The Skaters of Sydney and Streatham:

Exporting Hockey to the British Empire between the Wars.

Daryl Leeworthy
Huddersfield University

For almost as long as hockey has been played, it has been an international game. The “hockey family” today encompasses a remarkable range of over seventy countries, from the expected Canada, the United States, Sweden, Russia, Switzerland and the Czech Republic, to the unexpected including Australia, India, Israel and Thailand. If this expansion has been broadly welcomed, it has not always been without controversy, particularly with regard to Canada’s place at the head of the international hockey community. Although relatively unchallenged on the ice until after the Second World War, Canada faced the growing institutional strength of European hockey from the formation of the Ligue Internationale de Hockey sur Glace in 1908. At the 1936 Winter Olympics, for example, fifteen teams participated in the hockey tournament. Aside from Britain, the United States and Canada, there was a team from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Poland and Sweden. As Richard Gruneau and David Whitson have argued, “one effect of European expansion would almost certainly be to make hockey seem less distinctively Canadian”.¹

Overlaying the discrete question of Canada’s dominance of world hockey was its presence in the British Empire. Hockey (and to a lesser extent lacrosse) provided Canada with significant cultural capital that could be exported to other parts of the empire as a ready projection of what it meant to be Canadian and to live in a Canadian way. But in sporting terms, Canada’s increasing preference for North American sports including baseball rendered
it on the fringes of what we might call the ludic British Empire. In contrast to Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, and South Africa, where interest in and affinity for the imperial sports of cricket and rugby tended to be much greater, Canada had gone its own way. 2 As Colin Howell writes, “by the beginning of the Great War, attempts to import notions of Anglo-Saxon imperialism through sport had only been marginally successful”. 3 If “the playing of [British] games was a means of demonstrating […] Britishness”, what happened when Britons (or Australians and South Africans) began playing ice hockey and then adapted it to their own sporting culture? 4

The parallels with the processes of continentalisation (or Americanisation) are instructive. Canadians have long complained of the ruination of their game by American capital. Writing in the Canadian Historical Review in 1920, for example, Archibald MacMechan argued that “Canadian sport has become more and more American”, the implication being that it had become infested with commercialism and money leaving Canada and Canadian culture as a vassal. 5 It is an argument still persuasive to many Canadians today, as Brian Kennedy has observed. Reflecting on Stephen Brunt’s book Gretzky’s Tears, Kennedy notes “that the NHL has inevitably become Americanized, at least insofar as its business model and the majority of its teams being in the U.S. reflect U.S. values”. 6 No longer can hockey embody a pure sense of Canadianness, it is, in a globalised world, a hybrid at best.

This essay takes up the question of what happened to hockey in Britain and Australia in the inter-war years, offering a comparative analysis of the two countries. The great comparativist Marc Bloch, wrote nearly ninety years ago that comparisons historical in nature are at their very best when the similarities are greatest since this enables us to see the differences with greater clarity. 7 Britain and Australia, of course, shared many cultural and social similarities in this period, not least because they formed part of the ‘Greater Britain’ of
empire. To that end, the difference in approach to hockey exhibited by Britons and
Australians is notable: the former, in particular, tended towards a more professional game
akin to the NHL whereas the latter remained amateur and dominated by two main cities, in a
similar motif to Canada. What follows below begins with discrete overviews of the early
development of hockey in Britain and Australia before moving to a more comparative
synthesis of the inter-war years.

**Old Country Ice**

Cold spells in the winter often brought nineteenth century Britons out onto their
skates to enjoy the thrills of gliding across the ice. “Evening after evening”, reported one
newspaper, “scores of mining boys and colliers […] may be seen, each with his lamp or
candle in his hand, gliding to and fro over the smooth glassy surface […] it is astonishing
how cleverly many of them skate”. It was, of course, often momentary and the ice never
lasted long enough for anything more than elementary skating. Artificial ice appeared as a
solution in the mid-1870s with the opening of an indoor rink in Chelsea in 1876. The British
press, however, were sceptical with the Cardiff-based *Western Mail* going as far to claim that
artificial ice was an “idiotic idea”. The hostility eventually subsided as new forms of sport
were developed including bandy and hockey on the ice, both of which came to the fore in the
1890s.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in keeping with refined opinion in late Victorian London,
advanced the view that hockey on the ice was “a gloriously exhilarating and altogether
excellent game, played at flying speed in the keen frosty air”. To uncertain readers, many of
whom had never seen the game played, it offered the following guide:

The game is restricted to few players on each side; four is commonly enough, five is a
good number; if more numerous, the players are apt to get in each other’s way […]
and they should all be good skaters […] They need not be artists. But it is necessary
that they should be capable of pulling up short, and turning at a tangent at full speed
without the smallest desire to use their hockey stick as a balancing rod […] The
In 1896, as a sign of the increasing popularity of ice sports in Britain, a touring side from Canada played the first international hockey match between the two nations at the National Skating Palace in London. Using a puck made of India rubber rather than the rubber ball more common to bandy (and continental European “hockey”), hockey on the ice was beginning to take on its more recognisable form. There were, too, the motifs of the great white north and an in-built Canadian affinity for the ice. Canadians, observed the Penny Illustrated newspaper, were “reared […] half their lives on ice fields”. Not that such in-built prowess helped, as the Canadians lost four goals to two.12

It was in the Edwardian period, that decade or so before the First World War, that hockey in Britain began to crystallise into something other than an occasional bit of fun for ice skating aficionados. In 1900, Oxford and Cambridge played their first varsity match according to ice hockey rules at the Princes Skating Club in London. Three years later the establishment of the Rhodes scholarship at Oxford led to an increase in the number of Canadians and Newfoundlanders travelling to Britain to study. The result was a swift transformation in the quality and quantity of hockey being played. A sure sign of the growing interest came in the autumn of 1903 when Britain’s first ice hockey league was formed featuring Cambridge University, the London Canadians, Hengler’s Skating Club, Princes Ice Hockey Club, Argyll Ice Hockey Club, the Amateur Skating Club, and a combined team comprising Old Etonians and Old Wellingtonians.13 They were joined in 1906 by the Oxford Canadians, a team comprising Canadian Rhodes scholars whose presence provided “an excellent exhibition of Canadian methods not often seen in this country”.14

With hockey developing along similar lines in France and the Netherlands, international matches were soon a regular fixture becoming an annual event by 1906,
typically featuring Prince’s Skating Club, Sporting Club de Lyon, and the Palais de Glace club from Paris. Indeed, it was as part of the European network that included Bohemia, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Hungary and Switzerland, that British hockey developed before the First World War. An inaugural international tournament took place at the Eispalast in Berlin in November 1908 and a further competition, held at Chamonix a few months later, encouraged a standardised form of hockey on the continent. “The Bohemians”, wrote the correspondent for the London Times, for example, “had never handled the long Canadian stick or seen a puck”. They were more used to bandy. In the absence of European interaction, that situation may well have lingered for much longer than it did. Overarching these competitive engagements was the formation of the Ligue International de Hockey sur Glace, which was formed in May 1908 on the initiative of M. L. Magnus, the secretary of the Club de Patineurs in Paris. A standardised set of laws, in use across the continent, was perhaps its most significant achievement.

_Freezing Down Under_

If Britons and Europeans took to hockey independently, Australians enjoyed rather more contact and assistance from their North American cousins. Hockey did not begin to take roots in Australia until the first decade of the twentieth century, by which time, as we have already seen, the various antecedents of the game, including bandy and hockey-on-ice, had already become part of British and European sporting culture. Australia’s first ice rink, the Glaciarium, opened in Adelaide on 6 September 1904. As with many early rinks across the world, it had originally been built for a different purpose: a cyclorama that opened in 1890. Popular as a form of recreation in late nineteenth century Australia, the cyclorama was a painting in the round. Despite frequently changing the panoramic artwork on display to encourage a vibrant trade, the cyclorama company went into liquidation in 1897 and a devastating fire two years later gutted the building. The remnants were purchased in 1903 by
the H. Newman Reid and the Ice Palace Skating Company and transformed into the skating rink. It proved an immediate success with the local press reporting such thronging crowds that “the management was unable to supply the demand for skates”.18

A few weeks after opening, an advert appeared in the Adelaide press announcing a “great ice hockey match” to be played at the rink on 12 October. It was followed by two further matches over the next seven days. In an effort to contextualise ice hockey for novice would-be enthusiasts, the _Adelaide Advertiser_ offered the following advice: “the game is conducted on the same general principles as football, but it is football etherealised. The play is more rapid and brilliant than in any other game”. Hockey, of course, was a novelty rather than a serious sport to most Adelaiders and these early exhibitions fitted within a wider programme of frivolity on the ice designed to attract customers that included football on ice, polo on ice, an egg and spoon race on ice, and an ice carnival. By 1907, though, the experiment was over and the Glaciarium was transformed into a roller-skating rink known as the Olympia until in 1909 it was wholly redeveloped as a 3,000 seater art house cinema – the first showing was an adaptation of Emile Zola’s famous novel _L’Assommoir_.19

The Adelaide Glaciarium nevertheless proved the catalyst to the development of ice rinks elsewhere in Australia, particularly in the country’s two largest cities Melbourne and Sydney. Melbourne’s first rink, also called the Glaciarium, opened on 9 June 1906 at a cost of £40,000 and was developed by Newman Reid following his departure from the Glaciarium in Adelaide.20 The Sydney Glaciarium, operated by Reid’s friend and business partner Dunbar Poole, followed in July 1907.21 Hockey had much greater prominence in Sydney and Melbourne in part because the first exhibition matches involved visiting sides from North America and thus displayed far greater skill than the trial in Adelaide. The first match involved a team from the visiting U.S.S. Baltimore, then on a goodwill tour of Australia, and took place in Melbourne on 12 July 1906. After 30 minutes of play, the “international” match
ended in a 1-1 draw. The more serious exhibition took place the following year when a Canadian lacrosse team travelled to the city to play a tour against the Victorian Lacrosse Association. Persuaded to play two hockey matches on 12 and 13 August against a representative Victorian side, this was Australia’s first genuine encounter with Canada’s game and the press were noticeably enthusiastic.

Although it is difficult to describe exactly the style of play witnessed by Australian fans in this period, given the awe frequently expressed in the newspapers about the speed and agility of American and particularly Canadian hockey players, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was rather slower, at least to begin with. “The speed with which the Canadians play”, reflected the Melbourne Argus, “was a little too much for the local boys”. Playing against the Canadians and witnessing their skills, and that of American sailors, did more than evoke a sense of awe; by 1909, a number of skating enthusiasts in Melbourne and subsequently in Sydney took up the sport hoping to replicate what they had seen at the Glaciarium. Within a couple of years, Australia had seven hockey clubs, four in Victoria and three in New South Wales, enough to consider the sport “added to the number of interstate contests”. Governing bodies were formed to oversee hockey’s development in the two states and to regulate the clubs attached to each rink. With a formalised league structure in both states and an interstate championship, by 1911 Australians’ love of hockey had grown such that one newspaper was able to write “ice-hockey is destined to become one of the most popular of our winter sports”.

But who was playing hockey in Melbourne and Sydney? In the five years before the First World War, Melbourne had between four hockey clubs: Beavers, Brighton, Glaciarium (which folded after one year), the Melburnians, and Ottawa. Although details about them are relatively scarce, it is possible to state that the Melburnian Club, for example, comprised a group of old boys from Melbourne Grammar School including John Goodall. The
Melburnians were the finest hockey club in Victoria and dominated the early league, winning each of the state championships from 1909-1913. In Sydney, by contrast, there were three clubs: the Wanderers, the Corinthians, and the Ottawas. Here, the league was dominated by the Corinthians and their star player, Jim Kendall. A native of Halifax, Nova Scotia, Kendall emigrated to Australia in 1911 and made an immediate impact as a hockey player, guiding New South Wales to its first interstate championship that year. Overall, in both Victoria and New South Wales, hockey was a largely middle-class form of recreation and was played by university students, grammar school boys, teachers and lecturers, and the like, with the occasional emigrant from Canada thrown into the mix.

It was, above all, an amateur game that encouraged cultural engagement with Canada as those Australians who played hockey sought to mimic, lovingly, the style and atmosphere of Canadian hockey. Shortly before the First World War, for example, the clubs began importing flat-edged hockey sticks replacing the field hockey sticks that had hitherto predominated; they replaced the rubber balls inherited from bandy with pucks, made initially from wood and subsequently of imported rubber; and they adopted jerseys similar to those worn by the hockey clubs of Montreal and Toronto. On the eve of the First World War, then, the skaters of Melbourne and Sydney had fashioned, in less than a decade, a vibrant sporting culture that provided entertainment for the thousands who turned up at the Glaciariums to watch. The outbreak of the war, however, brought a sudden end to this flourish, as Australian attentions turned away from sport towards the conflict engulfing Europe.

_Hockey Night between the Wars_

In 1924, the British Ice Hockey team won bronze at the Olympic Winter Games at Chamonix in France. The level of success proved vital in shaking the country’s hockey clubs out of their moribund state and offered the foundation upon which to rebuild and extend the sport. There was, as yet, little sign of hockey developing into one of the most successful
commercial sports of the inter-war years; it remained, in the words of Carl Erhardt, “fostered and supported only by the enthusiasm of the players themselves”.

Until the end of the 1920s, the sport continued to be played on the fringes of British culture – by students, expatriates, and existing enthusiasts. Nevertheless there was a new rink at Westminster in central London opened in 1926 and a new team, the London Lions, formed the following year. They sparked not just a revival in hockey, but rapid expansion taking the sport outside of its traditional London and Manchester heartlands. New rinks such as Richmond (1928), Glasgow (1929), Oxford (1930), and Birmingham (1931) appeared, as did league competition beginning with a two division, ten-club Scottish league in October 1929.

Down under, hockey revived in earnest in 1921, following a small number of exhibition games held in Sydney in July 1919. In contrast to Britain, Australian hockey picked up largely where it had left off in 1914 with many of the same teams once again active in the leagues in Melbourne and Sydney. Indeed, it is to Australia rather than Britain that historians may turn to understand the amateur game outside of North America in the early 1920s. Generally, the period was one of consolidation in Australia with new administrative bodies in both states, a national governing body, and intra-state league structures in New South Wales and Victoria. Sydney Ice Hockey Club, formed amidst the enthusiasm for hockey before the First World War, for example, split into four district clubs in 1921 with its traditional role of overseeing hockey in the state transferred to the New South Wales Ice Hockey Association. A similar body for Victoria followed in 1923 as did the Australian Ice Hockey Association, which was to place the nation on an international footing. The AIHA joined the *Ligue International de Hockey sur Glace* in 1938. Such was the success of this period of consolidation that, in 1932, the British journal *Skating Times* reported to its readers that “ice hockey [had] gained a very firm hold in Australia” and efforts were being made to send a team to Britain on tour. They failed on grounds of cost.
The opening of Wembley Arena in October 1934 announced a new phase in the story of British hockey and the moment that Britain broke away from two decades of change and the model of development shared with Australia.\(^{35}\) No longer would hockey be the preserve of wealthy amateurs such as Carl Erhardt; instead, it would be popularised as a sport for the modern age set amidst electric lights and artificial ice. Hockey was fast and courted new technologies including the radio and television. Wembley Arena had seating for 9,000 spectators, challenging Maple Leaf Gardens and Madison Square Garden as the leading hockey venues in the world. One Canadian journalist gushed that Wembley was “in a class all of its own.”\(^{36}\) Brighton Sports Stadium and Earl’s Court followed in 1935, Harringay Arena in 1936, Blackpool Ice Drome in 1937, Nottingham Ice Stadium, home of the Nottingham Panthers after the Second World War, in 1938, and Durham Ice Rink in 1940.

Scotland, too, enjoyed a significant boom in the second half of the 1930s.\(^{37}\) Announcements of new rinks came year after year: Glasgow in 1937, Aberdeen, Dundee, Falkirk and Kirkcaldy in 1938, Edinburgh and Paisley in 1939. Expenditure was enormous, the ice rink at Paisley cost nearly £55,000, that at Aberdeen £65,000, in Edinburgh £95,000, and in Glasgow £150,000.\(^{38}\) By the end of the decade, Scottish rinks, which offered curling and skating in addition to hockey, employed around 1000 people and had an annual wage bill of over £55,000 a year.\(^{39}\) Similarly, a rink in south Belfast opened by the Royal Ulster Agricultural Society in 1934 had cost over £60,000.\(^{40}\) Across the United Kingdom as a whole, then, historians have estimated that £1,000,000 was invested in the development of ice hockey over the course of the 1930s.\(^{41}\) Contemporary newspaper accounts even suggest £2,000,000!\(^{42}\) Ice hockey, as one Edinburgh councillor put it bluntly, “makes money”.\(^{43}\)

This remarkable level of investment in hockey was mirrored by an increasing demand for Canadian and American players so that the play on the ice and the spectacle that it provided justified the money being spent on a fringe sport. Such demand came at an ideal
moment for many young Canadians who often came to Britain to sell their labour as sportsmen because of the difficulties of finding jobs at home. They came from the Maritimes where, as Ernie Forbes has written, things were tough and the region was “for many a grim place to live”; and they came from the Prairies as rumour and reality blended into the belief that ‘you’ll make yourself £10 a week’. In Ottawa too, the press reported that players in England were earning as much as $60 a week (that’s the £10 equivalent). The British newspaper, *Ice Hockey World*, had it at £12. By comparison, even as late as the 1950s, the top players in the Football League, including the Busby Babes of Manchester United, earned a maximum of £15 per week.

Without the Canadian imports, ice hockey would never have undergone its commercial revolution in the 1930s, but it came at a price: few Britons (or Australians) took up the game themselves, preferring instead to become spectators and consumers. Despite the rapid growth in public demand and the levels of investment, hockey was distinctly Canadian—a singular triumph, it might seem, of the soft power of an increasingly independent nation. But it was controversial. British newspapers tired of having to explain anew each season who the players were, where they’d come from, and maintaining a mental geography of Canada’s small-town teams. They tired too of the violence that Canadians brought to the game. As the *Skating Times* put it, hockey was “suffering from an overdose of Canadian semi-professionals with big ideas about themselves”. To counter the violence, officials set about changing the rules to improve respect for referees and reduce the number of bodychecks and slashes. The Canadian press interpreted the moves as a sign that British hockey was losing its “Canadian flavour”. One British newspaper responded politely by asking “the many Canadians playing this season in England to remember that the game is sport rather than civil war”.

Violence, it was felt, went hand in hand with professionalism. The question of whether to maintain hockey’s ostensibly amateur status or to embrace the open
professionalism of the National Hockey League dominated the 1930s, as it would post-war decades. If the United States, today, represents the frontier of big-time, capitalist hockey, between the wars it was Britain that posed the greatest threat to Canada’s amateur ethos. Australia, on the other hand, simply imposed a ban on professionals in the sport and refused to recognise teams that had a largely number of shamateurs on their rosters, a course of action that certainly endeared Australian officials to the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association. Thus, in 1938, the Canadian Bears Hockey Club was thrown out of the New South Wales Ice Hockey Association for fielding professionals in its ranks. The following year, the Association went even further by suspending players for substantial lengths of time for open professionalism. McMillan of Western Suburbs, a former state-level goaltender, was given a five year ban, for example, and Naughton of Eastern Suburbs, two years. The problem, as the affected teams soon found out, was that the Canadian professionals were invariably better and more able to produce exciting spectacle for paying customers.

The British Ice Hockey Association was more open in its embrace changing its constitution in 1937 in order to provide representation for professional players. In the same year, much to the annoyance of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, the NHL declared that British hockey was ‘a professional organisation akin to itself’. Yet, such pronouncements and actions mask a more complex reality, notably the active attempt in the late-1930s to wean clubs off their reliance upon imported Canadians. Thus, junior academies were set up to train a new generation of British hockey players and junior and amateur leagues were also formed around the country to encourage hockey’s domestic development, particularly outside London and the ancient universities. The secretary of the British Ice Hockey Association, Bunny Ahearne, explained to the Daily Express in 1938 that, “inside five years I visualise Britain as a real self-supporting hockey country”. It was a difficult challenge, however, and almost impossible to meet: when war was declared in September
1939, for instance, there were nearly 150 players registered for transfers from Canadian clubs to British ones.\textsuperscript{56}

What went on in Britain in the 1930s could hardly escape the notice, or ire, of Canadian hockey officials who already faced the prospect of their players heading to the United States and into the NHL. The alarm was first raised in 1935. During the annual congress of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, the aggressive president, E. A. Gilroy, issued a proclamation reminding would-be migrants that they needed permission before travelling to another association’s jurisdiction. In the press conference afterwards, Gilroy further warned players and made an open attack on what he called “bootleg professional hockey under an amateur cloak”.\textsuperscript{57} As the \textit{Daily Express} correspondent put it to his readers, the situation in ice hockey was destined to become like that in rugby football. “It was only yesterday”, he explained, “that a member of the Welsh R.U. was telling me that the moment a new star was discovered in his land, he was practically booked for the Rugby League”.\textsuperscript{58} Gilroy alienated British rink managers and the players themselves, who insisted that they would continue to migrate even if it meant turning outlaw.\textsuperscript{59} The British Ice Hockey Association, too, were willing to go their own way.

\textit{Conclusion}

Australia and Britain, then, present two distinct forms of hockey in the 1930s and the two patterns of development that arose in the global game before the Second World War. As the above essay has shown, the decade saw vast sums of money invested in the game, particularly in the United Kingdom, along with technological and commercial advancements. To re-emphasise the success of hockey’s export to the British Empire in the period, it’s worth dwelling for a moment on where and when hockey first made it on to television. The first television broadcast of ice hockey, of any kind, took place on 7 January 1937 on the BBC.\textsuperscript{60} The following year, on 29 October 1938, a match was broadcast live for the first time with a
further two matches in November. This predated the broadcast of hockey on television in Canada by fourteen years! That was the level of interest in hockey in Britain in the 1930s.\textsuperscript{61}

Significantly, the rise of hockey rehabilitated Canadian sporting activity to British interests. Prior to the 1930s, British (and Australian) and Canadian sport had reached such a level of divergence that there was little commonality save reporting on soccer, rugby and cricket matches in the various “Old Country” newspaper columns that existed across Canada. In part, of course, this was a natural response to the rise of the United States as the continental trendsetter. Things Canadian, as Mary Vipond has written, “operated in a continental marketplace”.\textsuperscript{62} Such rehabilitation, however, merely exposed a certain rivalry. After all, the rise of hockey in Britain ought to have brought the two nations closer together, as the rise of hockey in Australia had done. Instead, the rivalry between the CAHA and the BIHA simply made clearer Canada’s growing dissent from the British world and its development as a full partner in the North American one more overt. The fairly cavalier approach of the British towards the amateur principle tells us much about British engagement with commercial sports in the period. Britons’ general refusal to deal with international governance frustrated Canadian efforts to control their national game.

Thus, to answer the question set out at the beginning of this essay, “what happened when Britons (or Australians and South Africans) began playing ice hockey and then adapted it to their own sporting culture?” What happened was a commercial revolution, was frustration with the limitations of amateurism, and a hostility set within the global hockey family by ambitious bêtes noirs. It all echoes with perfect mirrored similarity the frustrations and antagonisms felt a generation later when the rise of Sweden and the Soviet Union as hockey powers threatened the comfortable dominance of Canada. Then too, the Canadians disliked what they saw as a detrimental change to \textit{their} game and the feeling that they could do little to control it. As historians seek to understand the development of hockey during the
twentieth century and to expose the critical junctures at which the sport could have gone along the road less travelled, then perhaps their attention would be as well turned to the skaters of Sydney and Streatham. For hockey has always been more than Canada’s game.

**Acknowledgements**

This is a slightly enlarged version of the paper delivered at the conference and represents some of the ideas that I have developed in my research on British hockey over the last few years. I would like to thank Andrew Holman, Brian Kennedy, Rich Lehman, Stacy Lorenz, Andrew Ross, Mac Ross, and John Wong for their thoughts and comments on this research; to the library and archive staff at Saint Mary’s University, the BBC’s Written Archive Centre, and the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia for their assistance; and above all to Colin Howell and Sandi Galloway for their encouragement, guidance, and support over several years.

ENDNOTES


Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, December 19, 1846.


Western Mail (Cardiff), February 6, 1892.

Pall Mall Gazette, January 7, 1895.

*Penny Illustrated* (London), February 22, 1896.

The Times (London), November 20, November 27, December 9, December 10, December 14, December 24, 1903; January 11, January 20, January 23, 1904.

The Times, January 26, 1910.


The Times, January 30, 1909; The Times, January 4, 1910.

The Times, December 2, 1908.

Adelaide Register, September 5, 1904; Adelaide Advertiser, September 1, 1897; September 7, September 26, 1904.

Adelaide Advertiser, 12 October, 15 October 1904, 14 July, 14 September 1905, 5 April 1906, 14 December 1907, 11 February 1908, 25 August, 3 September 1909.

Adelaide Advertiser, June 11, 1906; Melbourne Argus, June 9, 1906.

Sydney Morning Herald, July 26, 1907.

Melbourne Argus, July 18, 1906.

Melbourne Argus, August 13, August 14, 1907.

Melbourne Argus, August 22, 1912.

Melbourne Argus, August 30, 1909; Sydney Evening News, August 30, 1909.

Melbourne Argus, September 19, 1911.

Melbourne Argus, June 30, 1910.

Sydney Evening News, June 14, 1913.

Melbourne Argus, September 19, 1911.

*Glasgow Herald*, January 15, 1929; *The Scotsman*, January 12, March 25, October 2, October 9, 1929.

*Sydney Morning Herald*, July 12, July 19, 1919.

*Sydney Morning Herald*, May 26, 1922.

*Skating Times*, April 1932: 20; *Port Pirie Recorder*, May 20, 1932.


*Leader-Post*, February 12, 1935.

This was initially driven by university students in Glasgow and Canadians resident in and around the city. B. M. Patton, *Ice Hockey* (London: Routledge, 1936): 22-25.

*The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), February 6, 1937; February 18, October 1, December 24, 1938.

*The Scotsman* November 15, 1939.


*The Argus (Melbourne)*, May 8, 1937.

*Glasgow Herald*, March 1, 1939.


*Ottawa Citizen*, October 13, 1937.

*Ice Hockey World*, March 10, 1937.

*Skating Times*, December 1939: 50.

*Calgary Daily Herald*, October 20, 1937.

*Skating Times*, December 1934: 25.

*The Argus (Melbourne)*, October 5, 1938.

*Sydney Morning Herald*, October 17, 1938.

The information here is drawn from the records contained in registration files held by Companies House. British Ice Hockey Association Ltd, *Company Records, Company No. 306186*, Companies House, Cardiff.
53 *Vancouver Sun*, December 23, 1937.


55 *Daily Express*, November 2, 1938.

56 *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 4, November 6, 1939; *The Scotsman*, January 13, 1939.


59 *Daily Express*, September 21, September 24, 1935.


61 *The Times*, October 29, 1936; *Radio Times* (Television Supplement), October 21, 1936. The first game broadcast of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was that between the Montreal Canadians and the Detroit Red Wings on 11 October 1952.