiority, which ultimately contributed to the Canadiens prominent rise as a national symbol.

When the N.H.A. was established in 1909, two hockey franchises were granted to the city of Montreal, the English Montreal Wanderers and the French Montreal Canadiens. The latter was founded upon the suggestion of Jimmy Gardner, an executive with the Montreal Wanderers, that the city of Montreal could support a second hockey franchise if, unlike his team, it consisted solely of French players.[190] Gardner's idea was an instant success as a popular and heated rivalry quickly developed between these two local teams. The basis of the animosity that evolved between the fans of the Canadiens and Wanderers was threefold. First, the ethnic diversity of the players on these two teams paralleled that of the city and province's population. Second, both teams were located within the same city. Third, and finally, both teams eventually shared the same hockey rink.

While the Canadien-Wanderer rivalry lasted only nine years, the contests between these two teams demonstrate the socio-historical significance of sport in early twentieth-century Canadian industrial life. As Canada's population became increasingly urban and industrial after the turn of the century, subcommunities played an important role in the acclimation of rural peoples to this new setting and way of living. The impersonal environment of the industrialized city supplanted the close-knit and intimate setting of the rural agrarian community. In these newly industrialized cities, subcommunities developed

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John Clarke, "Highlights and Action Replays - Ideology, Sport and the Media," in *Sport, Culture and Ideology*, ed. Jennifer Hargreaves (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 64-65.

that provided many urban dwellers with a network of social contacts with whom they could share their common class, ethnic, cultural and occupational experiences and establish similar individual and/or group identities with sports figures and teams.[191] Recreational and sporting activities were also promoted within the local subcommunities by churches, unions, and occupational and ethnic associations with the hope of deepening a sense of belonging and unity.[192]

The personal connection that was established with the Canadiens stemmed from the fact that most of the players on this team either emerged from the Francophone subcommunities of Montreal or other industrialized cities throughout Quebec. The implication of an athlete or team's closeness to the community was:

> ...that the team's performance actually said something about the community that produced it – not only about the skill levels of its players, but also about the character of its people. When local athletes or community teams began to represent their communities, the significance of winning or losing increased dramatically.[193]

Sporting contests took on greater social meanings when competing teams had diverse 'racial' characteristics. The rivalries that developed under such circumstances added to the social value of an athlete or team's performance as:

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[190] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 11; Claude Mouton, *The Montreal Canadiens: An illustrated History of a Hockey Dynasty* (Toronto, Key Porter Books, 1987), 20.
[191] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 68.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid., 67.

> Conclusions about the superiority of one competitor over another could readily be extended to broader social groups with whom that competitor could be identified. So when a team of Irish or French-speaking Catholics triumphed over a team of English Protestants, or a team from a working-class neighborhood beat a team from an affluent community, the people involved felt the result truly mattered. It brought them a sense of pleasure, pride, and satisfaction.[194]

The inter-city rivalries that emerged between the Canadiens and the Wanderers and Maroons during the first half of the twentieth century were clearly based in Montreal's divisiveness. Because the Canadiens built an association with the city's French community and the latter teams became representatives of the city's Anglo-Saxon population, the former became a rallying element among working-class Francophones.

What distinguished the Montreal Wanderers from the Montreal Canadiens more than anything else was the ethnic composition of their player rosters. Between 1909 and 1918, 86.9 percent of the players on the Wanderers were discernibly of English ethnic-origin, while 70.3 percent of the players on the Canadiens were discernibly French Canadian. The ethnic diversity of these two hockey teams instantly established their respective associations with the different ethnic and class quarters of Montreal. The Wanderers became the team of Montreal's west end and the Canadiens represented the city's east end. The geographic location of the arenas where these two teams played during their first season in the N.H.A. marked the territories they symbolically represented. The Montreal Arena, home to the Wanderers, was located in the upper-class Anglophone neighborhood of Westmount (corner of Wood Avenue and St. Catherine

Street), while the Jubilee Rink, home to the Canadiens, was located in the east end's French working-class district of Hochelaga (on the corner of Moreau Street and St. Catherine Street).

When the Canadiens were sold to George Kendall-Kennedy in 1910, the rivalry with the Wanderers intensified as this owner decided to move his team into the Montreal Arena. Once the Wanderers and Canadiens began sharing a 'home arena' their matches became symbolically more important. The Montreal Arena became the battlegrounds where the 'war' for territorial, 'racial', and class supremacy was waged. The rivalry between the Canadiens and Wanderers would come to an end when, on 2 January 1918, the Montreal Arena burnt down.[195] With no insurance for the facility, Wanderer owner S.E. Leichtenhein folded his team. The Canadiens returned to Jubilee Rink to complete the rest of the hockey season and would play there for one more year. The team would move to the Mount Royal Arena located in the predominantly French neighborhood of Laurier (corner of St. Urbain Street and Mount Royal Street) after the Jubilee Rink also fell victim to fire in 1920.

With the collapse of the Wanderers in 1918, the Canadiens remained the only N.H.L. team in Montreal. Even though the team remained competitive, during World War One, their popularity began to wane.[196] A rivalry that included similar symbolic elements found in that between the Canadiens-Wanderers would reemerge in 1924 when a second N.H.L. franchise was granted to the city of Montreal. After the Canadiens came under the

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[194] Ibid., 68.
[195] *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).
[196] The combined record of the Montreal Canadiens between 1918-1919 and 1923-1924 was 74 wins, 61 losses and 3 ties.

control of Léo Dandurand, Joseph Cattarinich and Louis Létourneau in 1921, plans were formulated to re-establish a 'racially' based feud involving the Canadiens. Of these owners, Dandurand most understood the importance of developing the French image of his team. As a former N.H.A. referee, he had witnessed first hand the excitement that brewed amongst players and fans whenever the Canadiens challenged their local rivals, the Anglo-Saxon Wanderers. To succeed at reviving similar interest in his team, he undertook a massive promotional and marketing campaign that aimed at transferring Montreal's socio-economic rivalry on to the ice hockey surface. Though not to the same extent, the ethnic, cultural and class-based antagonistic sentiments that existed between Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec during the 1950s and 1960s were very much alive when Dandurand took over the Canadiens in the mid-1920s. Recognizing these divisions, Dandurand exploited them to his advantage and shifted the unease between Montreal east and Montreal west from the city streets to the arena where the French Canadiens and English Maroons became the representatives of these two respective areas.

Dandurand's background and savvy allowed him to move freely among both the French and English communities of Montreal and gain the necessary financial support for the establishment of a second hockey club in the city. He was accepted by both these groups because he was:

> ...a French Canadian who spent the first 16 years of his life in the United States. His impeccable English and French allowed him to circulate freely in the two communities. His inherent sense of showmanship told him there were things of which great rivalries, and profits, were made.[197]

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[197] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 56.

With his energetic demeanor and vision Dandurand transformed professional ice hockey into a focal point for the socio-economic tensions between English and French Canadians residing in Quebec. In his own words, Dandurand stated in retrospect, "I figured that having an English team to compete with the French Canadiens would make for a great rivalry... and I was proven right."[198] Such a rivalry would not only regain fan interest, but it would give a boost to the Canadiens' connection with French Canada. Dandurand therefore orchestrated the new rivalry by selling the Canadiens' exclusive territorial rights in Montreal in 1924 for $15,000.00 to the owners of the Canadian Arena Company so that a second N.H.A. franchise could be set up in the city.[199]

This new team, called the Montreal Maroons, was founded on an entirely different premise than that of the Canadiens. In order to create an intra-city rivalry that would again capture the ethnic and class-based tensions in Montreal and the rest of Quebec, the Maroon franchise needed to consist primarily of English-Canadian players. Like the Montreal Wanderers before them, the Maroon's English slant instantly connected the team to Montreal's west end. From the ethnic backgrounds of their players to their styles of play, in every respect, the on-ice identity of the Maroons and Canadiens were completely different. These 'racially' based differences contributed to the teams' representational character and added to the symbolic importance of the matches they played.

The Maroons instantly became the Canadiens' antithesis in 1924. Located in a city where over 60 percent of the population was of French ethnic-origin[200], the Maroons'

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[198] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 53.
[199] *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996); Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 55-56.
[200] Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 53.

players catered to the liking of the city's minority English-origin and speaking population. Ethnically, the makeup of the Maroons had more in common with English Canada than with French Canada. Not a single French-Canadian player played for this team during the period of its original existence (1893 to 1909). When the Maroons re-emerged in 1924, the team continued with its earlier tradition and carried, if any, only a handful of French players. Between 1924 and 1939 the Maroons had, on average, 1.4 French-Canadian players on its roster per season. Throughout this 15-year period the percentage of French Canadians playing for the Maroons never exceed 20 percent in a single year. During this same 15-year span, the percentage of French players on the Canadiens never fell below 50 percent in a single season and the number of French Canadians who played on the Canadiens averaged 10.6 per season. The obvious association of these teams with the ethnically-divided neighbourhoods of Montreal cannot be overlooked.

After the two teams came to share the same arena the animosity between the Canadiens and the Maroons intensified between 1926 and 1938.[201] As with the Canadien-Wanderer encounters, the games between the Canadiens and Maroons were symbolic struggles for territorial and ethnic supremacy. Their games attracted the largest crowds, a testimony to the importance and popularity of their rivalry.[202] The notoriety of these games affirmed the French-Canadian loyalty to the Canadiens, which was symbolically a reflection of their attachment to their distinct ethnic, cultural and socio-economic lifestyle.

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[201] The Montreal Forum, which the Canadiens and Maroons came to share, was originally built by the Canadian Arena Company in 1924 for the intended use of only the Maroons. This facility was home to the Maroons from 29 November 1924 to 18 November 1926, after which the Canadiens decided to move into the facility. The Maroons and Canadiens would share this arena until the eventual collapse of the former following the 1938-1939 season.

[202] *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996); Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 58. At the height of the Depression, the

Not only did the ethnic identities of these two teams clash, so too did their respective styles of play. For the Maroons, their slow-paced, rugged and 'tough' style of hockey was personified by the likes of Nels Stewart, Babe Siebert, and Hooley Smith. Known as the three 'S' line, these Anglophones challenged the Canadiens' high-flying and finesse line of Howie Morenz, Aurèle Joliat and John 'Black Cat' Gagnon. The latter three players epitomized the type of hockey played by the Canadiens that "...stressed flair and imagination, playing according to a strategic m.o. that is often referred to as 'firewagon hockey': swift skating, agile puck skills, an appeal not just to the fans' most fundamental desire for conquest but for finesse and creativity."[203] The Canadiens' style of play earned them the nickname 'The Flying Frenchmen',[204] which became an important part of the Canadiens' identity and was a reflection of the team's overall idioculture.[205] They were unique in that their foreign style of play detached them from the rest of the teams in the league that consisted mainly of Anglo-Saxon players who were known more for their conservative style of hockey.

Canadien victories over the Maroons were celebrated by French Canadians as symbolic victories over the English Canadians who seemed to call all the shots in society at large. Slowly, the success of the Canadiens came to symbolize the potential

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matches between the Canadiens and Maroons continued to attract large audiences. During two particular games, the Montreal Forum was filled to capacity: 1 December 1932 and 21 November 1933.

[203] Duplacey and Wilkins, *Forever Rivals*, 21.

[204] Fischler, *Speed and Style*, 7; Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 34-35.

[205] Barry D. McPherson, James E. Curtis, and John W. Loy point out that, "Every sport team develops its own idioculture which includes the shared experiences of its members, customs, values, beliefs, norms, language, a status hierarchy and artifacts that are all unique to a team and are beyond the characteristics common to the subculture associated with the specific sport. The members of a team's idioculture understand the shared meanings and experiences that evolve in these settings and use them to relieve tension, develop cohesion, and isolate their group from outsiders... Some of these elements become visible and known to outsiders and represent the image and style of a particular team. Indeed, they become part of

opportunities for greatness of an entire ethnic group. Victories on the ice equated into victories off the ice. The Montreal Forum became a permanent and important fixture within French popular culture as it became a gathering place for working-class Francophones to escape the drudgery of the workday and a reminder of the celebrations of the success of French Canadians. Like the Church, this arena was one place where French Canadians were not under the watchful eye of their Anglophone patrons. The Canadiens gave French Quebecers something to cheer about and an outlet from which to forget their workday. While victories over the other teams in the league were important, none could match the emotional expressions behind the games between the Canadiens and the Maroons. The rivalry between these two teams succeeded in strengthening each team's respective identity with English and French Canada while at the same time providing a parallel to the tensions that existed between the two ethnic groups they represented outside the realm of sport.

As the depression hit Canada, both teams encountered financial difficulties as attendance began to decline.[206] The city could no longer support two teams and a decision was needed regarding which team would fold. Rumors about a merger of the Canadiens and Maroons began to circulate in 1935 after Léo Dandurand and Joseph Cattarinich decided to sell their interest in the Canadiens to representatives of the Canadian Arena Company, who owned both the Montreal Forum and the Montreal Maroons. A merger between the two clubs now appeared inevitable since controlling interest in both rested in the hands of the Canadian Arena Company. In the discussions that took place between the

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the tradition associated with that team." Barry D. McPherson, James E. Curtis, and John W. Loy, *The Social Significance of Sport* (Champaign: Human Kinetics Books, 1989), 271-273.

N.H.L. and the owners of the Canadiens and Maroons, it was agreed that if one team were to exist it would be the former.[207] The Canadiens were the obvious choice because of their attachment to a larger segment of the city and province's population. On 25 August 1938, Senator Donat Raymond, the co-owner and chairman of the Canadian Arena Company, decided to cease the operations of the Montreal Maroons and the Canadiens absorbed a number of Maroons players. The demise of the Maroons signaled the end of the Canadiens' intra-city rivalries.

With the next rivalry, the Canadiens' ethnic, class and national identities broadened beyond the city limits of Montreal and included those of the entire province of Quebec. Following the Canadien-Maroon merger, the natural rivalry with the Toronto Maple Leafs began to heat up as these two franchises remained the only Canadian-based teams in the N.H.L. As this feud evolved it contributed more to the development of the French national identity of the Canadiens than previous rivalries because of the larger population that was following the matches between these two teams. More importantly, since the Canadiens were challenging an inter-provincial rival instead of a local rival, provincial and national prestige was now at stake. Unlike previous opponents, whose identities were localized and associated with Montreal's Anglophone population, the Toronto Maple Leafs had developed the identity of 'Canada's Team', since Anglophones from across the country were closely following their matches.

As the Canadiens' local identity gave way to a provincial identity, the allure of the team expanded to capture the attention of French fans residing throughout Quebec. The

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[206] *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).
[207] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 60.

radio broadcast of Canadien games in French by on-air personalities such as René Lecavalier were one of the main factors that influenced the expansion of Francophone interest in the team. At the same time, the Toronto Maple Leafs developed an affinity among English-Canadian fans from across Canada when Foster Hewitt began to radio broadcast their Saturday night games in English from coast to coast starting in 1931. Radio coverage boosted the Canadian and Quebec national identities of the Maple Leafs and Canadiens respectively. As hockey historian Jack Batten states:

> The Toronto teams of my childhood were the closest any sports organization has come to being a national institution. The National League had only six teams in those days: Toronto, Montreal, Detroit, Chicago, Boston and New York. No one I knew... cheered for an American team, and the Canadiens didn't reach an audience beyond the borders of Quebec.[208]

The Anglophone support for the Maple Leafs throughout Canada created an unpleasant and foreign image of the team in Quebec and provided French supporters of the Canadiens with an opponent they could equally associate with and dislike. Since the Maple Leafs had more in common with Quebec's minority upper-class Anglo-Saxon population than with the majority French working-class populace, the team developed into the Canadiens' antithesis, as did the Wanderers and Maroons before them. Furthermore, the fact that the Maple Leafs were based in the country's other major industrialized and commercial centre added to the villainous character of this rival and to the symbolic importance of the matches played between these two teams. As the Maple Leafs' representation of English Canada was contrasted to the Canadien's French-Canadian identity, the rivalry between

the two teams advanced the latter's representational character within Quebec for it encouraged:

> ...a shared sense of belonging to a particular town or city as a whole. When a local favourite went forward to challenge an individual or team in another town or city, and especially if that town or city was perceived as an economic or political rival, the contest was inevitably followed with greater interest.... In the face of such high stakes players came under heavy pressure to uphold community prestige, to perform well, and, ideally, to win.... The momentary sense of superiority or inferiority experienced when a 'representative' player or team won or lost became especially significant to people who didn't have much power in other areas of social or cultural life.[209]

The fact that the Canadiens' rivalry with the Maple Leafs crossed provincial boundaries encouraged a shared sense of belonging to Quebec, especially among the team's French fans. On the one hand, the Maple Leafs were rooted in the province with the largest Anglo-Saxon population and, on the other hand, the Canadiens were based in the only province where the majority of the population was of French ethnic-origin. The diverse geographic locations of these two teams made it easy to associate them with English and French Canada, Anglophones and Francophones, and Protestants and Roman Catholics.

In terms of player makeup, no two teams in the N.H.L were as ethnically diverse as the Canadiens and Maple Leafs. While the Francophone presence on the Canadiens grew between 1926 and 1955, so too did the pro-Anglo-Saxon image of the Maple Leafs. In terms of player composition, Toronto was the most non-French-Canadian team in the

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[208] Stan Obodiac, ed., *The Leafs: The First 50 Years* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1977), 174-175.

[209] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 68-69. For details regarding the economic rivalry between the cities of Montreal and Toronto see John Hutcheson, *Dominance and Dependency: Liberalism and National Policies in the North Atlantic Triangle* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1978).

N.H.L. The Canadiens ranked above all other teams in terms of the total and average number of French Canadians among their player rosters, while the Maple Leafs consistently ranked the lowest. Between the 1926-1927 and 1954-1955 hockey seasons, Montreal had hired a total of 75 French-Canadian players, while Toronto had only hired 12. As a percentage of their team's respective total number of players, French Canadians accounted for 34.56 percent of the Canadiens' players and for only 6.52 percent of the Maple Leafs' players. While the Canadiens' annual percentage of French players averaged 40.8 percent, the average for Toronto was only 4.7 percent. The Maple Leafs also had the greatest number of seasons without any French players on their roster.[210] What is perhaps most stunning about these statistics is that the French presence among the American-based clubs was more noticeable than on the Maple Leafs. Even though the Maple Leafs were geographically closer to Quebec's French population, they consistently hired fewer French players than the American clubs.

The lack of a French presence among the Maple Leafs' player roster can be partially explained by the virtual monopoly that the Canadiens maintained over the N.H.L.'s French talent during the first half of the twentieth century. Another explanation stems from the Maple Leafs' focus to develop Ontario's hockey talent. Like the Canadiens in Quebec, by the 1940s the Maple Leafs had established a scouting system in their backyard of Ontario and were recruiting the majority of their players from this predominantly English-origin and speaking region. By developing the hockey talent in their home province there was little need for the Maple Leafs to hire French players from

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[210] N.H.L. teams and the number of seasons without French-Canadian players (1926-1955): Montreal Canadiens - 0; New York Rangers - 1; Detroit Red Wings - 6; Chicago Blackhawks - 9; Boston Bruins - 9; Toronto Maple Leafs – 11.

Quebec. Overall, the lack of a French presence and a pronounced Anglo-Saxon character established this team as a complete contrast to the Canadiens. While the Canadiens were 'Quebec's team', the Maple Leafs developed into 'Canada's team'. As the oppositional identities of Ontario and Quebec, Toronto and Montreal, and English and French Canada matured, so too did the ferocity of the rivalry between these two hockey teams.

The Maple Leafs and Canadiens could also be distinguished in terms of their styles of play. As seen in previous Canadien rivalries, stylistic elements differentiated their opponents. While the Canadiens played their 'firewagon' style of hockey and were known to have "...relied less on pugnacity than on élan...",[211] the Maple Leafs of Conn Smythe were formed around the spirit embodied by his famous quote, "If you can't beat 'em in the alley, you can't beat 'em on the ice."[212] During the 1930s and 1940s, Ontario born players such as Charlie Conacher, King Clancy, Red Horner, Gus Mortson, Bill Barilko, and Ted Kennedy epitomized Toronto's rugged, tight-checking and defensive style of play. The Canadiens countered with the finesse and offensive play of French Quebecers such as John Gagnon, Maurice Richard, Émile Bouchard and later Bernard Geoffrion, Henri Richard, and Jean Béliveau. Unlike Montreal, where speed and skill were of utmost importance, in Toronto "...character came first; there were no prima donnas on Smythe's teams – no pandering, no indulgence of self-interest."[213] The clash of hockey styles was a symbolic reflection of the clash of the English and French cultures. Stereotypical characteristics of each ethnic group could be easily associated with the different styles of play of these two teams. The Maple Leaf approach to the game was reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon

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[211] Duplacey and Wilkins, *Forever Rivals*, 25.
[212] Ibid., 24.
[213] Ibid.

conservatism and order, while the Canadiens' play was remindful of the French passion for creativity and liberalism.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the decade of the 1940s marked the most heated period of the Toronto-Montreal rivalry. The competition between these two teams was intense as they shared a total of seven Stanley Cup Championships between 1942 and 1949.[214] Apart from this competitiveness and the differences in their ethnic makeup and style of play, the 'formal' establishment of the Maple Leafs' and Canadiens' symbolic representation of English and French Canada respectively developed when their identities became politically charged. The wartime conscription issues that divided English and French Canada during World War Two also widened the rift between the Maple Leafs and Canadiens. On the one hand, the Maple Leafs organization clearly sided with English-Canadian sentiment in showing their support for military conscription. Team owner and World War One veteran Conn Smythe sent letters to all his players urging them to voluntarily enlist in the Canadian Armed Forces. Most of his players took an active role in the war effort as they willingly trained for overseas duty with Smythe.[215] In addition to training his players, Smythe also revealed his patriotism and support for the war effort by forming the 30th (Sportsmen's) Battery of the 7th Toronto Regiment of the Royal Canadian Artillery, which consisted of Maple Leaf Gardens employees.[216] The Maple Leaf players who served during World War Two included Syl Apps, Wally Stanowski, Turk Broda,

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[214] Toronto Maple Leafs' Stanley Cup Championships: 1942, 1945, 1947, 1948, and 1949; Montreal Canadiens' Stanley Cup Championships: 1944 and 1946.
[215] Duplacey and Wilkins, *Forever Rivals*, 45.
[216] Conn Smythe's military unit was sent to France following the invasion of Normandy. He would return to Canada after wounding his leg at a battle in Caen, France in 1944. *The Complete History of the Toronto Maple Leafs* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

Bob Goldham, Don Metz, Nick Metz, Ernie Dickens, Bill Ezinicki, Peter Langelle, Bingo Kampman, Rhys Thomson, Billy Taylor, John McCreedy, Gaye Stewart, and Bud Poile.[217]

The involvement of Canadien players in the war effort was less obvious. Players from this team who fought overseas included Ken Reardon, Terry Reardon, Joe Benoit, Frank Eddolls, Tony Graboski, Red Heron, Kenny Mosdell and Doug Harvey. Absent from this list are the names of notable French Canadien players. Of all the teams in the N.H.L. during the 1940s, the Canadiens appeared to be the least affected by the war effort, especially in comparison to the Maple Leafs. Criticism from English Canadians, especially those in Toronto, was levied towards the Canadiens and the ease with which their French players and Quebecers were generally able to defer military service.[218] The perception created by the less enthusiastic involvement of Canadien players in the war effort associated this team with the anti-conscription sentiment that was voiced in Franco-Quebec and added a political element to the rivalry with the Maple Leafs.

With the politicization of this rivalry, the matches between the Canadiens and Maple Leafs became famous for their intensity and brutality.[219] The games between these two teams were symbolic contests of ethnic, political, municipal, provincial and national superiority. Regardless of the gap between the two teams in the overall league standings, games between Montreal and Toronto were special simply for the meanings that were bound up in the two teams. On the ice it was Canada versus Quebec, French versus English, and Protestant versus Roman Catholic. For working-class French Canadians,

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[217] *The Complete History of the Toronto Maple Leafs* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

[218] Duplacey and Wilkins, *Forever Rivals*, 50-51; *The Complete History of the Toronto Maple Leafs* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

Canadien victories over the English Maple Leafs provided an opportunity to celebrate their superiority over the Anglophones who directed their daily lives at the workplace.

Finally, the impact of the personality of Maple Leaf owner Conn Smythe cannot be understated in drawing English-French tensions into the Maple Leaf-Canadien rivalry and adding to the representational character of these two teams. His bigoted sentiments regarding French Canadians polarized the identities of the Maple Leafs and Canadiens with English and French Canada respectively. It was well known that Smythe, a highly educated Anglophone and decorated World War One veteran,[220] despised French Canadians for their anti-conscription views during the Second World War. Smythe:

> ...focused his hatred on the Canadiens, who he felt had stacked their war-time line-up with unenlisted players. He regularly called francophones 'frogs' and on more than one occasion began speeches to public gatherings with the words, 'Ladies, Gentlemen and Frenchmen'.[221]

Smythe's 'racially' biased public opinions contributed to the overall 'anti-French' image of his team in Quebec. Smythe's comments also gave the identity of the Maple Leafs an English voice and his opinions and reputation provided the team with the ideal Anglo-Saxon personality with whom fans and opponents could associate. By the middle of the 1900s, the 'racial' distinctions between the Canadiens and Maple Leafs became so evident that "...it was easy to interpret (their) games... as a dramatization of anglo versus

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[219] Stan Fischler points out that this was especially true during the 1947-1948 N.H.L. season. Fischler, *The Rivalry*, 59-93.

[220] Conn Smythe attended the University of Toronto where he majored in engineering and captained the university's ice hockey team prior to serving in the military during World War One. After his tour of duty, he returned to the University of Toronto where he obtained a degree in applied science. His excellent service in the Royal Flying Corps and artillery as a spotter during World War One was honoured when he

franophone hopes and aspirations...."[222] For the Canadiens, this human element would later be borne on the shoulders of Maurice Richard.

No other professional sports franchise has had as profound an impact upon a populace in North America as the Montreal Canadiens had upon French Canadians during the first half of the twentieth century. Throughout its first 50 years of existence, owners and managers deliberately pursued the development of this team's ethnic and cultural association with French Canada. This was primarily seen through the recruitment of French-origin and speaking players from Quebec. League rules and calculated rivalries also contributed to the popularity and social significance of the Canadiens among Francophones. As this team's French character developed, the Canadiens were marked as different in as much as their players were identified as Francophone while team owners and league officials were Anglophone. The 'duality' witnessed in Canadian society also spilled over into the realm of professional ice hockey as the Canadiens were counterposed to Anglophone teams. This setting facilitated the team's representational character. While the Canadiens symbolically became the club of French Canada and Francophones, the rest of the league was associated with English Canada and Anglophones.

Unlike other popular cultural pursuits, Canadien games regularly provided fans, especially those of French working-class descent, a stage upon which the English and French cultures could clash. Attending or following the team's games on the radio became as regular a practice among working-class Francophones as attending mass on Sundays. For these fans, the Canadiens became more than just a hockey team. Since the vast

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was awarded the Military Cross. Fischler, *The Rivalry*, 23; *The Complete History of the Toronto Maple Leafs* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

[221] Duplacey and Wilkins, *Forever Rivals*, 15.

majority of the Canadien players shared an ethnic, cultural and class bond with their fans, and their opponents had more in common with Quebec's and Canada's socio-economically advantaged Anglo-Saxon population, victories by the former symbolized both the 'defeat' of the Anglophone supervisors who 'called the shots' in the daily lives of working-class Francophones, and the defeat of English Canada at the hands of the French.

When the Canadiens' players took to the ice, they did so for a hockey organization and for a populace that was 'racially' and socio-economically distinct from the rest of Canada. This team became an advocate of French-Canadian culture, and, ultimately, of French class and national unity. On the ice, French working-class players, such as Maurice Richard, became 'national' heroes throughout Quebec. They brought to fruition the dreams and aspirations of many Francophones as their on-ice successes translated into larger and more symbolic meanings. Their value to Quebecois society was seen in the extent to which Francophones defended their presence on the team. French fans and the print media regularly scrutinized player transactions involving Francophone players. Nowhere else did the 'racial', class and national identities of this team and its players become more evident than during the events that surrounded the 'Richard Riot' of 1955. With the arrival of Maurice Richard on the Montreal sporting scene in the mid-1940s, the Canadiens' symbolic identity was elevated to new heights as this athlete's image, more

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[222] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 136.

than anything else, "...came to embody all that is a Montreal Canadien"[223] and, in fact, superseded it.

[223] TV Eye Entertainment Limited (producer), *Forever Rivals [Montreal Canadiens, Toronto Maple Leafs]* (Toronto: Quality Video, 1996).

CHAPTER II

Maurice Richard and Clarence Campbell:

Archetypes of Gender, Class and Nation

One of the more significant contributions sport has to offer the field of social history is its ability to create, alter, and/or reinforce the socially defined meanings of class, gender, 'race', and nation. Sport provides more than just a form of leisure. It has established an 'arena' in which athletes or teams, as much as any other charismatic figures or social, political, and religious organizations, can embody and represent the characteristics that define who we are individually and as the members of a group. In the era of modern mass spectator sport, the social value of the professional athlete and team is to be found more in their representational character than in the pure entertainment they provide to the spectator.

The formation of symbolic identities are not only limited to sport teams as seen in the case of the Montreal Canadiens, but they can also be formed around individual athletes and sport figures. In some instances, the identity of the individual figure can bolster and/or overshadow that which the team has already established. What makes the identity of the individual unique from that of the team is that the bond between the former and the fan can become more personal due to the athlete's human qualities. While a team can establish associations with a population through its overall player composition, appearance, and popularity within the community, the athlete or sport figure can escape the 'generic' branding characteristics of the team by drawing added attention to his/her own athletic achievements and personal life.

One aspect of the 'Richard Riot' that is worth examining is the symbolic identities that were formed among the incident's two protagonists, Maurice Richard and Clarence Campbell. On the surface, the riot was the ultimate expression of the frustration and outrage of Canadien hockey fans scorned by the suspension of their team's top player. However, when the influence of the symbolic identities that were formed around Campbell, Richard, and their stormy relationship is considered, the significance of the latter's suspension and the subsequent riot takes on a whole new set of meanings that are anchored in the longstanding socio-economic differences and 'racial' antagonisms that existed between English and French Canadians.

On the one hand, there was Richard who was the archetypal Francophone hockey player: French-origin, working class, Roman Catholic, and an underdog who, against all odds, made it to the top ranks of the N.H.L. through his sheer hard work, determination, and an overall aggressive demeanour. On the other hand, there was Campbell who was the consummate Anglophone administrator: British-origin, upper-middle class, Protestant, highly educated, privileged, and, by ruling over the producers of the game and being able to control the destiny of the Canadiens and Richard, the epitome of authority. While the representational character of the Canadien team instilled a sense of solidarity among French-Canadian fans, in Richard we see the personification of these symbolic identities as French fans more intimately associated themselves with this athlete than with the athletic club he played for. Because the 'personal' connection between Richard and his French supporters was founded upon commonly shared identities and experiences, when Campbell decided to suspend him, these fans internalized the punishment and interpreted

the act as a reflection of the advantageous differences Anglophones enjoyed over Francophones in society at large.

With its broad-based spectatorship and high level of commercialism and professionalism, mass sport created the perfect environment in which some of society's greatest symbolic heroes could emerge. In a sense, mass sport established hero-producing factories where teams and athletes could develop into social symbols because of their mass exposure. This was largely due to the introduction of modern communication technologies that enabled detailed reports on the accomplishments of professional athletes and teams to be widely distributed on a regular basis. With its evolving mass nature, sport expanded the notoriety of its participants beyond the confines of local neighbourhoods and attracted the attention of those living hundreds and thousands of miles away. As the popularity of sport grew, so too did the number of fans recognizing the unifying elements that were bound up in the athletes and teams they rooted for.

During the first half of the 1900s, it is not difficult to uncover examples of these popular symbolic sport heroes. In the United States, African-Americans identified with athletes such as Major League Baseball's Jackie Robinson and Olympian Jessie Owens. Their highly publicized experiences with racism in their respective sports acted as reminders of the 'racial' barriers that existed in society at large. Similarly, boxers Barney Ross and Maxie Baer were identified with the Jewish working-class communities of North America. Their bouts symbolized the larger social battles of working-class Jews against class oppression and anti-Semitism. This was particularly evident when these boxers challenged German opponents, such as Max Schmelig, and their fights were promoted as

contests of 'racial' superiority.[1] In overcoming the obstacles they encountered in their respective sports, these athletes became an inspiration to all those who shared their 'racial' and class identities. Furthermore, their athletic success came to symbolize the ability their people had to overcome the difficulties they encountered in the 'real' world.

For French Canadians, Richard's identity functioned in a similar manner to that of the aforementioned athletes. Combined with his French-Canadian upbringing and working-class background, Richard's exceptional on-ice performances transformed him into a heroic and symbolic leader of the common working-class French Canadian. As his teammate Jean Béliveau, notes in his autobiography:

> The Rocket was the heart and soul of the Canadiens, an inspiration to us all, especially to younger French Canadians who were rising through the ranks. He was man and myth, larger than life in some ways, yet most ordinarily human in others... He was a hero who defined a people who were emerging from an agrarian society in the post-war era and moving to the cities to seek their fortunes.[2]

Richard instantly gained notoriety with his passionate and exciting style of play. During his first full season with the Canadiens three of his teammates, Phil Watson, Ray Getliffe and Murph Chamberlain, were so amazed by the speed at which he could skate during one practice that they nicknamed him 'The Rocket'.[3] The media's portrayal of his talents, trials and tribulations, as well as his successes and failures, resulted in the equation of this athlete with society at large. Both on and off the ice, Maurice's career was replete with

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[1] Peter Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 170-181.
[2] Jean Béliveau, Chrys Goyens, and Allan Turowetz, *Jean Béliveau: My Life in Hockey* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1994), 94-96.

heroesque achievements and confrontations which never escaped the attention of the French-language press.

As the media's attention began to focus on Richard, his popularity blossomed and he developed into a unifying element and focal point for the citizens of a French-Canadian 'nation' who, via Richard, recognized the 'racial' and class characteristics they shared in common. On another level, this hockey player acted as a gender role model for French-Canadian males. Many children and young adults admired Richard for his physical and mental demeanour and emulated these attributes in shaping their own masculinity. Ultimately, the bond between this player and French society was tested whenever Richard's integrity, both as a player and person, was threatened. As his stature within French Canada grew, the threats he faced were regarded as threats to all of French Canada. To begin to understand how he and other athletes could exert such a powerful social influence, the hero notion must first be examined for it is through a professional athlete's heroism that his/her popularity within society is largely based.

The allure of professional athletes can be appreciated by examining these individuals as heroic figures. Sociologists Orrin E. Klapp and Janet C. Harris have written extensively on the subject of heroes and their purpose within society. Klapp defines the hero "...not as someone who is especially good, but who realises dreams for people that they cannot do for themselves, a kind of person in which we lose or find ourselves."[4] Harris adds to this definition by stating that the function of the hero is "...to define individual and collective identity, compensate for qualities perceived to be missing in

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[3] Maurice Richard and Stan Fischler, *The Flying Frenchmen: Hockey's Greatest Dynasty* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1971), 252.
[4] Orrin E. Klapp, *Collective Search for Identity* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969), 214.

individuals or society, display ideal behaviours that people strive to emulate, and provide avenues for temporary escape from the rigours of daily life."[5] In this sense, the social consequences of heroic sport figures can be appreciated according to the extent to which they unveil and influence the formation of solidarity among their fans. For many individuals or groups of people, popular athletes can manifest characteristics that are shared amongst themselves. In possessing these common traits, the athletic hero can operate as a unifying element by encouraging individuals to relate to one another through the recognition of the attributes they all share through the athlete. It is because of their ability to bring a wide range of people together that heroic figures can significantly influence the process of social relations.

For a professional athlete to mature into a socially symbolic hero, mass acceptance, which is heavily dependent upon the promotional efforts of the media, is required. In the early-twentieth century, the introduction of new mass communication mediums, such as the printing press and telegraph, combined:

> ...to make 'ordinary men' into heroes. As the new century unfolded there was more attention paid to individual players, to their skills, styles, and personalities. Telegraphers began to rely more heavily on players' names when telling the stories of game action. At the same time, journalists began to write about the most skilled players in a mythic style of language that spoke to popular desires for larger-than-life events and personalities. Star players quickly developed big reputations that raised the hopes of fans anxious to become winners.[6]

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[5] Janet C. Harris, *Athletes and the American Hero Dilema* (Champaign: Human Kinetics Publishers Inc., 1994), 1.

[6] Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), 85. Harry Edwards adds to the important role of the media in fostering relationships between fans and athletes or teams by stating that through sports reporters "...the fan comes to feel that he 'knows' his team or his favourite coach and athlete, their shortcomings and attributes. All

In continually placing these figures on a social pedestal, by exposing their backgrounds and glorifying their athletic accomplishments, the media elevated the professional athlete's popularity within and value to society.

Depending on the media's portrayal of the heroic figure, his/her image can transmit messages of activity or passivity. Klapp also states that heroes work in "...boosting morale, providing institutionalised role models, providing group self-images, dramatizing causes and thus crystallizing and mobilizing movements, and developing hero-cult followings."[7] These functions all indicate how the hero can actively influence the lives of others, however there is also a passive element to the hero's function. While their identities and the symbolism behind their athletic performances may crystalize and mobilize social causes or movements, the basis of these movements can, at times, undermine one another. This is seen when the 'racial' and national identities fostered by the hero conflict with those based on class. In the case of Maurice Richard, his working-class background significantly contributed to his rise in fame within French Canada. However, when he was suspended by Clarence Campbell in 1955, the incident quickly became centred around nationalist issues that were expressed in 'racial' terms.

Overall, Richard's heroic and symbolic status within French Canada during the 1940s and 1950s can be attributed to three main factors. First, his background, upbringing and personal life provided a familiar platform which working-class French Canadians

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of this enables the fan to more closely identify his own personal daily struggles with those of his chosen athlete or team in the athletic sphere." Harry Edwards, *Sociology of Sport* (Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1973), 249.

[7] Orrin E. Klapp, *Symbolic Leaders: Public Dramas and Public Men* (Chicago: Aldine Publishers Co., 1964), 44.

could relate to, identify with, and share in. Second, his miraculous rise to prominence in the N.H.L. boosted his notoriety throughout French Canada. By dominating his Anglo-Saxon opponents on the ice he attracted the attention of the French-language media, which in turn publicized his heroic exploits throughout Franco-Quebec. His success not only galvanized the public's recognition, but boosted the morale of the socio-economically deprived French-Canadian population which, in vicariously identifying with this athlete's play, experienced the realization of dreams and aspirations which were lacking in their daily lives. Third, perhaps the greatest contributing factor to Richard's development into a symbolic leader emerged from his off-ice confrontations with the N.H.L. President. These encounters polarized Richard's and Campbell's identification with French and English Canada respectively and provoked the 'racial' and class-based tensions that existed between Anglophones and Francophones throughout Quebec.

MAURICE RICHARD: BACKGROUND, UPBRINGING AND PERSONAL LIFE

To begin to understand the social value of heroic sport figures, one must first recognize the process by which individuals attain symbolic meaning. To become a social symbol an individual must, above all else, possess characteristics that are commonly held by his/her spectators, most notably, a familiar upbringing and personal life outside of the sport.[8] In possessing these characteristics, spectator interest can be founded upon a more personal and intimate basis and can persist outside of the arena or field of play. According to historians Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, for an athlete to become a national symbol it is vital for ties to be established with the average person. They state that in order for people to identify with a national character, that character must be linked "...with the

lives of ordinary people and with widely shared and popular experiences."[9] This is obvious in the case of Maurice Richard and explains why French Canadians held him in such high esteem throughout his career and beyond. In Richard, French Canadians could see themselves and they could identify with this athlete more so than any other because he was 'one of their own'. Every aspect of his background and upbringing was rooted in French Canada's ethnic and cultural diversity.

Joseph Henri Maurice Richard was born on 4 August 1921 in the French working-class district of St. Denis located in the east end of Montreal. His family-life and upbringing were traditionally French Canadian and typically working class. Everything ranging from the language he spoke to the religion he practiced, from the education he received to the occupational standing he held, and from the financial hardships he endured to the recreational activities he pursued, had a distinct French working-class flavour to it. This background is important to recognize for it provided the foundation upon which Richard's future rise to stardom and heroism was based. Because French Canadien fans were well aware of Richard's lifestyle outside of hockey, they were able to recognize that, in many ways, this hockey superstar was just like them.

Typical of French working-class families,[10] the Richard household was quite large, consisting of nine members: Maurice's parents, Onesime Richard and Alice Laramée, his four brothers, Réne, Jacques, Henrie and Claude, and his two sisters, Gorgette and Marguerite. In addition to family size, however, there were a number of other ethnic and

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[8] Orrin E. Klapp notes, "...many more people will identify with a hero than will imitate him overtly, so identification is the basic relationship with a hero...." Klapp, *Symbolic Leaders*, 43.
[9] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 251.
[10] Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993), 58-79.

cultural features of the Richards that were clearly identifiable with French-Canadian working-class life. Daily life within the Richard home and its immediate surroundings was first and foremost French. This was most evident in terms of language. Throughout Maurice's childhood, English was never spoken in the home.[11] French was the language of communication within the household, as well as in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux.[12] Like most Francophone communities in Montreal, and Quebec for that matter, Bordeaux was more than just a Francophone neighbourhood, it was a working-class community. The borders of this community defined the confines of not only an ethnic and cultural group, but also that of a class of people. The members of the community were close-knit and proud of their ethnic heritage. It was in this stereotypical French working-class environment that Maurice was born and raised.

For working-class families, the key to survival was the family unit. Kinship ties have always played a vital role in the economic survival of working-class families[13] and this was very true in the case of the Richards. The breadwinner of the household was Maurice's father, Onesime, who himself was born and raised in a working-class environment. As with most lower-class Francophones, it was difficult for Onesime to find a secure job. In the hope of gaining stable employment, he continually migrated throughout the various French districts of Montreal's east end,[14] being taken to wherever there was work. Eventually he would secure a job as a machinist with the English-owned Canadian Pacific Railways and would settle in Bordeaux to raise his family. Like other

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[11] Richard and Fischler, *The Flying Frenchmen*, 235.
[12] Shortly after Maurice's birth, the Richards moved to Bordeaux, a French working-class neighborhood located in the north end of Montreal. It was in this community that Maurice grew up.
[13] Bradbury, *Working Families*.

French Canadians growing up in Montreal, Onesime had taught himself a trade and found employment in low-paid labour-intensive jobs, usually working for large companies that were owned and managed by Anglophone interests. Having to support a large family, in addition to dealing with the impact of the Depression in the 1920s and1930s, which hit working-class families the hardest, Onesime's income alone could not provide for all of his family's necessities

To supplement the family income, the male members of the Richard family were expected to seek out part or full-time employment. Maurice supplemented the family's income by working at an English-owned golf course, earning $0.75 per day as a golf caddie, and by finding additional part-time work whenever it was necessary.[15] Growing up under such economically difficult circumstances, Maurice suffered under the same economic hardships encountered by any typical working-class French family. As he and his family struggled to make ends meet Maurice learned the values of family reliance, hard work, perseverance, and dedication. As hockey historian Michel Forest states:

> If French Canadians identify with Richard, it's above all else because he incarnates the French-Canadian type. Hard working, courageous, and at the same time, he's a model of simplicity and modesty; Maurice Richard greatly resembles a neighbour or a parent, he is 'part of the family'[16]

Another important facet of the French identity was religion, specifically Roman Catholicism. The Richards were no different from other French-Canadian families in instilling in their children the tenets espoused by the Roman Catholic Church. The family

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[14] Jean-Marie Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple: Maurice Richard* (Montreal: Les éditions de l'homme, 1976), 9-21.
[15] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 236.

regularly attended Sunday mass and the children received their education from the Roman Catholic schools they attended.[17] In regards to the latter, Richard's educational career was typically French not only because it was heavily influenced by Roman Catholicism, but also because it did not go beyond the secondary level.[18] Richard's elementary school was l'ecole Saint-François-de-Laval and the post-elementary institution he attended was l'ecole technique de Montréal. At the latter, Maurice was taught the technical skills that provided him, at best, a working-class entry into the world of work. This was characteristic of the French Roman Catholic school system that failed to teach the appropriate skills for socio-economic advancement in a modern industrial society.[19]

Richard's early career path closely paralleled that of his father. As with other working-class families, a cyclical occupational pattern developed among the Richards that saw the generational reproduction of their class status. French working-class children followed in the career footsteps of their parents largely due to the fact that they had neither the time nor the access to attend the educational facilities that would permit them entrance into higher-paying and higher-status jobs. For Maurice, his employment career was largely determined the moment he attended a Roman Catholic technical college. In fact, some would even go so far as to state that his future class standing was determined the moment he was born into a French-Canadian working-class family.

While Richard would eventually become a professional ice hockey player, his occupational connection to the Francophone working-class community of Montreal continued during his athletic career. Even after he began playing for the Canadiens,

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[16] Michel Forest, *Maurice Richard* (Montreal: Lidec, 1991), 14.
[17] Trent Fayne, "Hockey's Greatest Scoring Machine," *MacLean's Magazine*, 1 November 1951, 19.
[18] See Chapter I-i.

Maurice sought employment in traditional working-class jobs during the off-season in order to supplement his income. In fact, when the hockey season finished most Canadien players found employment in traditional blue-collar occupations and it was not uncommon for fans to find themselves working alongside their hockey heroes.[20] For the duration of the Second World War, Richard regularly worked as a machinist for a tank manufacturing company whenever he was not playing hockey.[21] This occupational association with the average French Canadian during the off-season did much to reinforce the bond between this athlete and his fans. What made Richard's image unique was that while he could be regarded as 'god-like' when on the ice, off the ice he was the epitome of humility. Every facet of his French-Canadian working-class background and experience instilled within him a sense of modesty.

'The Rocket's' recreational interests were also characteristically French Canadian, those that emphasized brute strength, power and, occasionally, violence.[22] Two such sports that Richard excelled at were ice hockey and boxing. Not known for his boxing career, as Maurice moved up the hockey ranks on his way to the N.H.L., he learned the disciplines of the 'sweet science' from Harry Hurst, a former Montreal prize-fighter. Hurst recognized Richard's athleticism and enrolled him in the popular 'Golden Gloves' tournament in which he fared quite well.[23] Richard could have pursued a professional

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[19] See to Chapter I-i.
[20] David Cruise and Alison Griffiths, *Net Worth: Exploding the Myth of Pro Hockey* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1991), 78-79. The Standard Players Contract also prevented N.H.L. players from using their athletic skills to earn extra money during the off-season. They were therefore relegated to traditional low-paying working-class jobs.
[21] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 240.
[22] See Chapter I, footnote 140.
[23] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 15; Chrys Goyens and Allan Turowetz, *Lions in Winter* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1986), 75.

boxing career, but instead decided to focus his attention on the most popular sport among French Canadians, ice hockey.

MAURICE RICHARD'S RISE TO HOCKEY STARDOM

Another contribution to Richard's heroic stature within French-Canadian society was his Herculean climb to prominence in the world of professional ice hockey. The 'legend' surrounding Richard's hockey career began well in advance of his involvement with the Montreal Canadien Club de Hockey. Richard quickly acquired the reputation of being an 'underdog' largely due to his small physical stature. This stigma would follow him throughout his career and would significantly contribute to his heroic image in Franco-Quebec as each and every time he proved his sceptics wrong, he provided his fans with a source of inspiration.

Maurice Richard's interest in ice hockey began at the young age of four when his father purchased his first pair of ice skates and taught him how to play the game on an ice rink built in their backyard.[24] In the years to follow, hockey would become an important part of Richard's childhood development. He would spend endless hours with his family and friends learning how to skate and sharpening his hockey skills. Since the indoor skating rinks of the 1920s and 1930s were either located too far from the French working-class districts of Montreal or were privately owned facilities, Richard and his friends would play their hockey on the frozen waters of the Rivières des Praires or on the frozen schoolyard of l'ecole Saint-François-de-Laval.[25] On Saturday nights, Richard would huddle around the living room radio with his family and listen to the French-language

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[24] *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996); Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 12.
[25] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 12.

broadcasts of Canadien matches on CBF-Montreal. As the press reports and radio broadcasts of this team's matches became more accessible, following their trials and tribulations became an institutionalized popular cultural pursuit among Francophones in Quebec. Canadien games were religiously pursued and Richard himself recalls that "By the time I was fourteen years old listening to the games every Saturday night had become a ritual with me."[26] He came to idolize Canadien players such as Aurèle Joliat, Howie Morenz, and Toe Blake and dreamt of one day becoming a professional hockey player. Almost every French-Canadian child's desire was to play for the Canadiens and Maurice was no different.

As his hockey skills and abilities improved, Richard took an avid interest in playing the sport at the organized level. Exposure to organized hockey in Quebec was made possible due to the leagues that were formed by the Roman Catholic Church. Just as Roman Catholicism penetrated the curricula of the province's education system, it also had an influence upon the leisurely activities of French Canadians. At the age of eleven, Richard joined his first local parish-school team, St. Francois de Laval.[27] He would play his pee wee, midget and bantam hockey for this club and would come under the tutelage of Georges Norchet, his future brother-in-law.[28] During these early years, Richard would prove his value and show off his talent and drive by competing against other French working-class boys that were older and bigger than he was.

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[26] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 236. Worth noting here is how, by the late 1920s, mass radio broadcasts of professional sports such as ice hockey functioned to cut across class lines within French Canada by moving the experience of the event form the arena of play to the confines of the home.
[27] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 12; Hockey Hall of Fame Archives, Maurice Richard - personal file.
[28] Ibid.

After l'ecole Saint François-de-Laval, Maurice attended l'ecole technique de Montreal where he continued to play hockey while learning to become a machinist. As a teenager Richard came to regard himself as an average hockey player[29] and realized that it was going to be extremely difficult to pursue a professional ice hockey career. His thoughts focused less on hockey and more upon being able to survive in a society where Francophones generally occupied low-paying occupations. In reflecting on his years as a young-adult, Richard states, "...I was still thinking about playing hockey for fun and learning a trade at school so that I could earn a living when I graduated. I studied to be a machinist and during the summer I worked for a crane company[30] which wasn't a bad job."[31] While Richard's career aspirations were characteristically working class, his lingering passion for hockey had an obvious French flavour to it.

After playing for his technical college, Richard was introduced to Paul-Emile Paquette, a manager of a team that played in the Ligue des parcs de Montréal, by his high school coach Georges Norchet.[32] Norchet and Paquette convinced Richard to join this popular league, which was a stepping stone to the semi-professional junior leagues. During his first season Maurice, at the age of 17, established his reputation as an exceptional goal-scorer. That year, Paquette's team tallied a total of 144 goals, of which Richard was responsible for 133 or 92 percent.[33] Richard's popularity quickly spread among the surrounding French working-class neighbourhoods of Montreal's east end. His

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[29] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 237.
[30] English-owned Crane Co. Limited. Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 11.
[31] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 273.
[32] The Ligue des parcs de Montréal, which consisted of 38 teams made up predominantly of Francophone working-class players from Montreal's east end, was organized by Paul Stuart, a French-speaking English Canadian who took a keen interest in developing French hockey talent in Montreal.

offensive dominance eventually caught the attention of Arthur Therien, coach of the Verdun Maple Leafs, the junior hockey club of the Montreal Canadiens. The following season, Richard would outdo 126 players for a spot on Therien's team. After one year with the Verdun Maple Leafs, Richard would once again be promoted, this time to the Montreal Canadiens' senior hockey team.

It was during Richard's stint with the Canadien Seniors that his 'mythological' rise to the N.H.L. would begin. While Richard's offensive hockey talents overshadowed his reputation in the past, at the senior hockey level other aspects of his ability would come into question. In particular, his physical size, strength and overall health were scrutinized by professional scouts. Their criticism, however, was crucial to Richard's development into a French-Canadian hero. In his examination of the portrayal of sporting heroes in literature, Robert G. Hollands notes that, "By creating heroes with small deficiencies and hardships which must be overcome, the author reproduces the notion that the individual alone is responsible for his or her own success."[34] Richard's ability to overcome the criticism he faced early in his career can be compared to the hurdles encountered by heroic characters in literature. Just as characters in Greek mythology were required to carry out several feats prior to becoming heroes or Gods, the same was true in the case of Richard. What made him a heroic and inspirational figure was his ability to defy all odds by climbing out from the depths of despair and overcoming his hardships.

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[33] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 14; *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

[34] Robert G. Hollands, "English-Canadian Sports Novels and Cultural Production," in *Not Just A Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology*, ed. Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), 221.

During the next three years Richard conquered a number of obstacles, specifically the stigma of his small size and three 'career-threatening' injuries, before making his assault on the N.H.L. record books. His first game with the Canadien Seniors appeared to be promising. But after scoring two goals during the first two periods of play Richard's season would come to an abrupt end when he suddenly lost his balance, fell to the ice, and fractured his left ankle. He would return the following season which, like the first, started off promisingly until tragedy struck for a second time. After just 20 games Richard broke his left wrist. He would recover from this major injury and return in time for the playoffs, during which he scored six goals in four games. Appearing to be fully recovered from both his injuries, Maurice prepared to make his move onto the N.H.L. scene.

Before earning a sport on the Montreal Canadiens, Richard needed to prove himself to the sceptics. After two major injuries, his physical size and strength were still being questioned. When he arrived at the Canadiens training camp prior to the commencement of the 1942-1943 season, he stood five feet ten inches tall and weighed only 170 pounds. By N.H.L. standards he was small. So small that it prompted Dick Irvin Sr., coach of the Canadiens, to remark, "J'ai bien peur que ce garçon au visage pâle n'ait pas le physique pour le hockey de la Ligue nationale."[35] Maurice would change the opinion of Irvin and others by impressing them with his offensive talent. What he lacked in physical stature he more than made up for with his exceptional hockey skills and strong desire to play. He earned his spot on the Canadiens that year and signed his first professional contract on 29 October 1942.[36] During his first 16 games in the N.H.L.

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[35] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 21.

[36] Richard's modesty was revealed when he did not flaunt the fact that he earned a position on the Canadiens. He considered himself lucky to have made the team and attributed his success largely to the

Richard scored five goals[37] and tallied six assists. This initial success, unfortunately, would be short-lived. On 27 December 1942, during a match against the Boston Bruins, Maurice suffered his third 'career-threatening' injury in as many years, when his left ankle was again broken after being checked by Jack Crawford.

Canadien management was suspect of Richard's durability and wondered if he was sufficiently tough and healthy enough to play in the N.H.L. Some observers labelled him 'fragile' or 'injury prone' and Dick Irivin even stated, "Richard may just be too brittle to play...."[38] Likewise Richard had doubts. In reflecting upon his feelings at the time he stated the following:

> Three major injuries in 3 years – I wondered too. I knew I was a lot stronger than they gave me credit for and that I could play against anybody in that league but I was going to have to prove it.[39]

Richard's scepticism was cultivated from the local press reports he read. The public comments made by Irvin and others in the English-language press deeply discouraged Richard and he fell into a state of depression.[40] The editorials among the French-language press, however, did provide some encouragement. One newspaper, *La Patrie*, attributed Richard's injuries not to his fragility, but rather to his style of play, which was very

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fact that some regular Canadien players had gone off to Europe to support the war effort. Their absence provided him with the opportunity to play professional hockey. Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 241.

[37] Maurice Richard's first goal in the N.H.L. was scored on 8 November 1942.

[38] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 80.

[39] Ibid.

[40] On English criticism see Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 26. On state of depression see Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 249.

aggressive and reckless at times,[41] to be sure, but which earned him the admiration of Francophone fans and the French-language press.

The script for Richard's heroic rise could not have been better written. During the off season he worked extremely hard at improving his strength and conditioning. Dick Irivin did not give up on the young hockey player and invited him to training camp for the 1943-1944 season. For a third time Richard proved his sceptics wrong by making the team.

Unlike other great hockey players of his time, Richard's supremacy in the N.H.L. began the moment he took to the ice and continued throughout his career. Richard was not just a great player; he was, without a doubt, the best player ever to play the game during his tenure. Janet C. Harris outlines the differences between great and heroic athletes by stating that the former "...are noted mainly for particular athletic feats; heroes, on the other hand, are noted for long-term consistently outstanding performances...."[42] While the instances of Richard's extraordinary hockey feats are too numerous to mention here[43], the awards he captured and the records he established provides an indication of his long-term and consistent dominance over the game. During his 18-year career Richard set a total of 17 individual records,[44] was named to the 'All-Star' team 14 times,[45] and

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[41] *La Patrie*, 30 January 1944. Article also cited in Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 25-26.
[42] Harris, *Athletes and the American Hero Dilemma*, 7.
[43] One of the more memorable moments of Richard's illustrious hockey career occurred during his first season in the N.H.L. In a playoff match between the Canadiens and the Toronto Maple Leafs on 23 March 1944, Maurice set an N.H.L. playoff record by scoring five goals in one game. The Canadiens defeated the Maple Leafs by a score of five to one. At the completion of the match, Richard was selected as the game's first, second, and third star, which was unheard of. In many of the newspapers the following day, the score read as follows: "Richard 5, Toronto 1." Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 83; Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 33. Many hockey enthusiasts point to this game as the birth of Richard's heroic status.
[44] The individual records Maurice Richard set upon his retirement on 15 September 1960 include the following:
Most goals in a season: 50 in a 50 game season

captured eight Stanley Cup championships.[46] His unwavering assault of the N.H.L. record books legitimized his reign over the sport, redefined the standards of hockey supremacy, and placed him in a 'class' of his own.

No other athlete throughout history has projected as much pride and self-confidence upon Franco-Quebecers as Maurice Richard did during the 1940s and 1950s. The combination of his ethnic-origin, background and success transformed him into an instant French icon that uplifted working-class Francophones each and every time he took to the ice. As the *Petit Journal's* sports columnist Louis Chantigny notes:

Most goals in a career: 544 in 18 seasons (first player to score more than 500 goals)
Most goals in a career including playoffs: 626
Most points in a career including playoffs: 1091
Most points in a regular season game: 8 points (5 goals and 3 assists)
Most goals in a season by a right winger: 50
Longest consecutive goal scoring streak: 14 goals in 9 games
Most career hat-tricks: 26
Most goals in a playoff year: 12 in 9 games
Most game winning goals in the playoffs: 18 in 15 series
Most hat-tricks in playoffs: 7 three plus goal games
Most playoff games: 133
Most goals in a playoff game: 5
Most assists in a playoff game: 5
Most points in playoffs – career: 126 (82 goals, 44 assists in 133 games)
Most goals in playoffs – career: 82
Most games played in an N.H.L. career: 978
Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Maurice Richard - personal file.

[45] Maurice Richard was selected to the First 'All-Star' team eight times (1944/45, 1945/46, 1946/47, 1947/48, 1948/49, 1949/50, 1954/55, 1955/56) and to the Second 'All-Star' team six times (1943/44, 1950/51, 1951/52, 1952/53, 1953/54 and 1956/57). The only years he was not named to an All-Star team were during his last three.

[46] Maurice Richard won the Stanley Cup in the following years: 1944, 1946, 1953, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959 and 1960. He also captured the Hart Trophy (awarded to the league's most valuable player) in 1947 and in June 1961, less than a year after his retirement, he was inducted to the Hockey Hall of Fame.

> Maurice Richard, c'est vous, c'est moi, c'est nous tous, Canadiens français. Maurice Richard c'est la magistrale revanche des déboires et des défaites que nous essuyons au courant de notre vie obscure. Maurice Richard, c'est l'homme qui est devenu le symbole de toute une race. Lorsqu'il compte un but, il lave les humiliations de notre vie quotidienne. Et lorsqu'on s'attaque à lui, c'est nous tous qu'on maltraite. Voilà pourquoi Maurice Richard est devenu un personnage intouchable, et voilà aussi pourquoi il entre déjà, de plein-pied, dans le mythe et la légende.[47]

As this hockey player became more closely identified with French Canada, his successes on the ice were viewed as French-Canadian successes. Richard became a medium through which Francophones in Quebec could express their superiority. Red Fisher notes, "...ever since the Plains of Abraham, the French people have been number two, but on the ice they're number one."[48]

Confrontations also factor into the construction of symbolic heroes, as the villainous qualities of opponents or foes can make heroes look naturally good.[49] With respect to Richard, throughout his professional hockey career he was embroiled in various on-ice confrontations that contributed to his heroic and symbolic stature within French Canada. His personal encounters exposed such character traits as his physical strength, determination, perseverance and an overall aggressive demeanour which French working-class males came to regard highly. Moreover, the 'racist' undercurrents of these confrontations revealed the state of English-French relations on the ice and how widespread 'racial' bigotry was in professional hockey.

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[47] Article cited in Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 490-492.
[48] Rick Salutin, *Les Canadiens: a play* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1977), 12.
[49] Klapp, *Symbolic Leaders*, 78-82.

One of Richard's earliest confrontations occurred during his first full season with the Canadiens. During a match played in New York in December of 1944, he became involved in a conflict with Bob 'Killer' Dill, a nephew of boxing legends Mike and Tommy Gibbons, who had joined the Rangers after being banned from the American Hockey League for his violent behaviour. Richard's encounter with this fighter/player added another element to his mystique, his toughness. In the course of the match, play was interrupted when a scrum was formed around the Canadien's Hector 'Toe' Blake and Dill. As Richard made his way to the gathering, Dill turned to him and said "Is the frog scared?"[50] The 'racial' slur obviously struck a chord with Richard as he turned around and with one swift punch knocked Dill to the ice. After being sent to the penalty box Dill tried to attack Richard and again a single blow subdued him. The following day, the headline that appeared in the *New York Daily Mirror* summarized the incident: "Dill Pickled."[51] The thrashing of Dill is important for two reasons. First, the fact that a 'racial' slur sparked Richard's actions focussed attention on English-French animosity. Second, since Richard came out of nowhere to defeat one of the league's top fighters it established him as a 'David-like' figure, as in the biblical story of 'David and Goliath'. Richard's 'David' image would later play an important role in fostering his national identity when he became involved in conflicts with the 'Goliath' Clarence Campbell.

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[50] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 84. The meaning of the word 'frog' became popular during the late-1700s as the English and French were involved in a number of wars. The negative connotation of the term may have developed from the English abhorrence of the French dietary tastes. To ridicule the diet of another ethnic group or nation is 'standard procedure' in the world of insults. Hugh Rawson, *Wicked Words: A Treasury of Curses, Insults, Put-Downs and Other Formerly Unprintable Terms from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present* (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1989), 156.

[51] Goyens and Turowetz, *Lions in Winter*, 84; Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 48.

The 'Dill' incident was just the beginning of a long line of 'racially-motivated' confrontations Richard would find himself in throughout his career. Since he was the Canadiens best player, opposing teams would always assign someone to closely check him and do whatever it took to throw him off his game. As his teammate Kenny Reardon describes, "He was watched, watched, watched until he finally blew.... No one could have taken it as long as he did and done less about it."[52] 'Racial' slurs became the most effective tool in provoking a reaction from Richard. It was no secret that Anglophone opponents would regularly utter slights such as 'French pea soup' and 'dirty French bastard' in 'The Rocket's' direction and make fun of his broken English.[53] What angered Richard more than anything else were the insults aimed at his ethnic identity. With regard to the verbal abuse, Richard said, "Quand on crache sur ma race, le sang me monte à la tête... Quand je lis dans les journaux des lettres qui me descendent, ça fait mal. Mais quand c'est un gars de ma race qui m'attaque, cela me brise le coeur."[54] Players who got the better of Richard included Detroit's Ted Lindsay, New York's Ivan Irwin, Boston's Leo Labine, and Toronto's Bill Juzda. With respect to the former Richard said, "For me, the worst player by far whom I've ever skated against was Ted Lindsay... It wasn't so much that he was a dirty player, but as far as I am concerned, he had a dirty mouth."[55] The numerous violent confrontations Richard found himself in as a result of the 'racial' insults indicates that 'racism' was an important factor that divided English and French players in

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[52] Gilbert Rogin, "One Beer for the Rocket," *Sports Illustrated*, 21 March 1960, 50.
[53] Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces Behind the Richard Hockey Riot," *MacLean's Magazine*, 17 September 1955, 98; Hubert Warren Wind, "Fire On Ice," *Sports Illustrated*, 6 December 1954, 73.
[54] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 509.
[55] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 255.

the N.H.L.[56] The 'racial' rift that was seen in society at large apparently spilled over into professional hockey.

Not only did the 'racial' epithets upset Richard, but they also affected how the French-language media began to interpret his treatment. Given the fact that English players who uttered 'racial' slurs and continually attacked him rarely received penalties led many neo-nationalist members of the press to parallel Richard's victimization to that of French Canadians in society. Once this occurred, Richard developed into a symbolic hero for a French 'nation'. During a playoff match between the Toronto Maple Leafs and the Canadiens on 10 April 1947, Richard became involved in two altercations in which he slashed the faces of Vic Lynn and Bill Ezinicki. For the infractions he received a match penalty and a fine of $250. The penalty and fine outraged the French-language press in Montreal. Throughout the match, fans and journalists witnessed Lynn's and Ezinicki's manhandling of Richard and the refusal of the officials to call any penalties. In analyzing the events from that evening, the French press latched on to the issue of 'race'. In an article entitled 'L'affair Richard: Question de race!" André Rufiange wrote:

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[56] 'Racial' tensions were also visible among Canadien players. While throughout his 18-year career with the Montreal Canadiens Maurice Richard never once saw an argument between an English and French teammate. He states, "...all my friends on the club were French-speaking. I wouldn't go out with the English-speaking players except when we played ball, and even then, I only talked to the French guys...." Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 260.

> Sur cette 'affaire Richard', on a fait couler beaucoup d'encre et dans tous les milieux sportifs on en entendait parler et discuter avec véhémence. De fait, la chose vaut la peine d'être discutée et il est grand temps que le favoritisme adverse et le favoritisme anglo-saxon dans le sport soient mis à jour. Oui nous disons le *fanatisme*, le dégoûtant fanatisme que nous combattons avec acharnement depuis nos débuts dans le domaine du sport. Richard en est une victime évidente....
>
> Richard est le plus grand athlète des temps modernes. On devrait alors le considérer avec respect, lui rendre ce qu'il est en droit d'obtenir. Mais le malheur (ou plutôt le bonheur!) veut que ce soit un Canadien français, *et contrairement* à la façon dont on a traité et dont on traite les as anglo-saxons du sport, on le jalouse par un fanatisme écoeurant, on tâche depuis son entrée dans la Ligue nationale de le blesser afin que se termine le règne d'un Canadien français comme monarque du jeu de hockey....
>
> Quand aurons-nous notre part au banquet de la nation canadienne? Quand serons-nous libérés de ces fanatiques qui, même s'ils sont le petit nombre, nuisent énormément à notre avancement aussi bien dans le domain du sport que dans celui de la politique, du commerce ou de l'industrie! *Tant que les nôtres seront bafoués de la sorte, nous ne pouvons espérer l'unité nationale.*[57]

In the above article, the control which English Canadians maintained in society at large is paralleled to the authority which they, specifically Clarence Campbell, had in determining the fate of Richard. After playing only four full seasons with the Canadiens, Richard was adopted by Montreal's French press as their symbol of French Canada. As the neo-nationalist sentiments diffused among the French-language press, Richard's hockey career was placed under a 'nationalist' microscope. By the time Clarence Campbell suspended him in 1955, he was firmly associated with French-Canadian nationalism.

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[57] *Le Front ouvrier*, 19 April 1947. Article also cited in Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 96-97.

Richard's 'racial' victimization did not come only at the hands of opposing players; it also emerged from the on-ice officials. Referees and linesmen displayed their 'racial' biases whenever they permitted Richard's opponents to get away with obstructing and fouling him. Members of the French-language press also took notice of the 'blind-eye' of the officials. Jean Barette of *La Patrie* wrote:

> Richard reste toujours le joueur le plus maltraité de la ligue par ses rivaux. Et il semble que les arbitres sont de connivence, car ils préfèrent punir le plus grand joueur des temps modernes que sévir contre quelques médiocrités dont l'unique talent est de pouvoir obstruer le travail scientifique d'un maître du patin.[58]

Richard's frustrations with the officiating, especially that of Hugh McLean, got the better of him on one occasion. During a match between the Detroit Red Wings and Canadiens on 1 March 1951, Sid Abel accosted Richard by driving his face into a goalpost and opening a cut on his chin. When Richard brought the assault to the attention of McLean, the official laughed in his face.[59] Still angered by what had transpired in Detroit, when Richard accidentally encountered McLean inside New York's Picadilly Hotel, three days later, he attacked the referee. Clarence Campbell imposed a fine of $500 on Richard, the largest ever levied against a player in the N.H.L. The press, particularly the French-language newspapers in Montreal, felt the fine was too severe and criticized Campbell for not uncovering all the details surrounding the incident in New York.[60] The controversy and

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[58] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 142.

[59] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 136. Richard would persist in complaining to McLean until he was given a ten-minute misconduct penalty. While in the penalty box, a fight started between himself and another Detroit player, Leo Reise. While trying to break up the scuffle, linesman Jim Primeau was shoved by Richard. For this, 'The Rocket' was given a match penalty and a $50 fine.

[60] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 148-152.

the 'racial' tensions that infused this incident acted as a precursor for the events that were to transpire in March 1955.

In addition to Richard's background, physical prowess and on-ice confrontations, the temperament he displayed while playing hockey provided a source of inspiration to many French observers, especially young males. What this athlete lacked in size he more than made up for in his determination and drive. He was one of the most aggressive players ever to play the game and he never shied away from a challenge. In describing 'The Rocket', Harold (Hal) Laycoe, a former Boston Bruins player, states, "Nobody ever played the game with as much emotion as he had."[61] Richard himself notes that he "...was never the best player in the league. I knew that. I was a bad skater, but I worked hard...."[62] His passionate style of play and his dedication to the game had a tremendous impact on his French male admirers. Richard became their masculine role model and his on-ice exploits exuded the male qualities of perseverance, hard work, and physical strength. These traits were not only valued within French-Canadian society, but were conducive to sustaining the capitalist system. Above all else, Richard inspired a work ethic among his fans that promoted meritocratic values and instilled the sense that success was based on skill. His drive to succeed could be seen whenever he gained possession of the puck and his eyes lit up.[63] As he states, "...I wanted somebody on the other team to make me work harder. When somebody was checking me closely I wanted to get away from him and I tried all the more to get my goals. If I didn't have anyone on my back, or anybody to check me, I don't think I would have

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[61] Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Maurice Richard - personal file.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Richard became renowned for his passionate style of hockey and the determination seen in his eyes. When Terry Sawchuk, a former N.H.L. goaltender, was asked what he remembered the most about

accomplished all that I did."[64] Why young adults were able to internalize the image of this athlete in forming their own masculine identity is outlined by Roberta J. Park. She notes that the athlete:

> ...literally embodied power and prowess and provided the icon which could serve as a model for other young men... the highly elaborated and intensely symbolic contests in which the athlete struggled for supremacy by intensifying these messages enabled the onlooker to partake of the whole... the athlete provided a model worthy of emulation.[65]

Along with his on-ice personality, Richard was also known for his demeanour away from the game. He provided male teenagers in Quebec with a paternal role model as he was regarded as the perfect father who was warm, caring, generous and responsible. In *Samedi-Dimanche* Paul de Saint-Georges paid tribute to Richard's life away from hockey by writing the following:

> ...le joueur le plus spectaculaire, le plus courageux et, ce qui est peut-être encore plus que tout cela, comme le meilleur copain qui soit dans l'intimité, un père de famille exemplaire, un bon chrétien et un garçon sensible sous dehors parfois tranchants et rudes. Il est l'homme au grand coeur pour ses proches et ses amis.[66]

Richard he replied, "His eyes. There was always fire in his eyes." Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Maurice Richard - personal file. See Appendix B for photo of Maurice Richard.

[64] Richard and Fischler, *Flying Frenchmen*, 256.

[65] Roberta J. Park, "Biological thought, athletics and the formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1940," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 22.

[66] Article cited in Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 205-206.

Unlike any other Canadien player[67], Richard provided French-Canadian boys with a popular and two-sided masculine role model. On the ice he exhibited the physical and aggressive qualities of masculinity and off the ice he provided the image of a responsible, mature, and devout family man. While this dichotomy may have been presented as the 'ideal' form of masculinity to young French-Canadian boys, in reality these separate spheres usually coalesced into one. This was particularly evident during instances of domestic violence.

Richard was held in such high esteem in Franco-Quebec that he developed a cult-like following. His importance to French Canadians was formally recognized and appreciated on 17 February 1951. That evening at the Montreal Forum was deemed 'Maurice Richard Night'. In attendance at this celebration were a handful of notable French Canadians such as the Prime Minister of Canada, Louis Saint-Laurent, the Premier of Quebec, Maurice Duplessis, the Mayor of Montreal, Camilien Houde, and Senator Donat Raymond. 'The Rocket' received, from fan donations, gifts valued at over $6,000 and a maroon Desoto car.[68] One *New York Times* reporter captured the hero-worship of this athlete by noting that French Canadians "...love the Rocket and take up collections for him whenever he is fined. They also buy him presents and send him cash offerings, but these he turns to charity."[69]

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[67] Prior to Richard, the most popular Canadien player was Howie Morenz. While not of French ethnic-origin, this player was adopted by French fans of the Canadiens as one of their own. He epitomized the 'Flying Frenchmen' style of hockey played by the team during the 1920s. Maurice Richard's attachment to the French-Canadian community, however, was much stronger than that of Morenz primarily because of his French-Canadian heritage. His exceptional style of play attracted Francophone interest in himself and the team, but his ethnic, cultural and class bond with his French admirers elevated this player to heroic status within French Canada. For French-Canadian boys he became an idol and masculine role model.

[68] *Hockey News*, 3 March 1951.

[69] *New York Times*, 19 March 1955.

In a *Sports Illustrated* article in 1954 one fan noted, "... Maurice Richard personifies French-Canada and all that is great about it. Maybe you have to have French blood, really, to worship Richard...."[70] Another fan stated Richard was:

> ...more important than the Cardinal or Duplessis. There are many cardinals. Duplessis was only the head man of Quebec. Maurice Richard was not only the best of the French but of the English as well. He came to epitomize the desire of superiority of the French-Canadian nationalists.[71]

In *Saturday Night*, a Toronto magazine, Hugh MacLennan reported that French Canadians "...see in Richard not only a person who ideally embodies the fire and style of their 'race', they also see in him a man who from time to time turns on his prosecutors and annihilates them... at the moment Richard has a status with some people in Quebec not much below that of a tribal god."[72] It is obvious that Canadien fans, especially those of French ethnic-origin, identified themselves with Richard. For French Canadians he defined who they were in terms of their 'racial' heritage and class background.

Admiration for 'The Rocket' on the part of French fans was seen in the various stories, chants and poems they dedicated to him. During his games at the Montreal Forum Francophone spectators would regularly urge Richard on by chanting either "Envoye Maurice!"[73] or "Donnes-y Maurice!"[74] Others celebrated his achievements through literary works. In honour of his 325th career goal, one fan dedicated a poem to Richard, which

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[70] Herbert Warren Wind, "Fire On Ice," 36.
[71] Gilbert Rogin, "One Beer for the Rocket," 49.
[72] *Saturday Night*, 9 April 1955, 10.
[73] Herbert Warren Wind, "Fire On Ice," 73.
[74] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 140.

was published in *Le Petit Journal* on 16 November 1952. The poem praised his undying will to succeed and the honour Richard bestowed upon the people of French Canada:

RICHARD COEUR DE LION
Richard, roi de la glace
Recordman au grand coeur
Tu as de notre race
Le panache et l'ardeur
La froide statistique
Fait de toi un héros
Mais tes élans magiques
T'élèvent encore plus haut
Au nom de tous les hommes
Qui chanteront ton nom
Permets que je te nomme
Richard au Coeur de Lion.[75]

Another hero-worshipping element emerged following the 'Richard Riot'. Some supporters were so moved by the events of March 1955 that they composed a ballad in the athlete's honour, sung to the tune of *Abdul Abulbul Amir*:

Now our town has lost face
And our team is disgraced,
But these hot-headed actions
can't mar
Or cast any shame on the heroic
name
Of Maurice (the Rocket)
Richard[76]

The longevity of Richard's influence over French-Canadian society is seen in another literary work. 'The Hockey Sweater', written by Roch Carrier in 1979, continues to be a popular story among the youth of Quebec. Carrier tells the fictional tale of a

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[75] Ibid., 206.
[76] Gilbert Rogin, "One Beer for the Rocket," 49.

Montreal boy who mistakenly receives, from the Eaton's Department Store, a Toronto Maple Leafs sweater instead of a Montreal Canadiens jersey. The tale describes the disappointment of the young Canadien fan and how he is treated differently by his friends because of his sweater. The most insightful aspect of the story, though, is the portrayal of Maurice Richard, the children's idol. Carrier writes:

> Through our daydreams it might happen that we would recite a prayer: we would ask God to help us play as well as Maurice Richard...
>
> We all wore the same uniform as he, the red, white and blue uniform of the Montreal Canadiens, the best hockey team in the world; we all combed our hair in the same style as Maurice Richard, and to keep it in place we used a sort of glue - a great deal of glue. We laced our skates like Maurice Richard, we taped our sticks like Maurice Richard. We cut all his pictures out of the papers. Truly we knew everything about him...
>
> On the ice, when the referee blew his whistle the two teams would rush at the puck; we were five Maurice Richards taking it away from five other Maurice Richards; we were ten players, all of us wearing the same blazing enthusiasm the uniform of the Montreal Canadiens. On our back, we all wore the famous number nine.[77]

The fact that this story continues to be widely read among French-Canadian children is recognition of Richard's status as a French icon and a testament to his cultural legacy.

CLARENCE CAMPBELL: RICHARD'S ANTITHESIS

If, as historians Gruneau and Whitson recognize[78], Richard became a symbolic hero for French Canadians as a result of his success and representation of widely shared common characteristics and experiences, then the opposite could be said of Clarence

Campbell. Identified with elements that were non-French Canadian, unfamiliar, and a source of animosity, Campbell occupied the role of the symbolic villain. In contrast to Richard, Campbell's image was associated with traits that French Canadians generally attributed to the members of Quebec's minority English-origin population: Anglophone, upper class, privileged, Protestant, and highly educated. In almost every respect, Richard and Campbell were opposites. The disparities found in their backgrounds provide a perfect metaphor for the 'duality' of Canadian society and are, in reality, reflective of the larger differences that existed between Anglophones and Francophones residing in Quebec. When the representational characteristics of these two sport figures were established with English and French Canada, they became increasingly oppositional. As Richard and Campbell interacted and became embroiled in bitter conflicts, the French-language media in Montreal wasted no time in paralleling their antagonistic relationship to that of English and French in society at large. In the end, the identity that was constructed around Clarence Campbell reinforced Richard's attachment to French Canada and played as equally an important role as that of Richard's in turning 'L'Affair Richard' into something more than simply a hockey incident.

While Richard's background and lifestyle were clearly rooted in French Canada, Clarence Campbell's was undeniably tied to English Canada. Clarence Sutherland Campbell was born on 9 July 1905 in the small farming community of Fleming, Saskatchewan. The household in which he was born and raised was typically Anglo-Saxon. The Campbells were a Scottish-descended family that spoke English and practiced Protestantism. Their household consisted of Clarence's two parents and his three sisters.

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[77] Roch Carrier, *The Hockey Sweater*, trans. Sheila Fischman (Montreal: Tundra Books, 1984).

Growing up in a rural Anglo-Protestant setting provided Clarence with a style of life that had little in common with the urban, industrialized, and working-class environment in which Richard was born and raised.

Along with their ethnic and cultural backgrounds, differences between Richard and Campbell were visible in terms of their levels of education. These distinctions closely paralleled the disparities found in the average education levels of French and English Canadians residing in Quebec. Unlike traditional French working-class families, where the educational careers of children were curtailed as a result of economic hardship, the Campbells earned enough income to allow Clarence to pursue an extensive educational career. At the age of 15 he went to school in Edmonton where he attended Strathcona High School for one term in preparation for the University of Alberta. Unlike Richard, whose educational career was completed by the secondary level, Campbell continued his studies at the post-secondary level. At the age of 16, he attended the University of Alberta and by the time he turned 18 he had earned himself a degree in the Arts and become the youngest person ever to do so. Campbell continued at the University of Alberta and by 1926 he obtained his law degree and was awarded the prestigious Rhodes Scholarship to study at Oxford University in England. From 1926 to 1929 he attended Oxford where he earned a Bachelor of Arts in Jurisprudence. By the age of 24, Clarence had attained a level of education that most Canadians could only aspire to. As an outstanding scholar, with three degrees, Campbell returned to Canada at the height of the depression in search of employment.

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[8] Gruneau and Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 251.

Occupationally, Campbell's resume had more in common with Quebec's Anglo-Saxon upper-class minority populace than with the average working-class Francophone. In contrast to Richard, who throughout his pre-N.H.L. career was employed in various labour-intensive blue-collar jobs, Campbell's resume was studded with white-collar employment accomplishments. Originally employed in the small Edmonton law firm of Wood, Buchanan and MacDonald, he earned a 1926 monthly salary of $75, which he supplemented by occasionally refereeing amateur hockey games at five dollars per game.[79] Unlike Richard, Campbell did not experience the harsh realities of working-class life as his rich educational career translated into higher income-earning occupations.

During the Second World War, Campbell established his reputation as an excellent attorney and a patriotic Canadian. He took an active role in the war effort by enlisting with the Canadian militia in 1939. For the next six years, the military would dominate his career. Clarence quickly moved up the ranks of the military while serving his country in Europe between 1942 and 1946. From his initial rank of infantry private, he eventually reached the position of major and commanded the 4th Canadian Armoured Division Headquarters Squadron between 1942 and 1945.[80] In 1945, he distinguished himself as an attorney when he was transferred to the Canadian War Crimes Unit and was promoted to the position of lieutenant colonel. For the next year, Campbell served as a prosecuting attorney in Aurich, Germany, during the trial of German general Kurt Meyer.[81] As a result of his military career, both as a solider and lawyer, Campbell was awarded the Order of

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[79] *Toronto Sun*, 25 June 1984.
[80] Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. 1985 National Hockey League All-Star Game Program, 13.
[81] *Toronto Sun*, 25 June 1984.

the British Empire and was made King's Counsel.[82] He gained world-wide fame as an exceptional lawyer.

The differences in the extent to which Richard and Campbell were involved in the war effort strengthened their respective identities with French and English Canada. In contrast to Campbell, Richard did not participate in overseas military activity during the Second World War. His involvement was seen in his after-hockey-hours employment at a tank manufacturing company. The difference in the degree to which Campbell and Richard partook in the war effort is worth noting for Canada's overall involvement became a highly sensitive issue that divided the country along 'racial' lines. The conscription issue exposed the rift between English and French Canada and furthered the polarization of the identities of Campbell and Richard. While English Canada fully supported the war effort and the conscription of Canadians to do battle overseas, French Canadians were generally opposed to any involvement whatsoever. Campbell's zealous support for conscription, as seen in his voluntary enlisting into the armed services, was an obvious show of support for the Anglo-Canadian sentiment. Richard's relation to the war effort could easily be construed as a sign of his support for the French-Canadian perspective. The highly politicized issues that surrounded the Second World War spilled over into the identities of Campbell and Richard. With all the accolades that Campbell received during the war it was not difficult for French Canadians to associate him with English Canada and the elite Anglophone population of Quebec. The French-language media regularly referred to

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[82] Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. 1985 National Hockey League All-Star Game Program, 13.

Campbell's wartime background when writing about him or his encounters with Richard[83] and in doing so reminded French Canadians of his 'anti-French Canadian' leanings.

The world-wide exposure and popularity Campbell gained as a tough, aggressive and investigative attorney for the War Crimes Unit attracted the attention of the N.H.L.'s interim President, Mervyn 'Red' Dutton, who sent a telegram to Campbell offering him a position as his assistant.[84] Campbell accepted the offer and returned to Canada during the summer of 1946. On September 4, Campbell arrived in Montreal for the semi-annual meeting of the N.H.L.'s board of governors where, to everyone's surprise, Dutton announced his resignation and recommended that Campbell be made his replacement.[85] By noon that day Campbell was officially named the third[86] president of the N.H.L. and would hold this position for the next 30 years, until his retirement in 1977. In this role, Campbell had a direct impact upon the game and its players. In a sense, Campbell's authority could be paralleled to that of a factory manager or judge. He ruled the league with an iron fist and held the fate of players in the palm of his hands. His decisions on the levying of fines and suspensions were final and could not be appealed. His rulings alone could easily alter

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[83] See newspaper reports from *La Presse* and *Le Devoir* between 15 March 1955 and 19 March 1955, and *Parlons Sports*, 16 March 1955.

[84] *Toronto Sun*, 25 June 1984.

[85] The interesting part of this story is that Campbell had never met Dutton until just prior to the Board of Governors' meeting. As they walked together across Dominion Square to the Windor Hotel, Dutton informed Campbell of his intention to resign and his recommendation that Campbell replace him. *Canadian Oldtimers' Hockey Association Journal*, September/October 1984, 19. Campbell was the perfect candidate for the position of N.H.L. president, for various reasons. First, in the opinion of the franchise owners he was one of their own. Campbell was of English ethnic-origin, a highly educated professional, and a very successful and decorated attorney and businessman. He had much more in common with the upper class and elite owners of the N.H.L. than with the league's predominantly working-class players. The N.H.L.'s board of governors embraced Campbell as their liaison to the players for they recognized that he possessed "...all the necessary qualities of leadership - compassion, discipline, wisdom and dedication." *Toronto Sun*, 25 June 1984, 56. As an attorney, Campbell earned himself a reputation as a just, fair, aggressive, investigative and open-minded individual.

[86] N.H.L. presidents prior to Clarence Campbell: Frank Calder (1917 to 1943) and Mervyn 'Red' Dutton (1943 to 1946).

the chances of a team's or player's success. For French fans of the game, the unequal relationship between Campbell and players such as Richard provided the perfect metaphor for the manager-worker relationship that existed in the world of work. The former's authority had a direct impact upon the hopes and aspirations that French fans invested in the Canadiens and Richard. Campbell's reputation as a highly educated and exceptional lawyer had served him well in opening the doors to the upper echelons of the N.H.L.'s hierarchical power structure. Unlike Richard who, as a hockey player, worked as an actual producer of the game, Campbell, in the position of league president, became the consummate administrator.

In terms of personality and temperament, Campbell was the complete opposite of the emotionally charged Richard. Campbell never revealed any indication that his emotions were getting the better of him or clouding his judgement. With his calm, peaceful and stern demeanour, he could easily have been:

> ...mistook for a Sunday school teacher or a mild-mannered professor. In many ways he resembled just that type of character - quiet, understanding, wise. But he was also a very tough-minded, educated businessman, as quick to slap a fine on an offending player as to generously praise a hockey hero.[87]

Campbell was truly representative of the qualities that English Canadians highly valued: integrity, leadership and courage. The following was said of Campbell in his eulogy, "Truly, Clarence Campbell, as his Scottish ancestors would say, 'a man o'pairts'... He was a man of old-fashioned values -- duty, discipline, fairness, honest dealing, responsibility --

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[87] *Toronto Sun*, 25 June 1984.

decisions based not on whim or feeling, but on reason and right."[88] Even Campbell's personality traits and temperament that were publicly displayed differed from those of Richard. While Richard became known for his passionate style of play and emotional outbursts on the ice, Campbell was recognized first and foremost for his level head and 'rational' traits.

Campbell's leisurely interests also differed from those of Richard. While Richard took an avid interest in sports as a participant, Campbell's interest in athletics rested mainly at the administrative level. As a child growing up in Saskatchewan, Campbell particularly enjoyed playing the sports of hockey, lacrosse and baseball. Unlike Richard, however, Campbell was not a gifted athlete. He himself recognized his lack of athleticism, as he "...never once professed to be a great athlete - the most gracious term he came up with was 'lousy' - but he seemed to enjoy organizing sports teams, a hobby that eventually became his passion."[89] Nonetheless, he did play various games as a child and young-adult.

While both Campbell and Richard took an interest in playing hockey, the form of their participation differed significantly and reflected their class differences. As a teenager, Richard played his organized hockey in church-run leagues or in the locally formed Ligue des parcs de Montréal. The players in these leagues were predominantly working-class French Canadians, who played a highly competitive, aggressive and rugged brand of ice-hockey that espoused 'professional' sporting values. Playing this type of hockey provided some youths the opportunity to play at the professional level where the game focussed primarily upon winning. Campbell played his hockey at the University of Oxford, an

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[88] Eulogy from Clarence Campbell's funeral, 28 June 1984. Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Clarence Campbell - personal file.
[89] *Toronto Sun*, 25 June 1984.

upper-class, elite, English educational institution where the purpose of sport was to improve oneself.[90] Oxford stressed traditional 'amateur' sporting values such as good sportsmanship and fair play. The purpose of sport at these upper-level educational institutions was not to function as a stepping stone into a career as a professional athlete, but rather to instil morals and values that would make the athlete a better person when away from the field of play. While Campbell's early participation in the sport of ice hockey did not pave the way to a career as a professional athlete as in Richard's case, it did nonetheless facilitate his entrance into the N.H.L. and ultimately led to his nomination to the N.H.L. presidency. Following Oxford's elimination from a hockey tournament in Switzerland in 1928, Campbell was asked to referee a game in which he did such a fine job that the experience had a lasting impact upon him. Upon returning to Canada, he took up officiating and quickly moved up the amateur ranks. He would eventually be hired by the N.H.L. in 1936 and within a year was refereeing Stanley Cup semi-finals matches. Campbell's initial exposure to the N.H.L. as an official proved to be important later when he was chosen to replace Mervyn 'Red' Dutton as president of the league.[91]

Though Campbell did take an interest in sport as a participant, his true desire was seen at the administrative level. Prior to his arrival in the N.H.L., Campbell honed his skills as a sports administrator when he took a lead role in the founding of other sport leagues. In 1924, at the age of 19, he helped form the Edmonton and District Hockey Association,

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[90] At Oxford, Campbell captained the 1928 hockey team that toured all of Europe.

[91] As an N.H.L. referee, Campbell acquired first hand exposure to the game of professional hockey. He gained an understanding of not only the structure of the N.H.L. and the rules of the game, but also how and why players violated these rules and how they ought to be punished for their violations. Along with his credentials as an organizer/administrator of the business end of sport leagues, Campbell's refereeing experience provided him with a well-rounded background from which to enter the position of N.H.L. president.

which operated at all levels of amateur hockey in the city, and served as the league's Secretary for eight years.[92] He also became involved with the Alberta Amateur Hockey Association (A.A.H.A.) and was a member of this organization's executive body from 1930 to 1935.[93] Campbell's administrative experience was not restricted to the sport of hockey. His interest as an organizer also spilled over into the sport of baseball. Before departing for Oxford in 1926, Campbell helped organize the five-team[94] Independent Baseball League in Edmonton.[95] When Campbell finally returned from Europe following his military service, his interest in sports as an administrator continued.

After being hired as N.H.L. president, Campbell's administrative passion continued and was seen in his organizing of a number of exclusive sporting clubs and associations for Montreal's Anglo-elite. His organizing efforts revolved around his two favourite sports, golf and curling.[96] He presided over the Beaconsfield Golf Club, located just outside Montreal, and became the honourary director of the Canadian Professional Golfers' Association (C.P.G.A.) and the Province of Quebec Golfers' Association (Q.G.A.).[97] In regards to the sport of curling, he worked as Secretary for the Royal Montreal Curling Club. Campbell's administrative talents were also witnessed outside the realm of sport as he dedicated much of his free time to presiding over the Anglophone Lakeshore General

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[92] *Alberta On Ice*, 1985, 292.

[93] During his tenure with the A.A.H.A. Campbell, along with three other amateur hockey executives, helped speed up the pace of amateur hockey in Canada by introducing the 'forward pass' rule change to the game in 1933. *Alberta On Ice*, 1985, 292. The Canadian Amateur Hockey Association adopted the rule change and the pace of hockey was changed forever.

[94] The five teams were: Centrals, Elks, Red Socks, YMCA and CNR.

[95] *Alberta On Ice*, 1985, 292.

[96] Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Clarence Campbell - personal file.

[97] As director of the C.P.G.A., Campbell helped to draft the association's constitution and worked with professional golfers Murray Tucker and Bill Kerr to establish the players' pension plan. *Canadian Oldtimers' Hockey Association Journal*, September/October 1984, 19; Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Clarence Campbell - personal file.

Hospital.[98] Through his involvement in these prestigious associations, Campbell established himself in a privileged position among the upper-class Anglophone community of Montreal. More importantly, as an icon of the English upper class he set himself further apart from Richard and his French Canadian fans.

While the differences in the backgrounds and life experiences of Richard and Campbell clearly established their respective association with French and English Canadians, these connections alone did not account for their 'national' identities. What would provoke the development of Campbell and Richard's national symbolism would be the authority that the former exercised over the latter. Not until Richard's fifth year in the N.H.L. would the tension between Campbell and the Montreal player be witnessed. As Richard resorted to defending himself from the barrage of verbal and physical abuse of English players, he would have to answer to Campbell for the violent actions he took. Between 1947 and 1955, Richard was fined by Campbell on four separate occasions.[99] The fines, which ranged from as little as $50 to $1,000, totalled $2,000 by the time he was suspended by the N.H.L. President on 16 March 1955.

Taken together, all of the occasions when Campbell fined Richard are important to recognize for they expose the control that the former exerted over the latter. The more telling of these incidents occurred on 16 January 1954. What made this incident special was that it did not revolve around Richard's on-ice behaviour. Instead, it had to do with

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[98] Hockey Hall of Fame Archives. Clarence Campbell – personal file.

[99] The four occasions are as follows: (1) 10 April 1947 - Richard is fined $250 for attacking Toronto's Vic Lynn and Bill Ezinicki; (2) 13 March 1951 - Richard is fined $250 for attacking referee Hugh McLean in the lobby of the Picadilly Hotel in New York; (3) 16 January 1954 - Richard is fined $1000 after writing a highly critical article about Campbell in a French-language newspaper; (4) 29 December 1954 - Richard is fined $250 for butt-ending Toronto's Bob Bailey in the face and for flicking his glove into the face of linesman George Hayes.

Richard's opinion regarding a seven-game suspension his teammate, Bernard Geoffrion, received from Campbell for his involvement in a stick-swinging incident with New York's Ron Murphy.[100] During the time of Geoffrion's suspension, Richard was working as a weekly 'ghost-writer' for the French-language paper *Samedi Dimanche*. What got Richard into trouble was the overly critical commentary he wrote about Campbell a week after the suspension. Richard attacked the N.H.L. President's reputation and integrity by accusing him of being racist towards French Canadians. The following is an excerpt from the article entitled 'Le Rocket Engueule Campbell':

> Ce qui me donne le plus le feu aujourd'hui, c'est la punition plutôt extraordinaire, pour ne pas dire plus, imposée par le président de la Ligue nationale à 'Boum-Boum' Geoffrion.... M. le président afficherait une partialité évidente dans ses réactions au jeu, il sourit et affiche ouvertement sa joie quand le club adverse compte un but contre nous et on sait d'ailleurs qu'à plusieurs occasions il a toujours rende ses décisions contre les joueurs du Canadien.... Mais que M. Campbell s'occupe donc un peu plus de quelques autres petits scandales connus des joueurs de la Ligue nationale et n'essaie pas de se faire de la publicité à s'en prendre à un bon garçon comme 'Boum-Boum' Geoffrion, simplement parce qu'il est Canadien français! J'ai l'impression que M. Campbell serait partial. Toute sa façon d'agir semble le prouver, et pour cela le club Canadien en souffre plus que toute autre équipe de la Ligue nationale.[101]

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[100] The incident between Bernard Geoffrion and Ron Murphy occurred on 20 December 1953. During this game the two players became involved in an altercation in which Murphy attacked Geoffrion. In defense, Geoffrion responded by striking Murphy in the face with his stick. Murphy was taken to the hospital and suffered a broken jaw and concussion. Both players were suspended. Geoffrion was suspended for the next seven games between the Canadiens and Rangers, while Murphy received the same suspension but for only four games.

[101] Article cited in Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 227-228

French-language journalists in Montreal were already saying what Richard stated in the above editorial. The only difference now was that the message, in being uttered by French Canada's most popular social icon, would stir the emotions of Francophones throughout Quebec. This article not only heightened the tensions between Campbell and Richard, but by adding to the larger meaning of their unequal relationship, it also intensified the rift between English and French Canadians throughout Quebec.

Even more significant than Richard's criticism, was the outcome of it. As a result of his article, Richard was fined $1,000 and forced to make a public retraction. The severity of the fine and especially the demanded public retraction added to the social significance of the incident. The latter was an obvious show of the authority that Campbell had over Richard both on and, more importantly, off the ice. The privileged position Campbell occupied allowed him to determine Richard's fate both as a hockey player and a French Canadian.

Campbell's authority over Richard added to his powerful reputation and fostered the development of his and Richard's 'national' identities. Like Richard, French Canada could be considered in 'David-like' terms because of its position in relation to the rest of Canada. It was a small region competing against the 'Goliath-sized' English Canada. While French Canada may have been a small and powerless 'nation', Richard was able to provide it with the opportunity to assert its identity. His rise in the world of professional hockey paralleled French Canada's rise within Canada. Richard became so integral to the French national identity that French Canadians went out of their way to claim this athlete as their own. Campbell, in contrast, represented the 'Goliath', English Canada. His ability to undermine Richard's fate paralleled the power that English Canada had to undermine

French Canada's ability to control its own destiny and assert its identity. When Campbell decided to suspend Richard for the rest of the regular hockey season and playoffs on 16 March 1955, part of the anger and outrage that Richard fans expressed was rooted in the parallels that could be made to the 'David and Goliath'-type relationship that existed between English and French Canadians.

CHAPTER III

The Meaning of the Richard Riot

SUSPENSION OF 'THE ROCKET'

While the origins of the symbolism behind the 'Richard Riot' are grounded in the Montreal Canadien's development into a French-Canadian cultural institution and the emergence of Maurice Richard as a popular French-Canadian icon, the riot itself developed out of a hockey game played in Boston on 13 March 1955 between the Canadiens and the Boston Bruins. With approximately six minutes remaining in the game and the Canadiens trailing four to one, play was disrupted when Bruins player Hal Laycoe used his hockey stick to deliberately deliver a two-handed blow to the head of Richard. During the delayed whistle, for which Laycoe was called for high-sticking, Richard became aware of the blood streaming from the large cut that had been opened on the top of his head. The Canadien player suddenly became enraged and, in response to the assault, he maliciously and violently attacked his opponent. He struck Laycoe three times with his stick, slashing him once on the shoulders and face and then twice on the back. What added controversy to the situation was that in the course of being subdued by linesman Cliff Thompson, Richard broke away from the official, turned around and "...took a good swing at him (Thompson)."[1] Referee Frank Udvari immediately assessed Richard a match penalty, which came with an automatic $100 fine, for deliberately injuring another player, and left the decision regarding Richard's attack of the linesman in the hands of the league President. As for Laycoe, he was given a five-minute penalty for high-sticking and a ten-

minute misconduct, which carried an automatic fine of $25, for throwing a towel at Udvari during the incident.

The following day, while Richard checked himself into a hospital for stitches, x-rays, and observation, newspapers from Montreal and beyond reported on the incident. An ethnic divide existed among members of the press as to who was at fault for the violent outburst in Boston and how severely Richard was to be punished, if at all. The French-language media stood firmly behind Richard and defended his actions, while the English press was less understanding. For the former, Richard was viewed as the victim of continuous, flagrant, and non-penalized fouls throughout his career and was therefore justified in his aggressive, out-of-frustration behaviour towards Laycoe. The victimization of Richard was evinced by the severity of the injuries he sustained from Laycoe's assault.[2] With respect to the striking of the official, however, there was a general consensus that Richard had erred and debate revolved around how severe a punishment he ought to receive.

As the public awaited Campbell's decision, the French-language press suggested that a suspension of Richard for the duration of the current season, which was almost complete, would be unjust for its impact would be too far reaching. Such a suspension would seriously compromise the Canadiens' chances of winning the league championship, not to mention all the potential monetary bonuses the Canadiens' players would receive.[3]

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[1] Maurice Richard and Stan Fischler, *The Flying Frenchmen: Hockey's Greatest Dynasty* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1971), 274.

[2] Richard suffered most of the injuries that evening. While he required five stitches to close the cut on his head, Laycoe only received minor cuts above one eye and below the other.

[3] *La Presse*, 15 March 1955; *Le Devoir*, 15 March 1955. Potential loss of team bonuses: If the Canadiens did not finish in first place at the end of the regular season they would earn a bonus of $9,000 instead of

More than anyone else, Canadien fans were well aware of how serious the suspension of 'their' star player would be. With four games remaining in the regular season and the Canadiens tied in points with the first place Detroit Red Wings, the loss of Richard, by far the team's best player, would hinder the team's chances of gaining first place. What was even greater concern for Richard fans was his standing in the league's point scoring race. After the game in Boston, Richard had a two-point lead over his teammate Bernard Geoffrion with only three games remaining to be played. At stake then was not only a league championship for the Canadiens, but equally important, Richard's first Art Ross trophy,[4] an award that would formally recognize his offensive supremacy in the N.H.L. and officially place him on a footing above that of all his Anglophone rivals.

The French-language *La Presse* showed its support for Richard by blaming Laycoe for the entire incident in Boston. One article stated the following:

> Pourtant, c'est celle de Laycoe sur Richard qui s'est produite la première et qui a déclanché toutes les scènes qui se sont deroulees a Boston... si Laycoe n'avait pas frappé Richard avec son bâton, la patrie se serait deroulée sans le moindre incident...[5]

$18,000. If they did not win the Stanley Cup, which was less likely with the loss of Richard, the team would also fail to collect an additional $20,000 bonus. Total bonuses = $29,000.

[4] The Art Ross trophy was awarded to the player who led the N.H.L. in scoring points during the regular season. The winner of the trophy was awarded a $1,000 bonus from the league. Richard would receive an additional $1,000 from the Canadiens, if he captured the title. Prior to 1955, the only French-Canadian player to win the Art Ross trophy was the Canadiens' Newsy Lalonde, who won the award in 1919 and 1921.

[5] *La Presse*, 15 March 1955. Another *La Presse* article depicted Richard as a victim who was only trying to defend himself. The article stated the following: "Voilà un homme qui lutte pour assure le championnat a son club, qui s'efforce lui-même de remporter pour la première fois de sa carrière le championnat des compteurs. Selon le jouer du Canadien, il se dirigeait vers le filet des Bruins quand Laycoe a tenté de le mettre en échec. En cherchant à se protéger, Richard, donc les mouvements sont brusques, saccadés, a apparemment ébranlé Laycoe. Ce dernier lui a alors aplique un coup de bâton sur la tête. Le sang s'est mis a couler et Richard avoue qu'il a alors perdu tout son calme. Il est devenu furieux. Le fameux compteur déclare qu'il n'a provoqué aucune scène mais que selon toute apparence c'est lui qui sera blâmé. Cela le décourage. Il déclare ne pas se souvenir d'avoir frappé le juge des hors jeux, Cliff Thompson. 'Je savais

Regardless of whether or not Richard was guilty of attacking Laycoe and striking a linesman, this newspaper made it perfectly clear that 'The Rocket's' actions were justified since he was not the instigator of the melee but rather its victim. Richard's public comments regarding the incident suggested his own victimization as he stated, "Je n'ai rien provoqué mais, apparemment, c'est mois qui en souffrirai le plus. C'est vraiment dégoutant."[6] *La Presse* even published a column that appeared in the *Boston Daily Record* by Dave Egan entitled, 'An Injustice for Richard'. Egan's article defended the actions taken by the Canadiens' star player and pinned most of the blame for the incident on the shoulders of Laycoe. The American reporter felt that if a suspension were to be levied against Richard it ought to commence at the beginning of the next season.[7] Publishing the pro-Richard editorials and calling on Campbell not to hamper Richard's chances of attaining his first scoring title and the Canadiens' chances of winning the league championship and Stanley Cup demonstrates how protective the French media was of Quebec's most adored athlete and team.

Jacques Beauchamp, a sports writer from the *Montréal-Matin*, produced an even more pointed examination of the event. He recognized the larger issues that the Richard-Laycoe incident exposed and levied blame on the long-standing failure of the league to

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que quelqu'un me retenait. J'ai tout simplement cherché à me libérer', a-t-il dit." *La Presse*, 15 March 1955.

[6] The entirety of Maurice Richard's public commentary regarding the incident in Boston was as follows: "A un certain moment, je me suis dirigé vers les filet du Boston. Laycoe a tenté de me mettre en échec et, en me protégeant, je l'ai ébanlé. Mon rival m'a alors appliqué un coup de bâton sur la tête et, quand j'ai vu le sang, je suis devenu furieux. Je n'ai rien provoqué mais, apparemment, c'est mois qui en souffrirai le plus. C'est vraiment dégoutant. Si j'ai frappé le juge de lignes, je ne m'em souviens pas. Je savais que quelqu'un me retenait et je voulais tout simplement me libérer. J'ignoré complètement ce qui va m'arriver." *Montréal-Matin*, 15 March 1955.

[7] *La Presse*, 16 March 1955.

enforce the rules of play and to assess penalties to players, such as Laycoe, who continually manhandled and harassed Richard during every match he played. This journalist, like other members of the French media, depicted Richard as a victim:

> C'est un fait indéniable. Richard a un caractère différent de celui des autres joueurs de la Ligue. Il est devenu impatient et les arbitres sont à blâmer pour cela. En effet, si les officiels avaient toujours suivi les règlements à la lettre quand les joueurs s'accrochaient à lui, le retenaient, le frappaient à la figure avec leur coude ou bien quand ils le faisaient trébucher, peut-être que Maurice serait actuellement plus sage.... Les arbitres et les joueurs ont abusé de Maurice Richard depuis déjà treize saisons et quand le célèbre athlète montréalais sort de ses gonds, il ne peut pas controler ses nerfs. C'est exactement ce qui est survenu dimanche soir à Boston.[8]

Like the article in *La Presse*, the above provides some justification for the actions Richard took against Laycoe for it portrays the former as a player who, throughout his career, had to face a continual barrage of unchecked assaults. For Beauchamp, it was the N.H.L. and its officials who were the ones to blame for the Richard-Laycoe incident for they were never interested in protecting the wellbeing of French Canada's most beloved hockey hero to begin with. As a result, Richard had no alternative than to take matters into his own hands and defend himself at all costs.

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[8] *Montréal-Matin*, 15 March 1955. In an article the following day, Jacques Beauchamp would again levy blame on Hal Laycoe by stating the following: "Le 'Rocket' a une nature toute différent de celle des autres joueurs de hockey. On ne peut lui demander de se corriger. Il a un caractère bouillant et Hal Laycoe, un ancien joueur des Canadiens, aurait dû prévoir ce qui surviendrait avant de frapper INTENTIONNELLEMENT son ancien coéquiper avec son bâton. Laycoe a déjà joué en compagnie de Maurice Richard et il devait savoir que ce dernier exploserait quand il l'a atteint à la tête avec son bâton." *Montréal-Matin*, 16 March 1955.

The English press in Montreal also showed support for Richard, but was more reserved in what it said.[9] Outside of Montreal, however, the English media had a completely different perspective on the incident. Since Richard's social status was grounded in Franco-Quebec, his actions were highly scrutinized by those who were from outside the province and unaware of his importance as a social icon. Toronto's English press was not as forgiving of 'The Rocket's' behaviour and expected nothing less than his suspension for the remainder of the regular season. They described the Canadien player as 'fiery', 'explosive', 'violent', and 'wild', an 'atom bomb' Campbell must diffuse with a stern punishment.[10] The *Toronto Star's* sports editor, Milt Dunnell, wrote:

> Clarence Campbell, who carries law books around inside his head, won't have much choice when he sits down to write his judgement as league president and chief. He can't very well avoid a suspension for the Rocket if he finds him guilty... If the blow falls the Habs can't say Campbell wasn't patient with Rocket. Up to now he has practically declined to suspend him... If there's anything less than a suspension, they'll be howling 'Teacher's Pet' in the direction of the Rocket.[11]

The *Globe and Mail* voiced a similar opinion. It and the *Toronto Star* supported the suspension of Richard because of his erratic temperament, long history of violence, and involvement in a similar incident earlier in the season.[12] Since he escaped with 'little'

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[9] Dink Carroll, whose commentaries typified those of Montreal's Anglophone media, defended Richard's actions stating, "...there are things to be said on the 'Rocket's' side. The other teams are always trying to give him the business... On Saturday night there, it was obvious that the Bruins were trying to rack him up. He isn't always able to keep himself under control." *Montreal Gazette*, 15 March 1955.

[10] *Globe and Mail*, 14-15 March 1955; *Toronto Telegram*, 14-15 March 1955; *Toronto Star*, 14-15 March 1955.

[11] *Toronto Star*, 15 March 1955.

[12] On 29 December 1954, during a match against the Toronto Maple Leafs, 'The Rocket' twice attacked Toronto rookie player Bob Bailey with his stick. During the scuffle, Richard struck linesman George Hayes in the face with his glove. The Toronto media demanded that Richard be suspended. To their

punishment for the latter, the Toronto press felt that the time for leniency had passed. A suspension was now needed to teach 'The Rocket' a lesson. While the emphasis of Toronto press reports and editorials were on the history of Richard infractions and his unpredictability, the French-language media in Montreal generally gave attention to the barrage of attacks that provoked Richard's aggressive demeanour.

Following the March 13 Boston-Montreal game, Campbell scheduled a hearing for March 16 in Montreal, at which time he would determine whether or not further action was to be taken against Richard and Laycoe. Those who attended the inquiry were, Clarence Campbell, Referee-in-chief Carl Voss, referee Frank Udvari, linesmen Sam Babcock and Cliff Thompson, Maurice Richard, Hal Laycoe, Montreal representatives Dick Irvin and Ken Reardon and Boston representative Lynn Patrick.[13] Following the three and a half-hour meeting, Campbell delivered his ruling. Even though Laycoe admitted to first striking Richard over the head with his hockey stick, the President excused him and found that Richard's attack on Laycoe was 'persistent' and 'deliberate' and that Richard was well aware that Cliff Thompson was a linesman when he struck him. As a result Campbell ruled:

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dismay, he avoided a suspension and ended up only receiving a $250 fine for his actions. In response to the fine, the English press in Toronto began to make demands for Campbell's resignation. The French press in Montreal accepted the fine as just punishment for they felt that the blow Richard delivered to the official was purely accidental. *Montréal-Matin*, 15 March 1955.

[13] *Globe and Mail*, 17 March 1955.

> Consequently, the time for probation or leniency is past. Whether this type of conduct is the product of temperamental instability or wilful defiance of authority in the game does not matter. It is this type of conduct that cannot be tolerated by any player - star or otherwise.
>
> In the result, Richard will be suspended for all games both league and playoff, for the balance of the current season.[14]

Campbell's ruling, whether fair or unfair, was printed in all of the major Canadian newspapers for fans to judge. The responses to the severity of his decision varied among the French and English members of the print media and public. From these striking and highly publicized differences it was apparent that 'race', especially among French Quebecers, had become the central issue surrounding the suspension and the entire incident quickly took on nationalist tones in the province.

Reaction to Campbell's ruling among the print media was again divided along linguistic lines. In Toronto, the N.H.L. President earned the respect and praise of the English press. The *Globe and Mail's* Gord Walker supported Campbell's decision by writing:

> ...it must have been the easiest decision Campbell has had to make in years. The only alternative to suspending the great Montreal forward, as he did, was to pack his personal belongings and turn over the presidential chair tc the office boy.
>
> Campbell has long erred on the side of leniency... the Rocket failed to show that leniency is a good teacher.[15]

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[14] *Globe and Mail*, 17 March 1955; *Toronto Star*, 17 March 1955; *Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1955; *Le Devoir*, 17 March 1955; *La Presse*, 17 March 1955.

[15] *Globe and Mail*, 17 March 1955. Other sports writers from Toronto joined Walker. Jim Vipond showed his support for Campbell's decision by stating, "...Campbell, on the spot of his own making, acted wisely and quickly, but still only issued the minimum of sentences. Richard, tremendous hockey player that he is, must learn that he is not bigger than the game...." *Globe and Mail*, 18 March 1955. In *Saturday Night*, a

As justification of his support, Walker went on to list all the other serious infractions involving 'The Rocket' for which he did not receive a suspension. Overall, Toronto's media saw justice being served through Campbell's sentence. From their opinions, it appears, if anything, the President should have been even harsher on 'The Rocket'. They turned a blind eye to the victimization of the hockey star and, instead, regarded him as an aggressor with a long history of violence that needed to be quelled. Campbell's decision was firmly supported by the members of Toronto's English press and they commended the man for his courage and clear judgement.

While the Toronto media viewed Richard as a villain and Campbell as the upholder of justice, the editorials that appeared on the sport's pages of Montreal's newspapers voiced a completely different opinion on the matter. Montreal sportswriters, especially those who wrote for the French-language newspapers, turned to the issues of 'race' and class. They interpreted Richard's treatment by Campbell as something larger than hockey itself. For the French-language media, the suspension of their 'home-grown' hero by an English Canadian symbolized the long-standing oppression of Francophones at the hands of Anglophones. Montreal's French media overwhelmingly disagreed with the severity of Campbell's ruling and questioned his rationale. By failing to recognize, let alone rectify, the excessively harsh treatment Richard received from opponents as a contributing factor

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Toronto magazine, Hugh MacLennan pointed out the following: "In this situation Clarence Campbell could have done nothing less than suspend Richard for the season even though he knew it would cost the Canadiens the Championship and Richard his scoring title...." *Saturday Night*, 9 April 1955, 10. The *Toronto Telegram's* Bob Hesketh had only praise for Campbell. He wrote, "Campbell, if he ever was a glorified office boy, has outgrown it. Like him or not, most everyone will agree that he should be respected for courage and belief in his own ideals...." *Toronto Telegram*, 17 March 1955. Finally, the *Toronto Star's* Milt Dunnell took a more reserved approach and wrote: "...professional hockey should be the winner in

to his actions in Boston and to simply attribute them to 'temperamental instability or wilful defiance of authority', Campbell made a complete mockery of what Richard symbolically represented to French Canadians in and outside of the media.

While the members of Montreal's English press attempted to rationalize Campbell's decision and showed restraint in their opinion[16], the French-language media produced a scathing assessment of his judgement. In *Le Devoir*, Bert Souliere described Campbell's ruling as 'injuste et trop sévère' and 'simplement atroce'.[17] Gérrard Gosselin was even harsher. From the day of the ruling, up until the end of the hockey season, he made constant appeals for Campbell's resignation[18] and stated that one reason behind the hefty suspension was Campbell's jealousy of Richard's success.[19] The director of *Le Devoir*, Gérrard Filion, even stated, "Had Campbell been a Frenchman, he would have been killed then and there."[20] In *La Presse*, Richard was depicted as a young and courageous athlete who emerged from a poor working-class family and had many

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the long run. What's happened to Richard is going to be a lesson that all hands will remember. Campbell will command a lot more respect from now on...." *Toronto Star*, 17 March 1955.

[16] The *Montreal Gazette's* Dink Carroll wrote the following: "It is a harsh judgement, which may find favour with some, but there will be many dissenters and some right in Boston. This penalty operates not only against the Rocket, but also against the other players on the team and the Montreal fans as well. No other player in the history of the N.H.L. has had more provocation than the Rocket... Laycoe must have done something or the Canadien star wouldn't have had five stitches on his scalp." *Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1955. The *Montreal Gazette* also reproduced the *Globe and Mail's* editorial by Gord Walker under the headline, 'Toronto Approves Campbell's Decision'. *Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1955. This article commended Campbell on his decision to suspend Richard. Carroll's editorial provides some insight into the on-ice treatment that Richard received throughout his career and attempts to explain Richard's actions as stemming from his consistent provocation and frustration.

[17] *Le Devoir*, 17 March 1955, 19 March 1955.

[18] *Le Devoir*, 18 March 1955, 19 March 1955, 22 March 1955, 6 April 1955.

[19] *Le Devoir*, 4 April 1955.

[20] Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces Behind the Richard Hockey Riot," *MacLean's Magazine*, 17 September 1955, 100.

obstacles to overcome throughout his career.[21] Campbell's recent suspension was another in a long line of barriers.

In another journal, the *Montréal-Matin*, Jacques Beauchamp described the verdict as 'criante', 'simplement révoltante', and 'stupide' and accused Campbell of deliberately destroying Quebec's national sport and hero.[22] *Parlons Sports* also criticized the ruling and accused the President of being 'racially' biased. In an article entitled, 'Une insulte à la race canadienne française' the journal stated:

> Un anti-Canadien français acharné, Clarence Campbell, s'est donné comme mission de détruire l'organisation du Canadien qui, pourtant, paie les forts montants à la Ligue en vertu de ses salles combles. Mais Campbell, qui n'avait probablement pas rencontré de Canadiens français dans les bureaux de l'Armée, puisque la plupart de nos compatriotes, eux étaient au front comme simples soldats et pâture à canon, est fermement résolu à les faire enrager le plus souvent possible.
>
> Quoi de plus facile pour atteindre son but que de s'attaquer continuellement à la plus grande idole du Canada français, Maurice Richard? Et Clarence n'y est pas allé de main morte. Il a constamment avili et sali Richard, il l'a traîné chaque année dans son beau bureau luxueux, payé avec les amendes du Rocket, pour l'humilier et le ternir. Il lui a flanqué amende sur amende (au montant de 2500 dollars) en plus de 2000 dollars qu'il vient probablement de lui faire perdre pour le championnat des compteurs, il n'a jamais voulu une seule fois lui donner raison. C'est toujours Richard qui a eu tort, c'est toujours Richard qui a payé, c'est toujours Richard qui a été coupable; les autres,

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[21] *La Presse*, 17 March 1955.

[22] *Montréal-Matin*, 17 March 1955. Jacques Beauchamp's editorial went on to state the following: "Elle est de nature à ruiner le hockey à Montréal, le 'château fort' de notre sport national.... Richard, celui qui a aidé à populariser le hockey depuis une dizaine d'années, vient d'être victime d'une injustice criante .. En sevissant contre Maurice, Campbell a complètement ignoré tout ce que notre compatriote a fait pour notre sport national.... Campbell a porté hier un coup de jarnac au public fidèle des Canadiens, celui qui aide la survivance du hockey. Les soirtifs de la province de Québec n'auront plus cette saison l'occasion de voir évoluer le joueur le plus spectaculaire dans l'histoire du hockey et le plus grand 'money player' de tous les temp."

> c'étaient tous des anges déguisés en joueurs de hockey. Quand les nullités comme Ezinicky, Leswick, Kullman et Laycoe se sont attaqués à Richard, c'est Richard qui a été puni. C'était toujours le mouton noir, le baudet sur lequel il fallait crier hero.
>
> Richard a été littéralement flagellé en public par Campbell depuis le début de sa carrière et il a quand même réussi à devenir le plus grand joueur de hockey de tous les temps et Campbell est en même temp devenu le 'cave du siècle'.[23]

This article is quite similar to the one written by Richard in December of 1953 in regards to the suspension Campbell handed to his teammate Bernard Geoffrion.[24] The strong references made to 'race' and class in the above article are significant for they provide insight into what the Campbell-Richard confrontation began to represent to the people of French Canada. *Parlons Sports* accused Campbell of being an anti-French Canadian who deliberately pursued a course of action to enrage Francophones. His anti-French character was proven by his resolve to control and endlessly fine Richard throughout his career, while exercising leniency towards Anglophone players such as Bill Ezinicky, Tony Lewsick, Eddie Kullman and Hal Laycoe.[25] The class distinctions between Campbell and French Canadians are implied in the above article when the elitist white-collar involvement

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[23] *Parlons Sports*, 16 March 1955. Also cited in Jean-Marie Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple: Maurice Richard* (Montreal: Les éditions de l'homme, 1976), 319-320.

[24] See Chapter II, footnote 102.

[25] The political cartoons that appeared in the French-language papers summarily reflected the underlying tensions that the incident revolved around. D. B. Van Dalen notes that cartoons are "...the emotional products of the moment rather than 'hindsight' history, hence, they may provide insights into the unofficial views and attitudes of people...." D. B. Van Dalen, "Political Cartoons Employing Sports as a Communication Media," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 7 (December 1976), 39. One political cartoon that appeared in a Montreal French-language newspaper during the time of Richard's suspension neatly captures the Campbell and Richard relationship and the 'racial' tensions between the two. It depicts a bound and gagged Richard kneeling in front of Campbell's desk pleading for forgiveness. Mounted on the wall behind the N.H.L. President are the photos of two English hockey players, Gordie Howe and Ron Murphy, with the captions 'King of Assists' and 'Tomorrow's Star' respectively written underneath each. See Appendix C.

in the war effort of the former is contrasted to that of the blue-collar front-line participation of the latter. The depiction of the privileged position that Campbell occupied and the authority he exercised in controlling the destiny of Richard and the Canadiens proved an excellent metaphor for the control which English Canadians held over the French in Quebec. What personally touched most French-language journalists was Campbell's ability to curb the on-ice success of French Canada's most adored hockey player and team. In doing so, the N.H.L. President was able to control the Francophone experiences of superiority and excellence, which were constructed around the Canadiens and Richard, and rub French-Canadians' noses in their own lack of control over their destiny.

That certain sport editorials viewed Campbell's suspension of Richard as being 'racially' motivated provides insight into the socio-economic antagonisms that existed between Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec during the 1950s. The numerous references made to Campbell's 'racial' bias and privileged position were a reflection of the neo-nationalist sentiments that had penetrated Montreal's print media. The Richard-Laycoe affair provided members of the media with the perfect opportunity to express their social commentaries because Richard was not only a champion of the French-Canadian 'nation' and someone who all Francophones could relate to and rally behind but, equally importantly, his relationship with Campbell was a constant reminder of what was wrong with Franco-Quebec.

The feelings of outrage expressed by the French members of the media spilled over into the public and political realm[26] where they were most noticeable among French-speaking Canadien fans. The more hostile reactions came from the fans that called Campbell's office in Montreal. Following the announcement of Richard's suspension, the telephone lines of the N.H.L. President's office were jammed with calls from pro-Richard supporters, the majority of whom spoke broken English or had heavy French accents.[27] These callers uttered death threats such as, "It's too bad for Campbell. I will kill him the first chance I have," "He'll be assassinated. It would be best for him if he not attend the match on Thursday versus Detroit," and "You can be rest assured that Clarence Campbell will be dead by the end of the week."[28] Along with the phone calls, Campbell's office received numerous letters that highlight the 'racial' and nationalist tones the incident had acquired. One letter stated, "If Richard's last name was Richardson you would have seen a different verdict. You, Campbell, are not as good as any French-Canadian walking

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[26] Politicians heightened the tensions in Montreal as they debated the suspension of 'The Rocket'. In what appeared to be an attempt to stir up certain emotions, in Ottawa, a Progressive-Conservative member from Trois Rivières, Leon Balcer, attempted to introduce the Richard suspension into the House of Commons for debate. He was called to order by the house speaker, Rène Beaudoin, after the Liberals vehemently opposed. *La Presse*, 18 March 1955. Closer to home, public statements made by Montreal's popular Mayor, Jean Drapeau, captured the attention of the French-language media. In regards to Richard's suspension, Drapeau told the press that "This sort of decision and punishment could actually kill hockey in Montreal." *Le Devoir*, 18 March 1955. Other prominent local French-Canadians joined Drapeau. Two popular French lawyers, Louis De Zwirek and Edward Masson publicly voiced their opinions. De Zwirek told the press that "The judgement came so quickly that it must have been preconceived." Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 102. Masson said he would review the Richard suspension and see if Campbell's ruling could be overturned. The fact that Richard's suspension was even considered for debate in the House of Commons and among Montreal city councillors points to the important social status of Richard in French Canada.

[27] Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 100.

[28] *La Presse*, 17 March 1955. Other phone callers said the following: "Mr. Campbell is not there is he? Well, can you tell him that I called to say we're going to attack his office in the Sun Life building." and "I am very well aware that Campbell likes Boston. He managed to take care of them." Other derogatory terms uttered towards the N.H.L. President included: "...dictator, poor personality, sick, coward, German, American, snake from northern United States, little pig, big pig, beast, face of a snake, sloven, yellow face, large bowl of soup, and Judas." Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 100.

around."[29] Another letter from Verdun read, "You're just another Englishman jealous of the French, who are much better than you...."[30] Two other letters from Montreal expressed similar opinions. One stated, "The Frenchmen have always been slaves and suckers and it's a pleasure for you to see others blood run," and the other said, "You British Animal! Why did your vile ancestors set foot on our lovely land? Go back to where you came from - England and hell!"[31] Together, these expressions of anger and outrage reflect the extent to which the symbolic representation of Richard and Campbell had become personalized among Francophones and how 'race' and 'nation' heightened the tensions surrounding the affair.

The mainstream print media in Montreal told very much the same story. The *Montreal Gazette*, *Le Devoir*, and *La Presse* printed numerous fan commentaries in which Francophones, almost unanimously responded negatively to the suspension. The most popular phrase used to describe Campbell's ruling was 'trop sévère'.[32] In *La Presse*, prominent members of the Francophone community were quoted as sharing similar sentiments.[33] Anglophone opinions in Montreal were far less critical of Campbell's

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[29] Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 100.
[30] Ibid., 102.
[31] Ibid.
[32] *La Presse*, 17 March 1955; *Le Devoir*, 17 March 1955; *Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1955. In *La Presse* Roland Bleau, baseball umpire and hockey referee, stated "...je la trouve sévère et coûteuse à toute l'equipe plutôt qu'a Richard seul." and R. H. Poitras called it "un peu top sévère." *La Presse*, 17 March 1955.
[33] The following opinions and comments appeared in *La Presse*: Roméo Mathieu, Secretary to the Fédération des unions industrielles du Québec, questioned how such an important decision could have been decided upon so quickly. Léo M. Côté, President of Conseil des métiers et du travail de Montréal, felt the punishment was unjust and the decision should have been made by a committee rather than by an individual. Lucien Croteau, member of the executive committee of the city of Montreal, stated, "Il me semble qu'on aurait pu trouver une punition qui n'aurai pas puni le publique qui ne peut s'imaginer...." Marcel Lafalle, Leader of the Montreal's Municipal Board of Directors, said, "...la punition imposée est excessive." Jacques, Vadboncoeur, Vice-President of la Ligue de hockey Dépression and former President of Quebec's tennis accociation, was quoted as saying, "Je considere que la décision rendu est stupide." Dave Rochon, former leader of Montreal's Municipal Board of Directors, said, "La décision est beaucoup

decision. While some felt that the President might have been too severe, others praised him for his courage and clear judgement.[34] One particular article in the *Montreal Gazette* typified the sentiment shared by the city's Anglo-Saxon population. In an article entitled 'School Sports Head Praises Campbell', John Lang, head of Physical Education for the Montreal Protestant School Board, stated, "I do not think the punishment is too severe. After all the Canadiens deserve to suffer since they could have helped things by restraining Richard from his repeated attacks."[35] Of the major newspapers in Montreal, only the English *Montreal Gazette* reproduced the letter written by Lang.

Public support for the suspension of 'The Rocket' was even stronger outside of Quebec. In Toronto, the *Telegram* quoted one observer stating, "I'm 100 percent behind Campbell in his decision,"[36] and another saying, "Campbell has done more for the N.H.L. in this thing than anyone ever has. I admire him very much."[37] In the *Toronto Star*, one fan commented, "I back Mr. Campbell to the hilt with his verdict."[38] The *Globe and Mail* reported the reactions of N.H.L. members such as Conn Smythe (owner of the Toronto

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trop sévère." Eddie Quinn, boxing promoter for the Canadian Arena Company, indicated, "Clarence Campbell s'est montré beaucoup trop sévère à l'endroit de Richard." A. L. Caron, President of Administration Board of Sheraton hotels, revealed, "Je trouve la décision rendue par M. Campbell un peu trop sévère." Pete Morin, coach of the Montreal Royals, said, "La punition infligée à Maurice Richard est sévère, surtout pour un joueur qui, comme le Rocket, a donné tant d'années de sa vie à la cause de hockey..." Jean-Paul Hamelin, former President of the Montreal Athletic Commission, stated, "C'est la une décision injuste à la Campbell." *La Presse*, 17 March 1955.

[34] Max Shenker, a Montreal resident, showed his support for Campbell by stating Richard "...a eu exactement ce qu'il meritait." *La Presse*, 17 March 1955. Frank Turner, another Montrealer, said, "It's a terrible thing coming just before the playoffs." Carl Finaly stated, "I think the penalty was a bit too severe, but I feel that he (Richard) expected it." Andrew Webster Jr. said, "The Rocket deserved it in one way, but not in another." Eric Webster commented, "They had to put their foot down sometime and teach that guy a lesson. He's had a lot of chances and now he is getting his punishment." John McLean stated, "Mr. Campbell was quite justified in suspending the Rocket." Richard Jeffers revealed the following: "I think the suspension will give him the rest he needs." Alfred Allen was quoted saying, "He's going to wish he'd never stepped out of line." *Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1955.

[35] *Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1955.

[36] Comments made by Walter Elliot, a market research expert. *Toronto Telegram*, 18 March 1955.

[37] Comments made by Fred Hoffman, a projectionist. *Toronto Telegram*, 18 March 1955.

Maple Leafs), Fleming Mackell (Boston Bruins' player), Walter Brown (President of the Boston Bruins), Ted Lindsay (Detroit Red Wings' player) and Jack Adams (Detroit Red Wings' general manager). All of these Anglophones concurred with the President's ruling and Adams' claim that Campbell "...couldn't do anything less."[39] Conn Smythe, who was known for stocking his team with the toughest and dirtiest players in the league, provided the most hypocritical commentary by stating:

> Our own players know what the rules are and they conform to them and so do nearly all the other players in the league. The suspension of Richard will protect the players in the future. It also showed that the N.H.L. and hockey are bigger than the biggest star and that all players, star or run-of-the-mill, must abide by the rules.[40]

The above pro-Campbell sentiments and those echoed by Toronto Anglophones indicate the disdain Maple Leaf hockey fans held towards Richard.

Along with the public sentiment detailed in the press, a number of events transpired following the announcement of 'The Rocket's' suspension that are worth mentioning for they reveal how strongly French Canadians backed Richard and the extent to which the representational character of the affair had grown. In Montreal, listeners of the French radio station CKAC were so anxious to express their disgust with the suspension that they clogged the station's telephone switchboard. The majority of the callers who did get through were highly critical of Campbell's ruling and vehemently defended Richard's actions. A poll conducted by the radio station revealed that 97 percent of the callers felt that the punishment Richard received was far too severe, while a mere

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[38] *Toronto Star*, 23 March 1955.
[39] Ibid., 17 March 1955.

three percent thought justice was served.[41] In other parts of Quebec, Francophone support for Richard was equally unwavering. French radio announcer Raymond Labrecque, from CJMT in Chicoutimi, showed his support for the Canadien player by sending him a get-well telegram. Over 3,500 supporters from across the Saguenay region, who were required to make a ten cent donation to a local orphanage, signed the 160 foot long telegram which took over five hours to transmit to Montreal.[42] In Ottawa, a group of Richard supporters captured the attention of the press when they gathered inside the Soviet embassy to protest the suspension of their hero. To their delight, "...the Russians extended their sympathy to every Canadian guest present... (and) blamed the suspension on the English and the Americans."[43]

The most telling and symbolic action, however, came from grocery store owners in Quebec. Directed as an attack towards the N.H.L. President, a campaign was organized among several French grocery chains that called for a complete boycott of Campbell's soup.[44] Even though Clarence Campbell was in no way involved with the Campbell Soup Company, the widespread negative connotation of the 'Campbell' name among French Canadians says much about the impact of this individual's symbolic character. The anti-French image attributed to Clarence Campbell's identity had grown so strong among Francophones that his name alone acquired a set of meanings that encompassed everything he represented. The soup protest was one of the most expressive shows of support for

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[40] Ibid.
[41] *La Presse*, 17 March 1955.
[42] Ibid., 21 March 1955.
[43] Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 100.
[44] Andy O'Brien, *Rocket Richard* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1961), 47; Andy O'Brien, *Les Canadiens: The Story of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1971), 65.

French-Canada's hockey hero and an indication of how crucial Campbell's Anglo-Saxon identity was to enlivening the 'racial' tensions surrounding the incident.

Overall, the clear divisions seen in the opinions expressed by Anglophones and Francophones, in and outside the media, and the various actions taken by French Richard backers, provide a measure of how influential the socially constructed identities of Richard and Campbell were. The 'unjust' treatment of the former at the hands of the latter resulted in the affair being cloaked by the convergence of 'racial', class and national experiences which provided average working-class Francophones with a metaphoric understanding of the 'duality' of Canada as being based on deprivation and inequality. Campbell's authority to determine the fate of French Canada's most beloved athlete paralleled the Francophone lack of authority in the work place. The N.H.L. President's decision to suspend Richard struck at the hearts of all Canadien fans, particularly French fans, for it deprived them of the hopes and dreams that they constructed around the Canadiens and Maurice Richard. The build-up of the Campbell-Richard confrontation by the media rehashed the memories of the daily life struggles endured by Francophones which, ultimately, contributed to the flaring of French-Canadian tempers and to the 'Richard Riot's' eventual occurrence. While these tensions existed among French Quebecers for decades, they do not explain why the riot took place on 17 March 1955. It would be the actions taken by Campbell on that evening that would unleash the resentment and anger pent-up inside French Canadians for generations. Instead of functioning as a working-class opiate, in this case, sport provided the opportunity for working-class Francophones to express their consciousness through recourse to riotous attack, fuelled by the oppressions of 'race' and 'nation'.

THE RIOT

An ominous aura pervaded the city of Montreal by the night of 17 March 1955 as Richard supporters gathered outside the Forum throughout the late afternoon to protest the suspension of their hero. By the time the match between the Detroit Red Wings and Montreal Canadiens began that evening, the size of the crowd gathered on the streets adjacent to the Canadiens arena numbered in the thousands. The 'racial' tension in the air was evinced by the numerous signs paraded along the St. Catherine Street that demonstrated the resolve of French support for Richard and the Francophone resentment of Campbell. Some of them read:

"Vive Richard"
"Richard, le persécute"
"Pas de Richard, pas de coure [*sic*]"
"J'y vais pas - et vous / I'm not coming are you?"
"Tout péché se pardonne Campbell"
"A bas Campbell"
"Dehors Campbell – drop dead"
"La justice est morte"
"Tu veux tuer notre sport national"
"Injustice au Canada français"
"Campbell, traître aux Canadiens-français"[45]

The fact that the majority of the placards were written in French indicates the overall ethnic character of the crowd. In addition to the above slogans, which denounced 'The Rocket's' persecution, other signs portrayed pictures of animals, especially pigs, with the name Campbell written in large letters underneath.[46] Overall, the enormity of the

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[45] Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 300; *Montreal Gazette*, 18 March 1955; Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 102; *La Presse*, 18 March 1955; *The Complete History of the Montreal Canadiens* (Toronto: Readysoft Incorporated and MMI Multi Media Interactif, 1996).

[46] The animal depictions delivered a symbolic message that suggested Campbell lacked any human character traits. The placards that carried drawings of pigs point to his chauvinistic qualities, his contemptible attitude, and his 'low, coarse, greedy, or despicable' personality. Hugh Rawson, *Wicked*

Francophone show of support for Richard and the antipathy directed towards Campbell substantiated the social significance of the symbolic identities surrounding these two cultural icons.

Inside the sold-out arena, 15,000 fans awaited the arrival of Campbell, who had publicly stated that he would be attending the match, despite the various death threats his office received throughout the day. In his opinion, "It was my right and my duty to be present at the game both as a citizen and as president of the league...."[47] This attitude only worked to further agitate Richard supporters. By the start of the game there was no sign of the President. As the first period of the match neared completion, he finally made his entrance along with two other guests. His presence evidently provoked the spectators who were already flustered by the poor performance of their team that evening.[48] The instant Campbell took his seat French-speaking fans started shouting, "Nous voulons Richard."[49] Following these chants, the N.H.L. President was bombarded with reams of programmes, rotten vegetables, rubbers and other debris emanating from the upper sections of the arena. One fan even showed up with 50 pounds of pigs' feet to toss at him.[50] Though the shower of flying objects caused the section of seats to be cleared out, Campbell decided to remain seated for fear of exciting the fans even further.[51] Agitation on the part of the latter

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Words: A Treasury of Curses, Insults, Put-Downs and Other Formerly Unprintable Terms from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1989), 297-298, 379. See also Irving Lewis Allen, *Unkind Words: Ethnic Labeling from Redskin to WASP* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1990).

[47] *Montreal Gazette*, 19 March 1955; *Globe and Mail*, 19 March 1955.

[48] The Detroit Red Wings quickly dominated the first period of the game and took a commanding four to one lead before the hostilities broke out.

[49] *La Presse*, 18 March 1955.

[50] *Toronto Star*, 18 March 1955.

[51] Ibid.

continued to mount as they began chanting "Va-t'en Campbell, Va-t'en Campbell,"[52] "A bas Campbell,"[53] and "Tué Campbell! Tué Campbell!"[54] One fan eventually made his way down to Campbell's seat and attempted to slap his face. As police escorted the assailant out of the arena, a teargas bomb exploded in the vicinity of the President. Police then quickly and quietly guided Campbell and his guests out of the arena. As the fumes from the bomb filled the Forum, Fire Director Armand Pare ordered the cancellation of the game, urging everyone to evacuate the building immediately.

As the spectators inside the arena emptied out onto the streets an ugly mood began to envelop the crowd. The 15,000 fans that exited the arena were joined by the thousands of Campbell protestors who had remained on St. Catherine Street during the game. Mob hysteria quickly spread among those fans who were still harbouring strong feelings of resentment and whose emotions were churned with what had happened inside the Forum. As the crowd began chanting 'On veut Campbell', 'On veut Richard' and 'Vive le Rocket'[55], violent outbursts soon followed. Cars were overturned, telephone booths were destroyed, bricks were thrown, fires were started and stores along St. Catherine Street were ransacked. Maurice Richard even went on local radio radio stations during the evening in the hope of calming the rioters.[56] Unfortunately, the pillaging continued into the early-morning hours and would not cease until 3:00 a.m. when the crowd finally began to disperse. By the end of the night 12 policemen and 25 civilians suffered injuries, over $100,000 in damage was done, and 62 rioters, 25 of whom were youths, were arrested for

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[52] Ibid.
[53] *La Presse*, 18 March 1955.
[54] Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 13.
[55] *La Presse*, 18 March 1955.
[56] *Le Devoir*, 19 March 1955.

various offences.[57] In the words of Montreal's director of police, "It was the worst night I've had in my thirty-three years as a policeman."[58]

Sociological theories on sports crowd behaviour can provide some understanding as to why the riot in Montreal transpired by placing the event within a framework. In their study of the social significance of sport, Barry D. McPherson, James E. Curtis, and John W. Loy examine a handful of sociological theories on collective behaviour and apply them to their examination of sports crowds.[59] Within each of these theoretical models the 'Richard Riot' has a place. Which model provides the best explanation for the riot's occurrence is difficult to surmise as these theories overlap and 'complement' one another. Others, such as L. Mann and P. Pearce, have added to the study of collective behaviour theories by categorizing the different forms of crowd disorders. Their inventory includes the following: frustration riots, outlawry disorders, remonstrance disorders, confrontation

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[57] *Montreal Gazette*, March 19, 1955 Charges laid against the rioters included: disturbing the peace, obstructing justice, loitering by night, refusing to obey police orders to disperse and looting. One assault charge was laid against André Robinson who allegedly squeezed a tomato into Campbell's chest. A total of 125 police officers were needed to quell the violence.

[58] Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 97.

[59] The theories examined by McPherson, Curtis and Loy include the following: (1) Contagion Theory of Collective Behavior, (2) Covergence Perspective, (3) R. H. Turner's and L. M. Killian's Emergent Norm Perspective, and (4) Neil Smelser's Value-Added Perspective. The Contagion Theory argues that individuals lose themselves when in a group situation and are compelled to act as one when they are emotionally charged or influenced by a leader. The Covergence Perspective argues that when people who share the same values, beliefs, and underlying frustrations gather together they are easily stimulated by the actions of informal charismatic leaders. The Emergent Norm Perspective holds that among heterogeneous crowds, shared understandings of certain behavior emerge to spark certain types of action. The Value-Added Perspective theory denotes five requirements for collective behavior to occur. First, a structural strain is needed such as perceived or real deprivations, conflicts, or underlying / generalized tensions or dissatisfactions. Second, structural conduciveness is needed where the crowd believes that their grievance cannot be resolved through 'normal' means. Third, a 'generalized belief', such as a bad call by an official or an unjust suspension of a player, is required to account for the crowd's resentment. Fourth, precipitating factors, such as a player arguing an official's decision, are required. Lastly, communication among the crowd and the mobilization of participants to act by leaders are necessary in order for collective behavior to occur. Barry D. McPherson, James E. Curtis, and John W. Loy, *The Social Significance of Sport* (Champaign: Human Kinetics Books, 1989), 280-284.

disorders, and expressive riots.[60] Of these five different types of crowd disorders, frustration riots most accurately illustrate what happened in Montreal.

The Richard incident first began with the feelings of disappointment that stemmed from the severity of the Campbell-ordered suspension. While most French fans expected Richard's suspension to last for the duration of the regular season and/or for it to commence at the beginning of the following season, none thought that N.H.L. President's suspension would carry over into the Stanley Cup playoffs. Francophone frustration emanated from the discrepancy between what punishment they felt Richard should have received and the sentence that Campbell actually delivered. In their examination of the relationship between justice and violence in sports, Melvin M. Mark, Fred B. Bryant and Darrin R. Lehman have discovered that "...a perceived injustice is more likely to lead to violence to the extent that it is frustrating."[61] In the case of the 'Richard Riot', Francophone frustrations were noticeably heightened by Campbell's decision to attend the Canadiens match against the Red Wings. By appearing at this game, Campbell not only showed his authority, but reminded all French fans that there was nothing they could do to overturn the suspension of their idol.

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[60] The sport crowd disorder categories of Mann and Pierce are cited in the following: Wray Vamplew, "Sports Crowd Disorder in Britain, 1870-1914: Causes and Control," *Journal of Sport History* 7 (Spring, 1980): 10-11; and in Wray Vamplew, "Unsporting Behavior: The Control of Football and Horse-Racing Crowds in England, 1875-1914," in *Sports Violence*, ed. Jeffrey H. Goldstein (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1983), 23-24. The five types of sports crowd disorders are described as follows: (1) Frustration Riots – occur when spectators' legitimate expectations are thwarted, such as their access to the game or when they perceive an injustice by a call an official has made; (2) Outlawry Disorders – occur when violence prone spectators attend an event and unleash their anti-social activities by attacking officials, rival fans and destroying property; (3) Remonstrance Disorders – occur when a section of a sports crowd uses the sporting event as an opportunity to express their political grievances; (4) Confrontation Disorders – occur when rival sport fans (from different religious, ethnic, geographic or national backgrounds) come in contact with one another; (5) Expressive Riot – the unbridled behavior that occurs following the intense emotional moment of a victory or defeat

[61] Melvin M. Mark, Fred B. Bryant and Darrin R. Lehman, "Perceived Injustice and Sports Violence," in *Sports Violence*, ed. Jeffrey H. Goldstein (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1983), 86.

While sport related frustrations have the ability to spark outbursts of collective violence, underlying pre-existing tensions and on-going social movements can also catalyse collective behaviour.[62] In regards to the 'Richard Riot', the pre-existing 'racial', class, and national tensions between English and French Canadians spilled over into the sports realm as they were metaphorically paralleled in the relationship between Campbell and Richard. As for on-going social movements, the expression of neo-nationalist sentiment was evident when French-language journalists became highly critical of Campbell's treatment of Richard and suggested that the 'racial' prejudice that had guided his judgement was reflective of the larger socio-economic problems faced by French Quebecers. Together, these 'external' factors added to the tensions shared by those gathered outside the Montreal Forum and increased the probability of a violent outburst.

Along with the elements of frustration, pre-existing tensions, and the influence of Quebec's neo-nationalist movement, environmental factors also contributed to the outbreak of hostilities. C. K. Dewar, in his study of fan violence at professional baseball games, provides a checklist for the typical scenario in which spectator violence can occur during a sporting spectacle. This list includes the following: during evening games, when an audience nearly fills the stadium or arena, late in the sporting season, in the less expensive seating areas, as the temperature increases, and late in the game.[63] All of the above parameters were met during the 'Richard Riot' with the exception of the latter.[64]

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[62] McPherson, Curtis, and Loy, *The Social Significance of Sport*, 292-297.

[63] C. K. Dewar's study is cited in McPherson, Curtis, and Loy, *The Social Significance of Sport*, 297. For the complete study see C. K. Dewar, "Spectator Fights at Professional Baseball Games," *Review of Sport and Leisure* 4 (Summer 1979).

[64] First, the match between the Red Wings and Canadiens was played in the evening (start time 7:00 p.m.). Second, the Montreal Forum was filled to capacity. Third, the game was the Canadiens' third-last of the regular season. Fourth, the game took place just as the spring season was about to begin, and

On the surface, the incident in Montreal appears to be another example of fan hooliganism due to the fact that a large number of youths were held primarily responsible for the outbreak of violence.[65] However, a more in-depth analysis reveals that pre-existing tensions, which are characteristic of most issue-orient riots[66], unified the protestors that gathered outside the Montreal Forum and precipitated the uproar that came to pass that evening. An examination of the backgrounds of the rioters who were arrested and the responses of the media and public in the riot's aftermath indicate that the outbreak of violence had much more to do with the pre-existing 'racial', class and national tensions that were symbolically represented in Richard's suspension than has been previously thought. What Campbell's punishment and presence at the Montreal Forum suggested to Francophones became as important as the frustrations that emerged from the suspension itself since they illuminated larger social conflicts. As McPherson, Curtis, and Loy conclude, "Contrary to common beliefs, conflicts of 'race', class, and politics are not excluded from sport settings and often contribute to collective behaviour.... Few social

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finally, the protests inside the Forum were begun by those fans seated in the upper sections of the arena, specifically among the French working-class fans located in the 'Millionaires' section of the arena.

[65] Following the riot, some members of the media and Montreal City councillors blamed a 'gang of youthful hoodlums' for the outbreak of violence. The English-language *Montreal Gazette* described the mob outside the Forum as consisting of "gangs of youths" and "several hundred youths." *Montreal Gazette*, 18 March 1955. Dink Carroll stated the following: "It's true that the disgraceful scenes were sparked by a small group of youths, either teens or just out of them...." *Montreal Gazette*, 19 March 1955. Clarence Campbell, in a interview with the *Toronto Telegram*, would state that no one in particular was responsible for the riot, except for "...a few irresponsible people." *Toronto Telegram*, 18 March 1955. Andy O'Brien, a sportswriter at the time, viewed the riot as simply an example of 'mob hysteria'. Andy O'Brien, *Les Canadiens*, 66. In the political sphere, the Executive Chairman of Montreal's City Council, Pierre DesMarais, and City Councillor Frank Hanley, shared Campbell's opinion. They felt that radio station reports of the crowd gathering outside the Montreal Forum attracted the young 'hooligans' who were interested in causing trouble that evening. *Montreal Gazette*, 19 March 1955. Hanley went on to say that the damages were the "...work of a handful of hoodlums and could not be blamed on the 'true supporters' of Les Canadiens." *Montreal Gazette*, 18 March 1955. Evidence in support of the above opinions comes from the fact that half of those who were arrested the evening of March 17, 1955 were juveniles. While these suppositions have come to be generally accepted among journalists and sportswriters, they do not provide a comprehensive explanation as to why the riot occurred.

movements have begun in sport, although sport has reflected movements begun in the wider society."[67] To label the 'Richard Riot' as an issue-less event and simply describe it as the recklessness of a few young 'hoodlums' is inaccurate for the reactions to the events surrounding the riot confirm that the incident reached beyond the domain of professional sport.

THE RIOTERS

The ethnic and class backgrounds of the protestors that gathered outside the Montreal Forum provide some answers as to why the riot occurred the night of St. Patrick's Day. The atmosphere that evening was similar to that found at a European soccer match, where spectators "...tend to be primarily male; many are from the working class, especially those who sit in the terraces. Hence, working class and male values of aggression and territorial protection prevail."[68] Listed below are the names and ages of 37 of the 62 rioters who were arrested. Though this list consists of only a small portion of the total number of people who assembled outside the Canadiens' arena, it does provide a glimpse into who were the most agitated and aggressive. The following list of names and ages appeared in the *Montreal Gazette*:

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[66] McPherson, Curtis, and Loy, *The Social Significance of Sport*, 297.
[67] Ibid., 310.
[68] Ibid., 295.

Andre Robinson* (26)	Pierre Laplante* (23)	Real Arsenault* (19)
George Barrette* (25)	Leveille, Real* (24)	F. L. Sante* (26)
Marius Morin* (21)	Jean P. Detome* (31)	Richard Cote* (19)
Jacques Leduc* (24)	Roger Goulet* (19)	Jacques Bibeau* (22)
Jean Levesque* (18)	Jean Lamoges* (20)	Reginald Beauchamp* (26)
Paul Cherrier* (28)	Jean Leger* (35)	Jean Lacombe* (22)
Guy Gossette* (32)	Jean Carrier* (19)	J. G. Desrosiers* (19)
Rene Rozon* (31)	Robert Withers (23)	Jacques Allard* (18)
Bruno Levas* (21)	Jacques Caron* (34)	Guy Lebeau* (30)
Pierre Fitzgerald (23)	Marc Poupart* (23)	Frank McFadden (30)
Real Leveille* (24)	Donald Boyle (18)	Roger Cloutier* (25)
Nicholas Zessian (22)	Ronald Gravel (n/a)	Raymond Vaillancourt* (22)
George Fyle (n/a)[69]		

From surnames alone, out of the above 37 rioters, 30 or 81.1 percent can be identified as being of French ethnic-origin. It is of little surprise to discover that French Canadians constituted the bulk of this group since they were the ones who were the most angered and vocal about the suspension of 'The Rocket' in the days leading up to the riot. The fact that the vast majority of the protestors from this sample are of French ethnic-origin also provides some indication as to the overall ethnic makeup of the entire crowd.

Along with the ethnic origin of their names, much more can be learned about these individuals by determining the neighbourhoods in which they lived. When the residential addresses of these protestors are cross-referenced to the socio-economic structure of Montreal[70] one discovers that the majority of them lived in the city's Francophone lower-class quarters. Of the group of 37 protestors that were arrested, the addresses of 29 can

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[69] *Montreal Gazette*, March 19, 1955. (Asterisk denotes those of French-Canadian origin and n/a indicates ages that are not available.) In addition to those listed in this group, 25 unidentified juveniles were arrested which led some to believe that the 'Richard Riot' was simply caused by a group of young 'hoodlums'. When one considers that over half of those arrested had an average age of 24 years, it becomes somewhat plausible to attribute the eruption of the riot to something more than just the actions of a group of over zealous youths.

[70] Norbert Lacoste's urban sociological study provides a detailed description of the socio-economic structure of Montreal in 1951. Norbet Lacoste, *Les caractéristiques sociales de la population du grand*

be accurately determined from Montreal City Directories and newspapers.[71] Of this group of 29, 28 (or 96.6 percent) lived in neighbourhoods that were distinctly French.[72] When the structure of Montreal is mapped according to income, education, and property ownership levels and cross-referenced with the addresses of those from the same sample of 29, a high percentage of these individuals is discovered to have emerged from lower-class neighbourhoods. Out of the 29 rioters, 27 (or 93.1 percent), lived in city pockets where the average income and residential property ownership levels were the lowest, and where the fewest number of residents with an education beyond 13 years were to be found.[73] Since income, education and residential property ownership levels are often a reflection of class standing, one can conclude that the majority of the rioters from this sample emerged from working-class neighbourhoods.

The fact that Richard's most ardent supporters resided in residential areas that were quite similar to that of his own[74] says much about the attachments that are formed

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Montréal (Montréal: Faculté des sciences sociales, economiques et politiques, Université de Montréal, 1958).

[71] *Lovell's Montreal Alphabetical City Directory*, (Montreal: John Lovell & Son Limited, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957); *Montreal Gazette*, 19 March 1955.

[72] The other individual came from a residential area (Elm Park/Dollard des Ormeaux) that was inhabited by a mix of Anglophone and Francophone residents.

[73] In terms of income, upper-level annual incomes were classified as being above $5,000, middle-level annual incomes were those ranging from $3,000 to $4,999, and lower income levels were those below $2,999. In regards to residential property ownership, areas that were classified to have high levels of residential property ownership were those where over 60% of the residents had such ownership. Areas with medium ownership levels were defined as those where 30% to 59% of residents owned their residential properties. Residential areas classed as having low property ownership levels were those where less than 29% of the residents owned property. With respect to education, highly educated residential areas were defined as those where over 20% of the residents had achieved an education level beyond 13 years. Medium educated residential areas were defined as those where 10% to 19% of the residents had achieved an education level beyond 13 years. Low educated residential areas were defined, as those were less than 9% of the residents had achieved an education level beyond 13 years. For further details see Norbert Lacoste, *Les caractéristiques sociales de la population du grand Montréal*, 155-165.

[74] Throughout his career, Richard had lived in Montreal neighbourhoods that were primarily French and working class. He lived in the east end districts of Lafontaine, St. Denis, De Lorimier and the northern city areas of Carterville, Ahuntsic and Bordeaux.

between local communities or neighbourhoods and their residents, especially those established by members of the working class. Generally, for working-class people living in large urban centres, neighbourhoods or subcommunities provide a network of social contacts, which instill a sense of belonging and unity.[75] This was very true of working-class French Canadians who, in being uprooted from their rural communities, relied upon the closeness and familiarity of their neighbourhoods to soothe their transition to the new urban industrial setting. By the 1950's, neighbourhoods in Montreal were easily distinguishable according to the ethnic, cultural, and class backgrounds of their residents. These locally based identities were crucial to personalizing the connection between Richard and his French working-class supporters. By sharing a common 'residential background' with the average Francophone, an intimate bond between this athlete and these people was fostered as similarities between the two could be recognized on many different planes. Because of the emphasis placed upon the close-knit attachment to one's neighbourhood, people who lived in similar surroundings and grew up under similar circumstances to that of 'The Rocket' accepted him as one of their own. Richard's connection to his fans was different from that of other popular athletes in that his symbolic identity transcended the local level and united working-class French Canadians regionally. Whenever he took to the ice he instantly became the representative of not only those people from the areas of Lafontaine, St. Denis, De Lorimier, Ahuntsic and Bordeaux but of all those who lived in the various Francophone working-class districts throughout Quebec. When Campbell impeded Richard's ability to excel on the ice by suspending him, he deprived all Francophone communities of the opportunity to express their excellence

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[75] Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics*

through this player and united them in their common aversion to Quebec's socio-economically-advantaged Anglo-Saxon population.

REACTIONS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE RIOT

An examination of the reactions immediately following the Montreal riot provides a comprehensive understanding of the underlying factors that sparked its outbreak. While some analysts attributed the hostilities to either a group of young 'hooligans' or 'mob hysteria', others, such as the members of the French-language press, the mayor of Montreal, a handful of city councillors, and, in general, the French-Canadian public, blamed one particular person, Clarence Campbell. His presence at the Montreal Forum was by far the most symbolically charged act to unite Fancophone fans and ignite their frustrations. In attending the Canadiens-Red Wings match, the N.H.L. President not only flaunted his authority he also reminded French Canadians of the control they lacked over their own destiny in and away from the arena.

Among the French-language newspapers in Montreal, *La Presse* and *Le Devoir* took the lead in blaming the N.H.L. President for inciting the 'Richard Riot'. The headline that ran in the former the day following the riot captures the sentiment that was shared by most Francophone journalists: "DÉFI ET PROVOCATION DE CAMPBELL: Le président n'aurait pas dû aller au Forum."[76] The condemnation of Campbell was also seen in the various riot reports published by *La Presse*. In regards to his presence at the game, Pierre Proulx wrote, "Ce fut l'étincelle qui mit le feu aux poudres et qui devait provoquer par la suite des scènes comme il ne s'en était jamais vu dans l'histoire du sport à

(Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), 68.

[76] *La Presse*, 18 March 1955.

Montréal."[77] Marcel Desjardins also criticized Campbell by stating, "L'opinion générale semblait qu'en voulait afficher une bravoure que nous devons lui reconnaître, Campbell avait provoqué la foule, lui avait en quelque sort lancé un défi."[78] In addition to its press reports and editorials, *La Presse* printed a number of anti-Campbell opinions expressed by French Canadien fans.[79]

The riot even captured the attention of *Le Devoir's* most prominent neo-nationalist editor, André Laurendeau, who produced a profound assessment of the entire affair. In an article entitled 'On a tué mon frère Richard', Laurendeau gave special attention to the underlying socio-historical and political concerns that the incident exposed:

> Le nationalisme canadien-français paraît s'être réfugié dans le hockey. La foule qui clamait sa colère jeudi soir dernier n'était pas animée seulement par le goût du sport ou le sentiment d'une injustice commise contre son idole. C'était un peuple frustré, qui protestait contre le sort. Le sort s'appelait, jeudi, M. Campbell; mais celui-ci incarnait tous les adversaires réels ou imaginaires que ce petit peuple recontre.
>
> De même que Maurice Richard est devenu héros national. Sans doute, tous les amateurs de hockey, quelle que soit leur nationalité, admirent le jeu de Richard, son courage et l'extraordinaire sûreté de ses réflexes. Parmi ceux qu'enrageait la décision de M. Campbell, il y avait

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[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] While some of the observers quoted in *La Presse* indicated that among the spectators there were a handful of 'unfamiliar' faces who partook in the hostilities, they all agreed that it was Campbell's attendance that sparked the violent actions. Antoine Desmarais, who regularly attended Canadiens matches, was quoted as saying that everything in the Forum was 'normal' until Campbell decided to show up. His entrance constituted a serious dare to Canadien fans already upset by his decision to suspend Maurice Richard. Another Forum spectator, Marcel Piché, told *La Presse* that Campbell's presence was "une erreur monumentale" and went to say "...mais rien ne se serait produit si M. Campbell ne s'était point montré." Another fan, Albert Nault indicated that Campbell's attendance constituted "...un acte provocateur, un geste orgueilleux qui ne pouvait manquer d'en irriter plusieurs." Finally, Maurice Custeau stated the following, "Sa (Campbell's) presence, faisant suite à une décision injuste prise prématurement, constituait comme un défi." *La Presse*, 18 March 1955.

> certainement des anglophones. Mais pour ce petit peuple, au Canada français, Maurice Richard est une sorte de revanche (on les prend où l'on peut). Il est vraiment le premier dans son ordre, il allait le prouver encoure une fois cette année. Un peu de l'adoration étonnée et farouche qui entourait Laurier se concentre sur lui: mais avec plus de familiarité dans un sport plus simple et plus spectaculaire que la politique. C'est comme des petites gens qui n'en reviennent pas du fils qu'ils ont mis au monde et de la carrière qu'il poursuit et du bruit qu'il fait.
>
> Or, voici surgir Campbell pour arrêter cet élan. On prive les Canadiens français de Maurice Richard. On brise l'élan de Maurice Richard qui allait établir plus clairement sa supériorité. Et cet 'on' parle anglais, cet 'on' décide en vitesse contre le héros, provoque, excite. Alors il va voir. On est soudain fatigué d'avoir toujours eu des maîtres, d'avoir longtemps plié l'échine. M. Campbell va voir. On n'a pas tous les jours le mauvais sort entre les mains; on ne peut pas tous les jours tordre le cou à la malchance.
>
> Les sentiments qui animaient la foule, jeudi soir, étaient assurément confus. Mais est-ce beaucoup se tromper que d'y reconnaître de vieux sentiments toujours jeunes, toujours vibrants: ceux auxquels Mercier faisait jadis appel quand il parcourait la province en criant: 'On a tué mon frère Riel.'
>
> Sans doute il s'agit aujourd'hui de mise à mort symbolique. A peine le sang a-t-il coulé. Nul ne saurait fouetter indéfiniment la colère des gens, y sculpter une revanche politique. Et puis, il ne s'agit tout de même que de hockey.
>
> Tout paraît destiné à retomber sans l'oubli. Mais cette brève flambée trahit ce qui dort derrière l'apparente indifférence et la longue passivité des Canadiens français.[80]

This article, similar to that which appeared in *Parlons Sport* prior to the riot,[81] reflects the neo-nationalist sentiment that had established itself among members of Montreal's French-

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[80] *Le Devoir*, 21 March 1955. Also cited in Pellerin, *L'idole d'un peuple*, 341-342.
[81] See footnote 23.

language press. Laurendeau's interpretation of the riot and the Richard-Campbell relationship is largely based on the parallels that can be drawn from the socio-economic condition of French Canadians and Francophones. For journalists such as himself, the riot was an unleashing of the social, economic, and political frustrations built-up among French Canadians who, for decades, passively sat by and watched their lives fall increasingly under the control of English Canada. In the above article, Laurendeau identifies Richard and Campbell as national symbols of French and English Canada respectively. Furthermore, he compares the frustrations that Richard and his fans suffered under Campbell's authority to those that French Canadians endured from living in a society historically dominated by English-Canadian 'masters'. The influence which 'racial' and national identities had during the 'Richard Riot' are illuminated when Laurendeau compares the passion behind the Francophone support of Richard to that which Louis Riel received from French Canada in the 1880s. His analysis indicates that, on a broad level, the 'racial' and national dimensions of the Richard suspension contributed to the violent eruption of Francophone frustration.

Outside of the media, the most critical remarks of Campbell came from Montreal city councillors and the mayor. When these local politicians began pointing fingers at who was to blame for the destruction of their city, Campbell's name was at the top of their list.[82] The mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau, captured front-page headlines as he and

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[82] A number of city councillors sided with the French-language press and blamed Campbell's severe suspension of Richard and his presence at the game for sparking the riot. His decision to ignore the warnings of a possible spectator backlash was interpreted as an act of defiance, which had serious repercussions. Rodrigue Moore, called for Campbell's resignation and stated, "La senetnce qu'on lui a imposée est injuste et trop sévère... Ce qui est arrivé hier soir dépend de Campbell. On l'avait averti de ne pas se montrer au Forum, et il l'a fait. Il aurait dû juger préférable de rester chez lui. Il a voulu braver le verdict public et ce fut à son désavantage." *La Presse*, 18 March 1955. Another councillor, Frank Hanley,

Campbell became involved in a heated debate over the latter's responsibility for starting the riot. Drapeau denounced Campbell by stating that his presence at the match offended Richard fans and provoked their violent behaviour.[83] Campbell retorted by stating:

> What a strange and sorry commentary from the Chief Magistrate of our city who was sworn to uphold the law and as a senior officer of the civic administration is responsible for the protection of the persons and property of the citizens through our police force.
>
> Does he suggest that I should have yielded to the intimidation of a few hoodlums?
>
> ...if the mayor or the Forum authorities had any apprehension they would not be able to deal with the situation and had requested me to absent myself, I would gladly have complied with their request. No such request was made or suggested by anyone[84]

By not taking any responsibility for inciting the hysteria inside the Montreal Forum and simply attributing the violence to a group of 'hoodlums', Campbell once again flaunted his arrogance and angered the French-Canadian public that now demanded his resignation.

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agreed with Moore and said "M. Campbell a mis en dangeur la vie de 15,000 personnes, et il est responsable des actes de vandalisme contre la propriété privée." *La Presse*, 19 March 1955. Adéodat Crompt went even further and attempted to obtain a warrant for Campbell's arrest for having provoked the riot. *Le Devoir*, 19 March 1955. Together these responses provided some justification for the outbreak of violence.

[83] The mayor was quoted as saying, "Il était évident, bien avant la partie de hockey d'hier soir, que la décision de M. Campbell était d'une extrême impopularité, et l'on pouvait facilement prévoir une démonstration quelconque de la part de ceux qui allaient y assister. J'avais raison d'avoir confiance que la population manifesterait dans l'ordre, puisque ce n'est que la provocation causée par la présence de M. Clarence Campbell que les protestions ont pris une autre tournure. Il eut donc été sage de la part de M. Campbell de s'abstenir de se rendre au Forum, surtout d'annoncer publiquement à l'avance, sa visite. Sa présence, en effet, pouvait être interpretée comme un véritable défi. C'est un fait que durant les dix premières minutes de la partie les choses se sont bien passées, et ce n'est que lorsque M. Campbell s'est rendu à son siège, accompagné de sa secrétaire, qu'elles ont pris une tournure déplorable." *Le Devoir*, 19 March 1955.

[84] *Le Devoir*, 19 March 1955.

Unlike the French-language press and politicians who identified Campbell's decision to attend the Canadiens-Red Wings match as the main reason for the riot's outbreak, members of Montreal's English press were not so quick to fault him. In contrast to *La Presse* and *Le Devoir*, the *Montreal Gazette* blamed the eruption of violence on a group of youths that took over the crowd gathered outside the Canadien's arena. "MOB RULE WRECKS FORUM, GAME"[85] ran the headline in the *Montreal Gazette*. Nowhere did this pillar of the English press state that Campbell's presence provoked the spectators and nowhere was it mentioned that Campbell should not have attended the match. "They aren't regular Forum patrons," wrote the *Gazette's* Dink Carroll of the rioters, "a good many were vandals bent on destroying property and flouting the law."[86] In not pinning any responsibility for the disturbance on Campbell's shoulders, Montreal's English-language press failed to recognize the symbolic undertones growling beneath the incident.

Outside of Montreal, the English-language press was even more oblivious to these larger meanings. The press in Toronto defended the actions of the N.H.L. President and, instead, directed its blame towards the French media. Many of the sportswriters in that city agreed with the opinion of Jack Adams, coach of the Detroit Red Wings, who told a group of Montreal reporters, "I blame you fellows for what's happened. You've turned Richard into an idol, a man whose suspension can turn hockey fans into shrieking idiots...."[87] Hugh MacLennan of *Saturday Night* shared a similar point of view and wrote:

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[85] *Montreal Gazette*, 18 March 1955.
[86] Ibid., 19 March 1955.
[87] *Hockey News*, 26 March 1955.

> If the press had not condemned Mr. Campbell with such partisan violence, the goons outside the Forum would never have congregated. And finally, if certain public officials had not made careless and irresponsible statements about his decision, the punks would not have acquired the notion that if they rioted they would get away with it.[88]

The *Toronto Telegram* also praised Campbell for having the courage to attend the Detroit/Montreal game. In his daily sports editorial Ted Reeve wrote:

> The one bright spot to us in the entire affair is the showing of Colonel Clarence Campbell. He did his duty as he saw it and, in the good heart of him, he turned up at the match, full square, and faced the affronts of the half wits as a gentleman should.[89]

The above opinions were a complete contrast to what was written in *La Presse* and *Le Devoir*. In Toronto, the Anglo-Saxon Mecca of Canada, Campbell was glorified for his behaviour, while in Montreal, the urban capital of French Canada, he was vilified.

In the riot's aftermath a handful of events transpired that demonstrated the French-Canadian devotion to Richard and anger at the victimization the Canadiens suffered as a result of his suspension. At the conclusion of the riots, French Canadians discovered another heroic figure in a 21 year old rioter named André Robinson. This young man gained instant notoriety within French Canada after being charged with assaulting Clarence Campbell with a tomato.[90] For smearing the vegetable into the chest of the N.H.L. President he was hailed as a defender of Richard's reputation and was given

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[88] *Saturday Night*, 9 April 1955, 10.
[89] *Toronto Telegram*, 18 March 1955.
[90] This employee of Dow Brewery had initially planned to grab Campbell, strip him of his clothes and then parade him on the ice wearing only his underwear. Terry Scott, "Maurice Richard," in *A Century of Canadian Sport*, ed. Dick Beddoes et al. (Toronto: Grosvenor House, 1985), 39.

numerous gifts ranging from jewellery to free legal services.[91] Even though Robinson had broken the law by attacking an individual who symbolically represented the elements of society that Francophones particularly disliked, the celebrity-like treatment he received demonstrated just how important a figure Richard actually was.

The unwavering French loyalty to Richard was again witnessed in a handful of events that transpired in the weeks that followed the riot. One of the more telling incidents occurred following the Canadiens' second last game of the regular season against the New York Rangers. During this match Richard's teammate, Bernard 'Boom Boom' Geoffrion, surpassed him in the point-scoring standings and went on to capture the Art Ross Trophy. What would normally have been a triumphant and celebratory occasion for the fans of this player and team, became a moment of displeasure and resentment. For them, the loss of the point-scoring title by Richard rekindled the feelings of outrage that had remained following the announcement of his suspension. As predicted by the French-language press in Montreal, Campbell's ruling deprived 'The Rocket' of his first scoring championship. French Canadien fans wanted Richard to win the Art Ross Trophy more than any other player in the N.H.L., or any Canadien player for that matter. In Geoffrion's opinion, "...they didn't want that player to be Boom Boom Geoffrion. Not by a long shot, a slap shot or even a wrist shot. The man they wanted to win was my buddy Maurice 'The Rocket' Richard."[92] Instead of being welcomed by the cheers and adulation of Canadien fans upon his return to Montreal, 'Boom Boom' was booed and jeered. Some Richard supporters became so enraged with Geoffrion that he was forced to hire a bodyguard to

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[91] Sidney Katz, "The Strange Forces," 110.

[92] Bernard Geoffrion and Stan Fischler, *Boom Boom: The Life and Times of Bernard Geoffrion* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1997), 1.

protect his family after receiving numerous threatening phone calls and his children were harassed at school.[93] Geoffrion's cold reception reveals the extent to which Richard's popularity and stature had grown within French Canada. The fact that 'Boom Boom' was French Canadian and came from a working-class background did little to dilute the embittered feelings of Canadien fans. By 1955, Richard's identity was so inextricably linked to French Canadians that his importance to these people had outgrown that of all his fellow teammates and the entire team.

Two other post-riot instances confirmed the lingering effects of the Richard suspension. The final game of the regular season pitted the Canadiens against the Detroit Red Wings. This was a monumental match as both teams were tied for first place in the point standings. To the victor of this game would thus go the regular season championship and the Prince of Wales Trophy. While the pre-game hype was enormous, the game ended up being a one-sided affair with the Red Wings winning by a score of six goals to none. In the days that followed, editorials in the French-language papers wrote about how the Canadiens had been hurt by Richard's absence.

In *Le Devoir*, Gérard Gosselin's editorials emphasized the victimization of the team as he accused the N.H.L. President and some league governors of conspiring to deprive the Canadiens of any success. From the time Richard was suspended up until the end of the Stanley Cup playoffs, this journalist continually called for Campbell's resignation, criticized his lackadaisical enforcement of the rules of play,[94] and in one article stated: "Heureusement que M. Campbell n'est pas marié. S'il fallait qu'ayant un fils, il

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[93] Geoffrion and Fischler, *Boom Boom*, 9; Terry Scott, "Maurice Richard," 41.

décide d'en faire un arbitre!"[95] Bert Souliere joined his fellow sportswriter in faulting Campbell for the Canadiens loss of the regular season championship and for the extra difficulties that lay ahead in the playoffs as a result of the loss of their best player:

> La suspension imposée par Clarence Campbell à Maurice Richard, des Canadiens, vient d'avoir un premier effet. Elle a privé les Habitants du championnant de la saison 1954-55 dans la Ligue de hockey Nationale... Campbell mérite une 'assistance' sur ce championnat que les hommes de l'instructeur Jim Skinner viennent de conquérir.... Le Canadien, sans les services du valeureux Richard, est un tout autre club....
>
> Richard est non seulement un dangereux compteur, un compteur opportuniste qui n'a pas son égal pour changer en une victoire, une défaite apparente, mais c'est une véritable inspiration pour ses coéquipiers. C'est le général de l'equipe à l'offensive. Son utilité au jeu est d'une valeur inestimable. Ses buts dramatiques sont suffisants parfois pour décourager l'adversaire. Les Canadiens peuvent gagner la coupe Stanley, même sans Richard. Mais pour accomplir un tel exploit, il va falloir necessairement que les Habitants redoublent d'ardeur au jeu.... Ils ont perdu le Rocket au moment le plus critique de l'année.... Et en autant qu'ils soient concernés, les Red Wings de Détroit peuvent dire un gros merci au président Clarence Campbell pour avoir remporté le championnat. La sévère sanction qu'il a imposée à l'as des Canadiens a joué un rôle d'une importance capitale sans leur triomphe de 6 à 0, triomphe qui a privé les Habitants de la tête du classement.[96]

Such commentaries demonstrate that the foul taste left behind by 'The Rocket's' suspension had not dissipated and would not be easily forgotten by French Canadien fans.

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[94] *Le Devoir*, 18 March 1955, 19 March 1955, 21 March 1955, 22 March 1955, 25 March 1955, 6 April 1955. Clarence Campbell would not be removed from his post as N.H.L. President and would remain in this position until 1977.

[95] *Le Devoir*, 22 March 1955.

[96] Ibid.

The complaints of French journalists persisted well into the playoffs and were more than apparent during the final series. In the 1955 Stanley Cup finals the Detroit Red Wings would again meet up with the Montreal Canadiens. This championship series turned out to be a long drawn-out battle that would be determined in the seventh and deciding game played in Detroit. Prior to the commencement of the series, Canadien coach Dick Irvin had predicted that his team would win the Stanley Cup in five games if Richard were in the line-up.[97] Unfortunately for the Canadiens, they would again find themselves on the losing end, as the Red Wings would prevail in the final match by a score of three to one and take home the Stanley Cup. Again, as in the aftermath of the regular season finale, French journalists in Montreal harped upon the victimization of the Canadiens and suggested that if Richard had played, the outcome would have been much different. *La Presse* highlighted and detailed the post-series remarks made by Canadien coach Dick Irvin in an article entitled "'Tous nos rêves échafaudés se sont envolés le soir du 17 mars', Irvin." Irvin stated that the turning point of the season occurred when the Canadiens lost the services of Richard, which assured the Red Wings of first place in the regular season, as well as the Stanley Cup Championship.[98]

The fact that Richard did not win the Art Ross Trophy and his team captured neither the Prince of Wales Trophy nor the Stanley Cup made Campbell's suspension, and what it came to symbolize, all the more difficult for French Canadians to forget. In the years that followed, the events that transpired during the Canadiens 1954-1955 season would be remembered for different reasons. Generally, for English Canadians, the suspension of 'The Rocket' would be a reminder of justice being served. For French

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[97] *Le Devoir*, 5 April 1955.

Canadians the suspension hardened 'racial' tensions in Quebec, a reminder of the authority which Anglophones exercised over Quebecois society. For others, the meaning of the riot would be recognized as the start of the 'Quiet Revolution'. Taken together, the events that surrounded the suspension and the riot clearly exposed the social frustrations which all French Canadians suffered and typified the transitional state of Franco-Quebec society. Within this atmosphere of ideological, demographic, economic and social transformation, the 'Richard Riot', like the other transitional developments in the labour movement, universities, print media, and world of arts and literature, pointed to the deep rooted socio-economic problems that affected French Canadians throughout Quebec. The symbolism and residual memories produced by the suspension and riot are what justify their socio-historical significance and establish them as something more than simply hockey incidents. Altogether, the value of these sport-related events, like those found in the political, economic, or social spheres, can be measured according to the extent to which they reflect issues of importance in society at large, and encompass larger meanings.

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[98] *La Presse*, 15 April 1955.

CHAPTER IV

Hockey Night in Canada (conclusion)

Central to the social significance of mass sport is its ability to produce highly charged symbolic and dramatic spectacles. Modern sport has developed into a cultural pursuit that, like no other, revolves entirely around the clash of opponents. Unlike pre-industrial 'traditional' sport, mass spectator professional sport emphasizes the defeat of an opponent as the primal element of the game. The value of confrontations to the sport of professional ice hockey in Canada is captured by Ken Dryden's statement:

> Like the bearpits in Shakespeare's time, we attend hockey games as our popular theatre. It is a place where the monumental themes of Canadian life are played out – English and French, East and West, Canada and the United States, Canada and the world, the timeless tensions of commerce and culture, our struggle to survive and civilize winter.[1]

As teams and athletes acquired socially symbolic identities, winning and the achievement principal became vitally important components of the game. The confrontational environment of sport allowed for parallels to be made with the antagonisms that existed in society at large. Class, national, 'racial', religious, economic, political and social antagonisms could all be 'played out' in the arena or playing field. This was especially true if a sport team or athlete acquired a set of representational meanings.

Where does the 'Richard Riot' fit into all of this? First, the incident reveals how far sport, as a mass cultural pursuit, has developed since the arrival of industrialization.

Second, it shows us how important symbolic identities were to fostering mass spectatorship. Richard's on ice confrontations quickly came to represent the daily struggles Francophones faced in the Anglophone-dominated world of work, as the N.H.L.'s ethnic composition paralleled that of Canadian society. The 'racial' abuse this player suffered at the hands of his English opponents and the 'unjust' treatment he received from the English league-officials provided the perfect metaphor for the inequalities that existed in Quebec society. While English Canadians dominated Quebec socio-economically, the one place where their control did not exist was on the ice surface of the Montreal Forum. There French Canadians could celebrate their team's victories as personal triumphs over the Anglo-Saxon elite of Quebec. The 1940s and 1950s was a special hockey era for these people as they discovered an athletic figure whose identity surpassed that of his team. Maurice Richard dominated the hockey scene in North America for almost two decades and his on-ice supremacy instilled a sense of pride and honour upon French Canadians. He gave them a reason to 'strut their stuff' and in defending his French-Canadian heritage each time he confronted the 'racism' of English opponents he became a heroic and symbolic figure for all French Canadians.

While the Canadiens and Maurice Richard may have fostered 'racial' and national unity at times, in reality they became conduits for the reinforcement of hegemonic values that countered the formation of working-class solidarity. First, the league in which they played provided an underlying message of how society ought to function. Aside from the 'racial' parallels that could be made between the N.H.L.'s hierarchical structure and the composition of Quebec's workforce, the control, which the league president and on-ice

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[1] Ken Dryden and Roy MacGregor, *Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland &

officials exercised over the players, matched the control which employers maintained over their employees at the workplace. Second, the achievement principle, which underlined the purpose of the game, was also central to the capitalist value system. The 'winning at all costs' mentality that was evinced by Richard's rise to supremacy and the qualities of hard work, dedication and perseverance he exemplified, reinforced the values of the dominant social order. Third, as Richard's 'racial' identity with French Canadians blossomed it countered his class based symbolism. During his career, incidents of 'racism' and the interpretations of this treatment by French neo-nationalist journalists established Richard as more of a 'national' icon than strictly a working-class hero.

Finally, one of the more important contributions of the 'Richard Riot', like most historical events, is its ability to help us understand the present-day state of sport. To this day, the legend of Maurice 'The Rocket' Richard lives on as French Canadians continue to pay him tribute. At the closing ceremonies of the Montreal Forum in 1996, fans showed their unwavering admiration for this hockey legend by giving the retired athlete a ten-minute standing ovation. Hockey arenas, city streets and parks throughout Quebec have been named after this social icon and plans have been made to establish a Junior 'A' hockey team in Montreal to be called 'The Rockets'. Richard's fame has also extended beyond the borders of his home province. Most recently, in recognition of all his accomplishments, he was given a star on the Canadian Walk of Fame located in Toronto. The N.H.L. has even named a trophy after him, which is awarded to the player who scores the most goals during the regular-season. In this present day, one wonders if any athlete or

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Stewart Inc., 1989), 101.

team will ever match the allure and influence that Richard and the Canadiens had over French Quebecers in the 1950s.

Since his retirement from hockey a handful of French-Canadian athletes have risen to prominence, the likes of which include Canadien forward Guy Lafleur in the 1970s and two-time[2] Olympic gold medallist speed-skater Gaétan Boucher. While these athletes may have represented the " abilities and qualities of a people struggling to assert their distinctiveness,"[3] their overall connection to the average French Canadian lacks the depth Richard established. Today's most popular French athletes are Patrick Roy, an N.H.L. goaltender for the Colorado Avalanche, and Formula 1 racecar driver Jacques Villeneuve. The success of these two athletes continues to flaunt the abilities of French Canadians and, on occasion, Quebec politicians have attempted to use the popularity of the latter to forward their political agendas.[4] But the era of Maurice 'The Rocket' Richard is clearly over.

With the increased commercialization of professional sport and with the escalating salaries that athletes are paid, the 'personal' connection that spectators were once able to foster with players like Richard are no longer possible. Multi-millionaire athletes are, to a large extent, disassociated from the mass of society. Likewise, the connections between professional sports franchises and their local communities have weakened as the ever-expanding commercialization of sport has resulted in the mass of society being unable to afford tickets to their games. Even at the participant level the commodification of hockey

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[2] Gaétan Boucher won gold medals in the 1,000 and 1,500 meters speed skating events during the 1984 winter Olympics.

[3] Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), 123.

has become so prevalent that it has resulted in the overall debasement of sport. [5] Participation in this sport among children of the lower class is almost impossible due to the increasing costs of athletic equipment and league fees. As a cultural pursuit, sport continues to be a class-determined activity. Even the value system that modern sport currently supports has changed since the time of Richard. While 'winning' was highly stressed during his era, today the extremes to which athletes will go in order to win raises questions about the value of sport. The drive for success is partially seen through the Richard-like values of hard work and perseverance, but they have been corrupted by the numerous athletes who abuse themselves with performance enhancing drugs. Moreover, the realm of sport continues to maintain its gender barriers as women are only now beginning to make inroads into this predominantly male domain. When one considers how far sport has developed from the initial stages of industrialization to the Maurice Richard era to the present day, it becomes more obvious that sport in North America has changed dramatically, and with such changes the meanings embedded in one part of popular culture have changed as well.

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[4] Each year Jacques Villeneuve returns to Montreal for the Formula 1 Grand Prix race held there, he is bombarded with questions about his 'nationality'.

[5] See Allen Guttmann's discussion of the debasement of sport and its corruption of culture in *A Whole New Ball Game* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980).

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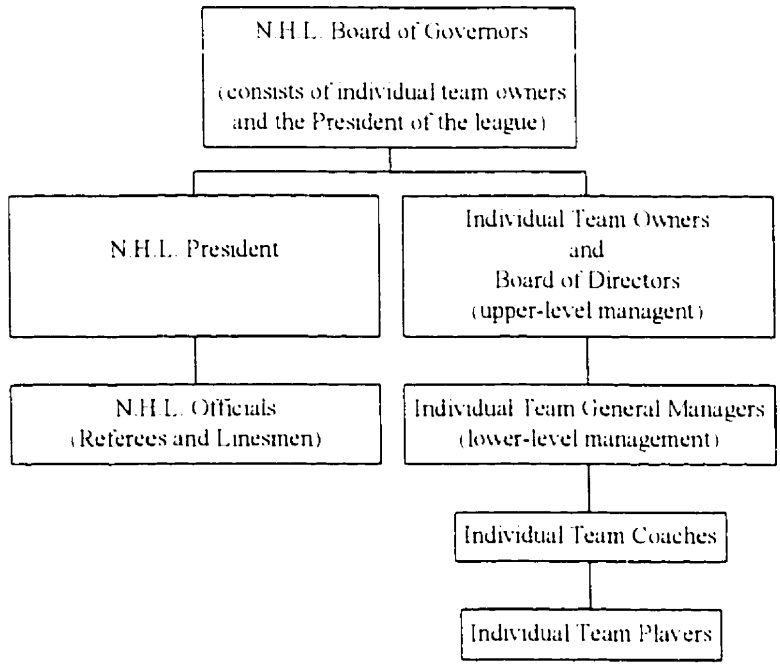
APPENDIX A

Organization Chart: National Hockey League



APPENDIX B

Source: Toronto Star, March 15, 1998

APPENDIX C

Dans un journal de la metropole, cette autre caricature tout aussi éloquente.

Source: Jean-Marie Pellerin, L'idole d'un peuple: Maurice Richard, p.24