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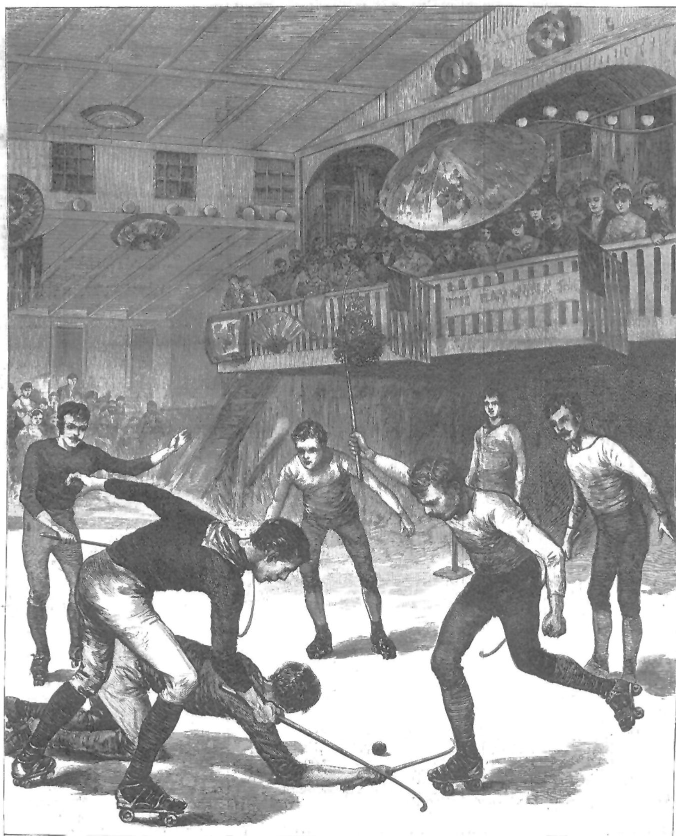

POLO ON ROLLER SKATES AT NEWPORT.—DRAWN BY C. W. WELDON.—[SEE PAGE 574.]

Harper's Weekly, 8 September, 1882, cover.

"Polo at the Rinks": Shaping Markets for Ice Hockey in America, 1880-1900

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ON DECEMBER 9, 1939, JOHN KIERAN FOCUSED his "Sports of the Times" column on "what the war was doing to sports across the water." He claimed that, for England anyway, early alarms and cutbacks had quickly eased in football, horseracing, and other sports. More surprising to Kieran was an article in *La Gazzetta Della Sport* about "Hockey su rotelle" in Milan. "That's the old Down East game of 'roller polo' that went out some thirty years ago," wrote Kieran, "possibly because it was too ferocious for civilized areas." Some combination of gamblers, chiefs of police, and the Humane Society, he continued, had "joined in a movement to banish roller polo and re-establish peace through New England again." From its birth around 1880, roller polo had spread in popularity far beyond New England—to the Maritimes, the Midwest, New York, Quebec, Ontario, and to Europe. By 1939 the organized, professional game in North America was on life support. As Kieran discovered, however, Europe was embracing the "old Down East game"—

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with names like "hockey su rotelle" and "hockey sobre patines." Roller polo did not die in North America either. It continued on streets and asphalt courts, only it was now called roller hockey. The shift in name was significant, because in many American cities and towns, players and promoters of "polo" had set the stage and created a market for the more popular sport of ice hockey.[1]

This essay examines two decades in the history of a sport that contemporaries simply called "polo." It was a popular hockey-like game played on roller or ice skates. Five to seven players per side wielded short sticks (one-handed) to whack a rubber ball into the opposing goal. While the game briefly enjoyed (in some markets) the popularity of minor league baseball, it was largely a marginal or niche enterprise. Historians have generally ignored the sport. Although polo equipment attracted the attention of major sporting goods dealers like the Spalding Brothers, the sport was dominated by small-time operators who built and ran skating rinks in cities and towns across the United States, Canada, and Europe. For this very reason, however, polo deserves attention. Its early history offers a window on the process by which nineteenth-century sport entrepreneurs sought to introduce new products and services.[2]

During the nineteenth century, urban residents experienced a major shift in the way they purchased clothing, food, and other consumer products. The traditional dry goods store, with its shelves of cloth and its barrels of generic cereals, soap cakes, and flour, was replaced by department stores and grocery stores stocked with name-brand goods—Quaker Oats, Ivory Soap, and Gillette Razors. Manufacturers and retailers developed and fought over new tactics such as slick packaging, free samples, single pricing, coupons and trading cards, all in the fight for name recognition, strong mental associations, shelf space, and finally strong consumer loyalty. In some ways, sport entrepreneurs were pioneers in this process of product development and marketing.[3] Business historians have used the bicycle to examine innovations in manufacturing, advertising, and branding. As sport historians have demonstrated, however, early promoters of baseball, golf, tennis, and football were equally or even more innovative. After all, the bicycle offered some practicality in transportation. On the other hand, most of today's popular sports were strange new specimens bearing little connection to everyday experience. Entrepreneurs, promoters, and their media allies had to create fictions about their importance.[4]

Polo offers another window into this process. Most important, polo's history illuminates the first steps in product development—i.e., the way in which "general" product or service lines are created and developed. In this case, polo was instrumental in the establishment of a new line of commercial team sport that involved hitting a ball along a ground surface into a goal. While similar folk games (including Irish hurling, Scottish shinty, and English field hockey) had some popularity among both native North American tribes and European immigrant groups, they had limited play in the burgeoning centers of industrial capitalism. Someone had to create their market. Polo on roller skates was the first commercially successful sport of this line. Within two decades, however, athletes were playing several other product "types" in this line, including ice polo and ice hockey. By the 1920s, ice hockey had emerged in North America as the most popular "hockey" product type, with distinctive product brands (e.g., college versus National Hockey League hockey). Each point in this evolution unfolded as entrepreneurs reacted to the market-

place. There were, however, consequences to this process. As early promoters shaped the new product line, they nudged all subsequent and related types and brands down a path that fused skill and speed with blood and violence. Anyone seeking to understand NHL (National Hockey League) hockey's contemporary contradictions and marketing problems must consider polo in the 1880s.[5]

Obscure and forgotten sports like polo also remind us that history's details are often theory's devils. Several scholars have recently outlined broad arguments to explain why certain sports (and not others) gained hegemony on Europe's and America's cultural calendars. Their works are provocative and valuable, but they also betray ignorance of key details, especially in hockey history. For instance, in their book *Offside: Soccer and American Exceptionalism* (2001), Andreii Markovits and Steven Hellerman argue that "hockey never claimed American origins" and that the game "became popular and part of the American sport space as an openly foreign sport." In fact, hockey had much deeper roots in America's Northeast and upper Midwest—securely planted by polo players and promoters. On a different tack, Maarten Van Bottenburg argued in *Global Games* (2001) that a sport's popularity has ultimately "depended on the social origins of its devotees and the social significance with which they invested their sports." While social class has surely mattered in the development of any sport, Van Bottenburg's fundamentalism is less compelling in American markets, and certainly so in the case of polo and hockey. In both cases, these authors have marginalized the grassroots work of entrepreneurs. One cannot understand the development of any sport, particularly hockey, without examining the fingerprints from their visible hands.[6]

The Beginnings

Polo—on floor or ice—was an odd cultural amalgamation of a mass, commercial amusement; a traditional children's game; and an exotic, elite sport. Europeans had designed and patented roller skates in the first half of the nineteenth century, but the early designs were not user-friendly. In 1863, however, American James L. Plimpton introduced a roller skate that offered balance, speed, and maneuverability. The new skates turned a marginal activity into a rage. Within a few years, entrepreneurs and private associations had built roller rinks on both sides of the Atlantic. Men and women of all stripes flocked to these rinks both to skate and to watch. But there was one problem. Skating lap after lap could prove boring. In response, some participants developed "fancy" skating, learning to perform loops and jumps, for show and for competition. Others sought to convert existing sports like baseball to roller versions. And someone saw the potential in moving the old English folk and children's game of hockey onto the roller rink.[7]

"Hockey" was an English name for a game that required players to drive a ball (or similar object) into a goal, or simply to keep the ball away from opponents. "Bandy" was another English name for a similar game. The Irish version was called hurling or hurly; the Scots played shinty. The English game was probably named after the short stick used for play. The *Oxford English Dictionary* explains that the name "hockey" was of "uncertain origin," but most likely it "originally belonged to the hooked stick. OF [Old French] hoquet 'shepherd's staff crook' suits form and sense." The game was popular among

schoolboys. It was also dangerous. One description of English schoolboys, entitled *The Book of Games* (1811), provided a running exchange between a father and son as they traveled about and chanced to view boys playing various games. The action and energy of "hockey" especially roused the boy's attention, but his father warned him that it was a dangerous game. He had a friend at school who had lost an eye to an errant stick—"the eagerness with which boys are too apt to play at it has been the occasion of many accidents, and it is I believe forbidden at many schools." The 1851 Regulations of Chauncey-Hall School included the following among a list of prohibitions: "to bring bats, hockey sticks, bows and arrows, or other dangerous play-things to school." But play they did. The boys at St. Paul's School (founded 1856) played "hockey" on field and ice, as early as 1860.[8]

When roller rink patrons and promoters brought the game indoors, why did they call it "polo"? There is no clear answer, but the most logical explanation lies in the promoters' desire to add a new, exotic twist that would distance the game from its schoolboy roots. During the 1860s, British officers had returned from India with a new equestrian game called polo. In 1876 James Gordon Bennett imported equestrian polo to America, with Newport as one of his launching pads. A decade earlier, New Yorkers had carried roller skating with their other summer amusement to the fashionable resort, where Newport's Roller Skating Association transformed the Atlantic House into a skating rink. Within a few years, someone or some group had fused roller skating with "hockey," then rechristened the game "polo" to create a new, exciting sport. *Henley's Official Polo Guide, 1885-1886*, reported that organized play among clubs began in 1878 in Newport. By 1885, said the guide, "every good roller skating rink has a well organized club." This was an exaggeration, but the game had quickly caught on and was played widely in America's Northeast and Midwest. It had also surfaced at South London's "Lava" rink. While players reveled in the whirling action, *Henley's Guide* saw the most compelling feature of polo—it was fan friendly. As proof of its "great popularity" the *Guide* noted, "[I]t is only necessary to call attention to the fact that on nights when Polo is played, the rinks are crowded, not only by skaters, but by people who go only to see the game."[9]

One set of 1884 rules, adopted by the Maine Polo League, presents the game's basics. Each team had seven players— two rushers (forwards), two backers (midfielders), goal-cover and point-cover (the defenders), and goalkeeper. The stick had maximum diameter of one inch and length of four feet. It was the same kind of stick used in field hockey or bandy. The ball was three inches in diameter. Goals (first poles, but then cages) were six feet wide and from three to four feet high. The game started with players lined in pairs that formed a wedge toward their goal. The "rushers" were at the wide top of the wedge. At the referee's signal, they raced to the rubber ball placed at center ice. The game was on. Unlike organized field hockey, players could pass the puck forward to a teammate ahead of them, but attackers could not skate within a five foot radius around the goal. The ball could be advanced only with the stick. The ball could bounce into the stands and back into play. There was no "intentional" striking, kicking, or tripping. Two or three team fouls, depending on location, equaled a goal for the opponent. Matches were best of three or best of five "goals." Sketches of the game show players whacking one-handed, which makes sense given the short stick. When the sticks flew, however, so did the fists. It was a game that promised speed, scoring, and violence.[10]

"Shinny on Roller Skates," *National Police Gazette*, 31 January 1885, p. 9.

In 1885 the *Brooklyn Eagle* echoed *Henley's Guide* and recognized the game's potential to become "the most popular indoor sport now in vogue," so long as leagues (like the young Empire State Polo League) enacted and enforced rules that would enhance skill and "strategic play" while reducing the "rough features" that made "severe personal injuries a sequence of nearly every match played." Codes of rules such as those in Maine and Massachusetts were a step in the right direction, especially in limiting the size of the stick and the ball. As the *Eagle* noted, too many games were played with larger balls and longer sticks that led, ironically, to action that was much too polo-like. The *Eagle* hoped that "dribbling" or "pushing the ball"—as opposed to "striking it"—would be made a primary part of the game. Equally important, roughneck thugs should be immediately disqualified.[11]

Local polo teams—affiliated with roller rinks—grew quickly around New England in the early 1880s—from Providence through Greater Boston into Maine and beyond. The *St. John (New Brunswick) Daily Sun* reported on a December 1884 match between teams from St. John and Calais, Maine. The game was soon reported as widely as Baltimore, Maryland; Washington, D.C.; Marquette, Michigan; Covington, Kentucky; and the province of Ontario. One of the first organized leagues (1883-1884) was the New England League of Polo Clubs, founded by delegates from Fall River, Gloucester, Lynn, Salem, Lowell, and Providence. Polo spread in part because the early leagues were happy to circulate their rules. Within a month of the New England League's founding, the *Boston Herald* reported rules requests from Montana, Alabama, Iowa, Nebraska, Arkansas, "and other states too numerous to mention." Other leagues of the time included the National League of Polo Players, (New England-based), the Maine Polo League, the Connecticut State Polo League, the Metropolitan Polo League, and the Western League, which had franchises in Cincinnati; Dayton; Muncie and Richmond, Indiana; Galesburg, Illinois; and Janesville and Racine, Wisconsin. A league on Michigan's Upper Peninsula included teams from Houghton, Calumet, Marquette, Ishpeming, Negaunee, and Escanaba. Leagues opened and closed as quickly as the rinks that housed their teams. Some were one-year wonders. Others, like the Western League, were avowedly professional.[12]

Importance of Polo to Roller Rinks

Polo rode (and partially drove) a wave of roller rink development around the country. The years 1884 and 1885 saw a frenzy of rink building by entrepreneurs on the make. Detroit's 1885 *City Directory* listed three roller skating rinks. That same year, a reporter for the *Pioneer Press* listed eleven rinks in Minneapolis alone, four in St. Paul, and one or two in some three dozen other towns, most of them built within the last year or two at costs from $1,000 to $10,000. Dwight Hoover's research on the skating craze in Muncie, Indiana, shows a progression of rink designs from "converted stages or temporary facilities to new, more dedicated and elaborate buildings." The *Muncie Daily News* of February 25, 1885, reported on three plans that were announced in rapid fire: "[W]ithin the last few days there has [*sic*] been numerous rumors of the erection of rinks until nearly every capitalist of Muncie was reported to have under construction plans and specifications tending in the direction of a rink." The proposed rinks would have had an aggregate capacity of 14,000 people which was, as Hoover says, "certainly adequate for a town whose population was only 5,219 in 1880."[13]

Greater Boston swelled with new rinks. The Hub's *City Directory* listed four rinks in 1884 and five in 1885. Some of the rinks were prototypes of today's indoor sports palaces. The Institute Rink (1883), affiliated with the New England Manufacturers and Mechanics Institute, boasted 50,000 square feet of Seyssel Asphalt surrounded by a 30,000 square foot birch track—enough room so a thousand skaters could wander "without crowding" under the electric lights. Hundreds more could roam the cloak, toilet, and smoking rooms. A restaurant sold hot cider and popcorn balls. The rival Columbia rink opened in January of 1885 to rave reviews for its stained-glass front, spacious lobby, gas-lit chandeliers, ladies' parlor, 150x70 foot floor, twelve-musician band, and (best of all) its steam heating system. Boston was not alone in rink amenities. Brockton's new rink opened in the fall of 1887, illuminated by electric lights that were magnified by tin reflectors. The rink was also heated with coal-burning "heat boxes" placed under the stands.[14]

Polo quickly followed rink construction because polo attracted paying customers. It was an important supplement to public skating. Rink owners had a few basic sources of revenue—admission, skate rental, lessons, and concessions. The core products to trigger these revenue streams were the active skating experience, the spectacle (for the voyeurs), and the social interaction. Prices were reasonable. For instance, St. Paul, Minnesota's Jackson Street Roller Rink offered twenty-five-cent admission, "including skates." The rival Exposition Roller Rink, which claimed to be "the only rink heated by steam," varied its admission price from fifteen to twenty-five cents, depending on time of day. The rinks were a special kind of theater where the actors (the skaters) might constantly change roles with spectators (skaters who were taking a break). The rinks were a place to watch and be watched. Then as now, promoters knew that nothing sold the product like a packed house. One strategy, the *Brooklyn Eagle* complained, involved sending "rink agents" to local schools to give out complimentary tickets, a practice that could backfire by attracting the "vulgar dead head class" and scaring away respectable families. The *Eagle* suggested that rinks instead offer reduced-rate season tickets to families, schools, and clubs, while charging full rate to "transients."[15]

Rink owners expanded their markets in several ways. The Keene, New Hampshire rink published its own *Skating Rink Journal,* which claimed a weekly circulation of 1,500. Such newsletters were popular, and owners like Keene's Fred Ogden used them to broaden product awareness. They knew that "open skating" alone would not last, so they quickly cultivated an assortment of special events: skating exhibitions by "championship" skaters, fancy dress festivals, costume parties, and group excursions to other rinks. The Keene rink even partnered with the nearby City Hotel for a skate, dinner, and dance event in February of 1884. Such triple-headers, said the *Journal*, "are destined to be leading features at the rink." But the rinks needed even more product diversity. Who could suffer skating in circles on a short track, hour after hour, night after night? Because the skating surfaces were typically flat, hard maple, the rinks could be converted to non-skating events. Minneapolis' "Mammouth Crocker Rink" cleared the skaters out for several weeks in December of 1884 to host the "Carnival of Nations," an indoor exposition with booths, displays, and costumed volunteers representing nine nations. In Muncie, rink operators had to offer varied and changing programs to keep people coming. As Dwight Hoover explains, one owner offered succeeding nights of "football, Peck's Bad Boy and his Pa, and three Mormon giants, all on skates." Contortionists and tight ropers—all on wheels—joined trapeze artists and bicycle acts to keep the crowds coming. But it would not be enough.[16]

Roller polo was a logical new product line. Admission to a rink on a given night might offer open skating from 7-9 p.m., followed by a one-hour polo match, followed by more "circuit skating." When Boston's Institute Skating Rink staged its grand opening on November 27, 1883, "Polo" was one of six events that included fancy skating, a one-mile race, and a "grand parade." In Muncie, as the skating craze faded in the late 1880s, Dwight Hoover found that "increasingly, the schedule at the Royal included polo matches between the Royal's own polo club and those from other communities, while the group skating became less frequent."[17]

Polo was a playground for early sport marketers. Rink owners jumped on the game because it promised excitement not only to skilled skaters but also to non-skating spectators. One of Boston's earliest polo emporiums was the Boston Roller Skating Rink, also known as "Winslow's Skating Rink." The owner-manager Frank E. Winslow had proudly listed his profession as "skating rink" in Boston's *City Directory*. He published his own semi-monthly newsletter—at twelve pages and 10,000 copies, it was no small promotion. But it appears that Winslow saw a sure thing in polo. When the *Boston Herald* described the founding of the New England Polo League in 1883, "F.E.Winslow" was listed as a director. We may reasonably assume that this was rink manager Winslow, the same Winslow who had written "Winslow's Rules," which were "adopted by the league"; the same Winslow who also offered prize medals to the league's champion team. One of Winslow's fellow directors was Henry Ditson, half of Boston's biggest sporting goods dealership, Wright and Ditson. Their firm was designated the league's "official publishers," which probably meant that they published programs, schedules, and possibly a league guidebook. Ditson and his famous partner, George Wright (a star player on Boston's first professional

baseball team in the 1870s), used the new indoor sport season to promote their name and their equipment for polo, skating, and other sports. They sponsored a polo team that carried the company name. On at least one occasion, they ran a baseball clinic prior to a polo match. For a single price, a fan could learn from big leaguers how to throw a curve ball or steal a "home run without touching third," all before watching the locals face-off in the roller sport. In the Midwest, M.C. Henley pursued a similar strategy from his factory in Richmond, Indiana, where his three hundred workers could turn out almost 2,500 pair of skates per day. His *Polo Guide* offered tips on playing, rules from six different leagues, testimonials, and lots of ads for his equipment, including the balls, sticks, and goal posts that were "regulation" in the Western League.[18]

Rink promoters needed all the help they could get, because their operations were continually assaulted by moralists. Fancy skating costumes revealed far too much female flesh for Victorian bourgeois tastes. Mixed skating under dim lights meant intimate mingling of the sexes, especially among adolescents; it was a recipe for trouble. As Lynne Marks has argued in her analysis of leisure and religion in Ontario, roller rinks were problematic, eroticized public space. In 1885, Catholic clergy in Minnesota used Lenten sentiments to launch a campaign against the rinks. One Father McGoldrick told the *Pioneer Press* that his personal investigations, prompted by parental complaints, revealed the "dangerous" associations fostered at the rinks. One of the city's "happiest" families was disgraced by their daughter's "seduction" at a rink, where she and a friend were "enticed by their male companions to apartments" in a hotel "where they remained until an early hour in the morning."[19]

Moralists were quick to predict the demise of this latest craze. The *Brooklyn Eagle* briefly joined the chorus when it noted the death of the local industry's promotional paper *Rink and Roller* in March of 1886. "Respectable rinks," said the *Eagle*, "have been in the decided minority." It was no wonder that demand had faded, given the "low, mixed character of the assemblages at the large majority of rinks, the dime museum style of entertainments provided, the 'hippodrome' races which took place, and the rough and tumble polo matches, not to mention the abuse of the free ticket system." Rink owners used their newsletters to launch counteroffensives. "Because you can not attend the rink," argued Keene's *Skating Rink Journal*, "do not invent some story to keep others away."[20]

To survive, polo would need better promotion from a supporting press. Fortunately for rink owners, polo promised thrills, drama, aggression, violence—and readers of all classes. So the press often became a willing partner. Many papers ran regular columns called "Polo at the Rinks," "On Rollers," or "Roller Rinkles," where readers could catch the latest news and gossip. The *Boston Herald* offered updates on the New England, Massachusetts, and Union Leagues, whose teams ranged from Boston and Chelsea to Taunton, Peabody, and Leominster. As one booster column concluded, the sport was "on the increase" and "the rinks are crowded at every important game." The *Brockton Enterprise* reported the scene of an 1887 contest between a local side and one from New Bedford: "The floor, which was permeated with wax for dancers' use, was as slippery as glass and the falls were numerous and so hard that you could hear the players' souls tattle when their bodies struck the floor." One New Bedford player earned praise for his "juggling and running with the ball." A local named Peck was described as "lively and as ready to slug as

ever.” The *Herald* promoted the leagues (and their readership) with pocket schedules that included lineups and pictures.[21]

Newspapers trumpeted new teams, owners, players, and leagues. Brooklyn's *Eagle*, which had ripped the unsavory “public” roller rinks in 1886, was more sanguine in December of 1887 about prospects at the Palace Rink, which would host the new Metropolitan Polo League, the area's first openly professional circuit. Among other things, the Met League had tapped as its president John B. Day, owner of New York's National League baseball team. The *Eagle* predicted “a big season and plenty of profits for the enterprising gentlemen who are trying to give the pleasure-loving public a substitute for baseball in winter and incidentally to enrich themselves.”[22]

If the game's popularity was carefully managed, it was also visceral. Newspaper stories—often nothing more than press releases written by team and league officials—graphically described the slashing sticks, whirling fists, cracked bones, and bloodied heads. As one 1895 promotion put it, “roller polo can arouse the sluggish blood, make the businessman forget his troubles, and afford much food for heated argument.” The stories created heroes and villains, just as they did in baseball and football. The *Boston Herald* focused attention on brawlers like Stoneham's LeDuc and Woburn's McKay, who went at it in one game with slashes and hard checks. McKay reacted with a wild swing—“the hickory hit LeDuc on the right temple and he went down to the surface as if dead.”[23]

Fighting and scoring were not the only paths to glory. Box scores also listed who won the “rush” for the ball after each goal. The *Brooklyn Eagle* even suggested that players wear “different colored hats,” depending on position, which would allow reporters to provide more accurate and compelling statistics, as well as spur players to “play more scientifically, as they would be credited with every pass and good play, as well as the loss of the ball or a bad shot, and so on.” Baseball was not the only sport with an eye on exotic statistics. Polo promoters thus enjoyed not only vivid descriptions of indoor facilities; they also had wide circulation of player names, images, game statistics, and playing schedules. These were (and remain) crucial factors in the marketing of any sport.[24]

Just as polo rode and boosted the roller skating craze of the mid 1880s, so too was it hurt by the market fade over the next decade. Rink enterprises collapsed from competition, attacks from moralists, and changing consumer taste. Minneapolis saw a big bubble burst quickly. The *St. Paul Daily Globe* offered an autopsy in January of 1886. Thirteen rinks had existed the year before, evidence of the “craze” that was “sweeping over the country in such a fashion that the ready speculator exchanged bank stock for rink shares and prepared to grow rich.” Everyone had neglected their normal duties and pastimes “for the frisky roller.” What a difference a year had made. Now, said the *Globe*, all but two rinks looked like they would close, for two reasons. The first was the “natural reaction after an unnatural craze.” The second was moral—“the press has damned [the rinks] with faint praise and the pulpit has denounced them unequivocally.” Boston's collapse was slightly slower, but by 1888 only Frank Winslow's rink could be found in the *City Directory*.[25]

Polo leagues lasted longer, but by the 1890s, they also had dwindled in number. Team owners and managers did not always help the cause. Talent raids were standard tactics within weak leagues or against rival leagues. The *Brooklyn Eagle* trumpeted the arrival of

the new American Polo Association in early December of 1898. Within a few weeks, however, the local franchise had folded. On December 31, the *Eagle* warned of unchecked competition: "[O]pposition is always welcome in a well established field, as business begets business" . . . but rival leagues that ruthlessly stole players under contract "can be set down as a sure thing . . . for failure sooner or later." The baseball wars of the early 1890s had made that clear. Brooklyn's polo team had also suffered from a small, unattractive venue. Several players cut loose for greener pastures. The economics were unrelenting. Building leases required steady revenues from paying fans. It was often a tenuous existence. When the *Boston Herald* wrote of rumors that a local club was about to fold, the club treasurer denied the prospect despite the reality that "we have not been doing an enormous business and the patronage has not come up to our expectations." He sounded like one of today's sports team owners about to skip town.[26]

Some hustlers may have been looking for new products. By the mid 1890s, basketball was crowding polo in some locations. The Washington Heights Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) followed its YMCA counterparts into basketball (which had been invented at the YMCA Training School in Springfield, Massachusetts). When the "Y" announced plans for a "great basketball day" on March 24, 1894, the featured evening basketball game (versus Eastern District, Brooklyn) was to be preceded by a "short exhibition" of polo. Polo had been relegated to preliminary status. Markets could shift quickly. In Lafayette, Indiana, polo was still alive in 1903, when entrepreneurs in Lafayette, Marion, Fort Wayne, Terre Haute, and Kokomo, Indiana, and Danville, Illinois, formed the Central League. Investors pooled $15,000 to build a "coliseum" that sat 2,300 for polo matches, and 1,500 fans watched the locals' first game. Within three years, however, polo was dead in Lafayette. Basketball was on the rise. In 1894 polo had been one of only four interclass sports recognized at Muncie High School. By the time the Lynds visited Muncie in the 1920s, it was all Bearcat basketball.[27]

Shaping a Market: From Roller to Ice Polo and Hockey

Roller polo limped into the twentieth century. While leagues would come and go for at least three decades, the game was increasingly the target of derisive columnists like John Kieran. Even as it faded in roller rinks, however, some players moved polo onto the ice to create "ice polo," a game that would prepare many markets for ice hockey. There were numerous direct connections between roller and ice polo. Hockey historian Bill Fitsell found, for instance, that when Canada's Queen's College and the Royal Military College played the "first game of organized hockey in Kingston," the players borrowed polo sticks "from the new roller rink." Teams from St. John, New Brunswick, moved from indoor roller polo to outdoor ice polo as early as 1885. Local Maliseet and Passamaquoddy Indians sometimes joined in the contests (although their use of skates is not clear). Ice polo was close to the freewheeling game of hurling or rickets that had been played for decades in Halifax-Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.[28]

By 1886 teams in Minnesota's Twin Cities had also moved polo to ice. The official program for the St. Paul Winter Carnival included a "match game of polo" for the "championship of the Northwest." Warm weather, however, melted the ice and the contest. The following year, three teams competed for Carnival polo honors. The *Pioneer Press* listed

one game in the official "Carnival Programme" as an "exhibition polo game on skates." The competition was clearly peripheral to core activities such as curling, "the ski," snowshoe "trampling," and tobogganing. But the game on ice quickly gained converts. One of the players on the championship team was Frank Barron, who had founded the St. Paul Polo Club in 1883. Like many other players, Barron moved from rink to ice. Within a year, clubs in St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Stillwater had organized a Northwestern League. "Up here in St. Paul," the *Globe* announced, "polo is played by enthusiasts on skates." Minnesota hockey historian Don Clark has written that in the 1890s, ice polo expanded in the Twin Cities area and in Duluth, at both the adult and high school levels. Several roller rinks were flooded in winter to provide indoor ice. In 1893 St Paul's Henrietta club defeated the Duluth Polo Club for the "state championship." The two cities would soon shift their bitter rivalry to ice hockey.[29]

The mid 1890s were ice polo's brief ascendancy in the United States. Students at Brown, Yale and Harvard, M.I.T., Boston College, and Tufts organized teams, as did students in a dozen Greater Boston high schools. Ice polo was even more organized in Metropolitan New York, with the opening of three artificial ice rinks in 1896. Yale and Brown teams played against teams representing established athletic clubs, such as the Montclair Athletic Club, and against dedicated polo clubs, such as the Brooklyn Ice Polo Club or the Passaic (New Jersey) Ice Polo Club. In Michigan's Upper Peninsula, the roller polo teams in Marquette, Calumet, Ishpeming, and Houghton also moved their indoor games to ice. Like New England, Minnesota, and Canada, the Upper Peninsula probably had a long tradition of informal hockey-like games, with skates, ball, and sticks. What was now different in all of these locations was a code of rules, borrowed from roller polo. The first Spalding hockey guide (published in 1897) was actually entitled *Official Ice Hockey and Ice Polo Guide*. While mostly on hockey, it contained a small section on ice polo. In describing the sport's origin, the guide mused that ice polo was linked to shinny—a kind of keep-away with ball and stick—but that "it would seem nearer correct to credit its origin to the great and popular game of roller polo." Whatever its direct ancestry, ice polo was the crucial bridge to ice hockey in many markets.[30]

While Canadian visitors and immigrants helped to introduce Canadian hockey to American markets in 1895-1896, it is just as fair to say that American ice polo players and fans simply converted to Canada's new winter passion. Known as the "Montreal" game because of its development in 1875-1877 at McGill University and the Victoria Rink, the Canadian game had evolved from a fusion of field hockey and lacrosse into the clear forerunner of ice hockey as played today. By the 1890s the Montreal game featured a puck, a long, broad-bladed stick, face-offs, no forward passing, a 4x6 foot goal, and seven players per side.[31]

When hockey moved south, however, it enjoyed easy recognition by players and spectators who had already enjoyed polo. New England and Metropolitan New York are good examples. Among numerous schools, colleges, and amateur clubs, it was ice polo teams that first embraced and converted to ice hockey. They had all been influenced by a group of America collegians who had toured Canada around the new year of 1895. In Montreal, Toronto, Kingston, and Ottawa, the lads played Canadian opponents in matches under both hockey and polo rules.

A *New York Times* preview described the tour as a challenge from the previous summer, when a group of college tennis players, led by Yale's Malcolm Chace and Arthur Foote, had won a number of matches in Canada. Their hosts had prodded them to return in several months with a "hockey" team. By December 19, Chace had picked his lineup, which included Foote, two men from Harvard, three from Brown, and one from Columbia—"all well-known tennis players," who also could skate and play ice polo. Matches were scheduled for Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston, and Ottawa. The most important provision of the tour, however, was that some of the games would be played in the "American style" (polo) and some "after the style in vogue in Canada." The press in Boston, New York, and Canada covered the tour. They sensed something of importance. Toronto's *Globe* noted that the tour was "arousing great excitement and interest in society and sporting circles." The *Times* added that "Canadians anticipate the result of the American visit will probably be the adoption of the Canadian game."[32]

The tour was managed (and probably funded) by George Wright, whom the *Times* called "the old Boston baseball player" and the Toronto *Globe* called the "veteran cricket player." Wright and his partner Henry Ditson had a nose for emerging sports. Recall that they had quickly jumped into the young roller polo market in 1883, with league board membership, team sponsorship, and status as "official" rules and guide publishers. In the mid 1890s, Wright was also introducing Boston to the exotic game of golf, making passionate and persuasive appeals to the Boston Park Commissioners to allow "exhibitions" on the sanctified greens of Frederick Law Olmsted's Emerald Necklace. In a similar vein, the hockey tour was a smart investment. Wright could grow closer to some prominent tennis and polo players. His firm might find new markets for polo equipment. And better yet, he would get a first-hand view of the "new" Canadian game, which could lead to novel lines of equipment to sell back home. So there was a whiff of big money as well as sport in the air when the train arrived in Montreal on December 27, 1894.[33]

The first game was scheduled as part of the grand opening of Montreal's new Beaver Rink in a match against the new Shamrock club, "under the patronage of the Governor-General." This game was cancelled by a snow storm, so (much more fittingly) the Americans opened the tour at Montreal's Victoria Rink, the birthplace of Canadian ice hockey as we know it today. Playing each half under different rules, the Americans earned a 1-1 tie in polo but were drubbed in hockey, 5-1. In a script that would recur throughout the tour as it moved to Toronto, Kingston, and Ottawa, each side had trouble adapting to the other's approach to "offsides," i.e. allowed or not allowed. The Americans were lauded for their stick-handling, the Canadians recognized for their superior skating. The tour continued with five more events—two full games under each set of rules and one more split affair. Counting each of the "halfs" as a full contest, the Yanks managed two ties and two close wins in ice polo but were destroyed in all four Canadian versions, losing by a total goals margin of 34-1. In a telling comment after the first game, the *Globe* concluded that "the Canadian game seemed infinitely more scientific than that played in the United States."[34]

Alexander Meikeljohn, a young Brown student and tour member, would become a well-known academic at Brown, Amherst, and Wisconsin. Later reflecting on the tour, he recalled, "[I]t was pretty well-agreed among us, as a result of the trip that the Canadian game was better than ours. Having learned the rudiments of play, we brought back with us the flat skates and pucks and sticks and proceeded to forget old habits and take on new ones." He and his tour mates also proceeded to convert others in New England and New York to the Montreal Game. Game accounts of early "hockey" in New York's three indoor ice rinks built in 1896 regularly included the names of Meikeljohn, Chace, Jones, and Larned—all converts from the year before. In the days of loose or non-existent eligibility rules, they played for multiple teams. They were early rink rats. There were others, for instance the Montclair (New Jersey) Athletic Club (M.A.C.) members who comprised the lineups of both the M.A.C. Ice Polo team and the M.A.C. Ice Hockey Team.[35]

A similar process occurred in the Midwest. When a Winnipeg team introduced ice hockey to St Paul, Minnesota, in February of 1895, the *Pioneer Press* reported that their opponents from the University of Minnesota consisted of "old football and ice polo players." In Boston the transition was etched in the name of the early adopter club—the Cambridge Ice Polo and Ice Hockey Team. The press in both countries followed this battle of sports with some interest. Recall that before the famous tour, the *New York Times* predicted that "Canadians anticipate the result of the American visit will probably be the adoption of the Canadian game." The *Times* was correct. Ice polo had short shelf-life. By 1900 most ice polo players and teams had shifted to hockey. By 1908 the *Spalding Guide* had dropped any reference to ice polo, and one is hard-pressed to find the sport mentioned in newspapers.[36]

At the same time, polo was much more than a passing craze. In parts of Canada and the United States, roller and ice polo were bridge sports that linked unorganized games like shinny and "hockey" to the "Montreal" game that swept across the Dominion in the 1880s and down into the Lower Forty-Eight in the next two decades. More than anything, polo on wheels or on skates had created consumer markets—both participant and spectator—for a hockey-like game. Polo required skating skill, speed, and daring. As the constant reports of cuts and injuries suggest, it was not a sport for the faint of heart. Press accounts—often written by rink promoters—regularly focused on the mayhem. In this respect, polo helped to shape this important and troublesome part of hockey's appeal. The *Haverhill Weekly Laborer* described one match in Brockton as "that old-time diversion of slugging, tripping, and wrestling called polo." But such legal violence appealed to workers and bourgeois alike—especially at a time when prize fighting was outlawed in most places.[37]

In fact, the mid 1880s newspaper accounts of polo slugfests were often aligned next to accounts of John L. Sullivan and his brawling travels in search of a payday. Typically, Sullivan had to characterize his activities as "sparring exhibitions," to keep one step ahead of the law. Polo needed no such pretext. More important, Sullivan was often accused of "hippodroming," or carrying his opponent, a claim the *Pioneer Press* made when he fought in Minneapolis in January of 1887. There were no concerns about phony fights in polo. The game's well-cultivated violence steered polo

"A Woman's Polo Match," *National Police Gazette*, 18 April 1885, p. 12.

and ultimately hockey toward a particular province of "masculinity," making both sports more difficult for women to call their own. One is hard-pressed to find evidence for women's polo teams (although they must have existed). One line drawing fantasy in the *National Police Gazette* depicted "pretty polo players," nothing more than chorus girls on skates.[38]

For workers, the sport rehearsed their everyday harsh, physical experience, where the tough hand ruled. For bourgeois fans, the game was a titillating window into that same world. This combination created loyal fan followings. When the Stillwater, Minnesota, team came to play Minneapolis in March of 1885, their fans rode on a "special train." A *Boston Herald* game story that same year captures similar fan communities at work. The "Paris" team of East Boston played at Gloucester on January 9. While "Johnson's Central" billiard rooms in East Boston were the scene for betting and "hearing" the results via telephone, the Eastern Railroad offered a special excursion for three hundred Paris fans from East Boston and Chelsea. Up in Gloucester, the match went almost forty minutes before some 1,500 fans, who cheered and jumped so much they "broke down the raised platform for reserved seats." The *Herald* reported "two or three rough and tumble fights among the fans." A polo match was a chance to bust loose, for players and fans alike.[39]

Polo set the stage for ice hockey in places like Greater Boston, New York, the Twin Cities, and Michigan's Upper Peninsula. It had all the basic ingredients—lighted indoor rinks, published schedules, skill and violence, heroes, villains, and rabid fan followings. But polo did lack one important product component—"science," or a sense of team tac-

tics and strategy. Polo players, on wood or ice, might display flashes of one-handed stick-handling skill, but the physical characteristics of the small stick and the ball worked against methodical play. Hockey would be different, and more appealing, as conveyed in a *Boston Herald* story about Harvard's conversion from polo to hockey. On January 19, 1898, Harvard played its first "official" hockey game, in a match against Brown. It was a "poor debut," scrolled the *Herald*'s headline, as the Crimson bunched up and generally "acted more like ice polo players" in losing 6-0. In contrast, Brown spread out, using the open ice for "clean cut and accurate" passing. Harvard had not yet learned to wield the longer, broad-bladed hockey stick to control the flat puck. And puck control was a central feature of hockey. As the Spalding *Ice Hockey and Ice Polo Guide* explained in 1897, hockey players used their broad-bladed stick to "shove or scoop" the puck in a two-handed, sliding or lifting motion, a more complex technique than the polo player's one-handed strike. Unlike the round rubber ball, said the *Guide*, the flat puck "slides along the ice with great ease and rapidity." Further, hockey (unlike polo) was an "onside" game. A hockey rusher had less desire to whack a puck ahead, because his teammates had to follow "close behind or abreast of him," in order to stay onside. Where a game of polo saw the rubber flying round and round in any direction, hockey promised more scientific tactics. As early as 1897 then, the *Spalding Guide* recognized that ice hockey was on the ascent and ice polo on a rapid decline, largely because hockey was "a more scientific game." As long-time Boston hockey writer Fred Hoey recalled years later, "the hit-and-miss-slam-bang feature of polo had no place in the new game."[40]

During the two decades (1890-1910) when the "Montreal Game" swept west, south, and east to establish itself as a premier winter sport, its promoters regularly compared it to polo. Hoey focused on puck control and science. Arthur Farrell, an early Canadian hockey icon, targeted speed. Farrell had written his country's first hockey guide in 1899 (two years after the first American guide). But he quickly emerged through his writing as North American hockey's top authority. In his 1910 primer, *How to Play Ice Hockey*, he waxed euphoric about the game's "mushroom growth" and its "jig time" development "from a child's game to a college sport." Other sports required skill, courage, and a cool head; none could touch hockey for speed. Even here, however, Farrell felt compelled to give polo a nod: "No game in which man plays unaided has the speed of hockey. Roller polo is an approach, but the steel shod hockey player is a veritable Mercury in comparison to his brother on the rollers."[41]

Perhaps hockey was a better game than polo. But in many respects, for players and fans alike, hockey was the same game, with the same appeals of speed and violence, the same intimacy between fans and players separated by little but a low wooden wall, in rinks that magnified and reverberated the cutting, slashing sounds of wheel on maple or stick on flesh. Ice hockey was simply a new product type in the same product line. Polo entrepreneurs had already carved out calendar space for a winter sport to sustain the passions of player and fan communities—along the lines of baseball. Within a few decades hockey fans could choose between several distinct product brands—from junior amateur and high school to intercollegiate to major league professional. It is no coincidence that Minnesota's Twin Cities, Michigan's Upper Peninsula, or Greater Boston embraced one or more of these brands and became America's hubs of homegrown hockey. The locals had been rehearsing for decades.

[1]*New York Times*, 9 December 1939, p. 20. See also Kieran's comments on 9 December 1928, sec. S, p. 2 and 21 December 1928, p. 37.

[2]The most complete look at polo has been Bill Fitsell, "The Rise and Fall of Ice Polo and Its Influence on Maritime Hockey," *The Hockey Research Journal* 4 (1999): 11-17. See also Dwight Hoover, "Roller Skating toward Industrialism" in *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940*, ed. Kathryn Grover (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 61-76.

[3]On the rise of product branding, see Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Marke*t (New York: Pantheon, 1989). For more on sports branding, see Bernard Mullin, Stephen Hardy, and William Sutton, *Sport Marketing*, 3rd ed. (Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics, 2007), chaps. 7-8. For the seminal work on hockey branding, see Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 184-231, 254-261.

[4]More recent sport business history includes Donald Fisher, "The Rochester Royals and the Transformation of Professional Basketball, 1945-57," *International Journal of History of Sport* 10 (1993): 20-48; Michael Lomax, *Black Baseball Entrepreneurs, 1860-1901: Operating By Any Means Necessary* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2003); Murry Nelson, *The Originals: The New York Celtics Invent Modern Basketball* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Press, 1999); John Wong, *Lords of the Rinks: The Emergence of the National Hockey League, 1875-1936* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2005); and Roger Lloyd-Jones, M.J. Lewis, and Mathew Eason, *Raleigh and the British Bicycle Industry: An Economic and Business History, 1870-1960* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing, 2000). Also on cycling, see David Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800-1932* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 189-215; and Andrew Ritchie, "The Origins of Bicycle Racing in England: Technology, Entertainment, Sponsorship and Advertising in the Early History of the Sport," *Journal of Sport History* 26 (1999): 489-520.

[5]For notions of product lines versus product brands, see Philip Kotler, *Marketing Management*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 464. My sense of history's importance is influenced by "Why History Matters to Managers," roundtable edited by Alan Kantrow, *Harvard Business Review*, January/February 1986, pp. 81-88.

[6]Andreii S. Markovits and Steven L. Hellerman, *Offside: Soccer and American Exceptionalism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 91. These authors mention the importance of entrepreneurs in their introduction but then overlook them in their analysis of hockey. Maarten Van Bottenburg, *Global Games* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 44. In the very period which Alfred Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977) has identified for its big-capital, managerial transformation, the sport industry developed at a small-market, entrepreneurial level.

[7]Foster Rhea Dulles, *A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play*, 2nd ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft, 1965), 193-194, 241.

[8]*Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 1314; *The Book of Games, or a History of the Juvenile Sports Practiced at the Kingston Academy* (Philadelphia: Johnson and Warner, 1811), 13; "Chauncey School Rules," in Henry Barnard, *Practical Illustrations of the Principles of School Architecture* (Hartford, Conn.: Case, Tiffany & Co, 1851), 165. For St. Paul's School, see Stephen Hardy, "Memory, Performance, and History: The Making of American Ice Hockey at St. Paul's School, 1860-1915," *International Journal of History of Sport* 14 (1997): 97-115.

[9]*Henley's Official Polo Guide, 1885-1886* (Richmond, Ind.: M.C. Henley, 1885), 5-6; *New York Times*, 9 September 1883, p. 7. The Roller Skating Museum Web site claims that roller polo began at the Denmark Roller Rink in London in 1878, <http://www.rollerskatingmuseum.com> [20 February 2007]. The museum offers no source evidence, and it is contradicted by Roger Pout, *The Early Years of English Roller Hockey, 1885-1914* (Kent, U.K.: published privately, 1993), who is emphatic about the 1885 date (the Denmark Hill Rink had been renamed the Lava rink in 1877).

[10]"Polo on Skates: American Skaters' Polo Rules," 1884, pamphlet, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[11]"Polo," *Brooklyn Eagle*, 22 November 1885, p. 9; *Henley's Guide*, 6-7.

[12]*Washington Post*, 14 February 1882; 15 July 1883; *Boston Herald*, 18 November 1883, p. 3; 21 November 1883, p. 5; 24 November 1883, p. 5; 15 December 1883, p. 1; 6 January 1884, p. 3; Mark Pollack, *Sports Leagues and Teams: An Encyclopedia, 1876-1996* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1998), 359-420; Fitsell, "Ice Polo," 6; Jim Reis, "A Slice of Life from 1886," *Kentucky Post*, on-line edition, 3 February 2003, <http://www.kypost.com/2003/02/03/reis020303.html> [20 February 2005]; Connie Julien, "Copper County Hockey History," <http://www.cchockeyhistory.org> [20 February 2005].

[13]*Detroit City Directory 1885* (Detroit: n.p., 1885); *Pioneer Press*, 22 February 1885, cited in George Hage, "Games People Played: Sports in Minnesota's Daily Newspapers, 1860-1890," *Minnesota History* 47 (1981): 327; Hoover, "Roller Skating," 70.

[14]*Boston City Directory 1884* (Boston: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1884), 1347; *Boston City Directory 1885* (Boston: Sampson, Murdock & Co.), 1351; *Boston Herald*, 28 November 1883, p. 2; 6 January 1885, p. 4; Bob Cubie, "Slap Shot on Wheels," *Brockton Enterprise*, 23 May 1993, pp. 25, 29.

[15]*St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press*, 31 December 1884, p. 7; "Roller Skating," *Brooklyn Eagle*, p. 1 November 1885, p. 6.

[16]*Skating Rink Journal* (Keene and Hinsdale, New Hampshire), 2 February 1884, no page, in author's possession; *St Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press*, 20 November 1884, p. 2; 13 December 1884, p. 6; 15 December, p. 6; *Boston Herald*, 6 January 1884, p. 3; Hoover, "Roller Skating," 73.

[17]"Polo at the Rink," *Brooklyn Eagle*, 18 December 1887, p. 16; *Boston Herald*, 28 November 1883, p. 2; Hoover, "Roller Skating," 74.

[18]Listing for Frank E. Winslow in *Boston City Directories of 1884*, p. 1347; *1885*, p. 1166; *Boston Herald*, 2 December 1883, p. 3; 9 December 1883, p. 2; 23 December 1883, p. 3; 6 January 1885, p. 4; 14 January 1885, p. 4; *National Police Gazette*, 11 April 1885, p. 3; *Henley's Official Polo Guide*, 8-14, 62-63. For the broader strategies of the sporting goods industry, see Stephen Hardy, "Sporting Goods and the Shaping of Leisure: 1800-1990" in *For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption*, ed. Richard Butsch (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 71-104, reprinted in *Sport in America*, ed. David Wiggins (Champaign, Ill. Human Kinetics, 1994), 133-150.

[19]"Raid on the Rinks," *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press*, 17 March 1885, p. 6; Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

[20]*Brooklyn Eagle,* 7 March 1886, p. 10; *Skating Rink Journal* (Keene and Hinsdale, New Hampshire), 1 March 1884, no page, in author's possession.

[21]*Boston Herald*, 4 January 1885, p. 6; 23 December 1894, p. 4; Bob Cubie, "Slap Shot on Wheels," *Brockton Enterprise*, 23 May 1993, pp. 25, 29.

[22]"The Polo Season," *Brooklyn Eagle*, 9 December 1887, p. 4.

[23]Promotion quoted in Robert Weir, "Take Me Out to the Brawl Game: Sports and Workers in Gilded Age Massachusetts," in *Sports in Massachusetts: Historical Essays*, ed. Ronald Story (Westfield: Institute for Massachusetts Studies, 1991), 21; Cubie, "Slap Shot on Wheels," 25; *Boston Herald*, 5 January 1896, p. 2.

[24]*New York Times*, 27 December 1898, p. 5; "Polo," *Brooklyn Eagle*, 22 November 1885, p. 9.

[25]*St. Paul Daily Globe*, 2 January 1886: p. 3; *Boston City Directory 1888* (Boston: Sampson, Murdock & Co.,1888), 1339.

[26]*Brooklyn Eagle*, 4 December 1898, p. 28; 31 December 1898, p. 7; *Boston Herald*, 1 December 1894, p. 2; 3 December 1894, p. 2 [QUOTATION].

[27]*New York Times*, 23 March 1894, p. 6; Bob Kriebel, "1903 Events Invite Smiles, Tears; Roller Polo Played in Coliseum; Train Wreck Claims 17 Lives," *Journal and Courier*, <http://www.lafayettejc.com/columns/200302082local_news1044764119.html> [8 February 2003]; Hoover, "Roller Skating," 72.

[28]J.W. Fitsell, "The Rise and Fall of Ice Polo," in *Total Hockey*, 2nd ed., ed. Dan Diamond *et al.* (New York: Total Sports, 2002), 5-6.

[29] *St. Paul Daily Globe*, 24 January 1886, p. 2; 9 February 1886, p. 1; 23 January 1887, p. 1; *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press*, 6 January 1887, pp. 5, 9. Clark notes that the St. Paul Polo Club (b. 1883) "built the first lighted outdoor rink in St. Paul." He does not clarify if this was roller or ice polo. Donald M. Clark, "Ice Polo in Minnesota," unpublished manuscript, n.d., in author's possession. Reference to Northwestern League found in Clark, who quotes *Daily Globe*, 25 January 1888.

[30] J.A. Tuthill, ed., *Spalding Ice Hockey and Ice Polo Guide, 1898* (New York: American Sports Publishing Co., 1897), 33, 75 [QUOTATION], 76-79; *Boston Herald*, 15 December 1894, p. 2; Julien, "Copper Country Hockey History," <http://www.cchockeyhistory.org> [20 February 2005]; Pollack, *Sports Leagues and Teams,* 359-420.

[31] The pioneering work in hockey history is J.W. Fitsell, *Hockey's Captains, Colonels, and Kings* (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1987).

[32] *Toronto Globe*, 24 December 1894, p. 6; *New York Times*, 28 December 1894, p. 7. For more on the effects of the tour, see Hardy, "Memory, Performance, and History."

[33] *New York Times* 20 December 1994, sec. S, p. 7; 28 December 1894, p. 7; *Toronto Globe* 24 December 1894, p. 6.

[34] *Toronto Globe*, 27 December 1894, p. 6; 29 December 1894, p. 18; 31 December 1894, p. 6; 1 January 1895, p. 3; 2 January 1895, p. 6; 3 January 1895, p. 6; 4 January 1895, p. 8; *Toronto Evening Star*, 27 December 1894, p. 2; *New York Times*, 29 December 1894, p. 6; 31 December 1894, p. 6; 2 January 1895, p. 6.

[35] Meikeljohn quoted Alexander Meiklejohn, "Hockey Pioneers," *Brown Alumni Monthly* 51 (1951): 5-6; *Baltimore Sun*, 3 February 1896, for Yale hockey lineup, compare to "tour" lineup in *New York Times*, 20 December 1894; Montclair (New Jersey) AC teams in Tuthill, *Spalding Ice Hockey and Ice Polo Guide, 1898*, 29.

[36] *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 17 February 1895, quoted in Selwyn Kip Farrington, *Skates, Sticks, and Men; The Story of Amateur Hockey in the United States* (New York: McKay, 1971), 117-118 ; *New York Times*, 28 December 1894, p. 7; Tuthill, *Ice Hockey and Ice Polo Guide*, 77; Roger Godin, *Before the Star: Early Major League Hockey and the St. Paul Athletic Club Team* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2005), 6-7.

[37] *Haverhill Weekly Laborer*, 13 February 1886, quoted in Weir, "Take Me Out to the Brawl Game," 21.

[38] *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press,* 17 January 1887, pp. 5-6; 19 January 1887; *National Police Gazette*, 18 April 1885, p. 12. For Sullivan's life, see Michael T. Isenberg, *John L. Sullivan and His America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

[39] *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press,* 16 March 1885, p. 5; *Boston Herald*, 9/10 January 1885. Dwight Hoover interprets the whole 1880s skating craze in a similar light in "Roller Skating," 66. For an excellent window on the working class, see Elliott Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986).

[40] *Boston Herald,* 20 January 1898, p. 9; J.A. Tuthill, ed., *Spalding Ice Hockey and Ice Polo Guide, 1898*, 9, 11,13, 76 [QUOTATIONS]; Fred Hoey, "Hockey through the Years," *Boston Garden Sports News* 18 (1945-1946): 4. For the conversion of polo to hockey in Boston, see Stephen Hardy, "Long before Orr: Placing Hockey in Boston, 1897-1929," in *The Rock, the Curse, and the Hub: Random Histories of Boston Sports,* ed. Randy Roberts (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 245-289.

[41] Arthur Farrell, *How to Play Ice Hockey* (New York: American Sports Publishing Company, 1910), 5.