



2010

North American Society for Sport History
Proceedings
of the
38th Annual Conference
Coronado Springs Resort, Orlando, Florida
May 28-31, 2010

North American Society For Sport History

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT.....Maureen Smith

PAST-PRESIDENT.....Stephen Wenn

PRESIDENT-ELECT.....Catriona Parratt

SECRETARY-TREASURER.....Ronald A. Smith

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE.....Victoria Paraschak
Susan J. Rayl
John Wong

STUDENT MEMBER.....Matthew P. Llewellyn

PUBLICATIONS BOARD CHAIR.....Daniel Nathan

PROCEEDINGS EDITOR

Richard Ian Kimball
Department of History
Brigham Young University
2139 JFSB
Provo, UT 84602

NEWSLETTER EDITOR

Ronald A. Smith
P. O. Box 1026
121 Dale Street
Lemont, Pa. 16851-1026

PHOTOGRAPHER

Harold L. Ray
Western Michigan University
3901 Pineglade Drive
Kalamazoo, MI 49002-1012

ISSN 0093-6235

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 74-642308

©Copyright 2010

By the

**NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR
SPORT HISTORY**

All rights reserved. No part of this volume may be reproduced in any form or by any process without permission in writing from the copyright owners.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHRISTINA D. ABREU, "I Am the Best Cuban Fighter': Benny 'Kid' Paret, Afro-Cuban Migration, and the Cuban Revolution of 1959" 1

TERRY L. ALLISON & CAROLINE SYMONS, "A Funny and Nice and Stupid Event': The Pink Flamingo (Relay) and Outsplash" 2

BOB BARNETT, "No Field of Dreams Not Even a Field: West Liberty (WV) and the 1964 NAIA Baseball Championship Tournament" 3

DAVID BARNEY, "Two Horses and a Rider Named Pratt: An Overview of the Carlisle Indian School and its Fabled Football Program" 3

ROBERT K. BARNEY, "An Obscure Record Mostly Solved: Canada's First Olympic Team—London 1908" . . . 4

ELLYN L. BARTGES, "Charlotte Lewis: Pioneer Player in Illinois Basketball History" 5

CHRIS BOLSMANN, BANG-CHOO KIM, & SUN-YONG KWON, "Japan and South Korea 2002 and South Africa 2010: FIFA's World Cup and New Unchartered Territories" 5

MATTHEW T. BOWERS & JAN TODD, "Sociohistorical Perspectives on the Benefits of Youth Sport Participation: Reconceptualizing the 'Setting'" 6

MAYNARD BRICHFORD, "Gambling, Drinking and Big Ten Sports, 1895-2009" 6

RON BRILEY, "Jim Brown: Challenging Racial Barriers on the Gridiron and Silver Screen" 7

DOUGLAS A. BROWN, "The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes: A Modern Epic in the Discourse of Sport" 8

LAURA FRANCES CHASE, "Beyond Boston and Kathrine Switzer: Women's Participation in Distance Running" . . . 9

JAMES R. COATES, JR., "Black Bodies in the World of Bodybuilding: The Modern Period" 9

AMANDA CURTIS, "Beyond Workers and Warriors: The Contributions of Collegiate Women to the World War II War Effort" 10

CATHERINE D'IGNAZIO, "Why the Difference? The history of high school girls' sport in the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, 1890-1990" 11

CHARLIE DEITRICH, "Burn Baby Burn: Disco Demolition Night and the End of an Era" 12

ALLAN DOWNEY, "The Last Vestiges of Savage Play': Six Nations Iroquois Lacrosse in the Late 19th Century" . . . 12

ANDY DOYLE, "Football, Regional Identity, and Class Status: The Virginia-Vanderbilt Rivalry, 1890-1917" . . . 13

BRANDON L. DRIGGERS, "The 1938 Black Crackers: How Atlanta's Love of Baseball Led to the Ruin of a Top Negro League Franchise" 14

ROBERT DUNKELBERGER, "The Story of Schoolmaster Davy and Big Six: The Interconnected Lives and Fates of David Williams and Christy Mathewson" 15

MARK DYRESON, “Discovering the “Folk Art” of the Heartland Region: The Invention of Basketball as Communal Cement in American Sociological and Literary Imaginations” 16

LARS DZIKUS & ELEANOR F. ODENHEIMER, “In Search of History: An Analysis of LGBT Issues in Sport History Journals” 18

SARAH JANE EIKLEBERRY, “Reading the Hawkeye: Semiotics of State Identity” 19

MEILYR EMRYS, “Sport, Religion, Popular Culture and Respectability in the Slate Quarrying Communities of North West Wales, c.1884 – c.1920” 20

COLLEEN ENGLISH, “A Controversial 800 Meters: The 1928 Race at the Amsterdam Olympics and Its Impact on Women’s Sport” 21

JOHN D. FAIR, “Rip’ Engle, The Tigers, and the Spirit of Waynesboro” 22

GABRIEL E. FIDLER, “Football and Nationalism in the British Empire” 23

SARAH K. FIELDS, “Super Bowl Icon or Marketing Tool: Montana v. *San Jose Mercury News*” 24

MICHAEL FRIEDMAN, “Raising & Razing a Stadium: Baseball and Collective Memory in Detroit” 25

LARRY GERLACH, “Get Real: Financing Football in Zion” 25

BIEKE GILS, “Flights for Rights: An Interpretation of the Life of African-American Aviator Bessie Coleman (1896-1926)” 26

JOHN GLEAVES, “Oxygen Doping: A Precursor of the Modern Anti-Doping Movement” 27

ERIC ALLEN HALL, “[A] tennis racquet is afflicting apartheid half a world away’: The Public Appropriation of Arthur Ashe’s Visa Denials, 1969–1970” 28

C. KEITH HARRISON, JANET RASMUSSEN, & SCOTT J. BUKSTEIN, “Race, Sport and Campus Climate” . . . 29

PHIL HATLEM, “The Incredibly Shrinking Naming Rights” 30

MARK E. HAVITZ, ERIC D. ZEMPER, & RYAN SNELGROVE, “Detailed Vision: Lauren P. Brown and the NCAA Cross Country Championships” 30

SANDRA HECK, “Towards the Complete Athlete: Modern Pentathlon and the Pursuit of Human Achievement” 31

APRIL HENNING, “Running City? Tracing the Birth and Development of New York City’s Running Culture” 32

ANNETTE R. HOFMANN, “The ‘Floating Baroness’ and the ‘Queen of the Skies’ –women ski jumpers in the first part of the 19th century” 33

MIKE HUGGINS, “The visual, death and sport: memorialising the Victorian sporting hero” 33

THOMAS M. HUNT, “Sport was a ‘Military Affair’: A Statist Interpretation of Doping in International Athletics” 34

DUNCAN R. JAMIESON, “The Golden Girls (and Boys) of Bicycling” 35

SCOTT R. JEDLICKA & THOMAS M. HUNT, "Olympic Justice?: A Review of the IOC's Medal Forfeiture Policy"
 ... 35

CHRISTIANE JOB, "Remembering Ruth Wilson: Constructing the Heroic and Celebrating one of Western Canada's
 Sporting Pioneers" 36

LOUISA JONES, "The Evolution and Development of Gay Football in the UK: a case study of Leftfooters FC"
 ... 37

JARROD JONSRUD, "City Ball: Popular Conceptions of the African American's Role in Shaping Basketball"
 ... 37

MILTON S. KATZ, "The Secret Game" 38

KOHEI KAWASHIMA, "Nationalism, American Identity, and the Emergence of the Myth of Black Athleticism
 during the 1930s" 39

JOYCE KAY, "New Perspectives, Old Issues: Preliminary Thoughts on Post-war British Sporting Females"
 ... 40

BANG-CHOO L KIM & JAE-CHUL SEO, "The role of WBC in the globalization of Korean professional baseball" . .
 ... 41

RICHARD IAN KIMBALL, "The Kid Who Wouldn't Die: The Specter of Ted Williams" 42

GEORGE B. KIRSCH, "The Fate of Cricket in North America: Revisited" 42

MATTHEW KLUGMAN, "'football is a fever disease like recurrent malaria and evidently incurable': The rise of the
 Anti-Football League" 43

RICK KNOTT, "'Improvements Come Too Late': A Historical Examination of the Contradictory Roles of
 Sanctioning Bodies in Automobile Racing" 44

BETTINA KRATZMUELLER, "Black Bodies in a White Man's World: The Ancient Period" 45

JASON LAURENDEAU, "'Scooping up the remains of the spectators': BASE Jumping in Yosemite National Park,
 1966-2009" 46

JEONG-YEON LEE, "Cultural Images Observed in the Olympic Opening Ceremonies: Focusing on the Olympics
 Since 1988 Seoul Olympics" 47

RITA LIBERTI & MAUREEN SMITH, "'She isn't colored, she is gold': Wilma Rudolph, Beauty, and the Politics of
 Race" 48

ANDREW D. LINDEN & MELVIN L. ADELMAN, "The Business of Professional Football: The Profitability of
 National Football League Clubs in 1951 and 1952" 48

MATTHEW P. LLEWELLYN, "The Curse of the Shamateur: Great Britain and the Olympic Broken-Time
 Controversy, 1927-1930" 49

MICHAEL E. LOMAX, "The Code of Black Professionalism Among Major League Baseball Players in the 1960s . .
 ... 50

SHELLEY LUCAS, "Women's Cycle Racing: Past Challenges, Future Strategies" 51

CHARLY MACHEMEHL, "Rouen, sport practices and town policies in 1919-1939" 52

TARA MAGDALINSKI, "Controversy in the Pool: A Retrospective Examination of Racing Swimsuits" 52

SCOTT G. MARTYN, "The Olympic Partners: Re-evaluating their relationship with the Modern Olympic Movement" 53

PELLOM MCDANIELS III, "Pioneering America's Pastime: African-American Soldiers, World War I and the Development of Black Baseball in France" 54

ALAN MCDOUGALL, "A game of their own? Football fans in communist East Germany, 1949-89" 55

ASHLEY MCGHEE, "From Patiño to Semenya: Examining the IOC/IAAF's efforts to (not) see intersexed athletes" 56

RONALD L. MOWER & JOY A. BAUER, "Why does (Physical) Cultural Studies need history?" 57

MURRY NELSON, "On Beyond Pluto; Research Pathways for the American Basketball Association, 1967-1976" 58

ELSA A. NYSTROM, "The lady who drove too fast: the brilliant but unlucky racing career of Joan Newton Cuneo" 59

GARY OSMOND, "Picturing Japanese Sportsmen: Reading interwar Australian press images" 60

VICTORIA PARASCHAK, "'Promising Practices': NWT Recreation and Sport Services, 1962-2000" 61

SERGIO PERCIBALLI, "The Origin, Evolution, and Unique History of the Modern Olympic Football Competition, 1896 to 1928" 62

MICHAEL PITBLADO, "The Nazi Exclusion of Jews from German Football" 62

SUSAN J. RAYL, "Holding 'Court': The Real Renaissance Contributions of John Isaacs" 63

SAMUEL O. REGALADO, "Identity as Empowerment: Sport in Japan Town and the Los Angeles Barrio". 64

TOBY C. RIDER, "Brethren of the Broom: The Early Years of the London Curling Club and the Growth of Curling in Ontario, 1849-1872" 64

STEVEN A. RIESS, "American Sport, Culture, and Painting, 1870-1950". 65

ANNE ROGER & THIERRY TERRET, "Americas vs. Europe: Building Continental Competitions in Track and Field during the Cold War" 67

GREGGORY "MAC" ROSS, "In Search of 'Common' Boxing Experiences in Post-Great War Hamilton, Ontario, 1918-1920". 68

KEARY J ROUFF, "1st and 50: How the American Football League impacted the N.F.L. as we know it today?" 69

WEAVER SANTANIELLO, "Breaking the Mold: From Ruth to Ramirez" 69

JAIME SCHULTZ, "Rethinking Context in 'The Johnny Bright Incident'" 70

CHAD SEIFRIED, "The Playoff Debate in the Division I- Football Bowl Subdivision: Pre-Bowl Championship Series Rhetoric by Important Stakeholders of College Football" 70

JAE CHUL SEO & BANG-CHOO KIM, "A Liberal Voice on Sport Paradise: An Interpretation of Korean American Women's Sporting Experience" 71

DONGHYUK SHIN, "Ambassadors of advanced baseball: Jae-Il-Gyo-Po players in early Korean professional baseball" 72

BONNIE SIERLECKI, "'The Vigor We Need': Mandating Physical Fitness in John F. Kennedy's Cold War Administration" 73

ANDREW SMITH, "'Black Medals': George Foreman and the 1968 Olympic Games" 74

COURTNEY MICHELLE SMITH, "The Philadelphia Stars, *The Philadelphia Tribune*, and Negro League Baseball in Black Newspapers" 75

RONALD A. SMITH, "African Americans, Freshman Eligibility, and Forced Reform in the Post-1960s Generation College Sport" 76

LEQUEZ SPEARMAN, "How the Brown Bomber Wasn't So Brown: An Inter textual answer to the ambivalence of Joe Louis Introduction" 77

STEPHEN SWAIN, "The Zuffa Myth: Writing and Rewriting the History of the Ultimate Fighting Championship" . . . 78

NATALIE SZUDY, "Athletics in the Orient: Development of Physical Education at the American University in Cairo" 78

SARAH TEETZEL, "Canada's Olympic Basketball Teams, 1952-1960: An Analysis of Amateurism, Rule Bending, and Eligibility" 79

THIERRY TERRET & CÉCILE OTTOGALLI-MAZZACAVALLLO, "Political duels in the Cold War: The International Fencing Federation and the Rise of Soviet Fencing (1952-1966)" 80

ROBERT J. TURPIN, "'Our Best Bet is the Boy': Bicycle Marketing Schemes and American Culture after World War I" 81

GREGG TWIETMEYER, "Two Days in the Life: The Birth and Death of Comiskey Park" 82

PATRICIA VERTINSKY, "Embodied Excess, Exoticism and Extravagance in the Lives and Performances of Ida Rubinstein and Isadora Duncan" 83

SHANNON WALSH, "Leotards and Leopard Print: Women's Performance at the 1905 Mammoth Physical Culture Exhibition" 84

THERESA A. WALTON, "Contextualizing history within legal race relations and post-colonial studies: Writing a critical biography of elite distance runner, Sydney Maree" 85

ANNE WARNER, "Representations of the Primitive at Private Ontario Youth Camps in the 1920s and 1930s" . . . 86

JOHN S. WATTERSON, "The Games He Plays: Barack Obama's Post-Partisan Sports Presidency" 86

STEPHEN R. WENN, "Down Goes Chicago 2016! IOC-USOC Relations and the Copenhagen Collapse" . . . 87

KEVIN WITHERSPOON, "A Home of its Own: Placing Sport in the Historiography of the Cold War" . . . 88

JOHN WONG & ROBERT E. RINEHART, "Physical Prowess, Body, and National Identity: The Bruce Lee Story" . . . 89

XIAOWEI YU, "They were There, Playing! An Examination of Baseball Experience of Chinese in America, 1870s-1930s" . . . 90

SALLY ZENGARO & FRANCO ZENGARO, "Sports Participation and the Acceptance of Unethical Behavior: A Look at Italian Adolescents" . . . 91

MENGJIA ZHANG, "The Quest for Wushu's Entrance into the Global Sport System and the Olympic Games" . . . 92



Christina D. Abreu, University of Michigan

“I Am the Best Cuban Fighter”: Benny “Kid” Paret, Afro–Cuban Migration, and the Cuban Revolution of 1959

Afro-Cuban boxers started to attract the attention of U.S. sportswriters and boxing fans in the 1930s and 1940s. Fighters like Kid Chocolate and Kid Gavilan began their professional careers in Cuba but eventually moved to the U.S. to pursue livelihoods as boxers. In the late 1950s, Benny “Kid” Paret entered a U.S. professional boxing scene already familiar with Afro-Cuban fighters. Yet, matters were different. Major changes in national and international politics, specifically the Cuban Revolution of 1959 and the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, alongside the growing presence of Cuban migrants in the U.S. reshaped and complicated how U.S. audiences responded to Paret’s death in the ring at the hands of Emile Griffith in 1962.

As a young Afro–Cuban of rural origins living in the modern swirl of New York City and Miami, Paret’s personal life and boxing career yield a complicated story of migration and social mobility. Paret had to contend with the multiple and often competing expectations of his competitors and handlers, as well as boxing aficionados and sportswriters. He also had to face the expectations of boxing fans who filled arenas or crowded around their living room television sets on Friday nights to catch a glimpse of his next fight. The story of Benny “Kid” Paret does not fit neatly within a paradigm of immigrant uplift through hard work and cultural adaptation; nor does his story correspond simply to narratives that trace the rise and fall of celebrity fame and fortune. Rather, drawing from mainstream U.S. newspapers and magazines, African-American newspapers, and U.S. boxing magazines and pamphlets, this paper demonstrates some of the ways that U.S.–Cuban political conflicts shaped the media’s coverage of this Afro–Cuban boxer. This paper argues that the images and representations constructed about Paret’s personal life and boxing career reflect a process of racialization different than that experienced by the African American and white ethnic boxers of the period.

Paret’s life history deserves special attention for several reasons. First, Paret was only the third Cuban in professional boxing history to win a world championship title. Second, his death represented the first death resulting from a championship title fight since 1947, when Jimmy Doyle died from injuries he sustained in the ring at the hands of Sugar Ray Robinson. Third, Paret’s tragic death spawned national and international controversy.

Historians have largely overlooked the many boxers from Latin America and the Caribbean who fought in boxing rings across the U.S. during the twentieth century. This paper, therefore, moves the discussion of the relationship between race and sport beyond a U.S.–centered, black and white binary. The presence of light and dark–skinned boxers from the Spanish–speaking Americas prompted sportswriters to recognize a more complicated racial system. Additionally, this paper considers the ways that the increasing popularity of television as the dominant medium of entertainment shaped the visibility of Afro–Cuban migrants like Paret.

* * * * *

Terry L. Allison, California State University, Los Angeles &
Caroline Symons, Victoria University (Australia)

“A Funny and Nice and Stupid Event”: The Pink Flamingo (Relay) and Outsplash

When the Gay Games held their first international event in 1982 in San Francisco there was a pronounced effort among organizers and athletes to demonstrate through athletic participation and prowess that gay men weren't sissies and could fit into heteronormative ideals of masculinity. Female athleticism and strength was feared as disruptive, threatening, and unless intensively feminized (e.g., figure skating, gymnastics) most likely lesbian. Therefore the Gay Games rhetoric about lesbians was always more complex but still focused on respectability, normality, and sports as an avenue of integration into mainstream society.

In swimming and diving, both individual and team-scored events, there were early fissures in this narrative of heteronormativity. In both Gay Games I (1982) and II (1986), after the swimming events concluded and in spaces separate from the public athletic performances, a few participants let loose, male swimmers showing up in light feminine or hypermasculine drag to the delight of select audiences. In 1987 at the first organized championships of International Gay and Lesbian Aquatics, this subterranean gender play broke into the open when New York Aquatic Homosexuals four-man relay did not compete in the final relay event, but provided a drag spectacle for audience entertainment. The Pink Flamingo Relay was born.

Through a series of twenty structured interviews with participants conducted in 2006 at Gay Games VII (Chicago) and the first Outgames (Montreal) as well as follow-up interviews in 2009, this paper examines the history, organization, and rules of the Pink Flamingo Relay (PFR) or simply Pink Flamingo when many organizers dropped the relay element to focus on spectacle. While reporting on the origins and evolution of the PFR, this essay analyzes respondents' answers to questions about why PFR exists, its meanings for participants, their athletic and theatrical preparation for the event, gender dynamics, favorite moments and controversies.

Our research indicates there is common belief that balancing competition with fun, providing avenues for participation for the non-elite athletes, and demonstrating the Gay Games ideal of inclusiveness were the primary *raison d'être* of the event, tempering the views of Pronger, for example, that the Gay Games overwhelmingly reenact heterosexual masculine norms of competition and combat. While “fun” was a common theme, several interviewees found PFR performances commemorating the dead (teammates lost to AIDS, New York 1994; tribute to Princess Diana, San Diego, 1997) as the most memorable, linking the PFR to the AIDS quilt.

The PFR reflects the lack of integration and interplay among men and women in most IGLA teams. What's more, most men's gender play (drag) is acceptable, while the most disruptive controversies cited were instances of bare-breasted women. Some participants found controversy in “sore losers” and overinvestment in winning among some teams. Participants expressed concern that the PFR had evolved into a commercial spectacle, placing pressure on amateur athletes to function as paid performers; some stated that the event should be for athletes only so it could resume its function as celebration, play, team-building, and fun, post-competition release.

* * * * *

Bob Barnett, Huntington, WV

**No Field of Dreams Not Even a Field:
West Liberty (WV) and the 1964 NAIA Baseball Championship Tournament**

Hollywood could not have written a better story about a team that faced improbable odds of succeeding, but accomplished an almost impossible goal. College sports on the small college level and college baseball have both been largely ignored by sport historians despite the fact that the majority of college athletes play on that level of competition. This paper will explore the 1964 baseball season of West Liberty State College, a small West Virginia college without a baseball field or athletic scholarships which accomplished the impossible by qualifying for the 1964 National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) National Championship Baseball Tournament.

Using newspaper accounts and interviews with the participants this paper will provide a narrative that will describe the 1964 baseball season for the rural West Virginia college, but in the process will explore small college sports in the 1960's. This paper will describe the hardships that the West Liberty team faced such as players who played without scholarships including the best pitcher who worked night turn in a steel mill, the coach who was the head coach in three sports, but most of all an athletic program so financially destitute that it could not even afford a baseball field. In addition Grambling State College, an African-American college, played a prominent role in the 1964 tournament at a time when many white colleges were just beginning to integrate their teams.

The aptly named West Liberty Hilltoppers did not have a regulation practice field or game field so they played their conference home games at a field that was a 30-minute drive from campus. The game field did not have a regulation length right field so balls hit over the short right field fence were only doubles. Despite playing all but a handful of conference games away from home, the Hilltoppers won the West Virginia Intercollegiate Athletic Association (WVIAC) Championship and advanced to the NAIA Regional Tournament. They also won the regional tournament which qualified them for the eight team, double elimination, NAIA National Championship Tournament played in St. Joseph, Missouri. The game in the national tournament played between the under-funded West Liberty Hilltoppers and the more famous and well-funded Grambling Tigers coached by their college president provides an interesting climax to the paper.

* * * * *

David Barney, Albuquerque Academy

**Two Horses and a Rider Named Pratt: An Overview
of the Carlisle Indian School and its Fabled Football Program**

This paper brings to a close the three part saga of the Carlisle Indian School and its fabled football program. Whereas the first two parts of the study focused on the genesis of the school and the infancy of its fledgling football program, and then the early years of Carlisle's "Golden Age," if you will, this final portion focuses on intercollegiate football's most violent and turbulent era, as well as the final chapter in Carlisle's history, an episode punctuated not

only by the glory of the school's and Jim Thorpe's most recognizable times but, sadly, their respective falls from grace as well. In this paper, at least, it would take little more than a decade for each to become redundant, as out-of-work Pennsylvania-Welch coal miners would say.

Briefly summarized, this paper continues to juxtapose the social history of the school with the athletic history of its famous football team. In doing so, it begins with a brief examination of what the press labeled as "Barnyard Football," that is, the violent style of play that punctuated the way the game was played and that almost led to its discontinuance in the latter half of the first decade of the 20th century. It goes on to talk briefly about Thorpe's professional baseball hiatus from the school and his Olympic experience of 1912, followed by a deeper examination of the scandal regarding his amateur status, as well as a more in-depth look at how the scandal itself aided and abetted the eventual demise of Thorpe and his coach Glenn "Pop" Warner and the school itself.

The paper concludes with an examination of the chain of events, which not only led to the sad decline and then the end of its hallowed football program, but, ultimately, to the once and for all shuttering of the school in 1918 as well.

* * * * *

Robert K. Barney, University of Western Ontario

An Obscure Record Mostly Solved: Canada's First Olympic Team—London 1908

In the autumn of 1906 Canada's recently crown-appointed Governor-General, Lord Earl Grey, received a request from the equally new British Olympic Association to aid in providing Canadian athletes for the Fourth Olympic Games scheduled for London in the summer of 1908. Lord Grey assigned the task to his Secretary for Military Affairs, Major-General John Hanbury-Williams. Over the next year, in an environment that was practically devoid of international sporting experience, Hanbury-Williams and a committee of volunteers organized "qualification trials" for Olympic athlete aspirants, selected an Olympic team, secured modest funding for the endeavor, arranged passage, and organized accommodation logistics in England. The original Canadian Olympic sojourn resulted in some 87 athletes competing in 7 difference disciplines. Eight medals were won. Thus ended Canada's first Olympic Team experience. And so, too, did the record of their exploits. Over the years, little has been investigated to indelibly establish this historical happening. This shortcoming was all too evident as Vancouver rushed to prepare for hosting the Winter Games in February 2010. Where was the earliest record of Olympic participation? Who were the team members? What were the circumstances of their muster, their financial support, their organization, etc.? These questions and more needed to be answered. Through an investigation of family scrapbooks, memorabilia, photograph albums, and newspaper accounts contemporary to the times, slowly but surely a formerly opaque image of Canada's first Olympic team endeavor has now become much clearer—and just in time for Vancouver.

* * * * *

Ellyn L. Bartges, University of Illinois

Charlotte Lewis: Pioneer Player in Illinois Basketball History

Charlotte Lewis died in September 2007, unexpectedly and prematurely at age 52. Lewis is not a household name in high school or intercollegiate basketball, yet she was a pioneer in many respects on the playground, in a Peoria high school gymnasium, a collegiate field house in Bloomington, the 1976 Olympics in Montreal and the Women's Basketball League (WBL). The presentation is an introduction of Ms. Lewis to the sport history community. A rare interview, conducted in November 2004, is the primary resource for this paper. In this interview, Lewis discusses her athletic life, her contributions and experiences in basketball including making the boys team at Woodruff High School, walking on at Illinois State University, being a member of the first United States Women's Olympic Basketball Team in 1976, and as part of the first attempt at a women's professional basketball league in the United States, as a player with the Iowa Cornets and the Nebraska Wranglers. Little is written about Lewis, and interviews with her are scarce, so scarce only hometown newspaper articles, snippets in a 2006 book on the history of the WBL and posthumous tributes exist in my extant research. As one of four African American women on the inaugural women's Olympic basketball team, as well as one of only 76 women to wear the Team USA basketball jersey, interest in Lewis should be more intense, at least for sport historians interested in women, the Olympics, Title IX, nascent interscholastic women's basketball, and early attempts to implement women's professional basketball leagues. This research is important in giving the subject a voice in how the history of basketball in Illinois and the nation are remembered. Few have experienced the breadth of competition and the spectrum of success lived by Charlotte Lewis. A midwife for the high profile, marquee status enjoyed by women's basketball today, Lewis's experiences were ground breaking at every level. Charlotte Lewis is an important, ground breaking player who deserves to be documented in her own voice, one that can no longer bring a first hand memory to the public arena.

* * * * *

**Chris Bolsmann, Aston University (Birmingham, United Kingdom) &
Bang-Chool Kim, Seoul National University (South Korea) &
Sun-Yong Kwon, Seoul National University (South Korea)**

**Japan and South Korea 2002 and South Africa 2010: FIFA's World Cup and New
Unchartered Territories**

In this paper we compare the rationales for hosting the FIFA World Cup in Japan and South Korea in 2002 and South Africa in 2010. We analyse international and national concerns in the three countries and suggest what can be learnt from the Asian experience. We draw on in-depth interviews, archival materials and international press coverage and in our analysis we argue that reasons for hosting the sporting events in Asia can be understood in terms of modernity, a developmental rhetoric, international perceptions and image and continental leadership. In the South African case we draw parallels with Japan and South Korea and suggest reasons for hosting the event can be understood in terms of the post-

apartheid developmental project, international perceptions and image, Pan-Africanism and continental leadership. By analysing these processes in the case of Japan and South Korea 2002, new light can be cast on the ongoing debates surrounding South Africa 2010.

* * * * *

**Matthew T. Bowers, University of Texas at Austin &
Jan Todd, University of Texas at Austin**

**Sociohistorical Perspectives on the Benefits of Youth Sport Participation:
Reconceptualizing the “Setting”**

Sportsmanship. Character. Leadership. Teamwork. Enmeshed within the cultural milieu of youth sports in the United States is the notion that participation in sport naturally inheres in children certain developmental benefits. By extension, these accrued individual developmental benefits are often thought to then serve as the building blocks for constructing the moral, ethical, and civic foundation of future American communities. While scholars of sport may debate the nuances of these assumptions, the general claim that sports instill in children something of societal value has undeniable precedence, both within scholarly journals and the popular press. The purpose of this paper, however, is not to assess the validity or invalidity of such claims. It instead endeavors to trace the history of these claims and to reinterpret them through the conceptual lens of “settings.”

Utilizing this model, I reconsider the sociohistorical values ascribed to participation in youth sports through an emphasis on understanding the basic processes and problems associated with *how* people have conceptualized youth sports throughout time. In other words, I “confront history” by reassessing the traditional creation of a setting, which “usually proceeds on the assumption that agreement on values and motivation to succeed are the necessary and sufficient conditions to achieve stated objectives.”¹ This is accomplished through an interpretive examination of national newspaper features, physical education curricula guides, and policy memoranda/publications from the President’s Council on Physical Fitness and Sports and other youth sport organizations. In this regard, the analysis provides a significant link to understanding how policymakers can leverage the epistemological and ontological constraints of the past and present for the creation of future of sport settings capable of better facilitating desired developmental outcomes.

This paper represents an early chapter in an applied sport management dissertation exploring the influences of various sport settings (namely organized sport, informal sport, and unstructured play) on developmental outcomes for children.

* * * * *

Maynard Brichford, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Gambling, Drinking and Big Ten Sports, 1895-2009

This paper will identify and describe the roles of administrators, faculty, students, athletes, alumni, regulators, marketers, law enforcement personnel and journalists in relation

to gambling and drinking alcoholic beverages at Big Ten universities.

The primary focus will be on the University of Illinois, with some coverage of events at other universities. Questions addressed will include the effects of legislation, regulations, policies, appeals and publicity, and the extent to which academic institutions can control student social activities.

Evidence to be used will include Big Ten studies and regulations; advertising; franchises and sponsorships; media coverage; university studies & policy statements; media accounts; commercial incentives; fraternities; and related problems.

The argument is, and the anticipated conclusions are, that a study will lead to an appreciation of the social activities of students and their relationship to sporting events and the administration of college sports.

The significance to sports history is that it would broaden the scope of studies of cultural influences and external interests on intercollegiate sports and mass entertainment.

* * * * *

Ron Briley, Sandia Preparatory School

Jim Brown: Challenging Racial Barriers on the Gridiron and Silver Screen

This individual paper will examine how football star Jim Brown employed his fame as an athlete and social activist to promote a revolutionary screen presence which resonated with black audiences during the rising black power movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Jim Brown was an All-American football and lacrosse player at Syracuse University, and in 1956 he was selected in the first round of the National Football League (NFL) draft by the Cleveland Browns. In his career with the Browns from 1957 to 1965, Brown emerged as professional football's leading ball carrier, displaying a physical style of punishing running which often intimidated defensive players. When he retired at the age of twenty-nine, Brown was the NFL record holder for both single-season (1,863 yards in 1963) and career rushing (12, 312 yards), as well as the all-time leader in rushing touchdowns (106). While many of Brown's records have been surpassed in an expanded professional football season, his impact on the game remains legendary, and in 2002 *The Sporting News* named Brown as the greatest professional football player.

Brown also joined with other prominent black athletes such as Muhammad Ali to challenge racial discrimination in American sport and society. In his 1964 autobiography, Brown writes, "I do not crave the white man's approval; I crave only the rights I'm entitled to as a human being. The acceptance of the Negro in sports is really an insignificant development that warms the heart of the Negro less than it does that of the white man, who salves his troubled conscience by telling himself, 'Isn't it wonderful that Negroes and whites are out there playing together?'"

At the pinnacle of his playing career, Brown left the NFL for Hollywood. In 1967, Brown starred in director Robert Aldrich's World War II drama, *The Dirty Dozen*. Racial boundaries were pushed when Brown portrayed a Southern sheriff in *Tick, Tick, Tick* (1970), while the Western, *100 Rifles* (1969) featured an interracial sex scene between Brown and Raquel Welch. The rape to which Welch's character succumbs raises troubling questions regarding Brown's attitudes toward women both on and off the screen.

In the early 1970s, Brown emerged as a black action star in such films as *Slaughter* (1972), *Black Gunn* (1972), *Slaughter's Big Rip-Off* (1973), and *Three the Hard Way* (1974). These films were associated with the "Blaxploitation" film movement; often condemned by white critics, which, nevertheless, connected with black audiences who embraced themes of black power, pride, and resistance to the white establishment. Although the early 1970s were the peak of Brown's filmmaking career, the former football player continued his screen appearances into the 1990s, while maintaining his political and social activism with such organizations as Amer-I-Can to aid young people in asserting independence from gang culture.

This paper will employ newspaper and periodical accounts of Brown's life along with his autobiographies to develop the athlete's biography, while film reviews and close readings of Brown's films from the late 1960s and early 1970s will be investigated to analyze how Brown was able to parlay his athletic image into an action black cinematic hero within the historical and cultural context of the black power movement.

* * * * *

Douglas A. Brown, University of Calgary
The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes:
A Modern Epic in the Discourse of Sport

The Badminton Library of Sports and Pastimes is a notable series of 33 books that was published between 1885 and 1902. As a whole, the series lends itself well to a critical analysis of discourse, cultural reflexivity and performativity. It also encourages us to think about the complex relationship between sport, the embodied practice, and discourses that inform and extend from this embodied practice. The production of this series is often credited to the Duke of Beauford (1824-1899). Though Beauford was "induced to lend his invaluable aid" by the publisher Longmans, Green, & Co. he did not conceptualized the series as most bibliographic citations suggest. He certainly contributed chapters to the first volume on *Hunting* and helped with some editing and fact checking in other issues, but more than anything he was a public figure who brought social *caché* to the publication.

For the authors and publisher, *The Badminton Library* was a self-conscious and self-constituting discursive modality in the field of modern sport at the end of the 19th century. But, in spite of its breadth of topics and sheer volume (in excess of 13,000 pages) it represents only one assertion of authority in a vast field of literature on sport produced during this era. On the other hand, because of its breadth of topics and volume, we must question how and why the men who conceived of, and produced, the series over a period of 17 years, were so committed to planting such a deep stake in this field of cultural production.

How did this marketing strategy serve the publishers, writers and patrons of the series? Were the stakes simply tied to financial profit or was there also symbolic, cultural and social currency to be earned or traded through this epic series? This conference paper focuses on the way *The Badminton Library* articulated broader themes of Victorian culture with the discourse of sport. In particular, the influence of aesthetic and historical discourses throughout the series is an important consideration. The constant references to beauty and change over time were integral to the way the series promoted modern sport while preserving an extremely rigid class-based vision of the world.

* * * * *

Laura Frances Chase, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Beyond Boston and Kathrine Switzer: Women's Participation in Distance Running

Historical work on women in distance running has often focused on the 1967 Boston Marathon exploits of Kathrine Switzer and Roberta Gibbs (Cooper, 1992, Jutel, 2003, Plymire, 1997). The attack on Switzer during the marathon by race organizer, Jock Semple, is often constructed as a seminal moment in the history of women in sport. The elevation of this event to this level of significance and the prevalence of coverage of Switzer can be seen to reinforce dominant notions of femininity and discourses of female inferiority (Jutel, 2003). Cooper (1995; 1992) details the role of increasing commercialization within the sport of distance running in 1960s and 1970s and highlights the role of Avon Products, Inc. in facilitating opportunities for women in distance running. Ironically, Avon Products, Inc. hired Switzer as a manager of special promotions to create road racing opportunities for women (Cooper, 1995). The faces of distance running for women in the 1970s, Switzer and Avon, continued to reinforce the ideals of hegemonic femininity. Outside of these works there has been little written that specifically addresses women's experiences in distance running.

As such, much of the rest of women's historical involvement in distance running remains largely invisible. This paper examines the historical experiences of women in distance running in the United States from the 1970s onward. How have these experiences mirrored or contrasted the development of men's distance running? What other historical events had a significant impact on women's participation in distance running? I focus, in part, in this paper on the experiences of female distance runners within the Clydesdale movement. I use oral history interviews with key members of the Clydesdale movement to develop a deeper understanding of the role of women within the movement. I also use archival materials to trace the development of women in distance running and within the Clydesdale movement.

* * * * *

James R. Coates, Jr., University of Wisconsin Green Bay

Black Bodies in the World of Bodybuilding: The Modern Period

The ardent work of scholars such as Jan and Terry Todd, John Fair, and Alan Klein, as well as the work of Rick Wayne and Richard Hubert have provided the path for the study of bodybuilding and body sculpturing in academia. Their work is shaping the study of this presentation, which is concentrating on blacks participating in the modern period of bodybuilding.

How has the image of bodybuilding, body shaping, sculpturing, and body aesthetics changed over the years? Or have the ideal body images remained the same? In either perspective when did the first blacks begin to participate in this modern Art form/sport? Were there obstacles preventing their participation? Were there obstacles for judging because of skin color or skin tone? How receptive were their fellow competitors, and/or spectators? The

different athletic types served as starting points for ancient discussions on the value, worth, and also negative outgrowth of building muscle-bound bodies. Did the participation of blacks have any such impact on the modern period?

Against this background the paper will focus on as a continuation of the findings of Bettina Kratzmueller's work on the ancient period. We will look at the similarities of the periods, and of course, how and what changes occurred because of, and with black bodies participating in the world of body aesthetics and prowess. Did modern black bodybuilders become as popular as blacks of the ancient period because of an "exotic" aesthetic appearance, and illustrated via the visual and physical artifact of the ancient civilizations?

* * * * *

Amanda Curtis, University of Iowa

Beyond Workers and Warriors: The Contributions of Collegiate Women to the World War II War Effort

This paper will examine the contributions made by university women and female physical educators to the World War II war effort from 1941 to 1945 at the State University of Iowa (now the University of Iowa). The role of physical fitness in the war effort will be addressed along with a discussion of why physical fitness was a focal point of the effort. This paper will also investigate the ways in which female physical educators and female students were able to use World War II as an opportunity to expand their "sphere" into the male domain of physicality and change the ideology of femininity and physicality. Finally, the question of how these efforts affected the larger women's war effort will be addressed.

Most of the work done on the women's part of the war effort focuses on women in the military, specifically the WACs and WAVES, and women in the labor force. I argue that there was an equally important effort occurring at the collegiate level with the primary focus of this effort centering on female physical fitness. Much of the public work done by women in the military and labor force during the war effort can be prefaced by the work done at the college level. The female collegiate war effort had an impact on various aspects of the overall war effort women were involved in. Female physical educators created physical training programs for the WACs and often left their teaching post to join the armed forces. The WACs also heavily recruited college women and asked for more physically fit women coming out of college.

This paper will look specifically at changes and developments within the Department of Physical Education for Women as well as the programs created by the department to get women involved in the war effort. By focusing in part on the "Double V" program as created by the students and female physical education teachers it is possible to determine the type of activities women were involved in at this level. This project will make extensive use of primary source material such as departmental records, newsletters, catalogues, etc found at the Iowa Women's Archives as well as Special Collections Department at the University of Iowa. These sources will be examined as evidence of what these women were doing and the rhetoric that was being used to present and explain their actions. Evidence of these women's actions will be compared to the accepted ideological assumptions of the time about female physicality to help determine the significance and uniqueness of these activities.

Collegiate women’s participation in physical activity as part of the war effort during World War II has been understudied in sport history. This topic has been virtually ignored within the fields of military history and women’s history. Within sport history, Nancy Bouchier has examined the role of the female physical educator during World War II but has not looked at the specific programs that women were involved in as part of the war effort. Bouchier focuses primarily on the time period of World War II as an opportunity for female physical educators to keep their field of physical education separate to that of men. This project will be examining a new angle that might challenge the claim that female physical educators used this era to promote separatism. Scholarship dealing with women and World War II also tends to focus on women’s participation in either the labor force or the armed forces. I hope to fill this gap in the scholarship by contributing knowledge about the role of university women, specifically at the University of Iowa, in the physical activity and recreation aspect of the war effort and the ideological changes that happened as a result. This project will add a new dimension to the discussion of female physicality in the 1940’s within both sport history and women’s history.

* * * * *

Catherine D’Ignazio, Temple University

Why the Difference? The history of high school girls’ sport in the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, 1890-1990

This paper presents the historical consequences of the suppression of inter-institutional (scholastic) girls’ and women’s sport competitions in metropolitan Philadelphia. The early twentieth century ban on inter-institutional sport is well known among historians of women’s sport, however, the consequences for schoolgirl athletes is under-examined. In particular, the uneven way the ban was adopted in the first half of the century—whole heartedly in the large urban school district and ignored in small suburban districts—clarifies an important way schoolgirl sport in the city and suburbs of Philadelphia took divergent paths. Although inconsequential to the lives of women and girls for decades, all of that changed with Title IX. The roots of difference played a substantial role in distributing the benefits of Title IX to schoolgirls across the Philadelphia area.

While an examination of city and suburban high school yearbooks from 1890-1990 establishes that the origins of schoolgirl sport was quite similar in both city and suburban contexts—by first introducing intramural games and quickly developing interscholastic schedules and championships—by the late 1930s schoolgirl sport was distinctively urban or suburban, with urban girls playing intramural competitions and suburban girls playing interscholastic sport. In addition to the yearbooks, a review of area newspapers, before and after 1972, reveals the dramatically different value of schoolgirl sport in the city and the suburbs.

The dominant historical narrative of high school sport identifies both high schools and high school sport as products of urbanizing America. Both quickly emerged in the suburban context as well. No difference of consequence developed between city and suburban schoolboy sport, but that was not true of schoolgirl sport. This paper not only corrects the dominant, seemingly non-gendered narrative by making gender explicit, it also examines a divide that

appeared early in schoolgirl sport, one which continues to challenge notions of educational equity today, the city/suburban divide.

* * * * *

Charlie Deitrich, The College of Southern Nevada

Burn Baby Burn: Disco Demolition Night and the End of an Era

On July 12, 1979, Chicago White Sox owner Bill Veeck embarked on perhaps his most infamous promotion — “Disco Demolition Night.” Veeck offered tickets at a reduced rate if fans brought a disco record to Comiskey Park. Veeck, who abhorred disco, planned to destroy the records on the field between games of a doubleheader. Ushers were supposed to cart the records away but many fans held onto them. During the first game fans began to throw the records onto the field. Between games, they stormed the field. The situation quickly deteriorated into absolute chaos. They destroyed the records and much of the field. Veeck was horrified by what he saw and for one of the only times in his long baseball career went onto the field to try, to no avail, to disperse the crowd and control the situation. Due to the damage caused to the field and the general mayhem, the White Sox became only the fourth team in American League history to have to forfeit a game.

Disco Demolition Night not only was a complete debacle as a promotion, it also rattled Veeck's perception of fans and thus the American people. He made a career out of trusting, respecting, and catering to the fans. Disco Demolition Night brought his faith in the fans and the American people into question. In the 1960s and 1970s, the players and the game they played changed, but this event demonstrates that the fans too had changed. Veeck, who for so long knew the fan inside and out, became a man out of time and out of touch. Americans had changed since his last stint as MLB owner, but he had not.

“Disco Demolition Night” was the iconic cultural capstone to a transitional decade. It anticipates the pivot from the liberal 1960s to the conservative 1980s. It illustrates perfectly the musical transition from the nihilistic but unthreatening disco era to the socially conscious and angry punk era. It is the nexus where for sport, culture, politics, and music do not confluence, but collide. This paper will focus on the event itself and the local and national reaction to it. “Disco Demolition Night” demonstrates fully the change in American sport, politics, culture, and music. It is the capstone to the 1970s and the tombstone of the 1960s

This paper, using secondary sources, primary sources, and newspapers, will explore the event from the perspectives of sport, culture, politics, and music.

* * * * *

Allan Downey, Wilfrid Laurier University

**“The Last Vestiges of Savage Play”:
Six Nations Iroquois Lacrosse in the Late 19th Century**

When the first recorded lacrosse game between Indians and Whites took place in 1844, the participation of non-Native athletes marked the beginning of momentous changes to the

Native American game. From that point lacrosse was appropriated from Aboriginal peoples and modeled into a sport stripped of its original cultural and ceremonial significance in order to exemplify Anglo-Victorian values. Through this reformulation, non-Natives attempted to establish a Canadian identity through sport and barred Aboriginal athletes from championship competitions. And yet, lacrosse’s Native originators still played the game. In many respects, lacrosse has remained a sport directly and primarily associated with these indigenous origins. On the one hand, in a country’s collective history to assimilate its Native inhabitants, lacrosse stands as a unique case in Canada in which non-Natives adopted an integral piece of Native culture. On the other hand, the roots of lacrosse were zealously celebrated as a form of North American antiquity, and through this persistence members of the Six Nations Iroquois Indian Reserve (Ontario, Canada) developed their own identity as players of the sport. The Haudenosaunee at Six Nations played a significant role in the establishment of lacrosse in Toronto and the United States beginning in 1867. Travelling throughout Southern Ontario and the North-eastern United States playing lacrosse exhibition games, curious spectators were drawn by the thousands to get a glimpse at these so-called “savage” peoples and their traditional game. This paper intends to examine the reactions of spectators to these lacrosse exhibitions and reflect how even in a leisure activity such as lacrosse, the fundamental functions of colonialism – cultural appropriation, assimilation, economic subjugation, racism – actively shaped the sport.

Based on my preliminary research that I’m now expanding on for my doctoral studies, I want to illustrate how the sport of lacrosse from the mid-19th to the early 20th century was cast in classic colonial dichotomies – it was allegedly an “uncivilized” game played by a “disappearing people,” but one that could be transformed if non-Natives reformulated it and infused it with Western ideologies of sportsmanship, athleticism, and scientific regulations. The attraction of Aboriginal athletes for non-Native audiences was in, simultaneously, their “authentic” connection to the game and to the assimilationist stereotypes set against that cultural continuity – for example: Non-natives were thankful to be able to preserve the game in face of the Native’s disappearance but banned them from their own game because they’d be unfair competition for white players. And yet, for the Six Nations athletes, they earned a portion of the box-office receipts, performed ceremonies and dances that otherwise would have been banned by the Indian Act, and by 1904, an all-Mohawk team represented Canada at the Olympics.

* * * * *

Andy Doyle, Winthrop University

**Football, Regional Identity, and Class Status:
The Virginia-Vanderbilt Rivalry, 1890-1917**

The University of Virginia and Vanderbilt University had the strongest football programs in the South prior to World War I; one or both claimed the southern championship following virtually every season during that era. The identity of the true champion was usually left to subjective judgment, however, because prior to 1912, an often-bitter war of words usually substituted for on-field competition.

Founded by Thomas Jefferson and long the preserve of the Tidewater elite, the social

standing of the University of Virginia was beyond question. Vanderbilt, on the other hand, was an arriviste institution funded by a coterie of Yankee philanthropists and patronized by the emerging bourgeois elite of the New South. Separated by this social distinction as well as by the Appalachian Mountains, no institutional rivalry existed between these schools prior to the advent of football.

The teams faced off in 1895 with the southern championship at stake, and this first game proved a harbinger of the bitterness that followed. Virginia won a game marred by allegations of biased officiating, but Vanderbilt players and students were even more incensed by the Virginians' penchant for both brutal play and class condescension. *The Hustler*, the Vanderbilt student newspaper alleged that their rivals played like "Bowery toughs" while simultaneously exhibiting "an air of condescension that was both amusing and disgusting." The teams met only two other times before 1912, but occasional salvos burst forth from both the *Hustler* and Virginia's *College Topics*. Vanderbilt students rankled at the patronizing air of the Virginians, while the latter were secure in their sense of social superiority.

Financial hardships plagued each football program; small southern cities provided only minimal revenues to modern commercial spectator sports. The expense of long distance travel served as a convenient excuse for the schools to refuse to play one another between 1898 and 1912. Each, however, gladly traveled long distances to take on major northern football powers. The respective school newspapers accused their rivals of abandoning southern identity in a quest for national status; the *Hustler* accused the Virginians of "attempting to hold the tail of northern athletics," while *College Topics* claimed that Vanderbilt "seems to believe it is a Western power." Virginia's refusal to join the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association was another point of contention; Virginians claimed to be victims of SIAA persecution, while the *Hustler* charged Virginians with forsaking southern competition.

The teams resumed play in 1912, by which time alumni associations had taken over management of each of these football programs. Focused on exploiting the profit potential of the rivalry and no longer preoccupied with the issues that had previously sparked such bitter recriminations, the Vanderbilt-Virginia rivalry became a centerpiece in the growing world of Progressive-era southern college football.

Sources for this paper include *The Hustler* and *College Topics*, the student newspapers of Vanderbilt and Virginia, respectively, and the daily newspapers of Nashville, Richmond and Charlottesville. It is part of a book-length project on southern college football.

* * * * *

Brandon L. Driggers, Winthrop University

**The 1938 Black Crackers: How Atlanta's Love of Baseball
Led to the Ruin of a Top Negro League Franchise**

The paper will cover the Atlanta baseball scene during the late 1930s. Including semi-pro teams, city league baseball, and local softball teams, the 1938 Atlanta Black Crackers faced tough competition in a crowded local baseball market. Atlantans' love for the game required all of its various teams to compete for players. Not only were talented players lured to other Negro League teams, such as the Homestead Grays of the Negro National League (NNL) and the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro American League (NAL), but they also

bounced back and forth among various semi-pro teams that could provide decent pay in the form of a job at one of the industrial sponsors of such teams. Another prominent threat to the Atlanta Black Crackers' lineup continuity was the rising prominence of Latin American baseball leagues in Mexico, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic. These leagues paid better and the players often lived and worked under much better social conditions than those that existed in the Jim Crow South.

The Black Crackers joined the NAL in 1938 and thus brought a higher level of competition to Atlanta fans, but attendance waned after a poor showing in the first half of the split season. While extant attendance records are notoriously unreliable, sources indicate that crowds at Black Crackers' games averaged roughly half of those drawn by Negro League teams in such smaller southern cities as Jacksonville and Birmingham. Even an exciting late-season run that included nineteen consecutive victories and that clinched the second-half pennant failed to dramatically increase attendance levels. This seems counterintuitive given the large, cohesive, and relatively prosperous African-American community for which Atlanta is well known and the strong market for all sports among white Atlantans. This paper will argue that the wide selection of lower-level baseball competition was the primary reason that the Crackers failed to prosper. Atlanta's black community loved baseball, but a significant number of them chose to forego the opportunity to attend games played at the major league level in favor of semi-pro games played by talented local players with deep roots in the community. Even the lure of the 1938 Negro American League championship playoff failed to excite much interest among black Atlantans, and the series was never completed.

While sources on the Negro Leagues are widely available, specifics on Atlanta-area teams are not. This paper will be based primarily on information found in the *Atlanta Daily World*, the leading African-American newspaper in the South. It will also draw on information gleaned from the *Atlanta Journal* and *Atlanta Constitution*, as well as such secondary sources as Tim Darnell's "The Crackers: Early Days of Atlanta Baseball" and David Rosenberg's M. A. thesis "Crumbs and Crackers: A study of Baseball in Atlanta."

I believe this study is important to sport history because it is the antithesis to what is normally associated with the demise of Negro League teams. Atlanta was a bustling marketplace of African-American activity that demanded quality. The loose structure of the Negro Leagues and low level of player loyalty to teams coupled with realistic economic forces faced by black Atlanta baseball players with multiple local options contributed greatly to the reduction in quality of the greatest black baseball team ever assembled in a city known for its love of the game.

* * * * *

Robert Dunkelberger, Bloomsburg University

**The Story of Schoolmaster Davy and Big Six:
The Interconnected Lives and Fates of David Williams and Christy Mathewson**

The year 1880 saw two births 15 miles apart in northeastern Pennsylvania, those of David Williams in Scranton and Christopher Mathewson in Factoryville. Both grew up to become excellent athletes who attended small nearby institutions in central Pennsylvania (Bloomsburg and Bucknell, respectively), went on to careers in athletics (most notably as

baseball pitchers but also managers), were highly respected by all who knew them, served their country in the First World War, and died from illness at relatively young ages due in part to their military service.

Williams and Mathewson were rivals and teammates, and the tutelage Williams gave to the slightly younger Mathewson on a semi-pro team in the summer of 1898 provided him with the “fade-away” pitch that helped him into the National Baseball Hall of Fame. Though dead over 80 years Mathewson is still remembered as one of the all-time great pitchers in baseball history, while Williams spent almost his entire career in the minor leagues and was forgotten not long after his death over 90 years ago. This paper will look at the parallel lives of these two individuals, the many similarities in their careers, their time away from the sport, and the service they rendered to their country at the ultimate cost of their lives.

The major questions to be addressed in the paper will include:

1. What were the similarities and differences between the upbringing and training of Williams and Mathewson?
2. Could anything in the early stages of their careers have predicted their future success as professional baseball pitchers?
3. What can be learned of their relationship together and the impact Williams had on Mathewson’s career?
4. What were their lives like off the baseball diamond and after their athletic careers were over, how did each serve his country, and how did each pay for that service with his life?

The evidence used will include contemporary newspaper and magazine accounts, biographical writings, articles from periodicals, and secondary sources on the history of professional baseball, life in the late 1800s and early 1900s, and the First World War.

The primary argument will be that David Williams and Christy Mathewson, although at different levels, had remarkably similar lives in many ways. They came together at one point in time, were equally influential with the people they encountered, and had premature ends to their lives. The conclusions will demonstrate why one is justifiably still remembered but the other unfairly long forgotten.

The paper’s significance to sport history is that it will show the relationship between two athletes, their lives both inside and outside of baseball, and the twists of fate that lead to fame or obscurity.

* * * * *

Mark Dyreson, Pennsylvania State University

Discovering the “Folk Art” of the Heartland Region: The Invention of Basketball as Communal Cement in American Sociological and Literary Imaginations

That sport serves as a forge for producing collective identities in modern societies is now a truism embraced by academics and advertisers, politicians and pundits. Less than a century ago, however, this cultural “fact” was not yet a part of the conventional sociological imagination. The discovery of this “fact” in American social science dates to the 1920s when a team of sociologists descended on a “typical” American city, determined to unravel the secrets

of communal identity and discover the laws that governed culture change. Using methodologies originally practiced by anthropologists to catalog the social patterns of non-Western cultures in locales far from the urban-industrial core of twentieth-century Occident, the scientific observers settled among the townsfolk to catalog, in their words, “the life of the people in the city, selected as a unit complex of interwoven trends of behavior.” They charted the dynamics of work and leisure, home and family, religion and government. They analyzed coming-of-age rituals and patterns of community. They found a culture that had been transformed in just a decade by the automobile and the radio—two technologies that they feared frayed the communal fabric of the place they labeled “Middletown”—a term they meant to connote that their study represented an archetype with the power to explain patterns in every American locale.

Counteracting the corrosive forces of the car and the airwaves, the scientists discovered another “technology” that built communal solidarity. That technology inhabited the largest structure on the campus of the key institution designed to transform children into adults—the high school gymnasiums where “the five boys who wear the colors of ‘Magic Middletown,’” as the scientists colorfully put it, performed regular civic rituals that animated the essential “being” of this pseudo-fictional American city. “No distinctions divide the crowds which pack the school gymnasium for home games and which in every kind of machine crowd the roads for out-of-town games. North Side and South Side, Catholic and Kluxer, banker and machinist—their one shout is ‘Eat ‘em beat ‘em, Bearcats!’,” marveled the anthropological interlopers.

In 1929, the team leaders, sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd, published their findings in *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture*. The Lynds’ work on “Middletown,” a place they later revealed as Muncie, Indiana, marked the first sustained argument by American social scientists that sport forged community. Their study also firmly linked the identity of Indiana to high school basketball, an idea that scholars and writers on regional identity have continued to return to ever since. Indeed, in 1958, after quoting the Lynds’ extensively, the sportswriter and novelist John R. Tunis lamented in his famous meditation, “Ain’t God Good to Indiana!”: “Once upon a time, throughout this vast region which Sinclair Lewis liked to call The Valley of Democracy, there was growth in arts and letters, there were statesmen of note and scholars turning out important work. . . . Where are the successors to these creative talents? They don’t exist since basketball has become the folk art of the region.”

This paper spins from Daniel Nathan’s premise that different communities have “used or use sport to create and maintain a sense of their collective identities” and seeks to analyze how and why social critics, from cultural anthropologists such as the Lynds to sportswriters such as Tunis, have used sport to capture and catalog the collective identities of their subjects. It focuses on a specific community, “Middletown”—the sociological archetype, not the actual town of Muncie. It also focuses on a specific sport, high school basketball. The paper will analyze the origins, evolution, and implications of the idea that basketball represents the dominant “folk art” of Indiana by looking at the collectors and critics of this folk art—the social scientists, sport commentators, novelists, documentary film makers, and Hollywood producers who have crafted the idea that high school basketball is the communal cement that binds together the harmonious hamlets of the American heartland—the “Middletowns” of our sociological imagination.

The paper will draw on a wide variety of sources, from the Lynds’ own studies and

Tunis's essay to the myriad other works spawned by the "Middletown" project. The Center for Middletown Studies at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, contains a wide variety of important sources. Many of the follow-up studies to the Lynds' classics include sections on high school basketball. This paper argues that the social processes sparked by the Lynds' original studies have had an enormous influence on American academic studies of sport and on American popular culture. Examining and analyzing the genealogies of these ideas reveals much about modern American "scientific" and folk definitions of community.

* * * * *

Lars Dzikus, University of Tennessee &
 Eleanor F. Odenheimer, University of Tennessee

In Search of History: An Analysis of LGBT Issues in Sport History Journals

The history of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people has been a history of overcoming oppression and invisibility. Research on the history of LGBT people has traditionally been limited, despite a marked increase in attention in the 1980s (Duberman, Vicinus, & Chauncey, 1989). One measure of research interest in particular topics is publications in scholarly journals. These journals are important sources for professionals and students to stay abreast of research in their fields. The purpose of this paper is to examine the extent to which sport history journals have addressed the history of LGBT people.

Similar content analyses of journals have been conducted in a variety of disciplines. For example, in counseling psychology, a study of six major journals over a 12-year period from 1978 to 1989 showed that .65% of articles focused on lesbian or gay sexual orientations (Buhrke, Ben-Ezra, Hurley, & Ruprecht, 1992). An analysis of marriage and family therapy journals by Clark and Servoich (1997) showed that only .006% of articles in 13 journals between 1975 and 1995 focused on LGBT issues.

The journals to be reviewed include the *Journal of Sport History* (published by the North American Society for Sport History), the *Journal of Olympic History* (the official publication of the International Society of Olympic Historians), *Sport in History* (published as *The Sport Historian* until 2004 on behalf of the British Society of Sport History), the *International Journal of the History of Sport*, and *Sporting Traditions* (published by the Australian Society for Sports History). Online databases of the respective journals will be used to identify articles that relate to LGBT issues. The subject matter of each article will be examined and categorized.

A preliminary search in the database of the *Journal of Sport History* (JSH) included 4480 articles. The search found no articles that mentioned the words "transgender," "bisexual," "transsexual," or "LGBT." The word "queer" was mentioned only once in an LGBT context. The words "lesbian" and "homophobia" were mentioned in 23 and 16 articles, respectively. That means, for example, that only .5% of articles in *JSH* mentioned the word "lesbian," which does not yet reflect on whether "lesbian" was used in passing or whether it was a central topic. Although "The *Journal of Sport History* seeks to promote the study of all aspects of the history of sport," there appears to be a lack of attention paid to LGBT sports (North American Society for Sport History, n.d., para. 2). In his review of Anderson's (2005) *In the Game: Gay Athletes and the Cult of Masculinity*, Osmond (2006, p. 95) noted that "for sport historians, the book points to possible avenues of research" and "gay sport histories are sadly

lacking.” This study will assess if and how sport historians have engaged with LGBT issues as an area of research.

Buhrke, R. A., Ben-Ezra, L. A., Hurley, M. E., & Ruprecht, L. J. (1992). Content analysis and methodological critique of articles concerning lesbian and gay male issues in counseling journals. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 39(1), 91-99.

Clark, W. M., & Serovich, J. M. (1997). Twenty years and still in the dark? Content analysis of articles pertaining to gay, lesbian, and bisexual issues in marriage and family therapy journals. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 23(3), 239-253.

Duberman, M. B., Vicinus, M., & Chauncey, G. (1989). *Hidden from history: reclaiming the gay and lesbian past*. New York: New American Library.

North American Society for Sport History. (n.d.). Publications. Retrieved November 30, 2009, from http://www.nassh.org/NASSH_CMS/?q=node/13

Osmond, G. (2006). Anderson, Eric. In the game: Gay athletes and the cult of masculinity [book review]. *Journal of Sport History*, 33(1), 94-95.

* * * * *

Sarah Jane Eikleberry, University of Iowa

Reading the Hawkeye: Semiotics of State Identity

Upon its inception into the nation the state of Iowa named itself The Hawkeye State. Though contestations have surfaced over the specific motivations for this choice The Hawkeye State was incorporated into the US at a moment in history when the landscape itself was being transformed by Yankee New Englanders and Western and Northern European immigrants from frontier prairie to its more recognizable agriscap. Concomitantly the rise of the Communitarian Movement during the 1830s-1850s found its epicenter in Iowa’s fertile plains. This relatively homogenous group of Judeo-Christians stymied in the Jeffersonian ideals of the independent yeoman helped create a multi-generational, land-based, regional culture that valued meritocracy, identified with nature and farming, and experienced less day-to-day extremes in terms of socioeconomics, and often blurred traditional gender lines during work and play.

The University of Iowa also appropriated the name hawkeye early in its genesis. By 1889 the school annual *The Hawkeye* was in regular publication and intercollegiate sports teams had adopted the moniker. The Iowa Hawkeye football squad was referred to as such with the exception of the 1928 season in which they were intermittently called The Iowa Braves. In 1947 The Hawkeye would manifest itself in the rendering of the anthropomorphic Herky who would make its first appearance at an athletic competition in 1959. During Hayden Fry’s iconic reign as head coach the Tigerhawk was rendered by a local advertising firm and became one way for the struggling football program to resurrect its dismal image. By 1982 the gold logo with the stylized hawk head, beak, and eye donned each gridder’s helmet with the exception of two contests in the 1990s in which it was removed in somber recognition of recent deaths close to the university community.

This paper seeks to explore how the connection of sport, particularly gridiron football at the University of Iowa signifies a state identity. I argue that the Tigerhawk and Fry’s legacy

began to stand in for the nostalgic regional narratives identified by scholars like Dorothy Sweider and George Sayre. In the late 1970s when Midwestern agricultural communities were beginning to be discussed as passé, backwards, and something to be escaped from, the Tigerhawk provided a symbol and site of mass-produced and (re)presented nostalgia of state identity imposed on gridiron football. I argue that the Tigerhawk began to signify an imagined community and continues to do cultural work in terms by standing in for a set of regional values that predates the modern Tigerhawk by over a century.

The evidence that will be utilized includes University of Iowa's school publications *The Vidette*, the *Daily Iowan*, *The Hawkeye* annual, *Bulletins*, Presidential Correspondence of university president Walter Jessup, the unpublished memoirs of engineering professor F.G. Higbee, travel excerpts from the territorial presses like David Rorer's Wolverine letters, Iowan's accounts of early frontier settlements, and local periodicals and almanacs, and commemorative materials housed by The Iowa Athletics Hall of Fame and Special Collections at The University of Iowa, and local media covering the recent commemoration of Fry in September of 2009.

* * * * *

Meilyr Emrys, Aberystwyth University

**Sport, Religion, Popular Culture and Respectability
in the Slate Quarrying Communities of North West Wales, c.1884 – c.1920**

R. Merfyn Jones has described the late-Victorian and Edwardian slate quarrying villages and towns of north west Wales as 'a bastion ... of a Welsh culture dominated by nonconformity and Liberalism', adding that the chapel 'was central to the life and structure of slate-quarrying communities', and that 'the censorious eye of nonconformity deeply affected' the day to day behaviour of the inhabitants: 'They watched everything and shaped much and their influence was pervasive. The chapel's embrace was intense and not restricted to Sundays'. (R. Merfyn Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen, 1874-1922* [Cardiff, 1981], pp. 44-5, 50.)

It is not therefore surprising that contemporary observers were unanimous in their high regard for the respectability of the quarrymen, and that the slate workers of Caernarvonshire and Merioneth also acquired a reputation for developing a high level of Welsh culture. After all, whilst the influential chapels were the main promoters of 'acceptable' and 'traditional' native amusements – such as *cisteddfodau*, singing meetings and literary societies – many Victorian Nonconformist ministers also attempted to stifle the growth of rival 'foreign' pastimes, such as cricket or association football, which were derided as representative of 'the profane culture associated with the new industrial world'. Indeed, as Andrews and Howell have stated: to the leaders of late nineteenth century Nonconformist Wales, the ever increasing popularity of such sports 'was a touchstone of a new and threatening way of life imported from England. It represented the heathenous and sin-laden industrial existence'. (D. L. Andrews and J. W. Howell, 'Transforming Into a Tradition: Rugby and the Making of Imperial Wales, 1890-1914' in A. G. Ingham & J. W. Loy [goln.], *Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions and Transformations* [Leeds, 1993], p. 91.)

But despite the chapels' best efforts to discourage the local quarrymen from indulging

in such ‘positively wicked’ activities, there were well-established soccer clubs in most north-west Wales quarrying villages by the 1890s, and the region’s larger clubs—at Bangor, Caernarfon and Portmadoc—also owed much to the enthusiastic backing of quarrymen. Indeed, Caradog Prichard’s semi-autobiographical novel, *Un Nos Ola Leuad* (*One Moonlight Night*)—a damning expose of the true nature of life in an early twentieth century quarrying village—includes both the story of a riotous soccer match, and a meticulous description of a brutal (and apparently illegal) boxing match at a local public house, which raise questions—not only about the extent of Nonconformity’s social authority—but also about the allegedly superior respectability of the north Wales quarrymen.

Based mainly on archival and newspaper evidence, this paper will therefore argue that the slate quarrymen of Caernarvonshire and Merioneth, were in fact no more devout or respectable than any other late-Victorian or Edwardian industrial workers, and that they—like their contemporaries—also enjoyed and partook in (sometimes excessively) physical sports. Accordingly, I will also argue that the influence of the numerous Nonconformist chapels was not all-encompassing in villages such as Bethesda, Llanberis and Blaenau Ffestiniog.

Whilst work by Gareth Williams, Dai Smith and more recently Martin Johnes has shed light on the social importance of sport in Victorian and Edwardian south Wales, no equivalent research has thus far been published on the smaller—yet equally thriving—industrial communities of the north, and this paper will therefore, hopefully, also help to create a more balanced picture of the history of sport in Wales.

* * * * *

Colleen English, Pennsylvania State University

A Controversial 800 Meters: The 1928 Race at the Amsterdam Olympics and Its Impact on Women’s Sport

On August 3, 1928, newspapers around the world reported on one of the most controversial events in the Amsterdam Olympic Games. In the 800-meter race, nine women competed in the final, with the first six finishers breaking the world record and Germany’s Lina Radke winning gold. Although these women achieved a great feat, most newspapers reported it as a disaster. They reported that most of the women collapsed from exhaustion at the end of the race and required medical attention before leaving the field. Notre Dame football coach Knute Rockne, who covered the Olympics for a U.S. press syndicate, announced in the *Pittsburgh Press* that, “It was not a very edifying spectacle to see a group of fine girls running themselves into a state of exhaustion.” Other journalists responded similarly. Finally, only days after the race, the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) voted to keep women’s track and field in the Olympic Games, but eliminated the 800-meter race from the program. It would not resurface until 1960. During that period women were prohibited from running distances longer than 200 meters in Olympic competition.

Although women enjoyed advances both socially and athletically in the 1920s—in the United States women gained the right to vote with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the IOC allowed women to officially compete in 1920—the 800-meter race signifies a time when women took a step backward in progress. Despite the press’s favorable reaction to the

endurance feats of Gertrude Ederle and Amelia Earhart, the media claimed that women could not run 800 meters. Numerous magazine and newspaper articles reported on the 800-meter race and made claims about the ability of women to compete in sport. They concluded that women were not suited to run long distances.

Why did the media hold a double standard when reporting on the women of the 800-meter race in Amsterdam compared to other women athletes, such as Ederle? Why did both the media and international sporting federations continue to limit women's sport, even after the advances made in the 1920s? Explanations to these questions involve the appearance of the women at the end of the race—many looked physically exhausted and ravaged, while after swimming the English Channel, Gertrude Ederle was depicted as looking fresh and pretty. Also, the attitudes of powerful men in sporting federations influenced the beliefs of organizations such as the IAAF and IOC. Pierre de Coubertin never supported women's sport and Sigfrid Edstøm, president of the IAAF in 1928, sought to control and limit women's track and field. By looking at the 800-meter race in Amsterdam, one can see how all of these factors contributed to a step backward for women's sport.

Though numerous historians of the Olympics and women's sport mention this controversial race, no scholar has provided an in-depth analysis of the media coverage of the event. A more comprehensive study of this event can aid in the understanding of women's role in sport and in the Olympic Games. This paper will use the standard secondary sources and also include primary sources from contemporary media outlets, such as newspapers and magazines, oral histories, and official reports of the AAU, IAAF, and IOC.

* * * * *

John D. Fair, Georgia College & State University

“Rip” Engle, The Tigers, and the Spirit of Waynesboro

Situated in the Cumberland Valley, just north of the Mason-Dixon Line, is a sleepy little town that has long been overshadowed by such nearby Civil War sites as Gettysburg, Chambersburg, and Antietam, and the larger metropolises of Harrisburg, Baltimore, and Washington. Virtually no notable persons or events have ever been associated with Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, but from the 1930s to the 1950s this municipality of about 12,000 experienced a strong sense of communal pride, stemming from its semi-professional football team, that had far reaching consequences.

The key figure behind this development was a young mathematics teacher named Charles “Rip” Engle, who for over a decade coached the local high school team to an unprecedented series of victories and stimulated a general interest in football until he entered the collegiate ranks in 1940. Most of his players then went off to war, but on returning, several dozen of them, inspired by the values of sportsmanship and wholesome fun inculcated by Engle, formed the Waynesboro Tigers Football Team. From 1947 to 1952 these gridiron warriors not only compiled a remarkable 53-7 record (with 1,493 to 362 points) over other teams, virtually all of which represented larger towns in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia, but animated and united the entire community. Normally 5,000 to 6,000 citizens of Waynesboro (nearly half the town's population) attended the home games, but opponents almost always wanted to play there too because the gate was so large!

No less important, however, was the legacy Engle left on college football. Building on his experience in Waynesboro, Engle went on to coach highly successful programs at Western Maryland (now McDaniel) College, Brown University, and Pennsylvania State University. At the latter two schools he became the mentor of Joe Paterno, who served as Engle's player and assistant coach for nineteen years. Indeed much of the success of Paterno's highly acclaimed Nittany Lions at Penn State, like that of the Tigers in Waynesboro, may be attributed to Engle. Both not only compiled enviable records but instilled a sense of pride in their respective communities that went far beyond the gridiron.

This study is based largely on original sources derived from the archives at McDaniel College, Brown University, Harvard University, Penn State University, and the Pennsylvania Room of the Waynesboro Public Library, the Waynesboro Historical Society, the *Record Herald* (newspaper), and about a dozen interviews with persons associated with either Rip Engle or the Tigers, including Rip's widow and numerous former players. I intend to show how football can have a transformative effect on the life of a community and have a lasting impact on future generations through the influence of an inspiring coach. Although the Tigers were not strictly an amateur organization, they pursued sport for its own sake, regardless of commercial considerations, and thereby epitomized the amateur ideal of playing for the enrichment of the mind, body, and spirit, an updated version of the Greek-inspired Corinthian ideal.

* * * * *

Gabriel E. Fidler, University of Tennessee

Football and Nationalism in the British Empire

The study of sport and its relation to nationalism has been particularly fruitful when seen as an instrument of state power, such as in Nazi Germany in 1936, a cause for national pride as in the "Miracle of Bern" in 1954, or as a powerful tool of empire-building in Victorian British society. In fact, it was claimed by some Victorians that for the growth, development, and power of the British Empire, "England [had], in large measure, to thank her games, which are thus indissolubly linked with her greatness." The English were praised in various nineteenth-century Parliamentary reports as having a "love of healthy sports and exercise" and reformers urged participation in "physical education" to produce strong and healthy Englishmen. Statements like these were commonplace in newspaper articles, sporting publications, and opinion letters, and were encouraged by a Parliament that believed fully in the necessity of a healthy and physically active populace.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the process by which football came to be seen as an essential part of creating a people who could extend British national glory around the globe. The paper will begin with a short review of the growth of English football and those forces that propelled it into national prominence, emphasizing the role that the growing Empire played in its expansion. Next, by examining the national and local press, magazines, sermons, popular literature, and Parliamentary documents, it will become clear how sport, football in particular, became viewed as a vital part of English expansion around the globe during the Victorian period. Finally, it will explain how the two became so linked that long after the fall of the Empire, sport and England are still paired with imperialistic undertones. One journalist even recently claimed, "In every other walk of life, we have reluctantly come to

the conclusion that we no longer rule the world. But in football, we still reign supreme.” As studies of nationalism and imperialism are recognized to be vital in understanding globalism in the twenty-first century, this essay offers the conclusion that football was a fundamental part of British imperialism, and by tracing its roots we can better comprehend the rise of the British Empire.

* * * * *

Sarah K. Fields, Ohio State University

Super Bowl Icon or Marketing Tool: *Montana v. San Jose Mercury News*

Joe Montana is arguably one of the best quarterbacks in the history of the National Football League (NFL). In San Francisco, he led the San Francisco 49ers to victory in the Super Bowl four times (1982, 1985, 1989, and 1990) and was named the most valuable player of three of those games (all but 1989). His success was legendary, and his status, particularly in the Bay Area of California, iconic. After each Super Bowl victory, not surprisingly, the local newspaper ran stories about Montana and the team and included photographs. These stories and photographs were clearly protected as documenting newsworthy events under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution which guarantees freedom of speech.

After the fourth Super Bowl victory, however, the *San Jose (CA) Mercury News*, published and sold a poster that included photos of Montana from all four Super Bowls. Montana felt that the use of his photograph in the poster was a violation of his right of publicity—that the newspaper had used his image without his permission and profited from it. Montana sued.

Relying in part on precedent in which a New York court rejected Joe Namath’s similar claim against *Sports Illustrated* in 1975, the California court ruled twenty years later against Joe Montana. Montana tried to distinguish his case from Namath’s, in which the magazine reprinted copies of its covers with Namath on it and circulated the new product as an advertising flyer. Namath lost his right of publicity case because the court ruled that the magazine had simply used the covers as a demonstration of its quality in trying to sell more magazines. Montana argued that the *Mercury News* did something differently than *Sports Illustrated*: the newspaper printed and sold a poster; it did not distribute free advertising circulars, and thus the newspaper’s profit was much more direct than *Sports Illustrated*’s. The California court, however, did not agree with Montana’s distinction. The judges concluded that the poster, which had the name of the newspaper at the bottom of the poster, was a form of advertising and that Montana’s photo was still newsworthy. Even though the Super Bowls were played several years earlier, the court focused on the importance of the games and the team to the community (ignoring the fact that the emotional tie to both would help sell those posters) and concluded that the photos remained newsworthy.

This presentation describes the *Montana* case and examines its role in the evolving torts of privacy and publicity. Relying on the published legal materials as well as primary and secondary source material about Montana, this presentation explores how the *Montana* case utilized the right of privacy to attempt to regain control over Montana’s image, control that was lost in part because of his celebrity status. Although Montana lost, his lawsuit furthered the legal debate about what is newsworthy and what is simply marketing.

* * * * *

Michael Friedman, University of Maryland

Raising & Razing a Stadium: Baseball and Collective Memory in Detroit

In the summer of 2009, the two stadiums that were the home for Major League Baseball's (MLB) Detroit Tigers reached significant milestones. Comerica Park enjoyed its 10th season of play in a year in which the city of Detroit struggled with the bankruptcies of two of its major automobile companies and the impacts of the recession. As the Tigers competed for the American League Central Division championship, the city of Detroit was completing the demolition of Tiger Stadium, which had been the team's home between 1912 and 1999. These contrasting events will be examined in this paper, as they represent significant milestones in the formulation of baseball with the collective memory of Detroit. In particular, this paper explores the history of and historical meanings associated with both stadiums. Similar to many of the retro-style ballparks built since the 1990s, Comerica Park uses historic elements as aesthetic embellishments. However, Comerica Park has a unique distinction among retro ballparks—it is the only one to replace an early 20th century facility in which most of those memories and structural elements used as aesthetic embellishments actually occurred and had existed. This paper suggests that Tiger Stadium's continued existence revealed the artificial nature of Comerica Park, and, as such, interfered with the new stadium's place and purpose within the continuing narrative of baseball in Detroit.

To conduct this examination, this paper is based on reports from the Detroit and national media, ethnographic observations, and photographic evidence collected by the researcher. By investigating the design and use of Comerica Park as well as the destruction of Tiger Stadium in 2009, this paper contributes to our understanding of sport history by examining the ways in which collective memory is shaped within the built environment through the processes of construction, use, and demolition.

* * * * *

Larry Gerlach, University of Utah

Get Real: Financing Football in Zion

In July 2004 Major League Soccer, North America's premier soccer league, awarded an expansion franchise to Salt Lake City. Local enthusiasm at the announcement was tempered when the team's owner demanded public financing to assist in building a soccer-specific stadium.

This presentation surveys the four-year struggle, 2004-2008, over the financing of the stadium between competing cities and counties, proponents and opponents of public financing for sports facilities, team ownership and community leaders, owners of professional sports teams, and state and local government officials.

There are numerous studies of the controversies over providing public monies for professional sports facilities in the United States, but virtually all deal with stadia for baseball, basketball or American football franchises in well established leagues and located in major metropolitan communities. This presentation not only provides a fresh perspective in that it deals with an expansion soccer franchise in a secondary sports market, but also offers an

unusual twist by examining a story that is far more complicated than most in part because the fierce competition among multiple communities to host the stadium produced novel confusions, contradictions and conspiracies.

Ultimately, just as it appeared that public funding for the stadium was dead, a handful of key state operatives led by the governor worked to secure funding for the stadium by blatantly ignoring the overwhelming opposition from the press and the public as well as negating the previous decisions of local government officials.

The presentation is based primarily on the extensive coverage produced by Salt Lake City's two daily newspapers. Some personal interviews inform the work, but virtually none of the team or government officials involved in the episode will speak on the record inasmuch as the issue remains "too recent" and "controversial." Essentially, the paper is an overview of a work in progress that awaits further interviews with relevant personnel.

* * * * *

Bieke Gils, University of British Columbia

**Flights for Rights: An Interpretation of the Life of
African-American Aviator Bessie Coleman (1896-1926)**

During the 1920s and '30s there was an observable increase in women's participation in American aviation sport and industry. World War I had raised awareness about women's capabilities in jobs initially executed solely by men (i.e. positions in nursing and the weapons industry) and women's suffrage in 1919 helped to contribute to the new ideal of the 'liberated woman.' It was, therefore, not a coincidence that many women associated the new phenomenon of aviation—and especially the ability to fly—with freedom and independence.

Flying in its early years was mainly the privilege of a few white middle- and upper-class women who sought to earn a living, become a celebrity, further women's cause in aviation (and society), but mostly because they enjoyed the liberating feeling flying offered them. For many such women aviation became a means for upward social mobility. In this light the accomplishments of African-American aviator Elizabeth (Bessie) Coleman in the early 1920s were remarkable, although they have remained largely undiscussed by white historians. Not only did Coleman face many barriers of prejudice because she was a woman, her skin colour added to her difficulties in gaining a respected place in aviation sport and industry.

While providing a broad historical context, I want to examine the life and career of African-American aviator Bessie Coleman through the critical feminist concept of intersectionality. As a lower-class black female in the male-dominated arena of aviation sport and industry, Coleman had to negotiate not just gender but also issues around race and class. Although she faced many difficulties, more than her white female counterparts, it is my contention that she successfully used her social location to her advantage.

As primary sources regarding this aviator are scarce and given that Coleman did not keep a diary or write an autobiography, I combine primary sources, such as archival material and newspaper articles with the few secondary sources available that critically assess Coleman's life and accomplishments. Drawing on my previous research, which addresses white women in American aviation sport and industry during the interwar period, I now attempt to compare the situation of this white group of female pilots with Bessie Coleman's

pursuit of an aviation career. Although my paper heavily relies on secondary sources, especially on feminist researcher Elizabeth Amelia Hadley Freyberg's book, entitled: *Bessie Coleman. The Brownskin Lady Bird* (1994), I attempt to bring sociology and feminism more to the forefront, while embedding it in its era's social, political and historical dynamics. It needs to be acknowledged that my study only touches upon the interesting life and career of Bessie Coleman. It is therefore my intention to further extend this research by relating it to struggles black women in the past experienced in their attempts to enter male-dominated occupations, sports in particular.

* * * * *

John Gleaves, Pennsylvania State University

Oxygen Doping: A Precursor of the Modern Anti-Doping Movement

Most historians have concluded that Knud Jensen's drug-related death at the 1960 Rome Olympic Games served as the constitutive event in the anti-doping movement. What historians heretofore have not paid enough attention to, however, is that anti-doping ideas had long existed among certain segments of modern sport. For the most part, how these ideas developed remains unclear and under studied. Although a long process, one substance in particular—purified oxygen—helped turn emerging anti-doping attitudes into a fully articulated set of established principles.

Stretching over the first half of the twentieth century, the debate concerning oxygen's use by athletes in sports marked an intense and controversial issue in discourses about "doping." Oxygen first emerged as a performance enhancer in 1908, when a swimmer tried using it to help him cross the English Channel. By the 1920s in professional sports such as association football, boxing, and cycling, oxygen came into vogue as the latest scientific aid. Evidence exists that collegiate and amateur athletes used oxygen extensively in a variety of sports. From Japanese swimmers to Russian weightlifters, oxygen even appeared in the Olympic Games in the period from the 1930s to the 1950s. The practice of athletes breathing purified oxygen to enhance their performance sparked discussions over the ethics of using "artificial" forms of enhancement to improve performance. The debates about oxygen prefigured later debates about anabolic steroids and other ergogenic aids.

These discussions about oxygen use historically focused on the principles of modern sport, principles largely influenced by the ideology of amateurism. While many members of the scientific community advocated oxygen's use as a legitimate form of enhancement with no negative side effects, advocates of amateurism argued that oxygen doping contradicted the so-called "spirit of sport." The nascent anti-doping philosophy that initially objected to the use of oxygen, a philosophy which blossomed after Jensen's death and which continues to flourish today emerged from fundamentals of the gospel of amateurism. Indeed, the elitist ideology of amateurism provided the soil in which the anti-doping attitudes originally germinated.

Using primarily print media, I will explore how the anti-doping argument over oxygen unfolded in popular culture. The results of this investigation will fill the gap in the current literature's understanding of the historical development of the anti-doping movement while complementing the existing research on the history of drug use in sport and the history of ergogenic aids.

* * * * *

Eric Allen Hall, Purdue University

**“[A] tennis racquet is afflicting apartheid half a world away”:
The Public Appropriation of Arthur Ashe’s Visa Denials, 1969–1970**

In 1969 and again in 1970, South Africa's Government, under the leadership of Nationalist Party head B.J. Vorster, denied the visa request of Arthur Ashe, an African-American tennis star and emerging civil and human rights activist. The prime minister cited Ashe’s antiapartheid statements to the press, his connection to African liberation movements, his support for South Africa’s exclusion from the 1968 Olympic Games, and his ties to U.S. Black Power organizations as the reasons for his visa denial. In other words, his actions and not his race prevented him from competing in the South African Open, according to Vorster.

This paper, drawn from my dissertation, examines the public reaction in the U.S. and abroad to Ashe’s visa denials. I argue that because Ashe positioned himself as a moderate on issues of race and defied racial stereotypes, the press (mainstream American, South African, and British, as well as U.S. black newspapers), tennis players, administrators, and fans, and prominent American and South African politicians more easily appropriated his public statements and image to satisfy their own political agendas. In South Africa, for instance, Vorster touted his rejection of Ashe in speeches and interviews throughout the country, hoping to convince skeptical hardliners that he deserved reelection in 1970. The prime minister made Ashe a centerpiece of his campaign, allowing him to ignore some of his more moderate apartheid concessions. Depending on the newspaper or public figure, Ashe was a symbol of racial progress, a rabble-rouser, an Uncle Tom, a quiet militant, a gentleman, or a rebel. Unlike Muhammad Ali, Jim Brown, or Bill Russell, whose stories dominate the historiography of sport, activism, and Black Power, Ashe did not fit neatly into any racial or political category.

Far from a passive observer, Ashe defined the agenda with his actions. He *chose* to file for a visa, fully aware that Vorster would reject his application. His testimony before a U.S. House subcommittee, the United Nations apartheid committee, and the International Lawn Tennis Federation’s Davis Cup committee were direct attempts to “put a crack in the racist wall” of apartheid. Using Ashe’s personal correspondence, organizational memos, interviews, memoirs, Ashe’s personal diary, and the popular press, this paper argues that Ashe manipulated the media to achieve his own political goals and vice versa.

* * * * *

**C. Keith Harrison, The University of Central Florida &
Janet Rasmussen, The University of Central Florida &
Scott J. Bukstein, The University of Central Florida**

Documentary: Race, Sport and Campus Climate

Session Abstract: This conference session will explore the intersection of race and sport at college campuses, with a specific focus on issues related to the 2001 Oregon State University football team. The session will emphasize research by Drs. Harrison and Rasmussen, along with a documentary collaboratively produced by faculty and undergraduate students at the University of Central Florida that examines the story of the Oregon State football team, which consisted of a group of rural, suburban and urban student-athletes that all exuded a passion to win on and off of the field. The concept of “it takes a village” was the prevailing philosophy of the Oregon State athletic program and football team, as leaders on campus, outside consultants and the players themselves took things to the next level and overachieved by defeating Notre Dame in the 2001 Fiesta Bowl. The planned release for the project (papers and documentaries) is January 1, 2011. One major component of the project relates to an investigation of how different people remember and recall the story of the 2001 Oregon State football team; this analysis of memory, race and sport will add innovative insight to our understanding of sport history. Another major component of the project relates to the ways in which the players on the Oregon State football team were stereotyped in newspaper articles and television accounts relating to the 2001 Fiesta Bowl (for example, media coverage of the 2001 Fiesta Bowl commonly labeled the overachievers from Oregon State as misfits and renegades); the project attempts to capture the powerful anecdotes of players on the 2001 football team concerning the ways in which they were perceived by the community and the media.

Description of Paper #1 -- “Beaver Ballers, Volume 1”: This paper examines content related to the academic, athletic, social and career transition experiences of football student-athletes at Oregon State University, and investigates the perceptions of the entire local community. These four main topics (academic, athletic, social, career transition) are examined in the context of a documentary on race, sport and campus climate that is being collaboratively created and produced by faculty and students in the University of Central Florida’s Undergraduate Sport Business Management Program. The paper will investigate the perspectives of Oregon State University faculty members and former Oregon State football players and administrators regarding the story of the 2001 Oregon State football team, and will also look at issues relating to the career transition of players on the 2001 Oregon State football team.

Description Paper #2 -- “Beaver Ballers, Volume 2”: This paper explores similar issues as explored in Paper #1, and will extend some of the major concepts and findings examined in Paper #1. For example, this paper will explore programs implemented by Oregon State University after the football team’s victory in the 2001 Fiesta Bowl to deal with and combat the misperceptions and inaccurate stereotypes perpetuated by the media. For instance, Oregon State developed a “Thursday Night Group,” which was a program that enabled players of color on the football team to get connected to faculty and staff on campus and to

increase the likelihood that the players would graduate from college.

* * * * *

Phil Hatlem, Saint Leo University

The Incredibly Shrinking Naming Rights

Over the past 40 years, income from stadium naming rights has become as much a part of a professional sport team’s spreadsheet as ticket sales and television revenue. As much as two-thirds or more of a team’s revenue may come from corporations (Casselman, 2009). From the heady days of the “dot com” companies putting their cryptic names on the buildings (“3com Park”, “PSINet Stadium”), to today’s crazy “University of Phoenix” Stadium, teams will partner with almost any company willing to commit huge amounts of money for long-term deals.

But like the dot.coms of the 1990’s, the naming rights bubble may be now bursting. Whether due to the economic downturn truly limiting corporations available sponsorship dollars (Steinberger, 2008), or banks worried about the image of sponsoring sport entities while receiving bailout funds (Barrett, 2009), the most recent naming rights contracts have shrunk in both dollars and years. Is this a momentary blip, or an indication that professional sports teams may have to look for alternative sources of revenue in the future?

By first examining the history of professional stadium naming rights in the United States, followed by a look at recently announced deals, an indication of the future of naming rights deals may be determined.

References:

Barrett, W. (2009) “Bail Us Out of Bankrupt Ballpark.” *USA Today*, v. 138, iss. 2772, pp. 72-73.
Casselman, B. (2009) “Luxury Strikes Out.” *Wall Street Journal*, Mar 6, pg. W1.
Steinberger, M. (2008) “The name’s no longer the game; Sports sponsorship is feeling the pinch in the economic crisis.” *Financial Times*, Nov 29, pg. 21.

* * * * *

**Mark E. Havitz, University of Waterloo &
Eric D. Zemper, University of Michigan &
Ryan Snelgrove, University of Waterloo**

Detailed Vision: Lauren P. Brown and the NCAA Cross Country Championships

Though the world was gripped in unprecedented economic depression and on the brink of a second catastrophic war, the National Collegiate Athletic Association made significant strides in the 1930s. During this decade the NCAA added four new team championships (swimming, gymnastics, cross country, and basketball) more than doubling the extant number of official championships (golf, outdoor track and field, and wrestling). The inaugural NCAA Cross Country championship stepped off near the banks of the Red

Cedar River on the campus of Michigan State College on November 21, 1938. The intent of this research is to explore the contributions of a visionary in a formative era of intercollegiate cross country; a sport that is simultaneously at the center and periphery of the college athletic spectrum, and which is paradoxically the most integrated sport within the spatial milieu of college campuses while being perhaps the least spectator friendly.

The visionary who brought this championship to fruition and nurtured it during its formative years, Lauren Pringle Brown, was a decorated runner for Michigan State from 1926-1930 before assuming cross country coaching duties for his alma mater in 1931. Coach Brown produced top caliber cross country and track and field teams during his 16 year coaching career. Most notable with respect to cross country were his charges' five straight IC4A Championships earned at New York's Van Cortland Park from 1933 to 1937. This meet represented, at least for the eastern United States, the de-facto national championship prior to inception of the NCAA meet, and lent an air of credibility to the fledgling championship's chosen venue. Brown played a leading role in the National Collegiate Cross Country Coaches Association, including long service as Secretary and as member of the Executive Committee, and has been credited with developing the initial scoring system used in NCAA cross country championships. His service spanned the entire 26 year history of that event's "run" on the Michigan State campus. He designed and repeatedly modified the course in order to accommodate an authentic cross country experience in the midst of Michigan State's burgeoning physical plant as it evolved from a small agricultural and applied sciences school to, by his retirement, a world-class university enrolling over 40,000 students. Brown's coaching and voluntary service record accrued on a part-time basis while devoting full-time service as director of Michigan State's University Printing office.

Meticulous in all aspects of life, "Brownie" left extensive archival records to Michigan State University and the NCAA, including minutes of the aforementioned Coaches Association meetings, NCAA championship programs, roster and photo records of his teams and some major competitions, numerous aerial photos depicting the Great Depression-era Michigan State College campus, with particular focus on the route traversed by the original NCAA cross country course and subsequent early competitions, and detailed hand-edited maps of those courses. Structured survey data and semi-structured interview data collected from surviving members of Lauren Brown's cross country teams, men now in their 80s and 90s, have been collected to supplement the aforementioned written records and provide additional perspective on the life, times, and passions of a unique and complex individual. Together, these visual archives and personal recollections contribute to a fascinating narrative of a man central in instigating and firmly establishing cross country as a viable NCAA competition.

* * * * *

Sandra Heck, Ruhr-University Bochum/Germany

**Towards the Complete Athlete:
Modern Pentathlon and the Pursuit of Human Achievement**

In the 19th century, there was no doubt that only diversified physical training could lead to complete athleticism. Accordingly, sportsmen were used to simultaneously training

and competing in several sports. However, by the 20th century attitudes began to change. Athletes started to concentrate training in one discipline only. The specialized sport practice allowed athletes to reach a higher quality of performance, but at the same time meant a decrease in universal skills. These changes in the perception of completeness did not develop exclusively in the field of sport, and a general turn towards Taylorism impacted other domains of society. Whereas in the 18th and 19th centuries, one factory still covered different steps of labor production, for instance, in the 20th century specialization was considered as the basis of efficient productivity.

Astonishingly enough given this trend, a new combined sport was integrated into the Olympic program in 1912. Modern Pentathlon, composed of shooting, fencing, swimming, horse-riding, and running, required all-round instead of one-sided abilities, diversity instead of specialization. Frenchman Pierre de Coubertin and Swede Victor Gustaf Balck, the two “fathers” of Modern Pentathlon, even promoted the sport as a tool to reach completeness and thereby emphasized the possibility of enriching human lives through a Modern Pentathlon practice.

This paper aims to analyze the history of the ideal of completeness related to Modern Pentathlon. By investigating sources in the IOC archives in Lausanne, Switzerland as well as in the national and military archives of Sweden in Stockholm, it explores whether in a time of increasing specialization the skills developed through Modern Pentathlon were able to function as a contemporary ideal of human achievement. In direct comparison to specialized sportsmen, the statistical results of modern pentathletes indeed seemed to be less ‘productive’. Modern Pentathlon was rather a preserve of traditional values which were endangered by an increasing emulsion of economic and sporting developments. The fact that Modern Pentathlon to some extent contrasted to the rationalization of movements in other domains of society highlights its outstanding history.

* * * * *

April Henning, City University of New York

**Running City? Tracing the Birth and Development
of New York City’s Running Culture**

As home to one of the largest running organizations, and host to one of the world’s premiere marathons, New York City (NYC) has become a global running capital. At the local level, residents can participate in races and events, shop in the ubiquitous running specialty stores, or join a competitive club team. However, the City’s urban characteristics, geography, and environment pose substantial challenges to the viability of any running community. In spite of these obstacles an active and vibrant running culture continues to grow and thrive in NYC. As part of a larger project on urban running cultures, this paper will investigate the evolution of NYC’s running culture from its inception to its current form to determine what socio-political forces were responsible for promoting and shaping this culture. This research will focus on the unique contextual elements that allowed, possibly even fostered, the development of this urban running community.

* * * * *

Annette R. Hofmann, Filderstadt, Germany

**The “Floating Baroness” and the “Queen of the Skies” –
women ski jumpers in the first part of the 19th century**

Women’s ski jumping seems to be a sport that was relatively unknown until a group of elite women jumpers tried to fight their way into the Vancouver Olympics by a court trial in 2009. However, looking back, this sport has a long history, both in Europe and North America.

The Austrian Baroness Paula Lamberg, from the famous ski resort Kitzbühel, known as the “floating baroness,” was an active jumper and caused a stir by competing with men. She is the most famous forerunner of female ski jumpers in middle Europe. Her best officially recorded distance was 24 meters in 1910. Ten years later Isabel Coursies conquered the ski jumps in North America. In 1922, at the age of 16, she jumped 84 feet, a world record. One decade later it was the Norwegian Johanne Kolstad together with her friend Hilda Braskerud who became so-called “trail jumpers” in ski jumping to entertain the spectators during breaks. These two women became celebrities of a sort. A reason for this is—besides their athletic performance—that they always dressed identically. They were the first female media stars of Norwegian ski jumping. In the 1930s Kolstad and other Norwegians went to the United States on various tours. In Berlin, New Hampshire, Kolstad set a world record in 1938—72 meters. She was the “Queen of the Skis.”

Who were these women who lived in different parts of the world and managed to receive recognition in a male-dominated sport? What were the social and cultural circumstances that made it possible for them to reach fame? Or were they simply a product of the rising emancipative streams of the time?

* * * * *

Mike Huggins, University of Cumbria

The visual, death and sport: memorialising the Victorian sporting hero

This paper forms part of my longer-term project applying ‘the visual turn’ to sports history (as seen more generally in my ‘Towards a Visual Turn in Sports History: Documenting Art and Sport’, in *JSH* 35, 2 Summer 2008, pp. 311-329, and in other detailed studies of newsreel, painting and other visual sources). It takes as its focus the funeral processions and monuments of sporting heroes, themselves part of a wider study of sporting death.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the Victorian cult of sporting celebrity is the way in which the deaths of sporting heroes were commemorated. The mass adulation and wide fame that followed them during their lives ensured that, when they died in their sporting prime, the response was immediate, and redolent with intense grief and emotion. The media coverage was massive, their funerals were lavish and well attended, and their monuments were substantial.

The funeral procession and monument were a celebration of a hero’s earthly life, his meaning to his community as well as to his fans and family. The processions and services were

not only described in print but also often represented visually in newspaper engravings. The monuments and tablets often survive. Together they provide fascinating evidence, albeit capable of multiple readings and meanings, and incorporating significant inter-textuality. Visual evidence has to be 'read' just as does text, and such multiple readings can be explored through a wide range of methodologies and approaches, from iconology and iconography to semiology and theories of the 'gaze'.

So this paper uses a number of mid-Victorian case studies, in order to analyse the funeral processions and ceremonies, the choice of commemorative monument, and the implications for local pride, patriotism, sporting beliefs and values, the concept of the sporting hero, and the nature of fame. From such work it is possible to argue that such visual material is a reflection of much wider and deep-seated cultural, religious and social Victorian values.

* * * * *

Thomas M. Hunt, The University of Texas at Austin

**Sport was a "Military Affair":
A Statist Interpretation of Doping in International Athletics**

Philosophical and cultural interpretations hold a dominant position in the recent historiography of performance-enhancement in sport. Though taking scholarly discussions pertaining to the issue in exciting new directions, these paradigms fail to adequately address the relationship between doping and global political affairs. In an attempt to catalyze work on the political aspects of the issue, this conference paper provides a statist interpretation of performance-enhancement in sport. On virtually every aspect of the subject, state governmental units proved to be of crucial importance.

Until the late-1980s, Cold War political forces influenced national governmental authorities to allow regulatory jurisdiction over performance-enhancement to remain within the Olympic governance structure. Perceiving success in athletics as a means to build internal allegiance and to impress foreign audiences, Eastern-bloc leaders actively encouraged the use of performance-enhancing substances. Though they refrained from such direct sponsorship, Western political officials increasingly criticized domestic sports officials for failing to provide equal or better teams. Finding themselves in a difficult situation, these officials saw little reason to exert themselves on anti-doping activities. The decline of Cold War tensions during the late-1980s allowed these viewpoints to be cast aside. Over the following decade, governmental leaders exerted greater and greater pressure on Olympic administrators to implement an ambitious set of reforms. In perhaps the most prominent example of state power on the subject, these efforts led in the end to the founding of the World Anti-Doping Agency in November 1999.

* * * * *

Duncan R. Jamieson, Ashland University

The Golden Girls (and Boys) of Bicycling

While not for the faint of heart, long distance bicycle travel knows no age boundaries. In 1885, as he prepared to become the first person to bicycle across Europe on his way around the world by wheel, Thomas Stevens met Major Knox Holmes, who at seventy-eight had ridden one hundred and fourteen miles in ten hours through the English countryside. Holmes took up the wheel later in life simply because when he was a young man it did not exist; those in succeeding generations took it up by choice. Holmes and his followers are far more the rule than the exception.

This paper will focus on the cycling careers of those in the later twentieth century who found the wheel following their fiftieth birthday. What possesses people to abandon their heretofore sedentary lifestyles to take up a sport often regarded—in the United States at least—as child’s play? Who are these women and men who ride off into the distance? Are they pursuing a long delayed dream? Are they attempting to regain their lost youth and freedom? Is it a spirit of wanderlust deferred by the conventions of family and career which set their thoughts to spinning wheels? Is it escapism from their normal day to day existence or simply a desire for self propelled travel and adventure?

Through analysis of the bicycling books by Jane Schnell, Bettina Selby, David Lamb and Anne Mustoe, among others, I will attempt an answer for the above mentioned questions. Some of these people complete a major ride—across the North American continent or a journey around the world—which satisfies their urge, while others find themselves addicted to their new found sport, continuing to ride long after the first blush of excitement has passed.

* * * * *

Scott R. Jedlicka, University of Texas at Austin &
Thomas M. Hunt, University of Texas at Austin

Olympic Justice?: A Review of the IOC’s Medal Forfeiture Policy

In one manner or another, performance-enhancement has been a part of the Olympic Games for the entirety of their existence. It was not until 1968, though, that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) began to test competitors for performance-enhancing substances, and to strip medals from athletes who produced positive tests. Since that time, a multitude of Olympic medal-winners have been forced to forfeit these tangible manifestations of their achievements. Not all of them tested positive for performance-enhancing drugs, however.

When a single athlete tests positive as a member of a team, it has consistently been IOC policy to strip *all* team members of their medals. This stance toward doping in Olympic team events appears ethically inconsistent when placed in historical context—especially in light of the IOC’s own misconduct on the subject. The rationale behind the institution of this “guilty by association” rule remains particularly worthy of historical investigation because it raises issues of justice and fairness. Additionally, the idea of medal forfeiture in general calls into question the relative value of an Olympic medal, as well as the ability of existing regulations to punish transgressors and deter future violators.

Through evidence gathered from official IOC documents, news coverage of relevant events and archival records from both sides of the Iron Curtain, this paper will examine the fairness of the rule through analysis of the historical and contemporary motives behind its creation and continuation. The study will contribute to the literature on doping in sport by demonstrating how ethically questionable policies become entrenched.

* * * * *

Christiane Job, The University of Calgary
Remembering Ruth Wilson:
Constructing the Heroic and Celebrating one of Western Canada's Sporting Pioneers

It is important not to forget the life stories of important sportswomen who have actively challenged traditional definitions of femininity and women's roles and sought to achieve success in sporting endeavours that were traditionally reserved for men. Celebrating heroines of sport is not a straightforward matter. The concept of the heroic, as Hargreaves points out, must be examined through an analysis of the struggles and achievements of many women whose stories have been excluded or forgotten from previous accounts of women's sports and female heroism (Hargreaves, 2000). Furthermore there has been a tendency to celebrate such sportswomen as feminist heroines expanding their horizons and enriching their lives while broadening the possibilities for women everywhere (Mangan & Hong, 2001).

This paper will provide a biography of Ruth Wilson, a Canadian sporting heroine who has been declared Canada's best all round athlete of the 1940s and 1950s. Incredibly focused, Ruth Wilson worked for the professional advancement of women in sport and career. The use of biographical methodologies to examine individual contributions to the sporting realm is highly complex and often subjective. We know our heroes by the stories we tell of them. The person becomes inscribed in 'text', or in most cases a variety of texts, where the meanings of their lives becomes highly intertwined with the meanings of sporting life. It is because of this that biographies from the sporting realm are often criticized for doing little more than promoting positive public relations and merchandising (Bale et al, 2004). Yet despite these criticisms, this method has been used in the areas of physical education, sport history and sociology as a way to understand the meaning of being involved with sports both physically, professionally, educationally and personally (Bale et al, 2004, 11).

As Bourdieu contends, each person's 'life' is constructed as a unity and a whole, is investigated with a purpose and is related as a narrative with a starting and finishing point (Bourdieu, 1990). This narrative is centrally important in the production of the self and is significant when investigating the stories and significant events shared by persons of interest. Although individuals tell unique self-stories, these stories draw upon more general narratives that are embedded within particular socio-cultural contexts. I want to discuss some of the challenges faced by researchers doing biographical research who deem individual's feats of the past as heroic, particularly when those interviewed do not see themselves in this way. In doing this I will highlight the utility in using this method as well as provide a brief biography of Ruth Wilson. The material gathered for this research consisted of primary and secondary document analysis, interviews with individuals who were close to Wilson as well as an analysis of interviews conducted with Ruth Wilson by another researcher before her death in 2001.

* * * * *

Louisa Jones, University of Central Lancashire

**The Evolution and Development of Gay Football in the UK:
a case study of Leftfooters FC**

The growth of amateur gay football (soccer) in the UK over the last fifteen years reflects a number of key changes in the gay community and in society at large. The prevalence of the gym, a wider interest in health and wellbeing and in finding opportunities for socialising beyond the usual elements of the gay scene have all contributed to this development. The greater openness of society at large regarding gay issues and visibility has contributed significantly to the development, although football in UK society remains a stronghold of homophobia with a clear misperception that gay men do not participate in the sport. In fact, the very existence of gay football teams, the Gay Football Supporters' Network or the gay national league is still largely unknown in mainstream society. To date, there has only been one gay professional football player, Justin Fashanu, whilst currently all professional players remain tacit about their sexuality. Gay football has also presented a challenge to the gay community's historical aversion to sport and football, previously perceived as a "straight" activity.

Focusing on The Leftfooters, a community football club based in North London, this paper charts its 10 year history and considers the experiences and motivations of its players, leading to the identification of some key issues regarding motivation, experiences and the alternative values that are, for the most part, prevalent in the gay game. Additionally, the presence of a gay sensibility (Pronger, 1992) which has led to challenges regarding values and purposes of competitive sport, providing opportunities for personal growth to young men still coming to terms with their sexuality is examined in the context of the Club.

Using a mix of focus groups, video diaries, club archives and participant observation, the research reveals the desire of gay men to be able to play the sport they love in a safe environment where their sexuality is neither hidden nor problematic. The Club is seen to offer more than solely football; it also provides for many a form of community and support network. Integral to the Leftfooters existence and values is its unique ethos of participation over competition. This is compared and contrasted with other gay teams in London and across the UK, two of whom play in straight amateur Sunday Leagues.

* * * * *

Jarrod Jonsrud, Pennsylvania State University

**City Ball: Popular Conceptions of the African American's
Role in Shaping Basketball**

Beginning in the early 1960s, the attitude of Americans toward basketball started to shift. No longer dominated by fundamentally sound chest passes and textbook form on set shots, basketball started to develop its characteristically graceful and aesthetically driven qualities known by fans today. The game took on a decidedly urban undertone as the success of African-American players in the collegiate and professional ranks gave inner city youth role models to idolize. Not unnoticed by white media, the trend of basketball being viewed as a

“city game” received increased attention in the later half of the decade and continued into the 1970s. The media put forth numerous theories to explain the dominance of black athletes over their white counterparts, particularly in the sport of basketball, citing everything from genetic and socio-economic factors to the environmental conditions in which the black athletes learned the game, as contributing factors to their increasing domination of the sport from the high school and collegiate levels on into the professional leagues. A common feature of these theories was the stereotype that basketball provided a way out of the ghetto for the young, impoverished black basketball player teetering on the edge between a life of drugs and violence and professional stardom. The sheer volume of stories that employed these stereotypes warrants investigation of the undeniable fascination with a black sporting counter culture that emerged in the 1960s and what this fascination reveals about American popular culture during this time period. So powerful were these stereotypes that basketball developed the mythical possibility that unknown players from urban African-American playgrounds could easily compete with the elite professionals. Such mythological possibilities captured the hearts and minds of basketball fans across the country.

Through the use of historical newspapers such as *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*, magazines including sources from both the black and white popular media, like *Sports Illustrated* and *Ebony*, as well as numerous books published during the late 1960s and early 1970s, including Pete Axthelm’s *The City Game* and Rick Telander’s *Heaven Is a Playground*, this paper will examine the progression of commentary surrounding the perception of basketball as a distinctively urban and African American sport. This paper will offer a “reading” of basketball as a “cultural text,” following the theories of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, which reveals stories American culture tells itself about itself. Placed in a context of the Civil Rights Movement which culminated during the 1960s and 1970s, the historical narrative of this paper enhances our understanding of how sports reflected the cultural landscape of the time.

* * * * *

Milton S. Katz, Kansas City Art Institute

The Secret Game

“The date, March 12, 1944, is not etched in history the way other landmark sporting events are, but for college basketball and the civil rights struggle in the U.S., it should be high on any list,” wrote Dom Amore, in the *Hartford Courant*, March 8, 2008.

This was the day of the “Secret Game,” in which Coach John McLendon’s team from North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham, now North Carolina Central University, played a team of all-white medical students from Duke University who were considered the best team on campus, even better than the varsity team. Ten years before the historic Supreme Court *Brown v Board of Education* desegregation decision, an official integrated basketball game was played in a small black college gymnasium that not only would be instrumental in changing the sport of basketball, but changed the lives of all those who participated in it, including Coach John B. McLendon.

Although a racially mixed sporting event was illegal in the South at this time, this was a legitimate game, with a referee and a game clock. However, it was stipulated that no spectators would be allowed. Running McLendon’s revolutionary brand of fast-break, full-

court basketball that wouldn't flourish on the national scene for another two decades, the North Carolina Eagles won the game handily, 88 to 44. After the rout, McLendon instructed half the players from each team to switch sides in a game of shirts and skins, an even more egregious violation of Jim Crow. "It is one of the best ways for people to learn about each other and get to respect one another," he said later. North Carolina player George Parks would refer to this as "Just God's children, horsing around with a basketball." Considering the times, however, it was much more than that: it was a courageous act of civil disobedience against an unjust system, a well-crafted conspiracy to break down a long-standing social barrier.

McLendon understood the substantial risk to himself, his players, and his college, but he believed what he was doing was worthwhile. As he later recalled, "I knew it was against the law, but I believed the law was stupid and didn't pay much attention to it. All you try to do is avoid detection." The Durham police never found out about the game, nor did the white newspaper. A reporter for the *Carolina Times*, Durham's black weekly, heard about the game, but after an appeal from McLendon, decided not to publish anything. Even in interviews after he retired from coaching, McLendon steered clear of talking about the game. Interviewed some fifty years later, he stated, "I just wanted to further the idea that we all played basketball, that we all played it well, and that we should be playing it together. Only later did I realize the hazardous position I put our school president in."

McLendon was proud of what he and all the players had accomplished that day and was confident that the lessons learned were worth the risk to him and others. Interviewed on *Nightline* in 1996, he declared, "You try to make a contribution in your life to something that is worthwhile. Although I did not go out and march in a parade and protest, there are ways you can get towards where you should be in relationships."

Sixty years after the secret game, an historic exhibition basketball contest took place on the Duke campus, in Cameron Indoor Stadium. On November 11, 2004, the North Carolina Central University Eagles took the court in the first official basketball game between Durham's two universities. This time, the Eagles were no match for the boys from Duke, and they bowed to the Blue Devils, 95-58. However, this game, like the one it commemorated sixty years earlier, was never so much about the score, as it was about equity and justice. As Duke Coach Mike Krzyzewski understood by stating, "It just shows how basketball has been an amazing vehicle to bring about social change." One could imagine Coach McLendon proudly declaring, "I couldn't have said it better."

* * * * *

Kohei Kawashima, Musashi University

**Nationalism, American Identity,
and the Emergence of the Myth of Black Athleticism during the 1930s**

This presentation is part of my ongoing research concerning the origin of the myth of "black athleticism," which has, as my NASSH 2009 presentation suggested, fascinated the Japanese general public to the extent that more than 90% of Japanese college students who served as my informants appear willing to assume the existence of some sort of innate (or genetically transmitted) nature that forms the foundation of the talent and ability of African-

American athletes.

In search of the origin of this myth, there seems a growing consensus among historians of sport as to locating it during the late first quarter or early second quarter of the twentieth century. A historical context that prepared the ground for myth making, which has been illuminated through this consensus, can be summarized as follows: by the time Jesse Owens and Joe Louis achieved world top-ranking positions, black athletes had steadily increased both numerically and proportionally to the extent that even the most obstinate segregationists could hardly ignore their existence. Some of the most dramatic examples of this trend include the rise of the Negro League Baseball, the leading players of which frequently and more often beat the Major League All-Stars. In basketball, such all-black professional teams as the New York Rens and the Harlem Globetrotters impressed their spectators with the speed, power, and athleticism that they had hardly expected from white players. In the formative years of the National Football League, a new generation of talented and superb black players followed the path Fritz Pollard and Paul Robeson had cleared. Also, the black Olympian population had dramatically expanded from only four at the Los Angeles Olympics of 1932 to nineteen at the Berlin of 1936, almost a five-fold increase.

Historians of sport have also shed light on the intellectual currents that underlay the phenomenon of myth formation, investigating how scholars, educators and journalists viewed the advent as athletes of one racial group which had been long viewed as physically inferior, abnormal, and even pathological. For example, Patrick Miller has noted a paradoxical twist in the evaluations and interpretations of the accomplishments that African Americans had accumulated through their struggles toward muscular assimilation, while Mark Dyreson has traced a gradual conversion from theories of Nordic supremacy to scientific racism as the dominant analytical framework for weighing athletic excellence.

As these scholars have elucidated important intellectual undercurrents in the course of myth formation, however, a different approach allows scholars to explore yet another intriguing aspect of this phenomenon to which historians of sport have not paid enough attention: namely, the impact of nationalism, which would lead both whites and blacks to share an identity as Americans, as a driving force in promoting the formulation and promulgation of the essentialist explanation of African American feats in the sporting events and competitions of the 1920s and 30s. This presentation aims to call attention to this relatively unexplored aspect of the intellectual history of race and athleticism, based on my reading of primary and secondary sources published during the decades.

* * * * *

Joyce Kay, University of Stirling

**New Perspectives, Old Issues:
Preliminary Thoughts on Post-war British Sporting Females**

The development of sport for girls and women in the period 1946-1969 is a neglected topic; most historians have bypassed it en route to the 1970s and the coming of gender equality legislation, perhaps in the mistaken belief that little significant change occurred during these years. My preliminary research on the post-war era, however, has indicated a more robust and positive sporting culture for females at this time than gender historians have

led us to suppose, as well as greater awareness and celebration of women's sporting achievements by press and public.

This paper will continue a re-assessment of the fifties and sixties. It will contextualise women and sport within the broader social and economic history of the mid-twentieth century in which class boundaries were increasingly blurred and the numbers within a 'lower middle-class' were rising. It will suggest that a theoretical focus on masculine cultural hegemony and a media construction of sport built largely on the conservative and populist British press has produced a distorted picture of the post-war sporting female. Instead of dwelling on negatives such as lack of access to 'male' team sport or the outmoded attitudes of some medical experts and sports governing bodies, it will demonstrate that many elite sportswomen just 'got on with the job'. Paying little heed to such opinion, they forged highly successful amateur sports careers and also acted as role models for a generation of schoolgirls whose sporting horizons were increasingly widening.

Using previously neglected media sources, coaching manuals and sports books of the era, together with school and private club records, the research will show that women's sport was neither ignored nor trivialised. It will consider afresh the function of males in female sport, highlighting the encouragement and positive examples they could provide, and look at the range of sporting opportunities open to girls and women at this time both through education and associativity. It will examine individual sports in which women excelled and frequently outshone their male counterparts, and call attention to the substantial number of wives and mothers, a category seldom linked with sporting achievement, who represented their country in international competition.

Although the research focuses mostly on Britain, comparisons will also be drawn with the United States. In particular, the question as to whether British historians of sport and gender have been unduly influenced by attitudes, arguments and ideas originating in America, and have mistakenly applied these to their own, different culture, will be briefly explored.

* * * * *

**Bang-Chool Kim, Seoul National University of Education &
Jae-Chul Seo, University of Iowa**

The role of WBC in the globalization of Korean professional baseball

Korean professional baseball, which finished its 28th season in 2009, has emerged among the most popular sports in South Korea. While Korean people are passionate about national soccer matches such as the World Cup, baseball is their major pastime. Korea professionalized baseball in 1982 as a diversion to draw peoples' attention from the oppressive political situation. Since then, professional baseball has become more localized than any other sport in Korea.

Since the new millennium, professional baseball has seen tremendous change as the sport encounters globalization. Korea is meeting the challenge through innovation, renovation and creativity. The World Baseball Classic (WBC) is at the center stage of the process. This study will examine diverse issues, situations and accomplishments in the relationship of Korean Professional Baseball to the WBC, including: 1) Korean professional baseball before the influence of WBC; 2) issues and disputes during the development of the first and second

WBC; and 3) the process of integrating Korean professional baseball into globalized networks through its participation in the WBC.

On the basis of these three research goals, we will review the influence and impact of WBC in Korea and discuss how it is being accepted by Korean society. This study will collect data from newspapers and magazines, and also perspectives from interviews with baseball players, coaches, trainers and managers.

* * * * *

Richard Ian Kimball, Brigham Young University

The Kid Who Wouldn't Die: The Specter of Ted Williams

At the heart of this presentation is the question: Why do Americans have so much difficulty when considering the mortality of athletic heroes? Perhaps the best place to start is the twenty-first century's most celebrated case of seeking immortality—Ted Williams. The presentation initially considers two iconic photographs of Williams—one from the 1941 All-Star Game (perhaps the high point of his career) and a portrait of the aged Williams at his last public event in 2002. The essay then analyzes how various commentators from teammates to sports writers to John Updike so valorized Williams that he seemed (or at least they wanted him to seem) to transcend the bonds of mortality. The essay relies on sources ranging from newspaper accounts to biographies to reminiscences of those who revered Williams. Examining Williams's life and death from several angles provides insight into the psychology of sports fans, and Americans in general. Leading questions include: Can an image be frozen in time? How does the aging of a superstar change his or her public perception? Why has such vitriol, outrage, and mockery followed Williams's botched attempt at cryogenic freezing?

* * * * *

George B. Kirsch, Manhattan College

The Fate of Cricket in North America: Revisited

The history of cricket in North America has received renewed attention in recent years among both sportswriters and academicians, mainly because of the resurgence of the English game, especially in the United States. Immigrants from Pakistan, India, and several Caribbean countries have brought with them their love of the sport, and they have pitched their wickets in dozens of cities across the U.S. They have tried to popularize the game in the U.S. through modifying the game's rules so as to make it more attractive to both players and spectators. These changes were instituted to shorten the time for completion of matches and to generate more exciting plays by both batsmen and fielders. Their efforts to promote cricket have in turn prompted reporters to recall the decline of cricket in North America after its very promising beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century.

Moreover, over the past few years several sociologists have published scholarly articles that investigate the cultural diffusion of the game throughout the world, with special emphasis on cricket's fate in North America. In 2005 Jason Kaufman and Orlando Patterson examined

the spread of cricket around the globe, contrasting the introduction and enthusiasm for the game in several British colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean with its relative failure in North America. One year later Dominic Malcolm published a more narrow study of cricket's struggle to establish itself as a major sport in the U.S. All three writers critiqued earlier work by three sport historians: myself, Melvin Adelman, and Tom Melville. In their respective essays Kaufman and Patterson and Malcolm point to a variety of social class factors as being critical to the long-term fate of North American cricket, but they dismiss or minimize other forces which were more influential in the short term—especially in the crucial decades of the 1850s and the 1860s. There is no doubt that after the Civil War upper class native born Philadelphians and New Yorkers showed little interest in promoting cricket among the masses, and working class English and American cricketers did not have the means or contacts to do so either. But by that time baseball had already replaced cricket as the dominant team sport in North America, primarily because of the forces of nationalism and popular response to specific structural characteristics of each sport. A major point overlooked by all three sociologists is that in British colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean there were no other team sports that were potential rivals of cricket. But that was not the case in North America, where early forms of baseball and even the Native American Indian game of lacrosse competed for sporting supremacy among the peoples of both Canada and the United States.

Since more than two decades have passed since Adelman, Melville, and I first wrote about cricket's experience in North America, this seems to be an opportune time to revisit this subject. The primary purpose of this paper is to reconsider the early history of cricket in both the U.S. and Canada in light of this recent scholarship. In addition, it will include a brief assessment of the state of cricket in North America over the past few decades. In my conclusion I will discuss the extent to which the factors that inhibited the growth of cricket in North America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are still influential today. My study is significant in that the fate of cricket in North America is a major issue in the broader subject of the cultural diffusion of sports around the globe.

* * * * *

Matthew Klugman, Victoria University

**“football is a fever disease like recurrent malaria and evidently incurable”:
The rise of the Anti-Football League**

Football codes have provoked opposition through much of their history, but rarely have anti-football sentiments led to the establishment of a formal anti-football movement. The Anti-Football League (AFL) is one of—if not the only—main exceptions. Established in Melbourne, Australia in 1967, it remains an active site of protest against Australian Rules Football, and a source of comfort to those who are alienated by all the passion for ‘footy’. Yet despite the seeming uniqueness of the AFL, it has not been the subject of any systematic study. This paper presents some preliminary findings from an an-going study of the AFL. In particular it explores the inception of the AFL and the extraordinary response it generated. How and why, I ask, was the AFL formed? What did the response to the idea reveal of those disaffected by Australian Rules football? And what does the early history of the AFL reveal of

Melbourne itself and the passions of many of its inhabitants for ‘Aussie Rules’?

Drawing on the early newspaper columns that fostered and chronicled the idea for the AFL and the recollections of one of its founding members, this paper will trace the early history of the AFL. This history provides a striking example of the way a sport which is a site of intense belonging and symbolic importance for some, can alienate others to such a great extent that they express hatred for it. At issue are complex questions of enjoyment and suffering, for the response of the AFL was to develop an inverted calendar of events that were nonetheless modelled on the Australian Rules football season. Football then, moved from being a place of hated suffering, to something that could be enjoyed through the bonding with others who shared the pain of disaffection.

Studies of sport and exclusion have tended to focus on examples of active discrimination (e.g. racist and sexist policies and practices). The case of the AFL however, highlights the way sporting competitions, and their passionate fans, can somewhat inadvertently exclude those who do not share the passion. While such exclusion is of a different order, it can still cause significant hurt. John Bale has recently begun exploring anti-sport sentiments in literature (John Bale, *Anti-Sport Sentiments in Literature: Batting for the Opposition*, New York: Routledge, 2008). Studies of the AFL and other anti-sport movements will open up an important complementary field, and will enhance our understandings of the ways sport has been a source of division and pain, as well as unity and pleasure.

* * * * *

Rick Knott, The University of Pittsburgh-Bradford

“Improvements Come Too Late”: A Historical Examination of the Contradictory Roles of Sanctioning Bodies in Automobile Racing

An examination of the major sanctioning bodies in American motorsports reveals that as a whole, these organizations respond very quickly to the economic trends of the day, and they are quick to react to crisis, but on the whole they are large bureaucracies slow to change, conservative by nature, and have a vested interest in protecting the status quo.

From 1902 until 1955 the major sanctioning body in motor sports was the American Automobile Association’s (AAA) Contest Board. It has supported auto racing because it perceived that auto racing was integral to its mission to improve the automobile. Auto racing gave manufacturers an opportunity to test their products and make improvements that would ultimately benefit the motorist. In 1955 the AAA Contest Board had outlived its usefulness partly due to competition from other sanctioning bodies, partly due to its unwillingness to change, but in large part due to the tragedies of that year at Indianapolis and Le Mans. That year, popular two-time Indianapolis 500 winner, Bill Vukovich was killed at Indianapolis. Later that same year at Le Mans, a car was catapulted into the grandstands killing the driver and eighty-two spectators, and injuring scores more. The AAA asserted that their involvement in racing was a violation of the organization’s mission, which was to improve automobiles and automobile safety.

Before the year was complete, much of the leadership from the AAA Contest Board moved seamlessly into the United States Auto Club (USAC) to fill the leadership void. Rules and by-laws of the two organizations were very similar. But, like its predecessor the AAA

Contest Board, USAC was slow to get involved in stock car racing. The organization failed to capitalize on the popularity of this new form of racing leaving the door open for Bill France and the National Stock Car Racing Association (NASCAR). Where for the first fifty years of auto racing in America there was a virtual monopoly held by one sanctioning body, now there was competition. Twenty-five years later there was a proliferation of sanctioning bodies in American motorsports.

Certainly auto racing is thought to be on the cutting edge of technology, with such historic safety advancements as rear view mirrors, seatbelts, rubber tires, traction control, hydraulic brakes, airbags, and crumple zones. In spite of the advances accrued by racing, sanctioning bodies intending to help have often hindered the advancement of the automobile. For example, one of the first safety improvements was deemed illegal the season after its first use in the first Indianapolis 500. The Contest Board believed Ray Harroun's rear-view mirror gave him an unfair advantage over his competition, and was inherently less safe than depending on one's mechanic for help navigating the traffic. Sanctioning bodies protect fair-play in competition. As soon as one car or team has had an advantage due to advancements, the pattern has been to limit the technology until the other cars have had an opportunity to catch up. As a sport by its very nature is limited by rules, it cannot be entirely cutting edge. During economic downturns, the sanctioning bodies have historically established ways to limit spending in order to encourage greater participation. At the same time, the sanctioning bodies have to reconcile the need to market their spectacle to the masses in the form of ticket sales, radio and television revenue, as well as income from sponsors. This paper is an examination of the contradictory roles sanctioning bodies assume in auto racing. It focuses on the major American sanctioning bodies, the AAA Contest Board, USAC, NASCAR, SCCA, CART, NHRA, and the IRL as they seek to reconcile the quest for speed and advancements in technology against the need for safety, the whole time recognizing the economic realities of participation in an expensive sport. Minutes of the AAA Contest Board and newspaper accounts were used as primary sources, and several of the leading histories of American motorsports were carefully consulted for this work.

* * * * *

Bettina Kratzmueller,

Black Bodies in a White Man's World: The Ancient Period

The so-called Hercules Farnese—an ancient statue copying a late Classical original work of the late 4th century B.C.—played a main role in the early days of modern bodybuilding. This fact legitimates the search for parallels between ancient and modern streams within “reading” the history of “building the body and body-imaging” throughout history.

Ancient Greek arts and especially nude male statues mirror the contemporary ideal male body as can be evidenced by the archaic *kouroi* or the Classical statues made by Polykleitos and Lysippos. These were also copied in later periods, especially during Roman times. The statues of athletes specifically reflect the particular “zeitgeist” and emblemize the ideal physiognomy, state of dietetics, and building of the body. Moreover, the different athletic types served as starting points for ancient discussions on the value, worth, and also negative outgrowth of building muscle-bound bodies.

Against this background the paper will focus on how bodies of Black Africans were represented at that time. Black Africans were known from earliest times onwards as is evidenced by literal and pictorial sources. It was not only the dark colour of the skin but also the different physiognomy and body characteristics which fascinated the people living in the far north.

Black Africans often acted as medium to represent the “gegenwelt” and to heighten the Greeks’ supremacy and prestige. They were also popular because of their “exotic” aesthetic appearance. Especially in later periods—when the world of sports had opened its doors for Black African performers and athletes—the strength, power, and excellence of Black bodies came to the fore and were literally described and illustrated through the arts.

The results of the study can serve as a starting point for comparing the ancient situation with streams of modern times focussing on keywords like masculinity, muscle-bound body, and aesthetics, but also colour prejudice and racism—or even details like body-painting and tattooing.

* * * * *

Jason Laurendeau, University of Lethbridge
“Scooping up the remains of the spectators”:
BASE Jumping in Yosemite National Park, 1966-2009

Despite a burgeoning interest in sociological issues around “risk sports,” relatively few studies have considered the ways in which these sports have been regulated from a historical perspective. This paper aims to address this gap with respect to one sport that has received little attention from researchers. BASE jumping involves parachuting from fixed objects such as bridges, buildings, antennae, and cliffs (Ferrell et. al. 2001). The public face of BASE jumping tends to be the sometimes highly publicized legal jumping events, most notably “Bridge Day,” held in Lafayette, West Virginia, each October. The small body of scholarship on BASE jumping has yet to seriously interrogate the historical roots of the activity, or the ways in which agents of social control (e.g., police and park services) regulate the activity. This paper interrogates the social history of BASE jumping, and explores the ways in which it has been “policed” in Yosemite National Park (YNP), in Northern California. In 1966, Brian Schubert and Michael Pelkey jumped from “El Capitan,” a 910-meter vertical cliff in YNP (Cooper and Laurendeau 2007). This marked the beginning of a sometimes contentious history of BASE jumping in the Park. For a time, jumpers engaged in the activity illegally. In 1980, the National Park Service agreed to allow jumping, with the proviso that jumpers apply for permits for the activity. In relatively short order, however, this program was ended (allegedly due to abuses by jumpers), and jumping was, once again, prohibited in the Park. Jumpers, however, continued to access the Park and jump from its cliffs, albeit at the risk of being fined, having their gear seized, etc. (in addition to the physical risks of the activity).

In order to address the issues outlined above, this paper draws on analyses of archival materials procured from the Yosemite Museum in Yosemite National Park. This analysis of archival materials is supplemented by a consideration of newspaper coverage of BASE jumping, principally drawing from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the closest major newspaper to Yosemite.

* * * * *

Jeong-Yeon Lee, Seoul National University of Education

**Cultural Images Observed in the Olympic Opening Ceremonies:
Focusing on the Olympics Since 1988 Seoul Olympics**

As a big global sporting festival, the modern Olympics are facing countless challenges such as its use for political or commercial purposes. Despite all that, it is inarguable that the Olympics are still based on the practical philosophy of respect for humanity stemming from the Hellenistic spirit. The cultural aspect of the Olympics is best seen in the opening ceremony, reflecting the togetherness and festivity of the event.

This study attempted to identify such cultural elements from some of the Olympic opening ceremonies. The Olympic ceremonies since the 1988 Seoul Olympics were specifically chosen to be examined because the 1988 event is generally seen as the beginning of the thawed relations between the West and the East. It was assumed that the Olympic ceremonies since 1988 were purely cultural events compared to the preceding ones which were used as a way to promote the hosting country's ideology. With the aim of contributing to the Olympic history and its cultural heritage, this study investigated a number of newspaper articles, academic journals, theses and dissertations, video footages of the ceremonies, etc.

The author tried to identify cultural images focusing on some particular cultural elements as follows:

First, how well the country or region's traditional culture was portrayed was examined. Communicating the country or region's traditions through performances is a very useful and intuitive way of promoting their identity.

Second, from a nationalistic perspective, what image of the nation was promoted was inspected. Nationalism is still under criticism that it puts national interest before individual rights or freedom. However, it cannot be entirely done away with in the Olympic ceremonies because shaping and improving the political and economic image of the nation in the international context is part of what can be expressed in such cultural events.

Third, from an ethnic perspective, what image of the ethnicity was promoted was examined. Ethnicism, as opposed to imperialism, originated from the resistance to foreign invasion or occupancy. The concept of ethnicism has constantly changed over time with the progress of globalization and multi-cultural influences.

Fourth, the aesthetic value of the performance itself was inspected. The biggest source of change for modern performance arts comes from the radical advancements of technologies. By looking at the artistic features of the opening ceremonies, this study tried to evaluate how the harmony between technologies and human beings was conceptualized and expressed.

* * * * *

**Rita Liberti, California State University, East Bay &
Maureen Smith, California State University, Sacramento**

“She isn't colored, she is gold”: Wilma Rudolph, Beauty, and the Politics of Race

Wilma Rudolph's three gold medal winning performance at the 1960 Olympics in Rome, Italy catapulted her into one of the most highly visible black women across the United States and around the world. Smitten with Wilma Rudolph, American and foreign print media coverage lauded her personal appearance as much as her remarkable athletic feats. In doing so, coverage of Rudolph marked a departure for dominant (white) constructions of black womanhood in the United States. Dominant characterizations, grounded in myths and stereotypes, cast black female bodies as the antithesis of femininity and beauty. How do we make sense, then, of this apparent shift in the dominant discourse as it relates to Rudolph? Amid white responses to Rudolph, we are equally interested in how media accounts from black sources framed the track star. Juxtaposed with the press coverage of Rudolph's teammate and bronze medalist in the shot put, Earlene Brown, the two African-American athletes serve as contesting images of womanhood, beauty, and femininity.

In an effort to interrogate these questions and issues we will review the small amount of literature on the tensions surrounding black female athleticism in the 1950s, building upon the works of Susan Cahn, Mary Jo Festle, and Pamela Grundy among others. The influence of the Amateur Athletic Union, the governing body for US track and field, will be examined through the various writings of Frances Kaszubski and Roxy Anderson, women who headed American track and field and women's sports during this time period. Their writings offer up an important location to examine how track and field officials promoted the sport given the widespread cultural unease and ambivalence about the activity's appropriateness for women. Importantly, we also will engage with the body of work by scholars whose focus is on discourses of beauty promoted and privileged within African American communities during this period. In doing so, our aim is to situate Rudolph's ascent and popular standing in the media.

* * * * *

**Andrew D. Linden, Ohio State University &
Melvin L. Adelman, Ohio State University**

**The Business of Professional Football:
The Profitability of National Football League Clubs in 1951 and 1952**

There is little information about the business of the National Football League prior to the last quarter of the Twentieth Century. However, financial information found at the Pro Football Hall of Fame (see National Football League Profit Ledgers) which details the net revenues NFL clubs generated for each of their respective home games during the 1951 and 1952 seasons provides a starting point for examining the profitability of football at midcentury.

In this paper, we employ Adelman's "inferential economics" model to further flesh out the revenues and expenditures (R&E) of each NFL team during these two seasons. Building

on the data on the gate receipts (which enables us to also calculate what each team paid in league fees and to visiting teams) we drew upon a host of primary and secondary sources to provide solid estimates of additional revenue streams for each team, such as money from exhibition games, radio and television and concessions and advertisement deals as well as look at the respective expenditures of each team including such items as salaries, travel, rent, stadium and operational costs.

While we have not as yet “crunched” the numbers, we suspect that we will find an NFL far more profitable than most contemporaries and scholars believe, even though there were no doubt one or two clubs who found their financial ledgers in the red.

We have drawn information from the following sources: National Football League Profit Ledgers; material in the Pro Football Hall of Fame (such as William A. Radovich v. The National Football League. Deposition of Frank L. McNamee –PFHF; East-West Sporting Club, Inc., Statement of Income and Profit & Loss For the Period to December 31, 1948); newspapers; *Organized Professional Team Sports: Hearings Before The Antitrust Subcommittee Of The Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives Eighty-Fifth Congress* (1958); and *National Football League Constitution and By-Laws 1951* and *National Football League Constitution and By-Laws 1952*. We have also extracted information from a variety of secondary sources, such as Melvin L. Adelman, “Making Money (Lots of It) Professional Football in the Late 1940s: The Case of the 1946 Cleveland Browns.” *Football Studies* 7 (2004): 11-36; James Quirk and Rodney Fort, *Pay Dirt: The Business of Professional Team Sports* (1992) and *Total Football: The Official Encyclopedia of the National Football League Appendix 2 Game Scores 1920-1998* by Paul Bennett, Bob Carroll, Pete Fierle, John Horgrogian, David Neft, and Pete Palmer.

* * * * *

Matthew P. Llewellyn, Pennsylvania State University

The Curse of the Shamateur: Great Britain and the Olympic Broken-Time Controversy, 1927-1930

On August 8, 1927, the Executive Committee of the IOC voted to award broken-time payments to amateur football players during the 1928 Amsterdam games. The Executive Committee’s ruling signaled a blatant departure from the rules of amateurism laid down at the 1925 IOC Congress in Prague, where members granted permission to International Federations to enforce their own amateur definitions on the condition that all athletes “must not be a professional in any branch of sport; must not have been reinstated as an amateur after knowingly becoming a professional; and must not have received compensation for lost salaries.” Such a dramatic breach in the IOC’s amateur code was the result of a widespread international threat, made on June 5, 1927, during the annual FIFA Congress in Helsingfors, to boycott the Amsterdam Olympic football tournament unless the IOC recognizes a FIFA ruling that grants all affiliated national associations permission to award compensation for lost earnings. Forced into a seemingly untenable position, the Executive Committee conceded to FIFA’s demands on the condition that monetary payments “will be placed in the hands of the employers, the athletes having no direct contact with any compensation for lost salary.”

News of the ruling triggered a cascade of criticism in British sporting circles. In a private correspondence to IOC President Comte Baillet Latour, Lord Rochdale led the

charge, demanding to know “what powers the Executive Committee have” to overturn a ruling passed by an IOC Congress? “By all our English ideas such men are just professionals,” the newly appointed BOA Chairman fumed. The popular working-class daily, the *Star*, took a more combative tone, proposing that Britain be “left out of the Olympic Games at Amsterdam next year.” The award of broken-time payments violated all that was sacrosanct to British amateurism and once again cast the nation’s future Olympic participation into serious doubt. Drawing upon archival materials from the British Olympic Foundation (BOF), the International Olympic Committee’s Olympic Studies Center (OSC) and public debates in the leading national and sporting newspapers and periodicals of the time, this paper will detail and analyze the British Olympic Association’s (BOA) response to the broken time ruling and their subsequent attempts to protect the sanctity of amateurism against the rising tide of professionalism. This controversy and the widespread calls for an Olympic withdrawal, clearly illuminates the tenuous position that Olympism held in Britain during the formative years of modern Olympic competition.

* * * * *

Michael E. Lomax, University of Iowa

The Code of Black Professionalism Among Major League Baseball Players in the 1960s

In the 1960s, African Americans in Major League Baseball made a dramatic impact on the National Pastime. Their achievements on the diamond were remarkable, as Henry Aaron and Willie Mays chased Babe Ruth's all-time homerun record; Maury Wills broke Ty Cobb's single season stolen base record; and Bob Gibson won three games in the 1964 World Series against the New York Yankees. In 1967, *Sports Illustrated* placed Curt Flood on its front cover, and he was considered the best centerfielder in baseball. The following year, Gibson broke Sandy Koufax's record for the most strikeouts in a World Series game. Athletic achievement, however, did not result in equal treatment outside the sporting arena. Despite their high salaries, African American ballplayers were denied housing in affluent areas, received few commercial endorsements, and were often segregated from their teammates on road trips.

To be sure, African-American ballplayers were limited in the degree of activism they pursued inside and outside the athletic arena. Restrictive practices like the reserve clause—which bound a player to their respective club until traded, sold, or released—gave the owners considerable autonomy over their player force. Like their white counterparts, African-American players were well aware of the power of the owners. However, as Cleveland Browns fullback Jim Brown suggested, African-American athletes in the 1960s were protesting in their own way. This paper will examine Brown's assertion that black athletes were protesting in their own way by focusing on the African-American experience in Major League Baseball in the 1960s. A particular focus will be on the ways in which black players devised what can best be described as a code of black professionalism to respond to their political, economic, and social plight.

The code of black professionalism illustrated the ways in which African-American ballplayers established their relationships with their teammates and their organization. It was based on the foundation that black ballplayers would, according to Jim Brown, “assert their dignity.” In other words, black ballplayers were there to perform to their best of their ability to

contribute to the success of their respective teams and organizations. They were not in the major leagues to win favor with whites, or establish false friendships to gain whites' favor for personal gain. Although black ballplayers did not seek to create dissension on their respective teams, they did not shy away from controversy. Their outstanding performances on the field afforded them to be outspoken against barriers to upward career mobility and improved working conditions. In essence they began to focus on issues that integration—which provided them the opportunity to play in the major leagues—could not address. The code of black professionalism highlighted the ways in which major league baseball was ill-prepared to deal with integration. It also showed that barrier to upward career mobility after their playing careers are over remains to this day. Nonetheless, asserting their manhood in a dignified manner, their outstanding performances in the diamond, and their pursuit to dismantle barriers to equality embodied the ways in which African-American ballplayers in the 1960s protested in their own way.

* * * * *

Shelley Lucas, Boise State University

Women's Cycle Racing: Past Challenges, Future Strategies

In this presentation, I explore the challenges associated with long distance women's road cycle racing from a variety of perspectives, including athletes, managers, promoters, and governing bodies. This exploration covers several decades, c. 1950s - 1980s, from some of the earliest sanctioned international competitions to the inclusion of women's cycling into the Olympic Games. Women in many endurance sports, including cross-country skiing and running, have faced barriers related to sex discrimination in the larger society and in male-dominated sport organizations, and cycling falls into this same tradition. An analysis of both primary and secondary sources indicates that historical, biological, and socio-cultural factors have been identified as the key factors that structure the quantity and quality of long distance road cycling events for women. Primary sources include organizational records, correspondence and news clippings from the Women's Cycle Racing Association, Women's Challenge, Union Cycliste International and the International Olympic Committee. I conclude by juxtaposing these historical narratives about women's cycling with my own efforts to promote the growth of women's racing in the U.S. Sadly, many commonalities exist despite the passage of over fifty years: small women's fields, a lack of racing opportunities, minimal mileage, questions about whether women should race with men or in women-only fields, and the difficulty of moving women from recreational to competitive riding.

Very little has been written about women's cycling (racing) history (Nye, 1988), despite the fact that historians have recognized the bicycle as an instrument for social change, and particularly so for women. Women's involvement in cycling during the bicycle craze of the 1890s spurred debate on a number of issues, such as those related to women's health and morals, dress reform, and significantly, women's liberation—subjects that have been well-documented by historians (Guttmann 1991, Herlihy 2004, Smith 1972, Vertinsky 1990). Although gender and women certainly have a place in cycling history, neither has been integrated into the historical analysis of 20th century cycle racing. While this research will help to fill a gap in sport history scholarship, its significance relates to other questions as well. For instance, what knowledge can advocates for women's sport and gender equity in other areas

of society gain from these chapters in women’s history? And finally, how can this history help us to better understand the current state of affairs in women’s cycle racing?

* * * * *

Charly Machemehl, University of Rouen

Rouen, sport practices and town policies in 1919-1939

From the second half of the 19th century, Upper Normandy has played a cutting edge role in the development of the sport culture. Its proximity to Paris and England, its commercial and industrial vitality or even the early building of the railway in the west has favoured the propagation of the “sport spirit”. The study of the specific case of Rouen aims at understanding how this dynamism persisted during the interwar years. It also lies in the questioning on the conditions of the spreading of sport culture by considering that the peculiarities of the local approach represent one of the possible expressions of the national diversity.

By having recourse to both oral (biographies) and written sources (administrative files, regional press) but also to photographic and film sources that are either preserved in public institutions (Archives Municipales de la Ville de Rouen, Archives Departementales de la Seine Maritime, Bibliothèque Nationale de France) or stemming from private funds. This submission focuses on sport and its relation to society.

Under the 3rd republic, the development of various forms of sociabilities that are based on sport and physical activities led to the integration of places of practice in Rouen’s urban landscape and the advent of associations which is carried out according to national as well as local influence. The time of a structuration of a sport policy at the local level in the early 1930s which reinforces the activity of associations follows the inertia of Rouen town council in the 1920s. If sportsmen and champions in particular are hardly ever linked to decisions concerning the local sport organisation, the influence of Rouen’s town counsellors and sport leaders increased during the interwar years and a sport public service was born out of this cooperation.

* * * * *

Tara Magdalinski, University College Dublin

Controversy in the Pool: A Retrospective Examination of Racing Swimsuits

Over the past two years, over 200 world records have been set in swimming, including an unprecedented 43 at the 2009 World Championships. That these achievements coincided with the release of a new generation of swimsuits constructed from polyurethane and neoprene prompted a international controversy that has forced FINA, the world governing authority for swimming, to respond, albeit slowly and indecisively. At the time of writing, these suits have been banned in the United States with FINA issuing a worldwide ban in January 2010. In addition, FINA’s Executive is entertaining other proposals, such as establishing “textile only” world records.

The path of racing costumes over the past decade has not been easy. Heralded first as a timely and necessary innovation, the suits were almost immediately decried as unfair before being readily embraced in time for the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. Although seemingly a fixture in international swimming since then, there has, nevertheless, been an undercurrent of discontent, which erupted in 2008 with calls for the suits' review, if not immediate prohibition, following the release of Speedo's LZR and the bevy of broken records left in its wake. Since then, confusion has reigned as some suits were rejected for not passing buoyancy and thickness tests, modifications to others were required and world records established in now illegal suits were returned to the previous holder.

This paper revisits the uneasy journey of the elite racing swimsuit over the past decade and contextualises this debate within broader historical discussions about the costuming of bodies in the pool. It proposes a new theoretical interpretation of the sport/body/technology relationship and argues that a clear shift in conceptions of bodily enhancement has been effected, which mirrors long-standing historical concerns about the pursuit of the elusive "pure performance".

* * * * *

Scott G. Martyn, University of Windsor

**The Olympic Partners:
Re-evaluating their relationship with the Modern Olympic Movement**

Without the support of the business community, without its technology, expertise, people, services, products, telecommunications, its financing – the Olympic Games could not and cannot happen. Without this support, the athletes cannot compete and achieve their very best in the world's best sporting event.

Jacques Rogge, President
International Olympic Committee

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and its marketing partner, International Sports and Leisure Marketing Aktiengesellschaft (ISL), collaborated successfully in the Olympic Partner (TOP) program. As the TOP program continued to generate impressive revenue for the Modern Olympic Movement, growing dissatisfaction with the competence of ISL's executives in dealing with major U.S. companies, and the IOC's own reservations concerning ISL's operational efficiency due to a string of personnel changes, presented the organization with an opportunity to re-evaluate the existing IOC/ISL relationship. Utilizing an "exit scenario" in January 1996, the IOC severed its relationship with ISL, and commenced formal discussions with Laurent Scharapan and Christopher Welton to evaluate the possibility of establishing a new organization to manage the TOP program. These discussions resulted in the formation of Meridian Management SA in March 1996. The IOC provided funding for the establishment and initial operations of the new agency. It also commanded a powerful share position in the company, holding 25% of the equity value and 50% of the voting power.

In 2005, following the acquisition of Meridian Management SA and the centralisation

of Olympic broadcasting and marketing responsibilities, the IOC Television and Marketing Services SA was established. IOC Television & Marketing Services SA is responsible for a broad portfolio including the development and implementation of the Olympic broadcast rights and marketing strategy. This includes the negotiation of Olympic broadcast rights and TOP sponsor contracts, and the management and servicing of the TOP Program and Olympic brand management. Nine corporations currently participate in the seventh generation of the TOP program, known as TOP VII. During the 2009-2012 Olympic quadrennium, TOP VII Partners provide support for the 2010 Olympic Winter Games in Vancouver and the 2012 Olympic Games in London.

While this paper will address the evolution of the Olympic Partner (TOP) program, it will focus squarely on two elements of the IOC's relationship with its Olympic Partners. The efforts of the IOC to confront and manage its response to concerns expressed by the TOP partners following the Salt Lake City bid scandal provide one avenue of investigation. The second central thrust of the paper is an analysis of the Olympic Partners re-evaluation of their relationship with the Modern Olympic Movement. In short, an exploration of IOC and its TOP partners interaction during and following the scandal demonstrates how their respective approaches contributed to the Olympic Movement's ability to: 1) preserve its autonomy; 2) survive the media firestorm; and, 3) ensure that TOP partners kept their logos hitched to the Olympic five ring logo designed by Pierre de Coubertin some ninety years ago.

An array of primary sources has been employed to pursue this examination. These sources include the minutes of the IOC Sessions and Executive Board Meetings, and correspondence with key historical actors. Secondary sources, such as those found in contemporary newspapers, have also assisted the author in providing the necessary context for this analysis.

* * * * *

Pellom McDaniels III, University of Missouri, Kansas City

**Pioneering America's Pastime: African-American Soldiers,
World War I and the Development of Black Baseball in France**

When we examine the intersecting contexts leading up to the participation of African-American men in the First World War, what we find are numerous unintended consequences derived from that service. There is ample evidence to support the fact that African-American soldiers served in a significant role in the effort to secure the Allied victory in France. Indeed, from fighting in the trenches to rebuilding the French countryside through the salvaging of materials and repairing roads, black soldiers served with honor and distinction. However, when sports historians write or discuss the foundation for the success of the Negro Leagues during the first half of the twentieth century, rarely does the conversation include the impact of WWI on its development.

Moreover, the relative lack of knowledge related to black baseball players who served in WWI and who eventually carved out an important chapter in American history through their collective contribution to the national pastime, is absent from a majority of historical narratives concerned with the Negro Leagues. By examining the service records of "colored" pioneer regiments, the unpublished memoirs of black soldiers and the numerous accounts of

the war found in various texts, I will argue that by the end of WWI not only had black soldiers helped to secure the liberation of France from Germany, but they developed an affinity for the game of baseball as well.

What is more, African-American servicemen took advantage of the opportunity to use the newly repaired tracts of land as athletic fields for recreational activities. Baseball was selected as the vehicle to maintain morale, while facilitating a more harmonious environment between field duties and regimental assignments. Although many had professional experience in organized baseball and barnstorming in the states which they brought to the fields near Brest, France, a majority would take advantage of the opportunity to relax and play, as well as learn from the best. Indeed, in this paper I account for the development of black baseball in France, recognizing the presence of some of the most significant players in Negro Leagues history and the importance of the game to African-American men as a whole. Finally, in this paper, I will examine the transformative effects that the experience of serving in France had on black men attempting to challenge the American tradition of racism, while advancing a new future orientation for African Americans and the era of the New Negro.

* * * * *

Alan McDougall

A game of their own? Football fans in communist East Germany, 1949-89

Sport in East Germany was designed as a showcase for communism's superiority over capitalism. Its popular image today is one of remorseless Olympic success inspired by systematic doping and advanced programs of talent identification and training. Football plays little part in this controversial story. The communist authorities found it much harder to control the most popular sport in East Germany than they did other, medal-rich but comparatively obscure, sports. Despite a steady stream of party directives aimed at developing world-class standards and extensive secret police (*Stasi*) surveillance of players and coaches, football retained a relatively high degree of autonomy within the confines of communist dictatorship.

Central to this struggle to exert influence was the state's tense, largely uncomprehending relationship with football supporters. This paper examines how and why fans were able to use the 'beautiful game' to maintain or create space for their 'own interests' (*Eigen-Sinn*) during the forty-year existence of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). It will focus on three areas illustrative of this thematic preoccupation: the opposition of fans to the party-enforced relocation of football clubs in the fifties; fan protests against the dominance of the *Stasi*-run Dynamo Berlin club during the eighties; and the persistent popularity of Western models of fan culture, as well as West German teams, among East German football supporters. Utilising extensive material from party, state, and secret police archives, the paper argues that football offered a public space that resisted, at least partially, the East German state's all-embracing designs — a popular, if relatively low-risk, means of preserving identities (individual, local, regional, and national) that did not conform to communist ideals.

The traditional focus of football histories, in Germany and across much of the world, has been institutions, clubs, and players. Little was written about football as a spectator sport. This situation has altered radically in the last two decades on the back of a revival in football's

popularity, indeed respectability, in Western Europe, represented most famously by Nick Hornby's *Fever Pitch*, which sparked a cottage industry of books of varying quality detailing fans' experiences watching football. Sociologists in the field of sports studies have undertaken extensive research into how the game is consumed, both as a live event and as part of everyday life. However, despite the pioneering work of Allen Guttman and recent publications by the likes of Robert Edelman (on Soviet football) and Simon Martin (on football under Italian fascism), historical studies of football that focus primarily on the spectators' perspective are thin on the ground.

This perspective is of particular importance in authoritarian societies, where alternative identities and means of expression are highly constricted. Football, in the words of one Soviet sports historian, could provide 'a small way of saying "no"'. By studying the various ways in which fans attempted to evade the state-driven manipulations that characterised East German football and assert the primacy of their own interests, this paper offers insights into modern sport's ability to subvert, whether consciously or unconsciously, authoritarian attempts to mobilize it for political purposes.

* * * * *

Ashley McGhee, University of British Columbia

**From Patiño to Semenya:
Examining the IOC/IAAF's efforts to (not) see intersexed athletes**

After the World University Games in 1985, where Spanish hurdler Maria José Martínez Patiño, was shocked to learn that a sex test had failed to "prove" that she was female, her life fell apart (Patiño, 2005; Wackwitz, 2003). Soon after, Spanish officials stripped her of past titles, the International Amateur Athletic Federation barred her from future competition, she lost her national athletic residency, her scholarship was revoked, and her boyfriend deserted her (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). Nearly twenty-five years after Patiño's humiliating experience, South African sprinter Caster Semenya, is enduring a similar humiliation in the public eye. Though Patiño was the first athlete to successfully petition the IAAF to be reinstated to competition in 1988, the IAAF, with its army of sex and gender "experts," presently holds the fate of 18-year-old Semenya's athletic career in its hands (Longman, 2009).

The links between these two cases are the International Olympic Committee and the IAAF's ongoing (and controversial) attempts to "prove" that the female competitors competing in their elite sporting events are, in "fact," female. Despite the IOC's removal of its mandatory sex-testing policy in 2000, it still reserves the authority to implement "suspicion based testing" in cases where the gender identity of an athlete is in question (Cavanagh & Sykes, 2004).

This paper traces the history of sex/gender-testing practices in the IOC/IAAF organizations since Patiño's infamous case in 1985 within the context of a broader poststructural debate around the sex/gender problematic (Butler, 1990, 2004). I examine policy documents, newspaper articles, and research dealing with the debates/issues around the sex/gender-testing of athletes in elite sport. I argue that the IOC's maintaining of a "suspicion based testing" practice and the 2004 implementation of the controversial

Stockholm Consensus dealing with sex-reassignment in sport, responds to neoliberal demands for inclusion on the grounds of “fairness and non-discrimination,” but does little to disrupt the sexual dimorphic insistence in sport or the sex/gender problematic. By speaking only to post-operative transsexual athletes, the Stockholm Consensus ignores issues concerning intersexed athletes (Teetzal, 2006), leaving athletes like Semenya to endure the same problematic issues as Patiño, despite a quarter century of research and activism.

Finally, I agree with John Hood-Williams’ (1995) argument that the IOC/IAAF may vary its sex/gender-testing practices throughout the course of time, but it will “never find an anchor to our obstinate, insistent desire for a true sex” (p. 303).

* * * * *

Ronald L. Mower, University of Maryland &
Joy A. Bauer, University of Maryland

Why does (Physical) Cultural Studies need history?

As two seemingly disparate paradigms, history and cultural studies have often been easily polarized around issues of epistemological, methodological, and axiological proclivities. The polemical battles and bifurcations within history itself over constructionist, reconstructionist, and deconstructionist frameworks (see, for example, Booth, 2005; Guttmann, 2008) are similarly apparent within cultural studies concerning what constitutes the field and its role within academia and public society. In comparison with cultural studies, Johnson, et al (2004) noted, “History-writing retains a stronger sense of studying the past for its own sake...a deeper investment in the archive and empirical research...is still associated with the suspicion of abstraction (‘theories’) and explicit politics (‘bias’)” (p. 126). Conversely, cultural studies’ relationship with various postmodern “turns” has often (to its own detriment) resulted in an inability to adequately historicize shifts in the production and consumption of popular culture (Turner, 2002). We argue that without a considered return to history, the uncritical theorizations and ahistorical analyses of contemporary pop culture will inevitably lead to the demise of cultural studies via institutional banality (Miller, 2001). Thus, as Turner (2002) argues, cultural studies *wants* history because it “gains its cogency from its contextualization within a particular place and time, from its capacity to focus upon the point of a specific moment within a complex pattern of discourses, politics, and histories” (p. 119). Similarly, the formation of a Physical Cultural Studies (PCS) imperative is dependant upon its ability to contextualize, and indeed historicize, such patterns in a complex field of relations focused on the *body* as a site of contestation.

In its nascent state, PCS adopts many theoretical frameworks and methods from cultural studies to engage the *active body* as a constitutive and constituted element in a range of social, historical, and cultural processes. Such a project necessarily requires an engagement with the effects of history as they weigh upon the lived experiences and understandings of the body in contemporary society. The call to “always historicize” (Jameson, 1991; Turner, 1990) must be taken as seriously as the impetus to “radically contextualize” (Grossberg, 1997; Hall, 1985) moments and forms of popular culture within their broader social locations. Drawing upon Tara Brabazon’s (2005) call for popular memory studies, we suggest that PCS in fact

needs history not least because representations of the past preserve the memories, experiences, and emotions of life and have real lived consequences in the present.

More specifically, we discuss the challenges facing the unique relationship between sport history and PCS from the perspective of two doctoral students engaged in the active creation of the PCS project within a department of kinesiology. With distinct influences from British cultural studies and sport history, we will discuss the theoretical and methodological contributions to this project, their potential synthesis in relation to the body, various perceptions concerning both strands of research, and how each field of inquiry may benefit from the other. In short, we intend to offer a reflexive account concerning the potential of sport history in PCS and the consequences of not taking history seriously.

References:

Brabazon, T. (2005). *From revolution to revelation: generation x, popular memory and cultural studies*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Booth, D. (2005). *The field: Truth and fiction in sport history*. London: Routledge.

Grossberg, L. (1997). Cultural studies: What's in a name? (one more time). In *Bringing it all back home: Essays on cultural studies* (pp. 245-271). Durham: Duke University Press.

Hall, S. (1985). Signification, representation, ideology: Althusser and the post-structuralist debates. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 2, 91-114.

Guttmann, A. (2008). "The Ludic and the Ludicrous," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25, 100-112.

Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, or, the cultural logic of late capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Johnson, R., Chambers, D., Raghuram, P., & Tincknell, E. (2004). "Time please! Historical perspectives" in *The practice of cultural studies* (pp. 120-134). London: Sage.

Miller, T. (2001). What it is and what is isn't: Introducing...cultural studies. In T. Miller (Ed.), *A companion to cultural studies* (p. 1-20). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Turner, G. (1990). The British tradition: A short history. In *British cultural studies: An introduction* (pp. 41-84). Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Turner, G. (2002). Why does cultural studies want history? *Australian Historical Studies*, 118, 113-120.

* * * * *

Murry Nelson, Pennsylvania State University

**On Beyond Pluto;
Research Pathways for the American Basketball Association, 1967-1976**

From its creation in 1967, the American Basketball Association was creative, exciting and, often, directionless. Formed by a group of investors who envisioned a relatively swift payday by being absorbed into the established NBA, the ABA continued in various forms for nine seasons. Some of the greatest players in basketball history either got their professional start in the ABA or played there at some point. Yet, little is really known about the league, considering its recent existence. The only real examinations of the league have been done by

Terry Pluto in his book, *Loose Balls* (1990) and two lengthy essays in the Shouler, et al. volume, *Total Basketball* (2003). There are also a number of biographies or autobiographies by former players (even one by a former referee) that highlight their personal reflections of the ABA years, but no real systematic examination of the league (Issel, 1985; Strom, 1990; Wolf, 1977; Barry and Libby, 1972; Mikan, 2007; Mallozzi, 2009).

The ABA began without a plan, but with a big name, George Mikan, as Commissioner. Mikan, voted the Outstanding Player of the first half century in 1950, gave the new league instant recognition, but could not ensure instant coverage and, ultimately, it was the lack of a viable television contract that probably doomed the league. Despite Mikan's lack of success (and that of his successors) at gaining television coverage, he did insist on innovations that gave the league a unique quality. One was the red, white and blue basketball, which became a big hit throughout the country, though the ABA made nothing on its success. Second was the 3-point shot. Adapted from the short-lived American Basketball League of 1961-62, the shot opened up the game and was subsequently incorporated by the NBA, the NCAA and the Olympics. The league also had a 30-second clock, as opposed to the NBA's 24-second clock, which gave more time to set up an offense. The 30-second clock was adopted by the NCAA (for women with 35 seconds for men). The ABA also initiated the Slam Dunk contest at its All-Star Game in 1976. That has since become one of the showpieces of the NBA's All Star Weekend, along with its 3-point shooting contest.

The ABA has had vast influence, but little examination. Questions that need to be addressed include media coverage (newspaper and radio, as well as television); year-by-year results of games; coaches, both their histories and their techniques; the legal impacts of the signing of players from various levels; the impact that the ABA made on new markets for professional basketball, especially in the nature of social integration. Though all of these cannot be fully addressed in this paper, all will be given attention.

* * * * *

Elsa A. Nystrom, Kennesaw State University

**The lady who drove too fast:
the brilliant but unlucky racing career of Joan Newton Cuneo**

Although largely forgotten today, Joan Newton Cuneo was the foremost American female racer in the first decade of the 20th century. She started by driving in the Glidden Tours, moved to setting records on tracks and at the beach and raced against some of the best male drivers of the time. Unfortunately her success was her undoing and prompted a movement that kept women out of sanctioned auto races for decades. A few months after Mrs. Cuneo's race victories at the New Orleans Mardi Gras Meet in February, 1909, women would be banned from competition in races sanctioned by the American Automobile Association Contest Board. The Contest Board had recently emerged as the premier sanctioning body for auto racing in the United States. In March of 1909, American auto manufacturers petitioned the Board to exclude women from the Glidden Tours, even though they admitted that Mrs. Cuneo had made a good showing among the male drivers. When the new racing rules developed by the AAA appeared, they stated that only males, 18 years or over, were eligible to compete in any race sanctioned by the contest board. Since most of the

auto races held in the United States fell into this category, Joan Newton Cuneo was effectively banned from the sport she loved for the rest of her life.

Joan Newton Cuneo got the speed bug as a young matron of 24, when she first drove a car, a White Steamer. The experience was obviously life altering because despite being the mother of two small children, she found time to drive fast in a series of ever larger and more powerful cars. Her husband, a wealthy New York banker, encouraged her passion. Perhaps because of her social status, Mrs. Cuneo was accepted as a participant in the first Glidden Tour, and she would compete in them until women were banned. The Glidden Tours were part reliability run and part race and initially designed to prove automobile safety and promote their sale. Thus a number of auto manufacturers drove the vehicles they built in the Tour. Women competitors were not seen as a threat; many manufacturers recognized the growing importance of the female market, and most women participated as passengers rather than drivers. However, participating in the Glidden Tour was not enough for Joan Newton Cuneo; she also drove her cars at race meets attempting to set new speed records, a common event at the time. She had abandoned her steamer for a large, low and powerful Knox racing car, stripped down for racing, which she drove 5 miles in 5 minutes, setting a new women's speed record. By this time, she was well known and had many fans. This small plump woman was not satisfied with speed records; she wanted to compete against the best. Consequently she entered a series of races at the New Orleans Fair Grounds. The only woman entered, she won two and held her own with Ralph DePalma, the racing superstar of the time, for 18 miles before falling back to second. This amazing achievement was not appreciated by the male establishment, and ultimately led to new racing rules that limited competitors to men over 18.

* * * * *

Gary Osmond, University of Queensland

Picturing Japanese Sportsmen: Reading interwar Australian press images

This paper engages with a corpus of images of touring Japanese sportsmen in Australia in the 1920s and 1930s as a way of reading those visits. The pictures are not well known, have not been exhibited, and do not exist in a single site. Rather, they are woven through national newspaper coverage of four separate rugby, swimming, and tennis tours in the interwar period. As single images that illustrated sport stories in the Australian press in this period they are, for the most part, individually unremarkable. Taken together, however, the hundred-odd photographs and few cartoons represent a notable exception and alternative to earlier racially denigrating images of Japanese people in Australia and later anti-Japanese propaganda images during the Second World War. As such, they present an opportunity for alternative readings not only to mainstream representations but also to the newspaper stories that they accompanied. On the one hand the images of smiling, active and athletic Japanese conform to the written commentary that emphasized links between sportsmanship and cultural cross-understanding and peace in a fraught diplomatic period. On the other hand, the images challenged the subtle racialized subtext of the stories and Australian racial prejudice more broadly, which provided newspaper readers with opportunities for nuanced readings of the visitors and of Japanese collectively.

This paper considers the newspapers' 'gaze' to examine how these athletes were

pictorially portrayed, seeking similarities and differences in each tour. Different sports, athletes, and tours elicited varying responses from the press. What is the relationship of the images with the accompanying text, headlines and captions? What ‘material acts’, such as cropping, montage, and other manipulation were committed on these pictures, and how did these affect meanings? In the absence of evidence of responses from newspaper readers, such as letters to the editor, what can be said about audience interpretations of these pictures? Does research evidence exist elsewhere to suggest varied, nuanced, and complex ways of ‘seeing’ Japanese people in Australia in this era that might also be applicable to the readership of these newspapers? In considering the ways these images might disrupt as well as mirror the printed stories in which they are embedded, this paper engages with new ways of analyzing photographs beyond content alone. As such, it attempts to connect with an expanding body of research that approaches sources, and images in particular, from new methodological and epistemological perspectives.

* * * * *

Victoria Paraschak, University of Windsor
“Promising Practices”: NWT Recreation and Sport Services, 1962-2000

Following the passage of the federal Fitness and Amateur Sport Act in 1961, federal-provincial agreements enabled federal funding to be channeled to the various provinces and territories of Canada to enhance sport and recreation across the country. The Northwest Territories took advantage of this possibility in 1962, and began a legacy of services that increasingly constructed recreation and sport as an integral part of the lives of northerners. In this paper, I deconstruct the ways that sport and recreation services were selectively constructed over four decades in light of the emergence and relative importance of various recreation “partners,” the use of five recreation reviews and three Directions conferences to identify concerns and direct action, and the resulting recreation opportunities created or left unaddressed. Government reports, organizational files from the various partners, interviews with key individuals and participant observation have all contributed to this examination. This organizational history identifies ongoing debates over what counts as “legitimate” sport and recreation services linked to larger mainstream and Aboriginal sport agendas. These debates incorporate differing rationale(s) underlying those services, questions about who gets to shape those services and the servicing of smaller Aboriginal versus larger multi-ethnic communities, and shifting power relations between various organizations providing these services. This history contributes to our understanding of the development of sport and recreation services across Canada, which to date have largely remained focused at the federal level even though recreation remains a provincial/territorial mandate. It also outlines for northerners the historical foundation upon which their current system operates, and illustrates the history of one government in Canada where recreation and sport has, at times, been acknowledged and resourced as a right of all citizens. It illuminates ways that the political and economic climate more broadly impacts directly on the possibilities for recreation and sport services, as well as ways that national and federal sport and recreation agendas can, but do not always direct developments within the NWT. Finally, it provides an example of one government’s promising efforts to enhance community development through sport and recreation services.

* * * * *

Sergio Perciballi, University of Iowa

**The Origin, Evolution, and Unique History of the
Modern Olympic Football Competition, 1896 to 1928**

For Baron Pierre de Coubertin and the ensuing members of the IOC, the first thirty years of the Olympic movement may have very well surpassed anything they had ever imagined. By the time of the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam, the Games had emerged as a symbol of excellence on both an organizational and athletic scale. Many researchers suggest this was largely due in part to the event which had been the center of interest at the Games as early as the first festival in Athens 1896, track and field. The inclusion of track and field into the Olympic program was, of course, no coincidence. From the initial creation of the IOC in 1894, Coubertin and the Committee tried to create a direct link with the ancient Olympic Games and modern day track and field events, therefore establishing it as the showcase event at the Games. As other sports had been experimented with throughout the early years of the movement, track and field was, and always had been, considered the pinnacle of athletic competition of the day. Yet, as the Olympic Games moved ever more forward into the twentieth century, the crowds began to turn their attention to a much different event. This event was just as simplistic as running, jumping and throwing, except athletes played solely with a ball and their feet.

It was at the Olympic Games that the first, true international football tournament was presented to world. From its heavily debated existence as a demonstration sport in Athens 1896, to its eventual zenith at Amsterdam 1928, the game of football evolved into an Olympic crowd favourite and arguably the most popular event at the Games by the end of this time period. That being said, this paper will examine the origin, evolution and unique history of the Modern Olympic Football Competition from 1896 to 1928. Of course, a history on the Olympic football competition would not be complete without examining the role in which its international sport federation governed it; *Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)*. In the latter half of the period, this organization would have an ever increasing influence on the Olympic competition which stood as the only World Championship of Football until the first World Cup in 1930. Interestingly enough, as a result of the game's unprecedented success at the Olympics combined with a difference of opinion on the issues of amateurism, came its demise from the Olympic movement and the rise of its very own "World Cup" of football.

* * * * *

Michael Pitblado, University of Waterloo

The Nazi Exclusion of Jews from German Football

Football in Germany underwent significant changes under the Nazi dictatorship, none more striking or emblematic of Adolf Hitler's world view than the systematic exclusion of Jews from German football. In Nazi Germany all areas of public life were brought into line with National Socialist ideals and policies. The process of Nazification extended even to leisure time activities and popular culture—including sport. The regime exploited sport to reinforce the myth of "Aryan" racial superiority, to breed soldiers for war, and to exercise

political control over its citizens.

On April 19, 1933, the Deutscher Fußball Bund (DFB) formally announced that Jewish footballers and administrators were no longer welcome in organized football. This announcement came less than three months after the Nazi takeover of power and, remarkably, two months *before* the Nazis officially ordered the barring of Jews from sport. Despite the rush to please Germany's new political masters, the exclusion of Jews from German football was not achieved overnight. Some clubs were quick to obey, while others endured the political pressure for as long as possible. The situation was further complicated when Nazi policies on sport attracted intense international scrutiny brought on by hosting the 1936 Olympic Games. More potential problems arose with the 1938 Nazi *Anschluss* of Austria, where many of the Jewish footballers and clubs were of the highest quality.

Based on contemporary sporting periodicals and government records housed in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin, this paper explores the systematic exclusion of Jews from organized football in the Third Reich, the impact this had on individual Jewish footballers and administrators in mainstream clubs, as well as the fates of exclusively Jewish sport clubs.

* * * * *

Susan J. Rayl, SUNY-Cortland

Holding "Court": The Real Renaissance Contributions of John Isaacs

Late in March of 2006 John Isaacs received the much anticipated call from the Veteran's Committee of the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame. A two-time semi-finalist for enshrinement in Springfield's sacred club, Isaacs crossed his fingers for the one Hall of Fame that had eluded him. Friends and colleagues felt sure that in his 90th year of life, his service to the game would be justly rewarded. Yet, for the second and final time, Isaacs learned he had not received enough votes. Refusing to allow the disappointment to take over, Isaacs headed over to his beloved Boys and Girls Club—the Hoe Avenue Branch—in the Bronx.

Born in Panama, Isaacs' family soon immigrated to Harlem, New York. Isaacs learned basketball on the playgrounds and gained All-City honors in 1935 while playing for Textile High School. Recruited by Bob Douglas of the New York Renaissance Five, Isaacs played on the Rens 1939 Professional Championship Team. Isaacs also played on the Washington Bears team that won the professional title in 1943, and for the 1948-49 Dayton Rens. A member of several other New York and Pennsylvania teams over the next ten years, Isaacs completed his 22-year professional basketball career in 1959. He then worked full time for New York Life Insurance Company and took a job working in the afternoons and evenings at the Boys and Girls Club.

A number of newspaper, magazine, and website articles over the past two decades have described Isaacs' contributions on the basketball court, his promotion of education among New York youth, and his outspoken opinion on the recognition of Black pioneers of basketball. His recent passing on January 26, 2009 brought forth comments from numerous youth and adults who attributed their success and direction in life to Isaacs. This paper will present a short biography of John Isaacs, highlighting his talents on the basketball court, but more so his contributions to the youth and citizens of New York City. What contributions did Isaacs make to professional basketball throughout his life? How did Isaacs positively affect

youth at the Boys and Girls Club and in New York City? Why did Isaacs continuously challenge the New York Knicks to “do the right thing” in retiring Sweetwater Clifton’s jersey? What is John Isaacs’ legacy?

Primary sources used for this paper include personal interviews, Isaacs family files, newspapers, magazines, websites, luncheon and club programs, and archival material.

* * * * *

Samuel O. Regalado, California State University, Stanislaus

Identity as Empowerment: Sport in Japan Town and the Los Angeles Barrio

Between 1930 and 1950, two distinctive communities, Japanese and Mexican American, advanced sport as a means to strengthen their sense of self and to display their virtues to the mainstream. Seeking to attain a larger slice of the pie, their leaders believed amateur sport presented an ideal platform on which to construct bridges beyond their enclaves and connect to the power brokers who might help to open greater access to opportunities on many levels. To that end, concerted efforts were made to sponsor and promote competitive athletics for females and males. Not only did they mobilize these programs in concert with United States patriotic holidays, such as the Fourth of July, but also included them alongside such cultural celebrations as Nisei Week and Cinco de Mayo. Yet by the end of the 1930s, the Japanese stood on the brink of incarceration and, by the end of the 1950s, Mexican Americans increased their visibility in positions of influence.

This paper explores the social components that both communities embraced as factors to develop ambitious sports programs. My intentions are to explore the following questions: was their blueprint to employ sport as a means to increase their visibility to the mainstream driven by idealism or reality? To what extent did sport serve to increase internal growth or, on the other hand, create an impediment to the aims of community members? In what manner did identity and empowerment through sport help to redefine community gender lines?

This presentation will not only convey the heartbeat sport provided for a sense of unity among these groups, but also its limitations in the face of a hostile social environment of which race played a major role. The paper draw upon ethnic newspapers, like *La Opinión*, *Rafu Shimpo*, personal correspondences, and secondary sources, including David K. Woo’s *Growing Up Nisei* and George J. Sánchez’s *Becoming Mexican American*, and essays from periodicals like *The Journal of Sport History* and *The Journal of Ethnic History*.

* * * * *

Toby C. Rider

Brethren of the Broom: The Early Years of the London Curling Club and the Growth of Curling in Ontario, 1849-1872.

The emergence of organized curling in nineteenth-century Canada has been well documented, and many broad assumptions have been posited that attest to how the sport grew and developed, by whom it was played and how they played it. Popular themes ascribe to the effect of rail travel, the rise of competition, and the role of national and provincial governing bodies. It is widely assumed that curling clubs were dominated by men of Scottish

blood, who cast across the ice either wooden, iron, or granite stones. Thus, much of what we know about curling in Canada is broad in scope. There are very few smaller, intimate studies of clubs or club culture. The macro is substituted for the micro picture, and what must have been a complicated process appears overly straightforward. Many questions remain to be answered. Did the arrival of rail travel contribute to the rise of curling immediately or over time? Did Scots predominate in all clubs, or just some? What about the growth in competition? Did clubs travel to each other's town or city, or meet somewhere in the middle? How did the media react to the increase in contests? What was the routine and ritual of curling clubs like? To answer all these questions with regard to curling in Canada is beyond the scope of this work. As such, this study will examine these themes in Ontario, and through one particular club: the London Curling Club (LCC). Understanding the habits and intricacies of the LCC will help to illuminate some of the difficulties and challenges faced by many other Ontario clubs in the second half of the nineteenth century as curling grew and evolved.

The LCC is a useful example for several reasons. The southwestern peninsula of Ontario served as the hub for curling competition in the province, mainly along the routes of the rail network. London was at its centre. The years that fell between 1849 and 1872 saw the founding of the LCC and its rise in the city. The first five years of the club were largely a failure. By the 1860's the club consolidated, regrouped, and the membership grew. Without reason, it then split in 1863, when the Thames Club was formed, making London a two-team city. A friendly rivalry developed and the sport thrived in the city. The period ends when the two clubs reunited in 1872. The LCC was a very active member of the Ontario curling circuit. It travelled frequently to compete against other teams and won far more contests than it lost. London served as a mid point for clubs to play from opposite ends of the province, and the LCC also taught others how to curl. Of course, there is no typical example of a curling club, but the LCC will provide a useful case in point.

The study will be based on evidence from the Minute Book of the LCC, early newspapers, and material found at London archives (the University of Western Ontario and the London Public Library) and the Ontario Curling Association.

* * * * *

Steven A. Riess, Northeastern Illinois University

American Sport, Culture, and Painting, 1870-1950

While scholars of antiquity have relied heavily on works of art as artifacts for understanding the history of sport in Greece and Rome, historians of modern sport have paid little or no attention to art or music, to enhance their understanding of sport and sport history. Indeed, while cultural history has become a central area of interest for American historians, examining representations, practices, languages and beliefs, the subject of sport has been largely outside their interest.

This amply illustrated paper will survey the history of American painting employing sporting motifs in the period 1850-1950, emphasizing the work of Thomas Eakins, George Bellows, and Norman Rockwell. Great art shows beauty, reveals character, captures emotion, and helps people understand man's relationship to sport, and maybe even insights into

ourselves, while capturing the anxiety of competition, the joy of winning, and the agony of defeat. It depicts honor and sportsmanship, pain and fatigue. Popular illustrations are not great works of art, but enable the viewer to connect with sport history, capturing a momentous event for all time, and may even provide the educated observer with insights about the social composition of crowds, crowd behavior, the ambience of sporting events, techniques of participants, and the subjective perceptions of the artist about his subject.

American sport art dates to the colonial era when aristocratic southerners posed with their cricket bats and horses, identifying themselves as Englishmen of high status. Wealthy ante-bellum Americans aped the British gentry by commissioning portraits painted of their thoroughbreds and their hunting companions, who comprised a “team.”

George Catlin’s paintings of Native Americans, completed in the 1830s, are an important resource for sport historians, providing an accurate depiction of Native American athletic contests. Catlin felt that sports helped them maintain their culture following removal to the Indian Territory.

Currier & Ives at mid-century produced inexpensive lithographs, including 600 racing pictures, as well as boxing, foxhunting, fishing, sailing, and baseball. Their work provided important evidence of the widespread popularity of sports, physical activity and a healthful manly lifestyle. The sketches also provide important evidence of such topics as apparatus, athletic technique, audience composition, the ambience of spectatorial contests and crowd behavior.

Late nineteenth-century artists focused a lot on gender, mostly manliness, at a time when middle and upper class men were uncertain about their manliness. One painting that emphasizes women was Winslow Homer’s *Croquet Scene* (1866), depicting a middle class fad in which participants were well-mannered and proper Victorians. On the other hand, Thomas Eakins drew many canvasses that depicted coaching, wrestling, boxing, rowing, and hunting, and reflected his fondness for sport and vigorous activity, as well as the manly physique. Eakins celebrated male achievement, but there are tensions that question the values of the masculine world of action and progress in an era of rapid and often bewildering change.

I move on to discuss George Bellows, of the “ashcan” school, renowned for his sketches of New York’s subterranean boxing world. He drew important works about professional boxing when it was illegal, but allowed under the subterfuge “membership” plan. His early boxing series depicted frenzied action inside the ring, attended by ghoulish fans out for blood. His later painting of *Dempsey and Firpo* (1924) showed a different sport, with well-lit arenas, and well dressed more even-tempered ringside audiences.

There have been more paintings of baseball scenes than any other sport, reflecting its stature as the national pastime. Illustrator Norman Rockwell (1894-1978), now generally considered an outstanding artist, produced several beloved baseball images and other sports paintings for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Rockwell celebrated the mundane, the past, and the American spirit through baseball.

The primary sources for this project are the paintings themselves. The secondary literature, untapped by sport historians, including Alta Crawford, “Frederic Remington: Artist of the People,” *Kansas Quarterly* 9:4 (1977): 89-118; Marianne Doezema, *George Bellows and Urban America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Frank Goodyear III, “Nature’s Most Beautiful Models.’ George Catlin’s Choctaw Ball-Playing Paintings and the Politics of Indian Removal,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23:2 (2006): 138-53; Benjamin Lowe, *The Beauty of Sport: A Cross-Disciplinary Inquiry* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ:

Prentice Hall, 1977); "National Art Museum of Sport" <http://www.namos.iupui.edu/Artists.aspx>; Joyce Carol Oates, "Bellow's Bouts: A Celebrated Novelist and Boxing Specialist Looks at America's Most Popular Prizefighting Paintings," *Arts & Antiques* 4:9 (1987): 66-73; Harry T. Peters, *Currier & Ives: Printmakers to the American People* (Long Island, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1942); and Carl S. Smith, "The Boxing Paintings of Thomas Eakins," in *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies*, Vol. IV, ed. Jack Salzman (New York: Burt Franklin, 1979), 403-20.

* * * * *

Anne Roger, University of Lyon &
Thierry Terret, CRIS, University of Lyon

**Americas vs. Europe:
Building Continental Competitions in Track and Field during the Cold War**

Besides the so-called regional games, the idea of organising team competitions in track and field between continents is relatively old, but it took almost 30 years for the proposal to become a reality. In January 1938, a suggestion for a serial of matches between the USA and Europe was made by German Karl Ritter von Halt within the European commission of the IAAF and with the agreement of the American Athletic Union (AAU). Although this first initiative could not be implemented the idea was reactivated ten years later during another meeting of the European commission held in Paris. In vain. In 1953 the AAU made a new proposal to organise a match between America and Europe immediately after the European championships, with an American team made of athletes from the USA, Canada, South America and Mexico. One year later, a last proposal discussed within the European commission in Berne was not more successful.

Following negotiations in Copenhagen in 1965 the first long awaited "Americas / Europe" match took finally place on 9th and 10th August, 1967, in Montreal, with sixteen participating countries. For the men, the European team was made up of eight Frenchmen, eight Hungarians, five athletes from FRG, four British, four Poles, three athletes from GDR, two Italians and one athlete from each of the following countries: Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Greece and Czechoslovakia. The team met thirty-one athletes from the United States, three Canadians, one Mexican, one Brazilian, and one Puerto Rican. For the women, Europe presented five athletes from FRG, four from RDA, four Poles, two Czechoslovakians, two British, one Swede, one Hungarian, one Yugoslavian and an Austrian, against thirteen from the United States, five Canadians, two Jamaicans, and one Venezuelan.

After the first meeting, won by Europe, the return match was held in Stuttgart on 30th and 31st July, 1969, under the name of "Europe/Western Hemisphere", following a request from Cuba that the name be changed. Europe was victorious once again, despite Soviet withdrawal at the last minute, officially because of the Spartakiades organised for the same year. The two trial runs for the intercontinental matches gave the old continent a large advantage. Obviously lacking motivation for this type of event, the Americans gave rise to mixed feelings when they left. For the observers of the time it was obvious that their culture did not allow them to act as a team for collective victory, whereas Europeans seemed to find the latter especially motivating. This gap seemed to be the root cause for the competition's

demise. Indeed the third meeting planned in 1972 was finally not organised and the serial stopped, despite a last Europe/USA indoor intercontinental match in Milan on 14th March, 1978.

Considering both the press coverage and the archives of the internal negotiations between the AAU, the NCAA and the European commission of the IAAF, however, the failure of these meetings could rather be explained by two levels of cultural and geopolitical explanation. On one hand, the leaders from Europe and America did not share the same view on the meaning of the event, between spectacle and sport. On the other, in the context of the cold war, a team from America presenting athletes from Cuba was obviously not more relevant than a team from Europe including Soviet and East German members.

* * * * *

Greggory “Mac” Ross, University of Western Ontario

**In Search of ‘Common’ Boxing Experiences in Post-Great War
Hamilton, Ontario, 1918-1920**

In *The Uses and Abuses of History* Margaret MacMillan writes that historians have an obligation “to raise the public awareness of the past in all its richness and complexity. We must contest the one-sided, even false, histories that are out there in the public domain” (pg. 36). Throughout the historiography of boxing the problem has not been ‘false’ histories *per se*, but rather a disproportionate emphasis on boxing’s elite performers, leaving other, more common boxing experiences in a state of historiographic limbo. American scholarship, with a few exceptions, has revolved around the champions of the heavyweight division, providing numerous histories of exceptional athletes, but little in the way of more common experiences. The Canadian scholarship is of a similar vein. We have fine histories of Canada’s boxing greats—Tommy Burns, George Dixon, Jimmy McClarnin, and Sam Langford—but relatively little completed in terms of “history from below.” My intention here is by no means to exclude the successful and/or championship boxer. Quite the contrary, it is to integrate those titular success stories into a broader discussion of pugilism. To achieve such a goal, however, one must significantly limit the geographic and temporal scope. Thus, this paper will examine professional boxing in Hamilton, Ontario, during a relatively short period of time, from the end of World War One in 1918 to the foundation of the Ontario Athletic Commission in 1920, allowing for a thorough discussion of several pugilistic experiences. First of all, white working-class participation will be examined in terms of champions, contenders and journeymen. Secondly, I will examine the extent to which ethnic and racial minorities had access to professional boxing. Lastly, the middle-class’ relationship to the sport will be examined, both as eager spectators and reform-minded regulators.

* * * * *

Keary J Rouff, University of Pittsburgh-Bradford

1st and 50:

How the American Football League impacted the N.F.L. as we know it today?

On any given Sunday, from the months of September through December, more television sets are tuned into pro football than any other program on the airwaves. The growth and popularity of the sport has surpassed that of our national pastime, baseball, and has become “the” game to a multitude of American sports fans. No one could have ever envisioned this some 50 years ago. But today the National Football League is a passion for most sport enthusiasts. This raises a few questions in my mind. How popular and or how different would the N.F.L. be if not for the American Football League? The contributions of the A.F.L. have helped to shape the N.F.L. as we know it today. This premise forms the basis of this research paper. How did the A.F.L. help to create the sports sensation we have come to know as the National Football League?

In 1960, a handful of men had a dream of starting a new football league that could rival the established National Football League. Their dream came to fruition as the 8 men formed a fledgling league, to be named the American Football League. Over the next decade these owners, their coaches, the players and the media would aid in the development of a league that would rival its senior counterpart, to the point where the impact of the new league would influence and shape the N.F.L. as we know it today. On this, the 50th anniversary year of the A.F.L, it only seems appropriate to research just how this league has influenced the N.F.L. From the owners, to the coaches and players, a look at how this grouping of men influenced the N.F.L. today as we know it today.

To determine this impact, this paper will review publications used to document the history of the A.F.L. This will include published books and articles as well as documentaries to determine the influential factors that are at play. It seems to this author that this type of research would be of significance due to the fact that it is currently the 50th anniversary of the A.F.L. and the fact that the most watched sport in America is Pro Football. So understanding the factors that have helped to create this phenomenon will hopefully clarify some of the reasons for this growth, thus giving a greater understanding to the importance of the A.F.L.

* * * * *

Weaver Santaniello, Pennsylvania State University

Breaking the Mold: From Ruth to Ramirez

“You take a team with twenty-five assholes and I’ll show you a pennant.
I’ll show you the New York Yankees.”

--Bill “Spaceman” Lee

At the trading deadline on July 31st, 2008, the Boston Red Sox paid Manny Ramirez seven million dollars to leave town. The front office was so eager to dispose of him, it picked up the remainder of his contract and sent him packing to the West coast, where he would resume his act in Hollywood with the Dodgers and their new manager, Joe Torre.

Manny had been with the Red Sox for seven and a half years, and was a fan favorite in Boston due to his crazy antics and boyish persona. Not to mention his hitting prowess and his flair for the dramatic. Manny, however, certainly was not the first Red Sock to defy convention and the expectations of the baseball world. In fact, many Red Sox greats and hall of famers went against the grain of corporate baseball, both on and off the field.

Babe Ruth was known for his reckless lifestyle. As a married man he chased women, drank heavily, drove recklessly, disregarded rules and authority figures, and had a quick temper on the field, especially toward umpires. Likewise, for over twenty years, Ted Williams was a target of the Boston media who scrutinized both his professional and personal life. Constantly at war with the Boston press and sometimes the fans, he was outspoken, stubborn, and has been described as high-strung and aloof. According to one biographer, Williams was “never a slave to convention or fashion;” he lived life his own way and had the “courage to face the consequences.” Likewise, Hall of Famer Jim Rice had an antagonistic relationship with the media that most likely delayed his induction into the Hall of Fame for many years. And Bill “Spaceman” Lee, a counter-culture figure who practiced yoga and admittedly smoked marijuana, often criticized the Red Sox front office and the manager. He was likely released because of his often contentious demeanor. Lee was redeemed by history, however. In 2008 he was inducted into the Red Sox Hall of Fame.

My paper will address the most famous “mold-breakers” who have played for the Boston Red Sox: Babe Ruth (1895-1948), Ted Williams (1918-2002), Bill Lee (1946-), Jim Rice (1953-), and Manny Ramirez (1972-). Utilizing biographies, documentaries, newspaper articles, and other forms of media, I will explore the ways in which history views these characters, in the context of ethics in general, and the philosophy of existentialism. Using these general categories, I will examine the complex natures and legendary stories of these baseball greats, within the context of their times and the expectations they faced.

* * * * *

Jaime Schultz, University of Maryland

Rethinking Context in “The Johnny Bright Incident”

The “bodies of sportspeople are closely observed through striking images that draw their power not merely from the drama of action, but also by connecting the imaged body to wider social issues and identities.” As such, my central question for this project concerns how to determine which broader socio-historical forces are most relevant for understanding the event.

* * * * *

Chad Seifried, Louisiana State University

The Playoff Debate in the Division I- Football Bowl Subdivision: Pre-Bowl Championship Series Rhetoric by Important Stakeholders of College Football

Passionate discussions and arguments concerning the current Bowl Championship Series (BCS) selection process and criteria evoked a tremendous amount of interest in a

National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) sponsored playoff or tournament. To illustrate the nature of this debate, the subjective ratings and mathematical formulas utilized by the BCS provided only Florida (12-1) and Oklahoma (12-1) an opportunity to play for the 2008 national title while notable others (Utah, 12-0, Boise State, 12-0, Alabama, 12-1, Texas, 11-1, USC, 11-1, Penn State 11-1, and Texas Tech 11-1) watched at home. Similar circumstances regularly surrounded previous seasons since the beginning of the BCS in 1998. Organized investigations conducted by U.S. Congressional Committees and the Knight Commission also provided fascinating perspectives on past and recent Division I (FBS) playoff possibilities and further questioned the absence of non-BCS charter member conferences (e.g. Mountain West, Conference-USA, Sun Belt, Mid-American, Western Athletic) in BCS bowl games. Still, we should understand the BCS did not start the heated debates related to a Division I (FBS) playoff/tournament we see today. It merely added fuel to a fire which has burned for several decades.

This paper serves to document the thoughts of university presidents, athletic directors, and football coaches on the playoff debate prior to the establishment of the BCS (i.e. before 1998). The opinions and feelings of these various stakeholders of college football are numerous and well documented by the popular media prior to the establishment of the BCS. However, the history of the thoughts and feelings of these individuals and the press has not been formally organized. In essence, the history of the playoff discussion in Division I (FBS) football is underdeveloped. This research project serves to formally report valuable information from these important stakeholders about the playoff idea primarily since the 1950s when the playoff debate appeared to gain steam. To complete this task, the researcher will examine newspaper articles from important national media sources (e.g. *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*) to uncover the social, political, economic, and technological factors that prevented the facilitation of a playoff. Several other important works like Ron Smith's *Play-by-Play: Radio, Television and Big Time College Sport* (2001), Keith Dunnivant's *The Fifty-Year Seduction: How Television Manipulated College Football, from the Birth of the Modern NCAA to the Creation of the BCS* (2004), John Sandbrook's *Division I: A Postseason Football History and Status* (2004), report of the Knight Commission, and many more will also serve to provide information central to past discussions on the playoff debate.

* * * * *

**Jae Chul Seo, University of Iowa &
Bang-Chool Kim, Seoul National University of Education**

**A Liberal Voice on Sport Paradise:
An Interpretation of Korean American Women's Sporting Experience**

The purpose of this study is to explore the meanings of Korean-American women's sporting experience. While there is a lack of interest in this topic, Yomee Lee's work (2000) is an exception. Despite its seminal contribution of revealing Korean-American women's voices, it can be argued that her work is based on "domestic Americanization" of Korean-American women's sporting experience. Challenging the notion of a common experience and universal womanhood about sport, our theoretical position is based on "diasporic post-coloniality of Korean America." As a diasporic experience, Korean-American women's sporting experience

should be understood with the views of complex, dynamic, and historical connections and dialogues between Korean sporting culture and American sporting culture.

This paper is divided into four sections. In the first, we briefly review the literature on Asian-American studies with the focus on theoretical assumptions in order to lay the groundwork for conceptualizing Korean-American women's experience. In the second section, we examine structures of Korean-American women's sporting experience. To be more specific, "diasporic contexts" of Korean-American cultures and "gender structures" of Korean-American society are described on the basis of intersection between race and gender. The third section focuses on dynamics surrounding Korean-American women's sporting experience through in-depth interviews with Korean-American women. In the final section, we synthetically discuss and conceptualize Korean-American women's sporting experience. Furthermore, we try to contextualize their experience into both women's sport studies and Asian-American studies.

* * * * *

Donghyuk Shin, University of Iowa

**Ambassadors of advanced baseball:
Jae-Il-Gyo-Po players in early Korean professional baseball**

As we can guess from the fact that Korea and Japan met in the championship game of the second World Baseball Classic, the two countries have rich traditions of baseball. Both have very popular professional leagues and dedicated fans. Japan and Korea are now important suppliers of players for American Major League Baseball. Although the origin of Korean baseball should be credited to the American missionaries, Korea learned baseball mostly from Japan. Japan started its professional league in 1950 and heavily influenced Korea.

In this paper, I examine how Korea's early professional baseball league was influenced by Jae-Il-Gyo-Po (ethnic Koreans in Japan: JIGP hereafter) players. Three questions about JIGP players will be raised to guide the narratives: How did they outperform Korean players; why did they have difficulty in socializing with other teammates; and finally why and how did they disappear from the Korean league.

In the 1970s, ethnic Korean high school baseball players in Japan participated in Korean tournaments annually as a single team. Although they had to form a team abruptly, this JIGP team impressed the Korean spectators with their advanced skills. When Korean professional baseball was initiated in 1982, JIGPs were exempted from the nationality rule that states all players should have Korean nationalities. JIGP players were huge factors in every team because some players dominated the league both in offensive and pitching categories. Many monumental records were set by players who experienced Japanese professional baseball. Among these, a single-season pitching wins record of 30 was totally shocking because the record was set in an 80-game season in 1983.

In spite of their outstanding performances, most JIGP players had difficulty adjusting themselves to the teams for various reasons. First, as most of the players from Japan had limited fluency in Korean, they could not communicate well with other teammates. Second, since Korean managers and players thought of JIGP players as mercenaries and sojourners,

JIGPs were usually alienated from teammates. Some JIGP players indulged in alcohol and gambling to face their homesickness and that led them to be less durable eventually. However in the 1990s, the number of JIGP players in the Korean league diminished mainly because the average skill levels of Korean players improved significantly. Considering the exchange rate of Korean won and Japanese Yen (about 1:10), JIGPs were no longer cost-effective in Korea. Also from the year of 1998, two foreign-born players per team were officially allowed to play in Korean professional baseball. Therefore the teams could hire someone directly from North America or Central/Latin America.

This paper focuses on JIGP players' impacts on Korean baseball, especially when the Korean league was in its infancy. Although they are no longer prevalent in the Korean league, it is significant to explore the fact that JIGPs came to Korea as ambassadors of advanced baseball and contributed a lot to Korean baseball.

* * * * *

Bonnie Sierlecki

**“The Vigor We Need:” Mandating Physical Fitness
in John F. Kennedy’s Cold War Administration**

John F. Kennedy campaigned on his youthful, vital image to define his leadership and set the tone for his administration’s policies. As president, Kennedy attempted to institutionalize his vision of a vigorous citizenry, particularly his crusade to improve the physical fitness of American youth after the release of the 1955 Kraus-Prudden report, which found that American children were remarkably unfit in comparison to their European counterparts. Asserting “a close relationship between physical fitness and intellectual vigor and moral strength,” Kennedy leveraged the President’s Council on Physical Fitness to form a distinct physical fitness policy, and urged Americans to pursue the Council’s recommendations with several major addresses throughout his presidency. In doing so, Kennedy initiated an ongoing national dialogue about the dangers of “the soft American” in an increasingly hostile Cold War climate.

In his brief tenure as president, Kennedy specifically discussed physical fitness at length no less than twenty times in his public statements. On six occasions, Kennedy delivered major policy addresses about his administration’s efforts toward bolstering the nation’s physical fitness. This essay closely examines these major policy addresses, along with the two articles Kennedy authored for *Sports Illustrated*, as primary texts that provide insight into how Kennedy appealed to the American public in order to enforce his mandate for physical fitness. Understanding how Kennedy justified his focus on physical fitness, and how he appealed to citizens to attain their commitment to the cause, explains how the president was able to achieve a mandate on physical fitness that permanently institutionalized sport as part of the executive office.

In his public discussions about the importance of physical fitness, Kennedy repeatedly covered several key themes. First, he connected athletics with individual and national character development, often by making historical references to the ancient Greeks and the American founders. Secondly, he equated physical fitness with military preparedness and national security—a critical issue of public concern during the Cold War era. Third, he

reiterated policies implemented by his administration and cited evidence of their success. This strategy functioned to fully associate the activities of the President’s Council on Physical Fitness with his administration, rather than Dwight D. Eisenhower’s.

Finally, Kennedy emphasized that the ultimate responsibility for cultivating national vigor rested with individual citizens—not the federal government. Taking this approach allowed Kennedy to differentiate the American physical fitness policy from the Soviet Union’s. He depicted the American policy as one designed to provide government support for developmental programs, in contrast with the Soviet policy, which issued direct government subsidy for compulsory participation. Consequently, Kennedy could use American sporting success to argue that the democratic way of life could more effectively produce national strength than the Communist ideology. Although he did not attain his fitness goals for American youth, Kennedy was extremely successful in injecting physical fitness awareness into the national dialogue. But more importantly, Kennedy’s defining legacy was the institutionalization of sport as a matter of concern for the executive office.

* * * * *

Andrew Smith, Purdue University

“Black Medals”: George Foreman and the 1968 Olympic Games

For the thousands who sat in the stands of Arena Mexico and the millions who watched on television, the 1968 Olympic heavyweight boxing gold medal match still evokes a powerful image. But the action that occurred between the ropes was unspectacular. Seconds after defeating his opponent, however, a teenaged George Foreman reached into the pocket of his robe and pulled out a miniature American flag. With his head down, the heavy breathing Olympic champion flicked his wrist and waved it just a few times before complying with Olympic protocol and bowing to the four corners of the ring. By comparison, Foreman spent far more time and energy on his elaborate bows than his short, subtle display of patriotism. Yet the lasting image of Foreman at the 1968 Olympics is not the cocky, youthful performance of a time-honored tradition, nor is it the heavy punches that earned him a gold medal. Rather it was the brief moment between his victory and his celebration when a tired, deadpanned Foreman shook a miniscule flag in his giant hands that was his most powerful act of 1968.

Journalists, authors, and scholars since 1968 have reduced Foreman’s celebration to the label of ultimate race betrayal: “Uncle Tomism.” In truth, they are reacting less to Foreman’s performance than to the performance Foreman followed. Just days before the gold medal boxing match, collegiate sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos reflected the billowing discontent in black America—a frustration stemming from the letdowns of the Civil Rights Movement and the assassinations of Malcolm X and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. They presented that anger to the world from the Olympic podium by hanging their heads and raising their black-gloved fists into the air as the American national anthem played over the public address system. It was a demonstrative challenge to the American status quo thrust upon an international stage. At perhaps the most nationally oriented world spectacle, Smith and Carlos performed a different kind of nationalism than the other competitors—Black Nationalism.

If Carlos' and Smith's demonstration reflected the fracture of the Civil Rights Movement, the insufficiencies of nonviolent resistance, and the perceived potential of Black Nationalism in the late 1960s, George Foreman's performance showed the limits of Black Nationalism in motivating lower-class African Americans. His frame of reference was the pervasive poverty of a decaying urban ghetto. His encounters with discrimination were interracial, class-based prejudices, and his only opportunity to leave such bleak surroundings came through a government program, the Job Corps. To him, and those like him, the rhetoric of Black Nationalism was unconvincing. With a flick of the wrist in Mexico City, Foreman expressed a disconnect between Black Power and black people in the United States.

* * * * *

Courtney Michelle Smith, Cabrini College

**The Philadelphia Stars, *The Philadelphia Tribune*, and
Negro League Baseball in Black Newspapers**

In my paper, I will analyze the relationship between the Philadelphia Stars and the major local black newspaper, *The Philadelphia Tribune*. The Stars were a Negro National League team that began playing in 1933 and disbanded in April 1953. Throughout their history, the Stars received extensive coverage in the *Tribune*, and the coverage presented both a highly celebratory image of the Stars as well as a highly negative one. The sportswriters never shied away from criticizing the Stars and from highlighting both the team's and the Negro Leagues' numerous flaws, including the lack of balanced schedules and the lack of cooperation among team owners. The *Tribune*, however, also served as an advertising forum for the Stars and helped the team minimize the involvement of co-owner Ed Gottlieb, a white Jewish booking agent, and maximize the involvement of the other co-owner Ed Bolden, an African-American native of nearby Darby, Pennsylvania.

Ultimately, I argue that the *Tribune* served as both a partner and antagonist to the Stars and to two Negro Leagues, the Negro National League and the Negro American League. The newspaper helped the team to promote itself as "Ed Bolden's Philadelphia Stars," an appealing image to the Philadelphia area's African-American population. At the same time, however, the newspaper portrayed Negro League baseball as highly disorganized and the owners as more committed to making money than to producing quality baseball competition. My analysis helps to explain the lack of cooperation between black sportswriters and Negro League owners in the movement to integrate Major League baseball. Most owners correctly surmised that integration would undermine the Negro Leagues, but they also had an antagonistic relationship with some black sportswriters before the start of the integration movement. Moreover, my analysis also helps to explain the abandonment of Negro League baseball in the years following Jackie Robinson's debut. By highlighting the Negro Leagues' flaws, the *Tribune* and other black newspapers fostered an overall negative image of Negro League baseball and contributed to its disappearance from the American landscape.

In my analysis, I use newspaper articles from the *Tribune* to analyze Negro League baseball coverage from the 1930s to the early 1950s.

* * * * *

Ronald A. Smith, Pennsylvania State University

**African Americans, Freshman Eligibility, and
Forced Reform in the Post-1960s Generation College Sport**

Following the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there was a strong movement toward the integration of African Americans into the larger society, including intercollegiate athletics. By the late 1960s and 1970s, there was a major effort to recruit talented black male athletes by the major North and South collegiate powers in both basketball and football. Not only was there no educational model for African Americans in college sport (as then found in women's sport), there was a general lack of educational preparation for college among the masses of black athletes. African Americans were generally recruited from low economic urban settings at the time when the NCAA and individual institutions had few or meager academic standards in the 1970s and 1980s. The influx of academically deficient African Americans in the most visible college sports between the dropping of the 1.600 predicted grade point average eligibility rule for freshmen in 1973 and the implementation of Proposition 48 in 1986 led to a crisis of academic integrity in universities across America. The plummeting of academic standards for athletes was combined with a movement for "open admissions" for anyone with a high school degree and the national educational strategy designed to encourage at-risk student enrollment. Added to the movement to admit minority and low income students to universities, was the desire by scores of "cheerleading" presidents to allow "special admits" to participate on the major athletic teams. Many of the athletes were African Americans, who could not get into school under the traditional academic guidelines, including meeting minimal SAT or ACT test scores. The special admissions allowed universities to stock their teams with athletic talent—especially black talent—and continue to reap the increasing profits from expanded television revenues of the 1970s and 1980s.

This paper will look at the darker side of the desegregation of college athletics as blacks moved toward the positive greater social and legal equity and entered the mainstream of college sports, especially football and basketball. Its focus will be Proposition 48, implemented in 1986 that was the first important NCAA legislation for freshman eligibility since the NCAA voted to allow eligibility for all freshman athletes in 1972. Discussed will be the impact of an unprecedented rate of grade inflation during the Civil Rights Movement and Vietnam War, the trend to university open admissions and affirmative action, and the lack of NCAA academic standards on the relationship of African-American athletes to academic integrity of the institutions. It will be shown that legal actions soon forced an unwilling NCAA to change the criteria for freshman eligibility from strict SAT/ACT scores to a sliding scale to prevent losing discriminatory law suits based up the "unjustified disparate impact" of Civil Rights laws and court decisions.

The research is based principally upon the archives of a number of institutions of higher learning; government laws and documents, including Congressional Hearings; and the NCAA Proceedings.

* * * * *

LeQuez Spearman, University of Iowa

**How the Brown Bomber Wasn't So Brown:
An Inter textual answer to the ambivalence of Joe Louis Introduction**

Outside of Muhammad Ali and Jack Johnson, Joe Louis is arguably one of the most widely recognized African-American heavyweight boxers in the entire world. As a fair skinned (brown) African-American, the young Louis was frequently counter-posed against the much darker and primitive Johnson, whose personal lifestyle made him a polarizing figure. For example, while Johnson was lamented for having controversial escapades with white women, Louis was lauded for marrying a black woman and having mannerisms deemed appropriate by a white audience. Historically, fair-skinned African-Americans, for the most part, have been viewed more favorably than their dark brothers, and a critical reading of Joe Louis may support this argument. This is what some African-American scholars term the color caste. In this caste system, the lighter one's skin color was, the more likely they could mobilize socially.

This paper will be guided two questions: 1) Was Joe Louis depicted in a positive light due to his skin color? 2) Were traditional African-American stereotypes like the sambo and the brute, among others, ascribed to Louis?

It is the belief of the author that intertextuality best explains how Louis could be both lauded and lamented across various texts. For example, Stuart Hall noted that when a former Olympic sprinter was depicted in a magazine illustration, other representations crept into the text, which rendered the whole piece ambiguous. According to Hall, there were competing and often contradictory meanings in that visual. In particular, Hall notes that Carl Lewis, who is among those considered of being the most athletic persons of all time, had his marker of black masculinity undercut when he wore red heels, a signifier of femininity.

The use of intertextuality has significant implications for the study of how the media depicted Joe Louis. Wiggins noted that Louis and Johnson were often caricatured as sambos, which were demeaning portrayals of African Americans. A cultural critique of the "sambo" Louis will place the African American—irrespective of skin color—into historical context. In particular, this study will seek out to prove that although a white audience received light-skinned African Americans more favorably, historical lampoons of African Americans were nonetheless present.

It is my belief that this research, through the examination of media pictures and academic literature, contributes to the historical record of African-American athletes. I will argue that even though a light-skinned Black may be received more favorably because his or her skin color—and certainly Louis was—he or she still could not escape age-old stereotypes of the brute and sambo. The findings in this paper will corroborate with literature that paints race as a floating signifier, whose meanings can change across time periods. The fact that Louis could be depicted both negatively and positively on the part of his race falls in line with the aforementioned argument concerning race.

* * * * *

Stephen Swain, University of Western Ontario

**The Zuffa Myth:
Writing and Rewriting the History of the Ultimate Fighting Championship**

This paper examines the construction and dissemination of the “Zuffa Myth,” primarily done by the Ultimate Fighting Championship’s (UFC) president and most visible figure, Dana White. Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) is a sport growing in popularity in North America and around the world, and the UFC is one of the most visible MMA organizations. One important contribution of the paper is the relative novelty of the UFC, and modern MMA in general. While the sport may claim a connection to the ancient practice of Pankration, contemporary MMA has existed for only a couple of decades.

While some may question whether the UFC, and MMA in general are more than simply a fad, it is important to examine the history of the sport now, rather than attempting to debunk myths years in the future. This paper works to debunk the “Zuffa Myth,” which created the belief that, after purchasing the UFC from Semaphore Entertainment Group (SEG), Zuffa began working to legitimate the sport of Mixed Martial Arts (MMA), implementing weight classes, seeking the sanction of state athletic commissions, and bringing in rules and regulations, supposedly lacking from SEG's version of the UFC.

Using the work of Roland Barthes as a framework to understand myth, this paper uses a number of different newspaper articles/interviews with White as references to discover how the Zuffa Myth is being constructed in the popular media. Many of these articles will be found on the Internet versions of these newspapers, not only for the sake of convenience, but also because the reach and scope of the Internet plays a role in both the dissemination and the opposition to the Zuffa Myth. The capacity of the Internet to construct and deconstruct myth is one of the factors that makes this paper an important contribution to the field of sport history.

It is believed that the construction of the “Zuffa Myth” is not just an attempt on the part of Dana White and the UFC to create a particular version of history in order to improve their public image. Instead, the “Zuffa Myth” is part of a process of legitimation on the part of the UFC, particularly focused on drawing distinctions between the UFC under Zuffa's ownership and SEG's ownership. While under SEG control, the UFC drew criticisms for its violent nature, and its lack of concern for the welfare of the fighters. In creating the “Zuffa Myth,” White and the UFC are attempting to separate their organization from the UFC's past, a process necessary while the UFC attempts to gain sanction in important television and live event markets such as New York State and the Province of Ontario. As a result, the “Zuffa Myth” is an important factor in the political and economic motivations of the UFC.

* * * * *

Natalie Szudy, University of Western Ontario

**Athletics in the Orient:
Development of Physical Education at the American University in Cairo**

In a promotional pamphlet extolling the virtues of attending the American University in Cairo the following was noted: “It took the wealth and daring of the Pharaohs to build

them — and they lasted. It will take the wealth and daring to build the University — but its influences will abide when the work of the Pharaohs is forgotten” (*The Big Idea*, p.1). Opened in 1919, the American University in Cairo (AUC) was a unique development in the Egyptian landscape. Although other missionary education institutions were operating in Egypt, the development of AUC was a departure from the traditional missionary pedagogical approach, which was based on fostering conversion to Christianity. Spearheaded by Charles Watson, Robert S. McClenahan and Wendell Cleland, the mandate of AUC was built upon establishing an American-sponsored university that could offer professional training in education, engineering, commerce, journalism, theology and law.

A key individual responsible for the development and growth of AUC was Charles Watson. Born to United Presbyterian missionary parents living in Cairo, Charles Watson remained in Egypt until early adulthood. After spending a few years studying in the United States, Watson returned to Egypt eager to teach. For the next few years, Watson taught at a Presbyterian Missionary school in Assuit. In 1918 he moved back to Cairo where he became actively involved in the creation and development of AUC. Growing up in Egypt allowed Charles Watson to learn Arabic and to become well versed in Islamic religion and culture. Due to his understanding of Islam and Egyptian culture, during his tenure as President of AUC from 1919 to 1945, Watson was instrumental in the development of curriculum and extracurricular activities that could be enjoyed by all students, regardless of cultural or religious beliefs. Rooted in the desire to support the development of the student’s mental and physical capabilities, Watson’s teaching philosophy was further exemplified in the development of a university-wide sports day. In addition to the many financial challenges associated with the operation of the university, Charles Watson also faced the unique challenge of developing a physical activity and sport program that would operate in conjunction with the academic curriculum.

In this paper, I will explore the development of physical education and sport offered at AUC between 1919 and 1945. Physical education and the development of sport and physical activity played a large role in the overall development of the “ideal student.” This in turn assisted in the collection of American donor aid and the successful management of the University. I argue that during this time period the opportunities offered at AUC through both course curriculum and extracurricular activities supported the integration of a progressive attitude held by the three founding members. It was during this time period that the student population that primarily consisted of male Islamic students were exposed to and required to participate in physical activities and sports that challenged social and cultural assumptions. This in turn facilitated the development of an environment where discussions about religious and cultural differences could occur.

* * * * *

Sarah Teetzel, University of Manitoba

**Canada’s Olympic Basketball Teams, 1952-1960:
An Analysis of Amateurism, Rule Bending, and Eligibility**

This paper examines the methods that basketball manager Gerry Livingston utilized, and the rules he bent, to ensure the Canadian Olympic Association (COA), the International

Amateur Basketball Federation (IABF), and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) permitted Canada's entries in the 1952 and 1960 Olympic basketball tournaments to compete. Known as the Tillsonburg Livingstons, or the Livvies for short, employees of Livingston Wood Manufacturing formed a basketball team that qualified to represent Canada at the Olympic Games. Proprietor Gerry Livingston managed and coached the team, which was located in Tillsonburg, a southern Ontario town with a population of 5,000 people in the 1950s. To help the Livvies achieve their goal of representing Canada, Livingston donated money to the team and purchased equipment and uniforms. He also recruited talented, working-class players from other towns by offering employment at his wood manufacturing plant and paying the expenses for members of his team not selected to represent Canada to attend and compete with the team in Helsinki and Rome. An examination of the IOC, COA, and IABF's rules in force during the 1950s and early 1960s demonstrates that several of Livingston's kind acts could be construed as violations of amateur rules and therefore could have disqualified his players from competing in the Olympic Games.

The Livvies' success in qualifying to represent Canada internationally and maintaining their status as amateurs provides a concrete example of the ambiguity surrounding requirements for amateur status and eligibility rules in the 1950s. This paper shows how innovative and creative managers could ensure their teams remained eligible to compete at the Olympic Games despite violating certain conditions of amateurism. Drawing on reports from *The Tillsonburg News* between 1950 and 1965, as well as documents and souvenirs housed in Tillsonburg's local museum, I argue that at least five members of Canada's teams in the 1952 and 1960 Olympic Games were ineligible to participate based on the IOC, COA, and IABF's eligibility rules.

* * * * *

Thierry Terret, University of Lyon &
Cécile Ottogalli-Mazzacavallo, University of Lyon

**Political duels in the Cold War:
The International Fencing Federation and the Rise of Soviet Fencing (1952-1966)**

In the aftermath of World War II the USSR remained for a time faithful to the doctrine developed since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, refusing to take part in the large international "bourgeois competitions" such as the Olympic Games. She had, however, already started to change her attitude to this issue, adding a new political ambition to sport's traditional aims like defence, health and social integration: to use sport as a demonstration of her superiority over the West. Although she did not take part in the Olympic Games of London in 1948, she was actually preparing a sport team, which could immediately be at the level of the American one once her request towards the International Olympic Committee for becoming an "Olympic nation" would be accepted. From its very first participation in the Olympics of 1952 on, the USSR was the main opponent of the United States in the stadiums.

The renewal of the Soviet policy concerned all sports, but especially focused on those which were potentially better medals suppliers. Fencing belonged to this last category. The number of active and therefore concurrent countries was relatively small here and it was historically dominated by three countries only during the world championships and the

Olympic Games, which were the largest meetings in international fencing since the end of the 19th century. In men's events sword and foil tournaments mainly saw a rather repetitive opposition between the Italians and the French masters since 1896. Hungarians, for their part, dominated male sabre with no challenger as well as, to a lesser extent, the only event then practiced by women: the foil.

The paper aims at investigating the way fencing was integrated into the new Soviet strategy at the beginning of the cold war between 1952, when the Soviet Federation of Fencing became member of the FIE, and 1966, when she became the world leader in fencing and obtained the organization of the world championships for the first time in history. It is mainly based on the archives of both the International Federation of Fencing and the International Olympic Committee as well as on the western press, and analyzes the rise of the USSR in the world of fencing at the levels of the institutions, the world championships organization and sporting excellence.

On the first issue, the USSR succeeded in challenging the hegemony of Italy and France in the institutional leadership of fencing, before trying to use this new power to indirectly influence the decisions of the Olympic committee, for instance with the modification of the structure of the IOC, the participation of China in international competitions and the recognition of East Germany. On the second issue, the Soviet policy was primarily disturbed by the decision of Hungary to cancel the organization of the world championships of 1957 for which she had been chosen, thanks to the events of 1956. The pressure of the USSR, however, was strong enough to finally make Budapest organize these championships in 1959, before Moscow obtained the right to host them in 1966. On the last aspect, the effects of the effort to develop the level of the Soviet fencers appeared in the late 1950s. In the male events the USSR was able to successively impose herself eight times in the team foil competition, a result to which she added several individual titles in foil and sword. In the male sabre event the Russians even succeed in breaking twice the invincibility of Hungarians in both the individual and team events. In the female competitions the Soviet fencers most frequently reached the highest step of the podium from 1956 on in both the individual and team foil event. Within only ten years the Soviet fencing became one of the very first references in the world, challenging a century of tradition preserved between Italy, Hungary and France.

* * * * *

Robert J. Turpin, Frankfort, KY

**“Our Best Bet is the Boy”:
Bicycle Marketing Schemes and American Culture after World War I**

The bicycle's waning popularity in America following the boom of the 1890s has, in large part, been explained by a prevalence of boredom with bicycling and as a by-product of the emerging car culture. This essay begins its examination in 1919, a time when bicycles were nearing nadir but also a point at which the bicycling industry came together to make a concerted effort to reinvigorate the American public's fascination with bicycles. An examination of popular magazines, newspapers, and trade journals indicates a marked shift, focusing advertisements on juveniles and women as a means to bolster bicycle sales. By the 1950s public perception had shifted from viewing the bicycle as an affordable mode of

transportation and a potential means of demonstrating athletic prowess to that of a child's toy. This essay will argue that bicycle advertising schemes and production techniques were crucial in serving as a catalyst for this shift in perception to occur. Constructions of gender will be implicated as fundamental to understanding the bicycle's coup de grace in the U.S. Once bicycles became a child's toy, rather than a vehicle for affirming masculinity, there was little chance, or effort in turning the tide. Understanding the gendered perceptions of the bicycle in the U.S. highlights important cultural differences from other countries and also informs our understanding of American nationalism.

* * * * *

Gregg Twietmeyer, Marshall University

Two Days in the Life: The Birth and Death of Comiskey Park

All anniversaries are in a sense—like every other type of historical observance—purely arbitrary. There is nothing “written in stars” that requires the commemoration of decades, centennials, or millenniums. Furthermore given the organic development of human culture and society, even terms such as the “Age of Enlightenment” or “Golden Age of Sport” become problematic.

Such “ages” are convenient heuristic devices used to encapsulate and summarize a historical reality that is much too complex for any human being to fully understand, much less centrally plan. Therefore a comprehensive description of historical reality is impossible and counter-productive. Yet, labels and commemorations are useful to the historian as long as they are only given the heuristic weight they deserve. The historical enterprise is at its very foundation an editorial and evaluative enterprise. Insofar as anniversaries, ages, and the like lead to *understanding* they are a vital and necessary element of the discipline.

It follows that although these types of historical observation and commemoration can be misleading they are necessary for human beings. This is true because of the cognitive and corporeal limitations of the human intellect, as well as the fundamentally historical nature of reality. The historian is never fully outside the history they are researching because human beings are themselves historical creatures. History is only as discrete as the labels assigned to history by human beings. Though the human markers of time are contrived, they are both natural and necessary, for these human conventions helps clarify history. These conventions contribute to the development of the human meaning(s) and culture that make the historical enterprise possible. It follows that these apparently “arbitrary” reference points are important evaluative tools for the historian.

One such reference point in the history of sport is near. It has been one hundred years since Comiskey Park, “the Baseball Palace of the World,” was built on the south side of Chicago, as well as twenty years since its demise. Comiskey Park hosted its first game on July 1st 1910, and its final game on September 30th, 1990. These two anniversaries, though arbitrary in their numeric significance, offer an important opportunity to reflect on the history of twentieth century American sport through the lens of these two vantage points; the birth and death of Chicago’s Comiskey Park.

Although the population of Chicago varied relatively little between 1910 and 1990, the changes in sport (and America) during that timeframe were immense. Changes ranged from

economic and technological growth to social and cultural shifts. These changes—both positive and negative—forever altered the world of sport. Many things changed outside of the world of sport as well.

In 1910 Chicago was home to only two professional teams. In 1910 Chicago Stadium, Wrigley Field, and Soldier Field did not exist; nor did the Chicago Blackhawks, Bears, or Bulls. In 1910, World War I was four years away. The passage of the 19th Amendment (guaranteeing women the right to vote) was still ten years away.

By contrast, in 1990 it was the internet that was only four years away. In 1990 sport had become a multi-billion dollar industry supported by technologies such as radio and television that did not exist in 1910. By 1990 Comiskey Park had stood through two World Wars, fifteen U.S. Presidents, the Civil Rights era, women’s liberation, a “sexual revolution,” urban decay, and the dawning of the information age. The changes in sport between 1910 and 1990 are equally dramatic. Comiskey Park had stood through the rise and fall of the Federal League, the birth of night baseball, the integration of baseball, the death of the reserve clause, the birth of free agency, the globalization of modern sport, and an explosion of multimedia technology.

By contrasting how the Chicago sports landscape looked on July 1st of 1910 and September 30th of 1990, new light can be shed on the history of American sport. These two reference points can foster a new appreciation of the importance of history by clearly demarcating how much things have changed—for both better and worse—during the lifespan of one twentieth-century American ballpark.

Primary source material for this paper will come directly from Chicago’s newspapers, as well as the *New York Times*. The primary source research will concentrate on the days that Comiskey opened and closed, but will span weeks and months in each direction in an effort to contextualize each day. Secondary sources will include Peter Berger’s *Social Construction of Reality*, John Searle’s *The Construction of Social Reality*, Thomas Sowell’s *A Conflict of Visions*, Steven Riess’ *Touching Base*, and Costas and Bennett’s *It’s Hardly Sportin’: Stadiums, Neighborhoods, and the New Chicago*.

* * * * *

Patricia Vertinsky, University of British Columbia

Embodied Excess, Exoticism and Extravagance in the Lives and Performances of Ida Rubinstein and Isadora Duncan

During an important time of artistic experimentation, women’s liberation, and refutation of convention in the early 1900s, two celebrated modern dancers Isadora Duncan and Ida Rubenstein made their mark upon the international public, contributing to changing attitudes about women and dance movement aesthetics. Ida Rubenstein has been described as ‘the phallic female’ by contemporary critics while Isadora Duncan is often hailed as the ‘mother of modern dance.’ Though from very dissimilar backgrounds and perceived quite differently within the public eye, performers Rubenstein and Duncan, as members of the avant-garde and artistic elite, shared a number of interesting similarities, in particular, their embodiment of excess and exoticism through their extravagant, high profile lifestyles.

This paper examines Rubenstein and Duncan’s approach to modern dance and focuses

upon their paradoxical relationships to wealth and desire in their claims to artistic fame. Rubenstein, a Russian Jewess who deserted Russia for France to achieve fame, was known for her statuesque good looks, expressive mimesis and sexual daring displayed in the spectacle of her prolific productions. Born into immense wealth she used it to fund spectacular theatrical performances in which she starred, while Isadora Duncan, whose interest in the proletariat cause in Russia and the Soviet Union helped propel her fame within the international dance world, spent freely throughout her dancing career regardless of her continuous debt. As part of their continuum of spectacle and prestige, both women explored (or exploited) performances of gender in their dancing, provoking much controversy. Yet they also managed to occupy opposite ends of the era's gendered spectrum (as part and parcel of their aesthetic careers and lifestyles). Rubenstein's performances incarnated the decadent vision of the Orient for western audiences. Duncan, on the other hand, challenged the codified discipline of classical movement technique by 'freeing' the (female) body, ultimately working to extend the boundaries of what was considered dance.

There is an abundance of literature — albeit often contradictory — regarding the career of Isadora Duncan; biographies, an autobiography, letters, art, and copious media accounts (though no film). We have considerably less information about Ida Rubinstein who died in obscurity in southern France in 1960; there are two biographies and some secondary literature available, but this paper will also be examining French and Russian media accounts of Rubinstein's performances and searching a variety of sources related to the Ballets Russes and Les Ballets de Madame Ida Rubinstein.

* * * * *

Shannon Walsh, University of Minnesota

**Leotards and Leopard Print:
Women's Performance at the 1905 Mammoth Physical Culture Exhibition**

The 1905 Mammoth Physical Culture Exhibition was embroiled in controversy after the show's producer and sponsor, Bernarr MacFadden, was arrested by New York's Anthony Comstock, head of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. MacFadden's crime was the distribution of "obscene" posters containing images of men and women from the previous year's competition. While the show's prelude — the scintillating advertising materials, the arrests, and later on mob scenes — created an air of excitement, the show itself failed to live up to audience expectations. At issue in this site for me is the circulation of a discourse on women's sexuality, its connection to physical activity, and how these discourses manifested themselves on women's performing bodies. Utilizing Foucault's repressive hypothesis and Bakhtinian theories on the grotesque body, I interrogate the kinds of labor these women's bodies were expected to perform and to what ends. For MacFadden it seems that the "good of physical culture" was based squarely in the strengthening of white middle-class heterosexual bodies in order to reproduce stronger off-spring. The erasure of defect, deviance, abnormality, and excess was the ultimate goal of MacFadden's eugenically laced discourse. However, it relied on a conflicted notion of women's sexuality. Women's untamed sexuality must lie hidden beneath a controlled white marble facade, the artifice of which was constantly

questioned and undermined by their body's potential, and, according to MacFadden, its requirement, to perform the labor of birth.

* * * * *

Theresa A. Walton, Kent State University

**Contextualizing history within legal race relations and post-colonial studies:
Writing a critical biography of elite distance runner, Sydney Maree**

In this paper I utilize post-colonial (particularly the work of Gayatri Spivak) and critical legal relations theories (particularly the work of Linda Williams) to theorize and contextualize the history of elite distance runner, Sydney Maree. The focus of this paper is to explicate the theoretical framework for this project, making an argument for critical biography to best understand transnational athletes in general and Sydney Maree in particular. Post-colonial scholar Gayatri Spivak argues that, "History, is after all, a storying," constructed through the "arrangement and interpretation of 'facts,' and facts are facta, past participle of facio, things that are made" (1994, 24 & 26). Typically, however, narrative convention holds 'facts' as representative of reality, not 'things that are made,' and as opposite to opinion, which are understood as *just* our individual thoughts about those facts or the represented reality. This deconstruction of the concept of 'fact' leaves open the important questions of how written histories are made and interpreted, particularly those histories that run counter to celebratory stories of the past or that bring into question current ideologies. However, "deconstruction does not say there is no subject, there is no truth, there is no history. It simply questions the privileging of identity so that someone is believed to have the truth. It is not the exposure of error. It is constantly and persistently looking into how truths are produced" (Spivak, 27). Spivak continues on to say that, "When constructing an alternative history, it is this element of fact-making that comes most strongly to the fore. You are making a story in the robust sense — and there are those who will insist that you are making up a story" (27). Therefore, counter narratives cannot be implied or invited by the narrator with the expectation that the majority reader will 'fill in' details, as they are able to do in dominant narratives which tap into common sense understandings of the world, and are largely oblivious to privilege and subtle racism. Thus, counter-narratives must be more explicit and more clearly framed (Ross 1995). Indeed, Legal scholar Patricia Williams notes that "much of what is spoken in so-called objective, unmediated voices is in fact mired in hidden subjectivities and unexamined claims that make property of others beyond the self, all the while denying such connections" (1991, 11). Consequently, 'alternative' histories are critical to projects that seek to disturb structural inequalities based on socially constructed identities, such as race and gender. As race relations scholar Richard Delgado explains, "Critical race theory's challenge to racial oppression and the status quo sometimes takes the form of storytelling, in which writers analyze the myths, presuppositions, and received wisdoms that make up common culture about race and that invariably render blacks and other minorities one-down" (1995, xiv). Moreover, according to Schur, the technology of auto/biography has always been part of the process of attempting to gain freedom for people who are/have been oppressed, in this case blacks in both South Africa and the U.S., as understood via the transnational experiences of Sydney Maree.

* * * * *

Anne Warner, University of Western Ontario

**Representations of the Primitive at Private Ontario Youth Camps
in the 1920s and 1930s**

This paper looks at representations of the primitive at private Ontario youth camps in the 1920s and 1930s through the incorporation of “Indian Lore” into camp life. Influenced by the writings of famous American naturalist, Ernest Thomson Seton, camps adopted a lifestyle based on the idea of Rousseau’s “Noble Savage.” Most Ontario camps had Aboriginal language names and campers participated in canoe trips, learned woodcraft skills and so-called Aboriginal dances and songs. One of the most significant traditions at camp was “Indian Council Ring,” in which campers and staff gathered together in Aboriginal dress and held a mock council in which campers competed in games, recited prayers, sang songs, and performed dances. I suggest that the incorporation of “Indian Lore” at camp helped to create an element of spirituality that set camp apart from city life. “Playing Indian” incorporated an aspect of fantasy into camp, which made it easier for camp leaders to influence character. The imagined views of the Canadian Aboriginal were integrated into camp life in order to revive primitive qualities in young people, with no mention of the hardships Canada’s Aboriginals actually faced. Understanding how “Indian Lore” was used to cultivate character at youth camps speaks to the influence of the image of the Aboriginal on the outdoor recreation period of the early twentieth century; in addition to its being a reflection of post-colonial relations between First Nations and white middle-class Canadians.

Specifically, this paper focuses on the roots of the idealization of the primitive through the writings of Ernest Thomson Seton and his boy’s organization, the Woodcraft League of America: explores the use of Aboriginal symbols, ritual, and physical activity including canoeing and canoe tripping, at select boy’s and girl’s private Ontario youth camps; and finally, discusses what the incentive was behind incorporating these kinds of traditions into camp. This paper uses evidence from a variety of sources including archival data from the Ontario Camping Association fonds at the Trent University Archives, interviews with former campers and other camp experts, and secondary sources about Aboriginal history and Aboriginal representation in Canada. The paper is based on the premise that private Ontario youth camps were established to deal with the perceived breakdown of traditional ideals of masculinity and femininity, as life became increasingly modernized around the turn of the 20th century. Physical activity in the isolated wilderness was perceived as an unprecedented opportunity to influence the character of young people.

* * * * *

John S. Watterson, Charlottesville, VA

The Games He Plays: Barack Obama’s Post-Partisan Sports Presidency

When Barack Obama unveiled his golf game in December 2008, the nation gave a collective gasp. Was the hoops celebrity trading in his trademark sport for an elite, costly pastime often identified with Republicans and discredited Democrats? Was Obama exchanging his patented jump shot for a less Democratic tee shot? In a broader sense, did presidential sports provide a lens for piercing the murky veil of presidential ambitions and

personal character?

Basketball seemed better suited for the Obama White House. The President-elect was already known for his pick-up games —and also for his embarrassing foray into a bowling alley before the Pennsylvania primary. Basketball appeared to be a better fit for a president who excelled in the political skills of speaking and debating —and yet gave every sign of being a team player (some of his team were high school and college basketball players). Traditionally Democratic presidents like Clinton and Carter who engaged in individual sports had reputations as policy wonks, eschewing a tight staff system for a personalized presidency. In contrast, Republican chief executives were often former team players (Dwight Eisenhower, Gerald Ford, and Ronald Reagan) who felt more comfortable with a team approach, delegating to powerful chiefs of staff. And, they often preferred group sports such as golf foursomes at plush country clubs rather than hunting, hiking, sailing, and playing golf by their own rules.

My question is this: After more than a year in office, how does Obama fit into this dichotomy, if at all? I have followed closely Obama’s sports (he was not included in my book, *The Games Presidents Play, Sports and the Presidency*). In this paper, I will argue that Obama, though a work in progress, is the post-partisan sports president. While he hasn’t abandoned basketball, he has adopted the sports and activities that his predecessors, Republican and Democrats, have engaged in. So Obama has redefined the sports presidency by playing Republican games in Republican fashion while following contemporary trends such as daily workouts identified with recent chief executives. I have found that sport provides insights into both policies and character of presidents dating back to Teddy Roosevelt. I believe that it can provide the same for Barack Obama.

* * * * *

Stephen R. Wenn, Wilfrid Laurier University

Down Goes Chicago 2016! IOC-USOC Relations and the Copenhagen Collapse

In the waning days before the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) decision on the site for the 2016 Summer Olympics, U.S. President Barack Obama and members of his senior staff debated the merits of a presidential mission to Copenhagen in support of Chicago’s bid for the 2016 Olympics. Most observers believed Chicago was in a pitched battle with Rio de Janeiro, the hard charging South American finalist, for the right to host the Games. Tokyo, while well positioned financially to accept the challenge of hosting the 2016 Olympics, suffered from tepid domestic support, and few believed the European cohort on the IOC was brazen enough to push hard for a London (2012), Sochi (2014), Madrid (2016) rotation that also would have delivered five out of seven successive festivals to the continent. Rio de Janeiro’s call for the Games to be delivered to the South American continent for the first time, buttressed by the city’s successful staging of the 2007 Pan Am Games, was chipping away at Chicago’s support. This popular thinking likely informed Obama’s decision to board Air Force One and make an appeal on behalf of his hometown.

In pondering this decision, Obama found himself in a ‘no-win’ situation in a political sense. If he traveled to Copenhagen, and Chicago won, he would receive little credit as reporters would relay the thinking that the IOC had taken the predictable course of cashing

in on the American market in terms of anticipated television and corporate sponsorship revenue, especially during lean economic times. On the other hand, if he appeared in the Danish capital and Chicago lost, reporters would claim that Obama's presidential aura was greatly diminished. If he did not attend the IOC Session, and Chicago won, he would receive no credit, and conversely if Patrick Ryan's bid committee suffered a defeat, Obama would be blamed for not having made the effort to attend irrespective of the challenges of the health care reform debate on the home front.

At this time we neither know how well Obama's team understood a second major factor that had eroded Chicago's base of support, nor the organization's penchant for bloc voting in the early rounds of bid city elections. Rio's emotional appeal was having an effect; however, lingering points of dispute over Olympic finances between the IOC and the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) had frustrated IOC members lining up against the American city. The city's standing in Copenhagen was clearly compromised as IOC members prepared to vote. Strained IOC-USOC relations and bloc voting explain Chicago's shocking exit from the competition after the first round of voting.

Through an analysis of primary and secondary sources, this paper explores the two decades-long conflict between the IOC and the USOC over the means of distributing television and corporate sponsorship money as a backdrop for Chicago's demise as well as the USOC's two strategic miscalculations in 2009 that sealed Chicago's fate: 1) its decision to stall (until 2013) definitive change in the method of distributing Olympic revenue such that it continued to receive more than all of the 204 other National Olympic Committees combined; and 2) the public announcement of its intent to launch an American Olympic television network before matters of concern to the IOC, and its primary U.S. television partner of the last twenty years, the National Broadcasting Company, had been resolved.

On paper, Chicago lost the right to host the Olympic Games in Copenhagen. However, if there are fingers to be pointed and blame is to be apportioned, the USOC bears close scrutiny. The saga provides yet another chapter in the narrative of IOC-USOC relations, with those on the inside of the Olympic Movement in the U.S. resigned to the fact that an American city is greatly handicapped in the chase for the rings for as long as a settlement concerning the distribution of Olympic finances eludes the IOC and USOC.

* * * * *

Kevin Witherspoon, Lander University

"A Home of its Own: Placing Sport in the Historiography of the Cold War"

Studies of the Cold War have long centered on great-power politics, traditional diplomacy, and military conflict such as the Vietnam War or the nuclear arms race. In recent years, though, Cold War studies have turned their attention to "soft power," the role of nations at the periphery, and the influence of culture, including sport.

In this paper, I will discuss the place of sport in the ever-expanding field of Cold War history. Most pointedly, I will engage the debate over what "category" most appropriately defines sport in the Cold War era. Is it diplomatic history? Military history? Cultural history? How do other issues, such as race, gender, ethnicity, economics, and religion influence our interpretation of sport in this period? Or – as another alternative – might sport simply be

considered “pop culture,” exerting little influence on the issues listed above?

This exploration is inspired by years of research on sport in the Cold War in its broadest sense, as part of my ongoing study of the US/Soviet sporting exchanges during the Cold War. That research has led me in unexpected and, at times, frustrating directions, as I have been compelled to read all manner of sources, from the “classics” of Cold War history such as John Lewis Gaddis and Melvin Leffler, to more recent studies such as Joseph Nye’s *Soft Power*, to obscure pamphlets on the origins of Soviet ballet or booklets about chess strategy. How can one meaningfully place sport in this vast panoply of approaches to the period? That is the question at the heart of my ongoing project.

While not the primary intention of this presentation, I will also offer an assessment of the state of research on sport history in the Cold War. Having read dozens of books about the period and surveyed countless others, I have been surprised at the dearth of books dealing directly with sport, and especially books attempting a serious scholarly assessment of the role of sport in the Cold War. Most of the books related to sport in the Cold War might be described as “popular history,” either attempting little analysis of the significance of the events or offering superficial, hyper-patriotic generalizations (at least a half dozen books of this ilk apply to the 1980 Olympic U.S./Soviet hockey game alone...). Book-length studies have explored such things as international chess competitions, ballet dancers, jazz musicians, and literature. But while the Olympic Games have been the subject of copious research, there is as yet no systematic study of the role of athletics in influencing relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, especially competitions below the Olympic level. The best studies have taken only a glancing look at the role of sport within the broader universe of the cultural Cold War, or offered only limited analysis of the role of Cold War tensions as applied to specific events, such as the 1960 Rome Olympics or the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. There have been a number of significant essay-length contributions to the study of sport in the Cold War, but again most offer a narrow analysis of only one event or aspect of athletics in this period. Indeed, the book envisioned as the end result of my current project intends to address this need.

* * * * *

**John Wong, Washington State University &
Robert E. Rinehart, The University of Waikato (New Zealand)**

Physical Prowess, Body, and National Identity: The Bruce Lee Story

In April 1971, the Chinese government extended an invitation to the U.S. Men’s Table Tennis team to tour China for a “friendly” tournament. Many observers at the time believed that this so-called “Ping Pong Diplomacy” was the beginning of China’s return to full engagement in international politics as well as improvement in Sino-American relationships. Sport became one important avenue for the Chinese government to establish connection with other nations. Also in the same year, a little-known Chinese-American actor appeared in a low budget film, *The Big Boss*, which, within a short time, set box office records in Hong Kong and in Asia and was especially popular for ethnic Chinese. In the movie, the protagonist used martial arts to seek justice for overseas Chinese laboring under adverse conditions. *The Big Boss* captured the imagination of many Chinese who had long felt humiliated under semi-

colonial rule by various western imperial powers, up until the Second World War. Arguably one of the most famous iconic Chinese figures, martial artist and philosopher Bruce Lee had risen to prominence in the early 1970s through four movies. Until his death in 1973, Lee spread his philosophy of martial arts and physical prowess in various writings, interviews, and, of course, the four films. His influence on the perception of Chinese physical prowess extended beyond ethnic Chinese as his movies had a huge following outside Asia. Through content analysis of his four movies, *The Big Boss*, *Fist of Fury*, *Way of the Dragon*, and *Enter the Dragon*, this paper examines how Lee's movies portrayed a new conception of the body and physical prowess to Chinese, but also to North American audiences. Since the plot of all four movies had a Chinese as the main character and, for three of the four movies, stereotypical foreigners as villains, these movies also revealed a renewed national pride based on the body and physicality. In addition to the four movies, Lee's writings, interviews, and biographies will inform this analysis.

* * * * *

Xiaowei Yu, University of Western Ontario

They were There, Playing! An Examination of Baseball Experience of Chinese in America, 1870s-1930s

Baseball, as the national game of the United States, has developed from a children's game to a worldwide popular sport for more than 170 years. As a part of American culture, at the early period of its development, baseball not only helped immigrants from all over the world to be assimilated into the country, but also as a kind of cultural export, spread out to other countries. Numerous historical studies have focused on early baseball players from various ethnic groups in America, whereas there is few focusing on the early development of baseball among Chinese communities in America. Did any Chinese people play baseball both in China and the United States at the 19th century when baseball just developed? Were there all-Chinese baseball teams playing in America at the time? Were there any Chinese baseball players who became famous among Chinese communities even throughout the country at the time? To respond these questions, this study examined the early baseball experience of Chinese people both in China and America during the period between the 1870s and the 1930s by investigating the archives in the Baseball Museum in Cooperstown and various newspapers during the period as well as other scholars' contributions in this area.

The findings are categorized into three parts. The first part is regarding the early development of baseball in China. China was the earliest country in Asia where the influence of baseball reached. Baseball playing in China can trace its root back to at least the 1830s. Moreover, the first Chinese baseball club was formed in Shanghai in 1863. It was not until 1895 that three Western-oriented Chinese schools, St. John's school in Shanghai, Huiwen College and Tongzhou College in Beijing, established baseball teams. The second part is regarding the early baseball experience of Chinese people in America. The first all-Chinese baseball team in mainland America, named the "Orientals," was formed in 1876 by the Chinese students sent by Qing Dynasty government for the purpose of studying western new technology and science as part of China's "Self-strengthening movement." During the 1880s, several Chinese baseball teams were formed in major cities of the United States such as San

Francisco, Chicago, New York and Boston. In addition, the 1910s through the 1930s witnessed more Chinese baseball teams and clubs established in the major cities such as New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco. In 1932, the “Nushida-Hong Duel” between a Chinese baseball player and a Japanese baseball player became one of the hottest headlines in the local media both in Oakland and the Bay Area. The third part is regarding a famous Chinese baseball team from Hawaii. These Chinese Hawaiian ballplayers crossed the ocean to the United States to showcase their excellent performances between the 1910s and the 1930s.

It can be concluded that as the national game of the United States, baseball influenced Chinese people one century ago both in China and the United States. Unlike certain other ethnic groups with famous or legendary ballplayers at the time, Chinese ballplayers were hardly known by most people. However, the truth is, they were there, playing and enjoying the real fun coming from their baseball games, which, might be the essence and priceless value of baseball.

* * * * *

**Sally Zengaro, University of Alabama &
Franco Zengaro, Armstrong Atlantic State University**

**Sports Participation and the Acceptance of Unethical Behavior:
A Look at Italian Adolescents**

Sports seem to represent the best and worst of ethical conduct. The idea has persisted for generations that sport channels aggressive behavior into acceptable actions. Roosevelt stated, “Only aggressive sports can create the brawn, the spirit, the self-confidence, and quickness of men essential for the existence of a strong nation.” Part of the problem surrounding sports is that many sports, particularly high contact sports, often seem to encourage aggressive behavior that would normally be unacceptable outside of sports.

The purpose of this paper was to investigate attitudes toward ethical sports behavior among Italian adolescents. The research was guided by the following research questions: 1) Is there a difference between the way athletes and non-athletes view ethical sports behavior? 2) Is there a difference between the way males and females view ethical sports behavior? 3) Is there a difference between the way athletes view ethical sports behavior based on the level of contact or sports competition?

One hundred fifty-eight Italian adolescents ages 13-19 participated in this study. The participants came from a technical high school in a mid-sized town in southern Italy. There were 77 females and 81 males. Participants were asked to complete demographic data on their age, gender, type of sport played, level of competition, and the number of years they played. Sports were divided into four categories according to contact. Levels of competition were none, recreational, and elite sports. Participants also completed a questionnaire on ethical sports behavior using the Attitudes on Moral Decision-making in Youth Sport Questionnaire, which looks at the acceptability of three types of ethical behavior in sports: cheating, rule-bending (behaviors, such as trash-talking, that are not against the rules but are not in keeping with the spirit of fair play), and keeping winning in proportion. Data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, ANOVA, and Pearson correlations.

The results indicated that there was a difference in the way athletes and non-athletes

viewed the acceptance of cheating and of rule-bending. Both athletes of high contact sports and non-athletes were the most accepting of cheating and rule-bending in sports. Those who participated in low contact sports were the least approving of unethical behavior in sports. There was also a difference in gender in the acceptance of rule-bending in sports, with males accepting more rule-bending than females. It would appear that those who don't play sports view it as an arena where the attitude of "anything goes" is expected. This may be due to the popularity of high contact sports as spectator sports. While previous studies have found that males and those playing in high contact sports accept more unethical behavior, the finding that non-athletes equally accept the unethical behavior is new.

This paper contributes to our understanding of sports history because it explains how modern-day adolescents perceive sports and ethical behavior. In addition, it helps us understand how sports in post-modern times are culturally interpreted as lived phenomena situated and created in personal and social experiences.

* * * * *

Mengjia Zhang, University of Western Ontario
The Quest for Wushu's Entrance into the
Global Sport System and the Olympic Games

Wushu, also known as kung fu, is the popular phrase for the Chinese martial arts. Wushu, which can be traced over 6,000 years, is one of the most prominent traditional sport practices in China, and many other Asian martial arts (e.g. judo, karate) have originated from it. Traditional wushu was employed by the army to subdue the enemy, and practiced by the ordinary people as a means for self-defence and physical training, as well as for cultural education and a cheerful life. In modern times, wushu has been basically separated from military skills. With attack and defense as its basic movements and the Chinese traditional culture as its background, wushu has become a competitive sport including taolu (or forms) and sanshou (or sparring) disciplines, which is judged to a set of contemporary aesthetic criteria for points. Wushu taolu is a set of connecting stylized movements choreographed according to certain laws, embodying the philosophical connotation of attack and defense. Wushu sanshou is a set of bare-handed fighting movements between two people for both attack-defense exercises.

This paper considers some significant changes that have occurred in the form, content and functions of wushu in the process of its quest for entry into the global sport system, in particular the Olympic Games. The period studied is from 1950s, when modern wushu began to emerge in China, to 2008 when the International Olympic Committee (IOC) granted China the privilege of organizing the Wushu Tournament Beijing 2008 during the Olympic Games. An examination is undertaken by employing the theoretical approaches of modernization to demonstrate how the efforts to get wushu into the Olympic programme are taking wushu further and further away from the aims, methods and ideas derived from the philosophical principles on which it was originally conceived, and are putting wushu in the dilemma between tradition and Olympification. The major impediments to wushu's admission as an official Olympic sport are discussed in the context of current evaluation criteria for sports and disciplines of the Olympic Programme.

John R. Betts Address

Mark Dyreson, Pennsylvania State University

“A Brief History of the Miniature Golf Craze and American Foreign Policy, Or,
It’s a Small World After All: An Homage to John R. Betts”

* * * * *

Seward Staley Address

David Wiggins, George Mason University

“With All Deliberate Speed’: High School Sport, Race, and *Brown v. Board of
Education*”

* * * * *

Graduate Student Essay Prize Winner

John Gleaves, Pennsylvania State University

“Doping Professionals and Clean Amateurs: Amateurism’s Influences on the
Modern Philosophy of Anti-Doping”