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In the seminal book *New American Sport History*, Stephen Hardy argued that the area of entrepreneurs and the sports marketplace would prove a valuable place for future investigations as it had been understudied in years past. He noted that these people influenced sports through the form of the game, its occurrence and through sports services.

The few books that examine the American Basketball League (ABL) place Washington laundry magnate George Preston Marshall at the start of the ABL. While there had been short-lived regional professional basketball leagues before, the ABL represented the first attempt to create a professional basketball league that had a national scope. This previous scholarship does not provide details regarding Marshall’s role or activities with the ABL. Using local government records and articles from newspapers around the United States this paper will examine the role that this owner of the Washington basketball team played in the league.

As an opinionated and strong-willed figure among the leadership in the National Football League (NFL) during its second decade of operation, one would expect Marshall to be a dominant personality within the ABL’s higher echelon. Marshall did exert a great deal of influence on league operations. At the league meetings, he won arguments about important issues such as the number of teams in the league and the number of games played. He advocated for rules that shaped the way the game was played in the ABL and afterwards. His greatest influence occurred with his Palace Laundry team. Through making trades, structuring contracts and sending the team out barnstorming, Marshall shaped the team that represented Washington in the ABL.

This is a part of the first chapter of a book that will examine the strengths and weaknesses of the various professional basketball leagues through the contributions of the Washington, D.C.-based teams. This paper will provide insight into the history of basketball in the U.S. and expand our knowledge regarding both professional sports team ownership and sport finances.

Carly Adams, University of Lethbridge, “Where is the History?: Sustaining Community through Collective Memories of the Past”

Canada is becoming increasingly urbanized with small rural communities subject to amalgamation or threatened by decline. Statistics Canada data indicate that by 1931, for the first time in Canadian history,
more citizens (54%) lived in urban centres than rural communities. By 2006, this percentage had reached 80%. This demographic shift has serious ramifications for small rural communities struggling to survive. For Warner, a Southern Alberta agricultural-based community of approximately 380 persons, a unique strategy was adopted to imagine a sense of community and to allow its residents the choice to remain ‘in place’ (Epp and Whitson, 2006). Located 65 km south of Lethbridge, the rural village was threatened with the potential closure of the consolidated Kindergarten to Grade 12 school (ages 5-17). In an attempt to save the school and by extension the town, the Warner School and the Horizon School Division devised and implemented the Warner Hockey School program to attract new students to the school and the community. By 2003, the Warner vision of an imagined community (Anderson, 1983) came to include images of high performance female hockey, with its players as visible celebrities at the rink, school, and on main street.

Women’s hockey has flourished in Alberta at different moments (1920s, 1930s, 1970s, 1990s) throughout that last century. Drawing on news reports, oral interviews and municipal documents, in this paper I explore historical constructions of women’s hockey in Southern Alberta to consider how collective memories and historical discourses of the game impacted and/or shaped the decision to establish the women’s hockey school. I argue that collective memories of the women’s (and men’s) game played a part in the community support for this initiative.

Iain Adams, University of Central Lancashire, ““Over the Top’: Images of the Football Charges of World War One”

By the middle of the 19th century, many Britons believed in the nation’s imperial destiny and had developed an admiration for the soldier as a masculine ideal. War became accepted in popular culture with battle being portrayed as an exciting adventure as Britain implemented God’s plan for the improvement of mankind. Battles were brought to life through improving technology and communications enabling war correspondents to report regularly when they were first embedded with troops in the Crimea in 1854. Photographs and illustrations supplemented their written stories, rougher drawings being enhanced and embellished by artists at home. These illustrations accompanied war dispatches from the Boer Wars to the First World War in which the War Office initially banned cameras from the front line.

This public fascination with war and its coverage in illustrated newspapers was paralleled by the advancement of the cult of athleticism in
which the public schools inculcated the officer classes with concepts of duty, loyalty, sacrifice, physical courage and honour through team games and physical exercise. This ethos permeated society and reached the majority of boys through novels, toys and visual images and it became accepted that wars fought by the British were moral, legitimate and exciting. These views may have been partly responsible for the mass volunteerism to the army when war broke out in 1914. It was to be expected that the public school educated officer would lead the plucky Tommies with physical and moral courage. By this time, the public clearly linked the sports field with the battlefield.

This paper examines the visual portrayal of two recorded instances when sport was directly used by the British forces in offences against the German army. It compares and contrasts images published in the newspapers of the time with those drawn by soldiers who participated in “the football charges.” The newspaper images provide good propaganda with individual acts of heroism displayed by the officers whereas the images produced by the soldiers are less triumphal; one is a cartoon removing any sense of real danger to the men and the other produces an ethereal poignant dialogue about loss.

The paper analyses whether these images may have contributed in different ways to the indelible First World War folk memory of long lines of men walking resolutely into a maelstrom of machine gun fire either kicking a football if English or following a piper if Scottish.

Melvin L. Adelman, Ohio State University, “Profits in Professional Football in Post World War II America: The Case of the Cleveland Browns, 1946-1953”

Historians have almost totally ignored the financial side of professional sport as they unfortunately left this theme virtually to economists, whose scholarship is often deterministic and tends to flatten out the historical process. The result is a less textured and satisfying portrait of developments and this has led me to urge sport historians to do their own excavation and analysis into the business of sport.

In this paper, I continue my ongoing research on the finance of professional football in post-World War II America through an examination of the revenues and expenditures (R&E) of the Cleveland Browns during its four years (1946-1949) in the All-America Football Conference (AAFC) and its first three years (1950-1952) in the National Football League (NFL). I thereby construct the first historical exploration into the profit and losses of a professional football team over an extended period of time.
To construct Cleveland’s R&E over these seven years I drew upon newspapers, a host of records and documents mainly located in the Pro Football Hall of Fame, gate receipts from regular season games from 1951 and 1952, receipts from preseason contests for 1950 through 1952 and figures from the Congressional Record Hearings of 1958. I then employed the “inferential economics” approach I have successfully employed in other works to create a reasonable estimate of the Browns’ R&E over this extended period of time.

The portrait that emerges from the data is of a very profitable football club from its inception despite the turbulent times of the trade war between the AAFC and NFL and at a time when it was thought that the financial rewards of professional football were scant given the comparative limited popularity of the sport. In its inception year the Browns made slightly less than $200,000 and over $225,000 the following seasons, but profits dramatically dwindled as the Conference collapsed in its last two years. In fact the Browns lost nearly $75,000 in the AAFC final season which clarifies why its team owner Mickey McBride and its general manager and famous coach Paul Brown were so enthusiastic to transfer their team to the NFL where Cleveland’s continued success on the field quickly led it to become among the league’s most lucrative teams.

While the profits of the Browns were on the high end of the NFL, they confirm other components of my research that professional football by midcentury was a more lucrative business than most scholarly previously noted. The rising revenues of teams indicated that the popularity of professional football was already underway before the sport’s exceedingly successful merger with television.

Nick Aplin, Nanyang Technological University, “Tours and Leagues, Gates and Governors: Sustaining Association Football in Singapore during the 1920s”

Association Football arrived in Singapore, courtesy of marine engineers and young members of the Singapore Cricket Club, in 1889. Initially, it was to be the poor cousin of the gentleman’s game—rugby football. The handling game had enjoyed a head-start among the colonial settlers. However, the ruffians’ version became the national game because of its broader appeal. The watershed year was 1921, when the Captain Buller of HMS Malaya donated two trophies to the sportsmen of Malaya to encourage friendly competition between the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements —competitions that would be ‘open to all communities’. During the decade that followed, interactions between advocates of the nascent beautiful game helped to formalize the structure of a game that would serve as an
important imperial link. These links headed in two main directions: to the dominions of the British Empire and to China.

A number of issues characterized the development of the game. Initially the motive to ‘civilize through soccer’ facilitated the spread of the game. The administration of football in Singapore was framed on communal lines, with each racial group creating its own association. Sporting rivalries developed and the inclusion of military teams, posted to equatorial climes, served to spice up the game. The belief in the amateur ethic promoted by the British colonial administrators was contested not just by other nationalities but by the British and the Europeans themselves. The need to generate and apportion the proceeds of games that attracted growing numbers of spectators stimulated the need for a more professional approach.

It is proposed that entertaining visiting teams and venturing abroad on reciprocal trips provided additional momentum to sustain the growth of the game at this time. During the period leading up to the Great Depression, there were many exchanges. Positioned at an important trading crossroads, Singapore was ideally suited to providing the ultimate stopover location. Teams from Australia, Ceylon, the East Indies and China kept the sporting landscape in Singapore fertile. As China was striving to compete more vigorously with Japan on the sports field, Singapore came to represent a source of talent.

This paper argues that the development of international connections, largely through trade, provided Singapore with the foundation for a modern sporting identity. One might even suggest that recent success as a host nation for sport (viz. the Youth Olympic Games in 2010) had its genesis in the positive reputation that originated during the 1920s.

Most of the evidence for this research is based on reporting in the English language newspapers of the time. It is apparent from these reports that the British adopted a laissez-faire approach when it came to sport and the involvement of the predominantly migrant Chinese population. Their strongest influence was over the indigenous Malay football community. This paper provides further evidence that the diffusion of sport through imperialism represented an important means of establishing and sustaining cultural identity.

Sheldon Anderson, Miami University, “Soccer and the Failure of East German Sports Policy”

In the opening round of the 1974 World Cup soccer tournament in West Germany, the East German national team defeated the heavily favored West Germans, 1-0. With the victory East Germany finished first in its group,
but West Germany eventually went on to win its second World Cup. East Germany’s 1974 World Cup victory was an anomaly. Underfunded by a regime focused on winning Olympic medals, East German soccer languished in the second tier of international soccer.

Using East German newspapers and German-language sources, this paper examines the way the German Democratic Republic (GDR) used Olympic sports rather than soccer to create a new socialist national identity. It also compares East German with Polish press coverage of sports, showing the deviations within the Soviet bloc when it came to cultural matters. While much work has been done on the East German sports machine, scholars have neglected the GDR’s soccer scene. Furthermore, there have been few comparative studies of respective Soviet bloc sports organizations.

Devastated by the war, hamstrung with reparations extracted by their Soviet occupiers, and running a command economy that had limited growth potential, the GDR had to choose between exploiting team sports that on the surface promoted cooperation, suppressed individualism, and stifled personal economic gain, or develop athletes in individual sports, especially the Olympic disciplines. In the late 1960s, the Socialist Unity Party (SED) expressed disappointment with the level of play of its national soccer team, accusing some team members of chasing after material interests.

In 1969 the SED decided that the number of medals to be won at the Olympics and other international championships was the most cost effective way to showcase their socialist system, especially in comparison to West Germany. The medals count would be an objective measure of the two systems. The East German poured resources into disciplines in which multiple medals were awarded, such as the nearly eighty medals contested in Olympic swimming and track and field events. One swimmer or one runner could win multiple Olympic medals, while soccer teams could win only one medal, or one European or World Cup. Despite the global popularity of these soccer tournaments, there was no guarantee that East German soccer teams would win them or finish anywhere near the top, in which case the expenditures would go for naught. The regime pulled resources from other team sports as well.

I argue that East Berlin’s decision to develop Olympic athletes at the expense of soccer—the world’s most popular game—was a mistake. If any game would lend indirect support for the socialist regimes, it was soccer, which had mass followings in both West and East Germany. The Polish communist authorities knew this, and pumped resources into the game. Even if the GDR’s teams did not do well in international soccer competitions, average East Germans just wanted to play the game.
The formal organization of modern sport began in Rio de Janeiro/Brazil in the nineteenth century with the foundation of the first horseracing club the Clube de Corridas (Racing Club) in 1849. The formation of the club is best understood in the context of the early modernization of Brazilian society under D. Pedro II, a king with liberal ideas, and an economy controlled by a rural aristocracy that oversaw the exportation of agriculture products. In this climate the turf established itself as one of the most important leisure activities across all socioeconomic levels. However, by the late nineteenth century organized rowing emerged to challenge horseracing. This period produced a new context: political challenges to the monarch, economic diversification, and new social classes including a nationalist-inspired intelligentsia and a urban bourgeoisie. This context derived, in part, from a European-grounded modernity which flowed from Europe along with the second wave of the Industrial Revolution. By the end of the nineteenth century rowing (as the symbol of modernization, progress and urbanization) had replaced horseracing (as the symbol of the old, outdated, colonial, monarchical and rural) as the most popular sport. The modernizing society selected the beach as a key site for its sporting practices (e.g. rowing, bathing and swimming). These sports became the symbols par excellence of a modern future. Yet, despite this gaze to the future, and contrary to the desires of republican leaders, bullfighting, the archetypal symbol of the former colonizer (Portugal), was also organized in the late nineteenth century. References to bullfighting appear frequently in the newspapers of the time and suggest that people eagerly attended the fights. I am particularly interested in trying to understand the reasons behind the resurgence of this practice at a time in which the discourse of modernity seemed to prevail. I thus discuss the representations of bullfighting in Rio de Janeiro in the late nineteenth century, drawing on magazines and newspapers between 1896 and 1903 including Jornal do Brasil, Gazeta de Noticias and Revista da Semana. I conclude that bullfighting reflects a set of tensions around sport in Brazil and that these tensions highlight the hybrid and partial nature of European modernity in Brazil. In this sense, a specific local context shaped Brazilian notions of modernity. This study further deepens our understanding of the peculiarities of modern sport.
Josh Archer, University of Western Ontario, “No Tennis in South Africa: The ACOA and U.S. Resistance to South African Apartheid”

In 1952, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) was formed in response to the South African Defiance Campaign, which called for the freedom “to live a full life” irrespective of national identity in South Africa, and was headed by the National African Congress a year earlier. Fostered by white and black equality activists, the ACOA’s aims were to educate people on, and create resistance towards, the Apartheid regime in South Africa through non-violence and the “moral commitment” of the US Civil Rights Movement. From its inception in 1952, to the fall of the Apartheid regime in the 1990s, the ACOA led, and was effectively involved in, many anti-apartheid initiatives. One such initiative centered on tennis.

In 1969, the US Lawn Tennis Federation hired a South African, Owen Williams, as Director of the US Open Tennis Tournament in Forest Hills, New York. In response, the ACOA released a leaflet titled, *Tennis Anyone? NOT in South Africa*, which called for “No Partnership in Apartheid.” The ACOA leaflets were distributed several months after the 1968 Olympic Games, where John Carlos and Tommie Smith stood atop the track and field podium to execute one of the most iconic images in Olympic history—the “Black Power” salute. The ACOA leaflet was a reflection of the internal and external affairs the United States and South Africa were experiencing at the time, and reinforced the link between the Civil Rights Movement in the US and Apartheid in South Africa.

This paper examines how the ACOA used sport to generate resistance in the US towards the South African Apartheid regime. Specifically, it focuses on how the ACOA used the US Open Tennis Tournament to generate interest in, and awareness of, the South African Apartheid regime in the US, and then link those issues to the US Civil Rights Movement, in an attempt to address both racial systems simultaneously. Evidence for this paper will be drawn from primary and secondary sources dealing with this issue in the 1960s, including an analysis of ACOA’s Annual Reports from 1967-1970 and its letters to Washington, which outlined the organization’s multiple initiatives on the issue. Findings from this paper will enhance our understanding of the US Civil Rights Movement, as well as how sport was mobilized in the US to address issues of racial inequality internationally.
Coretta Assié and Rémi Solacroup, Bordeaux University, “The History of Moroccan and Malagasy Sport Sociabilities in Aquitaine Since the Sixties: A Postcolonial Dynamic?”

For a short decade, Postcolonialism in France has shown some renewal (Blanchard, Bancel, Lemaire 2005). However this new national fervor to question the signs and effects of colonialism nowadays in France faces many detractors firmly denouncing that Universalism is attacked, or more softly, criticizing a “trend” too favourable to a postcolonial point of view to understand the contemporary minority condition (Bayart 2010, Geisser 2011).

On the basis of private and public records (Departmental Archives), and of participating observations and interviews, our work aims at discussing the presence of a postcolonial sports dynamic. The history of community sport sociabilities (Callède 1985) of the Moroccan and Malagasy immigration in Aquitaine after their independences intend to discuss about the part of the minority condition and/or of their sense of belonging to both nations in their education. It also helps to assess their evolution, or decline, and the causes justifying their paths from the sixties to today.

After the Moroccan Independence (1956), the French government favoured a Moroccan immigration, rather than the Algerian influx that was considered as too massive (Blanc-Chaléard 2001). Since the seventies, the Moroccans have settled in Aquitaine, a southwest French region, and specially in Bordeaux (Guillaume 2003), and in 2008, according to the French national institute of economic and statistical information, there were about 20,000 Moroccans in Aquitaine, and more than half of them were living in Gironde.

Their sport practice is organized around associations whose traces have been obvious since the seventies. Since 1981, those associations have grown up quickly thanks to the legal authorization for foreigners to create their own associations. Today, there are about thirty Moroccan sport associations in Aquitaine along with about twenty in Bordeaux areas, practicing football in majority. Nevertheless this practice has been gradually decreasing because of the new sports practices are more informal, less and less influenced by the community feeling in the local sports clubs at the beginning. That decline may be explained by the gradual unchaining of the generation (Attias-donfus 2009) caused by the current assimilation of the French youth of Moroccan origin, and by the probable loss of influence of the Moroccan consulate, as well as by the waning minority feeling.

In the same period, the history of the “Malagasy sports” is quite different. In spite of the Independence of Madagascar in 1960, which put an end to French colonial domination, the Malagasy migration towards metropolitan France still endured. Different waves of immigrants (Crenn
1998) caused the presence on the French territory of 80,000 Madagascans, mainly in Paris areas and in Aquitaine.

For those people, sport is a means to build community. On top of the dynamic sports associations for many decades, the Malagasy living in France initiate and take an important part in the National Sports Meeting (RNS). This sports event, organized every year for thirty-six years, welcomes several thousand competitors and spectators coming from the European Diaspora. However the Malagasy population doesn’t only take part in community sports practices but they also join the usual French sports events. The maintenance of community sports sociability, or even ethnic, can be explained by the sense of belonging, on one hand to France, and to Madagascar on the other hand, associated with the feeling of “communalization” (Weber 1921) of the youngest Malagasy generation (Drot 2007, Claverie/Combeau-Mari 2011).

**Norman Baker, University at Buffalo, and Rita Liberti, California State University East Bay, “‘The Golden Years’ or Wide Right: Success or Failure for the Buffalo Bills in History and Memory”**

At the beginning of the 20th century Buffalo, New York, was the eighth largest city in the United States. It was the site of the 1901 Pan-American Exposition, which was notable for the extensive use of electric power generated from the nearby Niagara Falls. It was “the City of Lights.”

In contrast to the 19th, the 20th century was not so kind to Buffalo. The economic base of Western New York gradually diminished and, from mid-century, there was a commensurate demographic decline. By 2000, it was the 58th most populous city. The prevailing perception of Buffalo was that of a rust belt city, with such negativity reinforced by huge mounds of snow. Buffalonians’ view of their city fluctuated between a defeatism resting on experience and a defensive pride resting on emotional attachment.

Despite nurturing a number of talented athletes, Buffalo was not a “major-league” city. For a while in the 1970s it even lost its longest-standing professional team, the AAA minor league baseball Bisons. Ironically, Buffalo became a major-league city, with the Bills in the 60s and the Sabres in the 70s, when its economic decline was at its most precipitous. Both of these franchises enjoyed some initial success and provided some compensatory pride in the community. Some of what Buffalonians view as their collective resilience has resulted in the perpetuation of a devoted following in the face of many disappointing seasons. Although the Sabres have enjoyed some good years, having reached the Stanley Cup finals twice, the singular era of success and national prominence for Buffalo sports came with the Bills’ four Super Bowl years, 1991-94.
This paper has a dual purpose. The first is to study this experience and its impact on perceptions of Buffalo. Was it viewed as having a positive or negative impact on the image and self-awareness of an economically declining community? Second, we try to assess the collective memory of that era as it is now evoked in Western New York.

The first purpose will be pursued by the study of secondary sources on local history together with the national and local press for the early 1990s. The second goal will be furthered by way of a survey/questionnaire. This will seek to assess factual memory and more generalized recollections. In addition, the attempt will be made to compare sporting memory with civic memory and to include ex-pat respondents because the Buffalo sporting community extends well beyond the physical bounds of Western New York.

One of the collaborators on this paper grew up in Cheektowaga, one of Buffalo’s oldest and most proximate suburbs, but now lives in the Bay Area. The other is not a native Buffalonian but has lived in the city for more than 42 years and has undergone the highs and lows of the Buffalo sporting experience.

Susan J. Bandy, Ohio State University, “Mountaineers, Hikers, and Spelunkers: Literary Treatment of Women in Remote Sport of the 19th and 20th Centuries”

Unlike many of their American counterparts, French and British historians of sport—most notably Julie Gaucher, Jeffrey Hill, and Martin Johnes—have embraced transdisciplinary approaches to the study of the history of sport and have considered the literature of sport (most particularly autobiographies, drama, fiction, and prose memoirs) as a valuable source for writing sport history. Occurring within the debate about the nature of history and what its “proper” concerns might be, as Jeffrey Hill notes in Sport and the Literary Imagination (2006), texts are valued as “active” as opposed to “reflective.” Therefore, these historians have viewed sport literature, in particular, not simply as reflecting society and cultural views of sport; rather, they have considered this literature as that which shapes our identities, provides understandings of ourselves, and reveals more about the nature and significance of sport than previously thought. In so doing, they have offered new and original approaches to the history of sport.

Although not theoretically and specifically framed as “active texts,” in the first scholarly analyses of women’s literary accounts of sport, Bandy, Darden, and Sandoz suggested that female authors were attempting to redefine sport while chiseling away at societal notions concerning gender and femininity. They, like all artists, were in the act of re-creation—of reconstructing ideas about gender, femininity and perhaps sport. In their
quest for autonomous self-definition, female authors found sport, exercise, and physical culture as fertile ground for this search. The 19th and 20th century literature pertaining to remote sports, those occurring in the wilderness outside of the societal restrictions and structural boundaries of urban sport that excluded women, invites further analysis.

This research will examine women’s writings concerning remote sports of the 19th and 20th centuries (mostly British and North American) focusing principally on autobiographies, fiction, poetry, and prose memoirs. It is argued that the remoteness of activities such as mountain climbing, hiking, and spelunking, in terms of their physical distance from society and its ideological and structural restrictions, enriches this literature as a source for understanding their experiences, and, as Gaucher has suggested in her work concerning women and parachuting offers a “myriad of embodiments of femininity.” Historians may find this literature particularly fruitful as “active texts” concerning the transformation of cultural and social thought regarding the views of females of the period, the history of their engagement in sport and physical culture, and the distinctiveness of their ideas with respect to their appreciation for nature and their bond with it, the importance of the body in this bond, and an understanding of nature as “the world’s body.”

**Bob Barnett, Marshall University and Steven Cooper, Spencer (WV) High School, "The First Girl’s State High School Basketball Tournament"

In 1919 three states—South Carolina, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—held the first Girl’s State High School Basketball Championship Tournaments in the United States. The West Virginia tournament was held in Spencer, West Virginia, the county seat of Roane County. Spencer was a small town of 2,400 people that was so rural that it could only be reached by railroad most of the year. But Spencer was a great business town, wealthy from oil, gas, cattle, and the state asylum for the insane.

The first tournament in 1919 drew 11 teams to Spencer and was won by Huntington High School, one of the largest schools in the state. The town of Spencer took the tournament to its heart, providing the visiting teams with rooms in the townspeople’s homes, free meals, tours of the insane asylum, parties, dances and over $1,000 in awards.

By 1921 the third tournament drew 34 teams and was won for the second time by Wheeling High School, which was from the largest city in the state. In 1923, Spencer, featuring the three Runnion sisters, won the tournament after traveling the state in their private railroad car to play all challengers.
Unfortunately, following the 1924 tournament the rising tide of opinion that interscholastic sports were injurious to the girl’s health caused the West Virginia High School Athletic Association to abolish the West Virginia Girls’ High School Tournament, by the narrow vote of 24-22. Girls’ basketball continued in West Virginia through the end of the 1920s. Three West Virginia High School teams participated in the National Interscholastic Girl’s Basketball Tournament, including Spencer, in the late 1920s. But by the mid 1930s few high schools sponsored girls’ teams.

The questions that this paper will address are why the West Virginia tournament was very successfully held in an isolated small rural town with no tradition in girls’ basketball, and it will also specifically address the impact of the national opposition to girls’ interscholastic sports during the 1920s on the West Virginia event.

Little if any information had been published or presented on early girls’ high school basketball tournaments. This paper provides groundbreaking information on the West Virginia tournament.

David Barney, Albuquerque Academy, “For the Huff and the Puff of the Old Buff and Blue: A Short History of Aquatics at the Punahou School”

This is a paper about the Punahou School in Honolulu, Hawaii and its national record-setting boys and girls aquatics programs. The Punahou School, familiarly known as “The Buff and Blue” and initially called Oahu College, was founded in 1841 as an educational refuge for children of missionaries. From a beginning class of fifteen students, the school’s enrollment has increased over time to stand today at 3,760 students in grades K through 12. In that regard, Punahou is the largest independent school in the United States. It may be the best in athletic achievement. *Sports Illustrated* proclaimed its program of twenty-two interscholastic sports in 2008 as “the best in the country.” Punahou’s long list of alumni Olympians and NFL and MLB players, as well as a short list of professional golfers, undoubtedly influenced that lofty view.

Most extraordinary, though, is Punahou’s collection of state championship trophies, which are unmatched by any other high school, private or public, in the United States. That lofty acclaim has certainly not been diminished by the eight-year presence on campus of an off-the-bench basketball player wearing number 23. No, it wasn’t Michael Jordan but rather a young backcourt presence nicknamed “Bomber Barry” by his teammates. We know him as the President of the United States, Barack Obama. But all that’s an overview and an impressive one at that. Equally impressive is the
history and tradition of aquatics at Punahou, considered by many to be the jewel in the crown of the school’s impressive athletic agenda.

Set against the backdrop of that tradition is the paper’s examination of the historical timeline and the figures of consequence associated with Punahou’s swimming, diving, and water polo programs. To set all that in perspective, it is interesting to note that long before mainland interscholastic swimming supremacy began to move westward toward California, the real seat of swimming excellence lay well beyond the California coastline, out of sight and out of mind in an archipelago possessing plenty of swimming history but no statehood status. Detached politically and obscured geographically by 3,000 miles of ocean, the early vestiges of what would eventually be called the Punahou School in Honolulu and its athletic programs came into being when the islands of Hawaii were still caught in the middle of what would be almost a century of family squabbles between sovereign kingdoms. So much for antiquity.

Robert K. Barney and Michael K. Heine, University of Western Ontario, “The Maple Leaf Forever: Canada’s First Olympic Team and Forging of an International Identity”

In February 2010 the City of Vancouver celebrated the 17th edition of the Olympic Winter Games. Most judged the event to be a huge success, underscored by Canada’s “best-ever” medal-winning showing (15), huge national and international television ratings, and, in the public mind, a gala celebration beyond compare of the nation and its culture. Enveloping the entire atmosphere was the nation’s national symbol. One could hardly turn in any direction and not be greeted by the red maple leaf. It was everywhere: on the thousands of flags flying throughout the city, on the hundreds of licensed articles on sale in stores and ubiquitous kiosks, indeed, painted on the faces of thousands of Canadian Olympic pilgrims. It was displayed in so many forms and in so many places as to be almost uncountable. In the midst of all this hoopla, one fact was unknown to all. The red maple leaf national identification symbol presented to the international community was, in effect, celebrating its centennial anniversary. And what better precinct to celebrate such an historical notation than at an Olympic Games festival—where, in effect, the red maple leaf as a Canadian national symbol made its first appearance over 100 years ago. This paper details the research methodology and process incumbent in producing the narrative that details the historical events underlying the thesis outlined above, namely, that an Olympic Games festival, in London, England in July 1908 provided the scene for the first-ever international presentation of what has become the world-wide recognized symbol of
Canada, the red Maple Leaf. The research journey focuses on the letters, diaries, photographs, scrapbooks, ephemera, and written reminiscences of sixteen Canadian “stadium athletes” who participated in the 1908 Olympic Games, a corpus of material carefully saved and stored in family records.

**Ellyn L. Bartges, University of Illinois, “The Life of Dr. Charlotte West: Athlete, Professor, Coach, Administrator, and AIAW President”**

With Title IX’s 40th birthday coming in June 2012, the person highlighted in this paper could not be more appropriate for a NASSH presentation. This paper is an introduction to Charlotte West. Material was derived from a series of oral history interviews conducted over a six-year period starting in 2005. Born in 1932, West is still living, volunteering her time to a variety of causes and working to protect Title IX, whether it is testifying before Congress or educating future female administrators through the National Association of Collegiate Women Athletics Administrators (NACWAA). Her humble approach to life is recounted through her actions and stories; West slowly reveals the influences on her philosophy, training, friends and leadership style. Her journey from a snowbird student in elementary school to one of the most influential and well-respected leaders of the modern women’s sports era is compelling to historians, and instructive to students of cultural and women’s studies.

West spent 42 years at Southern Illinois University. She is a seminal figure in the sports arena through her work on Title IX, as a president of the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW), and as one of the few women to serve as an interim athletic director at a Division I athletic program sponsoring football. Shaking off alleged gender discrimination after she was passed over as the permanent Athletic Director, she used her administrative skills to advance the program that denied her. West showed unprecedented dedication when asked to “mentor” or “assist” the former student-athlete who was hired as the Athletic Director. For her work and leadership, West accrued some of the most prestigious awards locally, regionally and nationally (e.g., 1st Honda Award recipient, Missouri Valley Conference Hall of Fame, first woman member of the National Association of Collegiate Directors of Athletics as well as having a named award from the MVC to a male and female student athlete annually to name just a few).

Charlotte West is a member of a group of elite, well-educated, involved, and influential women from the physical education field who helped lay the ground work for women across the United States to compete athletically and coach professionally. In 2008 at the Lake Placid NASSH, Earle Zeigler gave a keynote address memorializing and then criticizing the trend of the organization away from its roots in physical education. West is
an example of one of those lost physical educators Zeigler spoke about. West’s story is interesting and little known given the stature she has as one of a group of pioneers recognized for their great influence, knowledge, power and long lasting generosity to the profession. Her early life contributed significantly to the building of her character and her professional path and is the focus of this paper.

Benjamin Bendrich, Georg-August-University Göttingen, “A History of Support Services for Student-Athletes in American Universities”

Shocking scandals and cover-up stories involving athletic departments of esteemed American universities have been exposed to the public and triggered an outcry for reform. Financial and athletic success seem to rule the world of college athletics.

These scandals are attached to a number of other problems within collegiate athletics such as the power structure and academic success of student-athletes. In a system where coaches are treated like mythical heroes and placed amongst the highest earning public employees of their respective states, something is amiss.

In the business of college athletics, student-athletes and their academic performance often get lost in the whirlwind of athletic success. Prestigious institutions spend millions of dollars for their athletic enterprises and use them as their flagships and trademarks. The argument that most universities treat student-athletes like business assets rather than important scholars can be advanced.

In general, student-athletes are under incredible pressure academically and athletically. In order to compete they have to remain eligible. There is no doubt that high-performance athletes need extra support. The question remains how this support should be offered.

Over the last couple of years the NCAA has implemented standards for the academic performance of student-athletes and defines specific academic criteria for incoming freshmen as well as their academic progress during the rest of their studies. In connection to these criteria, special support programs with a wide range of topics were established and operate in all Division I schools with the aspiration to re-balance the role of intercollegiate athletics.

This presentation analyzes the historic development of academic support services and “life skills” programs as well as the benefits and problems of these programs today. Most of them are implemented and controlled by the athletic departments of the respective universities. As a result of different philosophies, universities across the country have launched different programs to assist and monitor student-athletes’
academic progress. Over the last couple of decades universities have intensified the development and immensely increased the funding of such programs.

Based on the versatile problems of today an analysis of the development of support services will help to approach these issues. When did the first programs operate? Why did such a support became mandatory for every Division I school in the country? What kind of philosophies do these support programs prosecute? Does academic success play a role in these programs or is it rather the goal to maintain NCAA eligibility? How can the efficiency of such programs be measured, is it possible under the current system?

The apparent structural problems of today’s academic support services show that considerable improvement is necessary. The questions arise:

1. What kind of measures can be taken to improve the academic integrity of athletic departments?
2. How can academic support services improve the current situation and learn from experiences and mistakes of the past?

Adam P. Berg, Penn State University, “Vacation from Civilization: Thru Hiking the Appalachian Trail in the 1970s”

The Appalachian Trail (AT) was competed in 1937, but up until 1970 only 59 people had reported completing a continuous end to end “thru hike” of the 2,100-plus mile path. By the end of the 1970s that number would multiply almost fourteen times. The rapid increase of thru hikers has continued ever since. Indeed, by the year 2010 over 12,000 people reported having walked the entire distance between Springer Mountain in Georgia and Mount Katahdin in Maine.

My project explores the causes of the initial swell of AT thru hiking. By providing a context through primary and secondary sources, I explain what impelled hikers to undertake a four- to six-month trek through the supposed wilderness. My sources will be popular magazines such as Backpacker Magazine, Field and Stream, and Outside Magazine. I will also draw on Appalachia (The Appalachian Trail Conference's official journal), Trailway News (The Appalachian Trail Conference’s official magazine), and National Geographic. Books from successful 1970s thru hikers will provide firsthand accounts. Examples include Sherman and Older’s Appalachian Odyssey, Garvey’s Appalachian Hiker and Appalachian Trail Hiker II, Flack’s Ambling and Scrambling on the Appalachian Trail, and Brill’s As Far As the Eye Can See. I will also make use of secondary sources to provide a cultural context for the 1970s, the decade that propelled the thru-hiking boom.
In the 1970s the time was right for multiple ideas (but not necessarily new ones) concerning the value of wilderness experiences to gain traction. As the antipode of civilization, wilderness benefited from a questioning of authority. To a growing counter-culture, wilderness became an escape from and a challenge to an alienating society. Aiming to preserve wild lands, hundred-year-old romantic and transcendental notions of wilderness as a pure, sublime, and spiritual place became fashionable. Likewise, the old idea that America’s once expansive wilderness cultivated a unique American character led many nationalistic thinkers to argue for protecting land from development. Supported by advances in backpacking technology (bags, tents, boots, freeze-dried food), transportation, and the spread of information through new guidebooks and magazines, American masses began to seek meaningful experiences in wild lands. As a “backpacking boom” took hold, the AT thru-hike became the zenith of backpacking achievement. Concurrently, a new individualistic focus on personal fitness made the solitary trek a powerful accomplishment. Within these contexts a group of middle-class, mostly white male Americans took the opportunity to remove themselves—for a time—from a growing consumer culture to seek “authentic” experiences on the AT. As the cult of thru-hiking spread through popular publications, the wilderness walk through the mountains between Georgia and Maine became a viable option for an increasing number of Americans looking for fulfillment on their own terms.

**Martin E. Berger, Leiden University, “From Pelota to Pelota Mixteca: The Indigenization of Spanish Sports in Mexico”**

In Mexico, several indigenous sports have survived the introduction of modern sports culture in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One of these sports is *pelota mixteca*, played in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca, and by Oaxacan migrants in Mexico City and the United States. To the players of *pelota mixteca*, the sport they are playing is an ancestral, indigenous tradition that is thought to have been played by Mixtecs and Zapotecs since long before the Conquest of the Americas. However, research shows that the origins of *pelota mixteca* are European.

Using colonial and historical sources, in addition to oral history, ethnographic fieldwork and Internet postings, this paper examines how the originally European sport of *pelota* came to be seen as an indigenous sport and called *pelota mixteca*, over the course of several centuries. It is argued that when, in early Colonial times, the pre-Columbian hip-ballgame was forbidden by the Spanish because of its relationship to indigenous religious practices, Mixtec and Zapotec indigenous people adopted the Spanish handball game as a
substitute. Because of the large timespan between adoption and the present, and the decline of popularity of the traditional handball games among Europeans, as well as local developments that occurred in Mexico in the early 20th century, pelota mixteca came to be seen as an indigenous sport. Nonetheless, when physical education became a focus of Mexico’s school system in the 1920s and 30s, the game was not incorporated into the national curriculum by the Secretaria de Educación Publica, even though it seemed to fit most of the requirements. A study of government policies and attitudes shows that this exclusion was most probably due to the fact that pelota mixteca was considered indigenous, and was thus alien to the elites. Therefore it would reinforce indígena identity, rather than the new unified Mexican identity that the Mexican government attempted to forge in the wake of the Mexican Revolution. Ironically other handball games of the same European background, like frontón and pelota vasca, were played primarily by members of the upper class.

By examining the history of pelota mixteca this paper enhances our understanding of the developments that Western sports undergo in non-Western contexts over the course of several centuries and the related invention of tradition by indigenous peoples, as well as the influence of colonialism on traditional sports cultures. Additionally, the study of government attitudes towards pelota mixteca broadens our view on processes of inclusion and exclusion of indigenous culture and demonstrates that the Mexican government’s ambivalent attitude towards indigenous peoples in general is also found in the realm of sports.

Susan Birrell, University of Iowa, “The Loneliness of Learning to Labour: The Dilemma of Resistance”

In this paper I argue the merits of locating analyses of sport films within the context of academic work. To that end, I read Tony Richardson’s classic film The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner (1962) through Paul Willis’s equally classic study Learning to Labor (1977). These two texts are grounded in the same historical moment. The academic intervention of cultural studies by the Birmingham School and the emergence of the film style known as the angry young men drama or kitchen sink film are both responses to the frustration and disillusionment felt by a new generation in post-World War II Britain. Loneliness and Learning to Labor, products of that tradition of anger and discontent, focus on acts of resistance, yet in the end, each recounts a troubling tale of the reproductive power of rebellion. This paper reads these texts together in order to explore the ironic possibility that resistance is entrapment.
In *Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner*, Colin Smith is an aimless youth negotiating the bleak landscape of a factory town. A carelessly executed robbery lands him in a borstal, where his running abilities catch the eye of the governor, who selects him to train for the long distance race that is to be the centerpiece of a meet between the borstal lads and young men of Ranley, a neighboring public school. The governor’s special attention provides Colin with regular escapes into the woods to train, where he finds great pleasure in the freedom of his runs, but it separates Colin from his mates who become uneasy with his shifting loyalty. At the climax of the film, the meet against Ranley, Colin outruns the competition but with certain victory his, he pulls up just meters short of the finish line, giving his rival the win, as the governor glares in fury and disbelief. In the film’s final scene, Colin has been returned to the borstal’s shop floor where he joins his mates in the tedious manual labor of disassembling gas masks from the war. The camera freezes its final shot on Colin, an aimless youth, clearly going nowhere.

The full title of Paul Willis’ book is *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Boys Get Working Class Jobs*. The subtitle tells the tale. The lives of the Hammertown Boys revolve around acts of defiance performed for the pleasure of one another, and these acts provide the boys with a palpable sense of camaraderie. Willis documents the great pleasure these working-class boys take in disrupting the school day, subverting academic goals, and disappointing the teachers and administrators who try to help them move toward lives beyond the monotony of the factory floor. But by rebelling against the forces that might have freed them from the economic limits of their lives, that is, by refusing to be educated within the system, the boys have relegated themselves back to the lives their fathers have lived. In the end, they, like Colin, are ensnared by their own acts, and their resistance reproduces them as working-class men.

Using these texts to explore the limits and complications of resistance, I argue that the central characters in *Loneliness* and *Learning to Labor* enjoy moments of pleasure from their rebellious acts but their structural circumstances remain unchanged because they have failed to recognize the difference between resistance and transformation.

Matt Blanton, University of Michigan, “Deeds and Deals: The Spatial/Racial Politics of Turn of the Century College Football”

The University of Pennsylvania built the first permanent football-specific stadium in the United States in 1895. Penn made a pragmatic response to financial needs and aspirations to accommodate swelling numbers of spectators, eliminate the costs of leasing private off-campus
fields, and maximize the revenues of college football games. Other institutions followed suit and by the beginning of the twentieth century, football stadiums were a prominent part of many college and university landscapes.

In this paper, I examine the cultural and political consequences of college football stadiums built primarily during the Progressive Era. Scholars who have focused their analysis on college football have often neglected the significance of college stadiums conflating the structures’ inertness with innocence and/or insignificance. I see them as anything but apolitical. Relying on university presidential documents and athletic department memos, land deeds and personal papers, I trace the development of college football sites from their humble origins in public places like town greens and city parks with few borders separating gridiron from grandstand to their staging in baseball stadiums such as New York City’s Polo Grounds that hosted the Yale-Princeton Thanksgiving Day contests through the early 1880s.

Inside restricted arenas like the Polo Grounds, university affiliates mingled with townspeople. As such, these sites ineffectually segregated the elite and well-to-do from those who did not fulfill these categories of privilege. Moving the college football game back to the college campus increased university profits, but it also enabled schools to gain better control of the football space and determine who had immediate access to witness the games. Within a larger societal context, then, college football stadiums played more than host to football games. They became spaces for individuals of privilege to reinvigorate a sense of self from dynamics that may have generated a feeling of lack: women’s suffrage movement, immigration, shifting urban demographics, the mechanization of industry. College football stadiums, as extensions of elite and gender, if not racially, segregated campuses empowered the middle and upper classes to establish exclusive publics. Their construction and maintenance, I argue, upheld class, race, and gender orders within the ostensible sites of leisure and recreation.

Using the work of Henri Lefevre and George Lipsitz, I explain how the construction of stadiums created an exclusive space metonymic to the privileged institution of higher education of which it was a part. In the age of Jim Crow, the rapidly growing de jure segregation of the South and de facto customs of segregation and discrimination elsewhere, stadiums served as a converse to these legislated and/or practiced performances of inequality. Within the stadium, a superior rather than inferior place, spectators who could witness the game, by virtue of their entrance, were now part of an event that generated a group identity. That group identity calcified old and reiterated new demarcations between those with privilege and those without it.
Chris Bolsmann, Aston University, “The Emergence of Professional (White) Soccer in Apartheid South Africa: The National Football League, 1959-1977”

The recent successful 2010 FIFA World Cup hosted by South Africa reintroduced a generation of South African soccer fans to the global game. During the World Cup a wide range of South African fans from different class and ethnic backgrounds attended games. This suggests soccer is not only the game of the black working class majority as has been argued by a number of writers. Rather soccer has a much broader appeal across all sections of South Africa. To evidence this claim, this paper provides a preliminary analysis of the National Football League established in 1959. The NFL was established by a group of Johannesburg businessmen who successfully wrestled the elite game away from the conservative and amateur South African Football Association. The NFL introduced professional soccer to South Africa in which a whites-only league played in front of segregated crowds in stadiums around South Africa. At the height of its popularity, the NFL comprised of two divisions, attracted significant corporate sponsorship and recruited top foreign players such as George Best and Bobby Charlton amongst others who made guest appearances for local teams. The NFL became the sporting entertainment for significant numbers of black and white South Africans and was unparalleled in popularity during this period. This paper draws from archival sources, newspaper reports and interviews with former officials, players and fans. It seeks to answer the question why did the NFL emerge? How was professional soccer received? How was the league able to function for nearly two decades? What was the relationship between the NFL and apartheid more generally? What contributed to demise of the NFL in 1977? This paper contributes to our understanding of the emergence of professional sport in South Africa and provides an alternative interpretation of fandom and sport in apartheid South Africa.

Daphné Bolz, University of Rouen, “Planning Fitness in Interwar Europe: The Socio-Political Dimension of Swimming Pools in Italy, Germany and Britain”

The interwar period saw the rise of mass sport and its social and political use on the national and international scales. The idea that governments were responsible for their people’s health and that they should promote physical activity to reach this aim was common to all European countries albeit with different ideological implications in the tone used.
While ‘bathing’ had been considered in the 19th century as a means to improve hygiene, in the interwar period, it was ‘swimming’ that was seen as one of the best activities to strengthen people’s bodies physically and mentally. This activity had not only clearly established itself internationally as a leading sport; it was also socially and militarily useful and its image benefited from a history reaching back to antiquity. This paper presents how public bodies in Italy, Germany, and Britain supported and promoted the construction of pools as part of their governments’ socio-political programs.

Sources used for this presentation range from the Italian, German and British national archives to local city archives, and the research also widely uses printed papers like technical books, government memoranda, professional journals from associations (National Playing Fields Association), corporations (architects), municipalities (including Genoa and Milan), and other public bodies (Deutscher Gemeindetag), etc.

The paper compares public policies in favor of swimming pools developed in Italy, Germany and Britain in the interwar period. It will situate them in the countries’ sporting traditions and in the more general socio-political sport policies on the national scale. The ideological dimension of swimming in Fascist Italy, in Weimar and then Nazi Germany, and in Britain will be studied in relation to the governments’ international ambitions. The paper details the legislative aspect of the matter and sees how local bodies responded to the demand for pools. It also presents single cases to illustrate the architectural trend of swimming pools in Europe and analyze the link between the aesthetic characteristics of the buildings and their social purpose.

One the one hand this international comparison enlightens us about how these three countries developed singular sport policies in coherence with their political and sport traditions. On the other hand, it shows how pools best exemplified the socio-political use of sport in a period of international tension and challenges.

Douglas Booth, University of Otago, “Affects, Sport, History: The Case of Surfing”

In this presentation I describe sport as a set of affective experiences, and I discuss the implications of this description for social historians of sport and their representations of the past. Social historians of sport largely construct their narratives within an emancipatory framework in which they pass judgment on human values and propriety, critique structures and relations of power, and advocate for social and political change. Emancipation is a noble endeavor and has provided critical insights into the social construction of sporting bodies (i.e., how sportspeople manage and
present their bodies within relationships of power). However, sporting bodies also have a biological content which social historians of sport rarely present in their narratives. This content appears in the moments which titillate, excite, thrill and startle sporting participants and spectators, the moments which cause goose bumps and tears, make the hair on the neck rise, and take away the breath. These affective moments transport the sporting realm beyond the mundane and ordinary.

In the first part of this presentation, I define affects as primary, non-conscious experiences felt at the level of the body and which I distinguish from emotions as psychological and interpretive experiences. According to this definition, affects precede emotions and exist in the pre-linguistic space between a stimulus and reaction, and between reaction and consciousness. In the second part, I examine the salience of affects in sport, including social relations of sport. Indeed, some social theorists have placed affects within an emancipatory context. Nigel Thrift, for example, says that affect theory provides the language for a biology that brims with “the dynamics of birth and creativity” which can “act as a prototype for a certain progressive politics.” Following Thrift, the question which historians face is, how might they access affective moments which rarely appear in traditional written historical documents? I tackle this question in the third part, drawing on the concepts of “traces” and “cinders.” Advocated by the philosophers Emmanuel Lévinas and Jacques Derrida, “traces” and “cinders” enable historians to deal with those pieces of evidence that exist only as disturbances, that imprint themselves above and beyond the material evidence, and that do not signify a reconstructable past.

I illustrate the three parts with examples from surfing which offers an apposite sporting case study of affect. Surfing has its own jargon to describe both the positive and negative affects of wave riding (e.g., “stoke” and “dropping in,” respectively) and surfers rely on non-written forms (e.g., photography, videos, DVDs) to communicate these affects. Moreover, not only do these affects articulate an intensified sense of participating in one’s own life, they generate different models of success, respect, morality, courage and conviviality that exist beyond everyday social and cultural norms and, in this sense, they offer alternative social structures through which people can gain senses of moral and social worth.

William Bowman, Gettysburg College, “Hakoah Vienna and International Sport in Interwar Europe”

Hakoah Vienna was the most important Jewish sports club in interwar Austria. The club had divisions for numerous athletic teams and leisure-time activities. Famous soccer players, swimmers, and wrestlers emerged, for
example, from the Hakoah club teams. Some of these athletes, such as Micki Hirschl, Hedy Bienenfeld, and Bela Guttmann, achieved international reputations.

Hakoah was also intimately involved in the internationalization of sports in the 1920s and 30s. Hakoah’s athletes participated in the 1932 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, for example. They were also heavily involved in the development of the Makkabiah Games—the “Jewish Olympics”—that were conducted in Palestine in the 1930s. Hakoah’s football team toured internationally and extensively, including two celebrated visits to the United States.

This paper explores and analyzes the several ways by which Hakoah Vienna contributed to the increasingly global nature of sports in the interwar years. It looks at the history of individual teams and athletes and discusses the importance of Hakoah to sporting culture in general in the 1920s and 30s.

Douglas Brown, University of Calgary, “Roland Barthes’ Ironic Incursion into Canada’s Sporting Mythology: Ice Hockey, Documentary Film and Nationhood”

As a young modern nation state, Canada has been consciously and strategically constructed by a cultural discourse that focuses on landscape, climate, industry (largely conceived), and leisure pastimes. Since Canada’s confederation, the discourse has enunciated the abstract or figurative idea of Canada “as North” and Canadians “as Northerners” imbued with particular character traits. Countless scholars, intellectuals, politicians and artists have proposed that the pastime of ice hockey is integral to the effectiveness of these tropes. Most critical scholars defend the argument that this cultural discourse is, in effect, a mythology that promotes specific lifestyles as natural expressions of Canadian citizenship. Roland Barthes (Mythologies 1957) famously argued that mythologies obscure social and political ideologies that reinforce restrictive and limiting regimes of power by naturalizing particular cultural practices. In the case of ice hockey in Canada, Barthes might have stated “it goes without saying” that this sport is quintessentially Canadian. Now many years after his death, scholars whose work extends his project of cultural deconstruction might be justified arguing that "it goes without saying" that Barthes, himself, was a quintessentially French intellectual. Ironically, it is the mythological French intellectual’s incursion into the myth-making discourse of Canadian ice hockey that is the focus of this paper.

In 1960, the French Canadian documentary filmmaker, Hubert Aquin formed a collaboration with Roland Barthes. The product of the collaboration
A documentary film titled *Le Sport et les Hommes*. The National Film Board (NFB) of Canada funded the project. It is a state funded organization. Aquin shot and edited the film while Barthes wrote the commentary. The documentary explores five sports as extensions of five different nations. One of the five segments examined ice hockey and the idea of a Canadian nation. The Aquin/Barthes collaboration was not unique at the time. In the 1950s and 1960s the NFB as well as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) produced numerous documentaries about Canadian sport. These documentaries range widely on a scale of aesthetic/prosaic interpretation. In this paper, I examine the political, intellectual, and artistic discourses that intersected in the production of *Le Sport et les Hommes*. This NFB production is examined within the context of six different documentaries on Canadian ice hockey from the late 1950s and early 1960s. Research considers the films, themselves, as well as archival sources from the NFB and CBC. Ultimately, this paper exposes the nuances of Canadian nationalism during a period when the federal government actively promoted cultural introspection. Furthermore, it exposes the extent to which this federally funded cultural introspection consolidated the myth that ice hockey is Canada’s national pastime.

Jennifer Bruce, University of Windsor, ““The Greenest Games Ever’ Real or Imagined: Sydney’s Bid Commitments and Reported Outcomes”

The Games of the XXVII Olympiad celebrated in Sydney, Australia have been identified as the “Green Games” for the stated commitment to, and delivery of, the most environmentally responsible Olympic Games to date. In 1993 the Sydney Olympic Bid Limited set themselves apart from other candidate cities vying for the right to host the Olympic festival by incorporating these initiatives in their *Sydney 2000 Candidature File*. However, these Games also met with a significant amount of criticism, especially from environmental activist groups. Through a comparative analysis, this study examines the environmental promises as outlined by the Sydney Olympic Bid Limited (SOBL) and the stated outcomes in the *Official Report of the XXVII Olympiad*. To explore this question, research will focus on an analysis of the *Environmental Guidelines for the Summer Olympic Games* designed by the SOBL and the *Official Report* published by the Sydney Olympic Games Organizing Committee (SOCOG) in 2001. The Olympic Co-ordination Authority (OCA), an extension of the New South Wales government, was created to ensure the Environmental Guidelines for the Summer Olympic Games were followed in all aspects of construction. They produced quarterly reports about their progress which included updates.
on the other environmental initiatives within their mandate. Along with the OCA, many independent environmental groups, including Greenpeace and The Earth Council also generated reports assessing how SOCOG measured up to its commitments.

This paper argues that SOCOG was, in its totality, successful in implementing its environmental objectives. There were difficulties and challenges during the process, such as those in waste management, however the overall goals were met. In addition, SOCOG was successful in creating benchmarks for the further development of environmental initiatives within the Olympic Movement. While the SOBL used these new environmental principles to “give them a unique edge” in the bid process, it is significant to note that they were the first Organising Committee for the Olympic Games to do so. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) introduced the environment as the third Olympic pillar and adopted the SOBL’s Environmental Guidelines for the Summer Olympic Games. It is important to understand the feasibility of these guidelines as an Olympic host city, the context in which they were created and the processes developed to address and assess challenges. The findings from this study also have practical implications for future research, as they will comment on the accuracy and dependability of Official Reports. Beyond the reports previously identified, this study draws from numerous media and archival sources, including those currently held at the IOC Archives in Lausanne, Switzerland.

Chad Carlson, Penn State University, Altoona, “‘The Greatest High School Basketball Game of All-Time’: Cultural and Historical Implications of the 1965 Alcindor-Wootten Matchup”

One of the most significant games in high school basketball history took place on January 30, 1965 at the University of Maryland’s Cole Fieldhouse. The game pitted local DeMatha Catholic High—coached by the esteemed Morgan Wootten—against Power Memorial Catholic from New York, which featured arguably one of the greatest high school players and most sought-after recruits of all time, Lew Alcindor (later Kareem Abdul-Jabbar). DeMatha defeated Power in front of a sell-out crowd, ending Power’s national record 71-game winning streak that began three years earlier in Alcindor’s freshmen season.

Coincidentally, the two main figures in this game became high school basketball’s all-time winnigest coach and the National Basketball Association’s (NBA) all-time leading scorer. The similarities in the careers of these two basketball legends go beyond their hard-court successes. Both Alcindor and Wootten always kept basketball in perspective, using it for the
development of character or the promotion of greater social goods in which they believed. Alcindor, a deep and introspective thinker, often used his basketball status to question prevailing racial, social, and religious ideas. Wootten continuously used his platform as a coach and teacher to mold his players into virtuous citizens valuing character, family, and faith.

These similarities make for a nice narrative storyline about basketball and values, yet the actual game between DeMatha and Power had great cultural and historical significance and left a strong imprint on the local and amateur basketball scene. In this paper, I will argue that this game—popularly referred to as “the greatest high school basketball game ever”—and its legendary protagonists altered the landscape of high school basketball and the local Washington D.C. culture. A racially integrated team from metropolitan Washington D.C. with a disciplined, caring, and entrepreneurial coach defeated an integrated New York City squad that featured a talented, socially-conscious, racially-aware African-American center with roots in Harlem. As DeMatha defeated “Goliath” in front of a sold-out crowd at Cole Fieldhouse—the venue of Texas Western’s famed racial barrier-busting victory over Kentucky in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) championship one year later—the greater Washington D.C. metro area proved its worth as a locale mad for amateur basketball that could compete with the traditional powers in New York City, the historical basketball “mecca” of the world. Further, the well-organized, high-caliber, and off-the-court incident-free game in a Mason-Dixon Line region between two integrated teams demonstrated a progressive reaction within what was a volatile decade regarding civil rights and race relations.

Florence Carpentier, University of Rouen, “The Biography of Count Henri de Baillet-Latour, Third President of the IOC (1925-1942)”

The interwar period was an important moment in the construction of the Olympic movement. The resignation in 1925 of the founder, Pierre de Coubertin, could have left the IOC fragile. But in 1939, at the beginning of World War II, it was stronger than ever, a heritage that would be useful for facing the post-war period. Despite this, de Coubertin’s successor, Henri de Baillet-Latour (1876-1942), has remained quite unknown to sports historians.

In 1925, the third President of the IOC inherited an Olympic movement in expansion. Baillet-Latour also had to face a new and sensitive context: the development of international sports federations and the rise of European fascism, especially in Italy and Germany. During the interwar period, the IOC also faced the issue of how to define amateurism in sports, given that professionalism was becoming increasingly more usual. But the
president and his colleagues remained firm, despite several important conflicts with certain federations (such as FIFA or ILTF). Last, the Nazi Olympics were a dark part of this presidency. Baillet-Latour was guilty of kindness to Hitler and his regime, and he let them control the Games and enter the committee, even after 1936.

In my research on Olympic history during Baillet-Latour’s presidency, I noted a lack of information about his Belgian origins. He was from the aristocracy, but where exactly was he situated in this social area? What kind of education did he receive? What about his family? To what social networks did he belong? Answering these questions would allow us to better understand Olympic history during the interwar period. Thanks to the Olympic archives in Lausanne (correspondence from 1903 to 1942), several archives in Belgium, and especially the new private archives of Baillet-Latour’s family, I was able to discover more details to add to his biography.

Born in 1876 into the upper aristocracy of Belgium, Baillet-Latour received the traditional education of his social class. After attending an aristocratic Jesuit college, he studied law at the Catholic University of Leuven. The official Olympic biography presents him as a diplomat, but the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgium could not confirm this. In fact, Baillet-Latour was sent to the Belgian Legation in Holland during World War I to help refugees. In any case, his ties with the diplomatic corps were less professional than private: he married the daughter of an Austro-Hungarian diplomat, he was very close to the secretary of the American Legation in Brussels (Hugh Gibson), and his son, Guy, married the daughter of another American diplomat.

Thanks to his parents, Baillet-Latour was well integrated into the aristocratic Belgian social network. He was a member of prestigious private clubs: the Jockey Club of Belgium and the very aristocratic “Cercle du Parc” in Brussels. In addition to this national network, European and international networks were open to him thanks to the IOC and his numerous travels all over the world. His personal fortune ensured him a luxurious lifestyle in Brussels and in every place he lived as he followed the seasons, in Europe and farther. Thus, Henri de Baillet-Latour was a typical aristocrat of the so-called “Belle Époque.” Nevertheless, aware of the changing times, he also took part in a “strategy of reconversion,” according to the French sociologist Monique de Saint-Martin’s definition.

David Chapman, Seattle, Washington, “Resistance Training: Physical Culture during the German Occupation of France”

In 1940 France’s collective nightmare came true when invading Germans goose-stepped down the Champs Élysées. For decades Frenchmen
had been taught that they had to stay in shape physically to keep the Boshes on the other side of the Rhine, so they instituted gymnastics societies and physical education programs that would transform every Frenchman into a potential soldier. That all changed when the Germans conquered France with depressing swiftness and then remained to occupy two-thirds of the French hexagon.

Although there has been considerable research on sport in occupied and Vichy France, little has been written about the state of French physical culture under the German yoke. One of the men who strove to keep his brand of exercise alive under these extremely trying circumstances was Edmond Desbonnet, owner of a chain of gymnasiums, author of several books and publisher of a popular magazine; he was put in a very precarious situation when the Germans marched into Paris. How does one keep alive the idea of physical fitness and muscle building when rations are scanty, energy is low and people have other greater worries?

In non-occupied France the ideas of another physical culturist, Georges Hébert were supreme. The “Natural Method” espoused by Hébert was popular because it did not require any equipment, but its founder was uneasy to have his ideas adopted by the Nazi puppet regime, and he disavowed the ways his Methode Naturelle were implemented.

In the meantime, anger at the Germans was increasing, and the Maquis or Resistance Movement was gathering strength (both physical and military) far away in their mountain hideouts. There they lived a pure, Spartan and healthy life so that they could steel themselves to take part in the eventual liberation of their country. Physical culture became a way to keep the body strong for the coming conflict of liberation, but it was also a way to build up both sagging morale and flaccid muscles.

French physical culture’s crowning achievement during the Occupation came in the form of the 1943 Mr. France competition. This contest was a magnificent gesture of defiance in the face of all the shortages, restrictions and repression that the French people had submitted to. The winner of that contest, Marcel Rouet, would emerge after the war as the great popularizer of the new sport of bodybuilding.


After the Second World War, a New International Order (San Francisco, 1945) outlined the balance of the Cold War (1947) and the appearance of the Third-World movement (Bandoung, 1955). France positioned itself as an intermediate nation that tried to protect its colonial Empire against the
hegemony of the United States, the Union of the Socialist Soviet republics and Great Britain. The takeover of General Charles de Gaulle and the establishment of the Vth French Republic (1958) indicate the beginning of a strong and independent French nation opposing the established powers. This one has increased the development of the social orders in the colonial Empire (development of youth movements and sports activities, the Africanisation of frames) and established new political relations (Outline law, 1957, French-African Community, 1958, French-African cooperation and technical support, 1960).

The sport undergoes these evolutions and is in the center of the “françafrique” as revealed in Jacques Foccart’s papers, the “Mister Africa” of President de Gaulle. Indeed, the sports policy of France has an international cultural dimension with the African colonial independences of its former Empire. The Top-commissionership in the Youth and Sports of Maurice Herzog strives to apply the Gaullist policy in connection with the Ministry of the Cooperation to the new African countries. The French-African sports cooperation becomes a new instrument of the French foreign policy in the international relations with the assignment of two objectives: the integration of the African countries to the International Olympic Committee and the organization of French-African Games (1960, 1961, 1963) as foundations of the future African regional Games (1965).

We build on a corpus of French and African archives resulting from colonial sources (Center for Overseas Archives, Aix-en-Provence), diplomatic (Center of the Diplomatic Archives of Nantes), the contemporary tracks of the postcoloniality (Contemporary Archives, Fontainebleau), foreigners (Courneuve) and secret (Jacques Foccart’s private archives to the National Archives) and finally Olympic (Center of the Olympic Studies, Lausanne), completed by African archives (National Archives of Senegal, Dakar). Thus, our paper sustains the idea that the birth of these new French-African partnerships in an unstable geopolitical environment under the register of “soft power” (Nye, 2004) highlighted the mimetic desire (Girard, 2011) of the African elites in the establishment of these new structures of rivalries that are the French-African sports “cooperations.”

Our focus is to take sport like an analyzer of the new definition in the French-African relations. The goal is to find answers at three principal preoccupations: on one hand, to stop the Sovietic tentative of influence managed to Third-World and progressives countries inside a competitive international world; then to counter vague desires and the greed of other neo-imperialist countries like USA, USSR and Great Britain; finally, to build new political structures, by the way of “cooperations” in order to control the French pre-square in Africa and to preserve the continuation of the French civilisation mission.
Jessica W. Chin and Jay Johnson, San Jose State University, “Complicating the Impact of Title IX: A Media Analysis of Hazing in Female Sports”

In 2012, the U.S. will celebrate the 40th anniversary of Title IX, arguably the single-most impactful piece of legislation for the landscape of sports in the United States. The phenomenal growth of girls’ and women’s sports and sporting opportunities since Title IX, however, has not been without consequence. Sport has been traditionally viewed as a male realm where masculine qualities are praised and reinforced both on and off the field. As such, even as the number of females participating in sports is growing, there has been much resistance and backlash, creating an environment where females feel the need to “prove” they belong in the male-dominated culture of sports. In this process, many female teams have adopted practices that mimic those historically associated with male teams, including acts of violence against members of their own teams in the form of hazing.

Male sports teams frequently justify hazing practices with claims of preserving long-established traditions and creating stronger bonds between new initiates and older team members. In the absence of their own traditions in sport, women’s teams have adopted entry rituals similar to their male counterparts. For women there has been an evolution or devolution of initiations on sport teams over the last decade. Initially the “rookie party” was truly celebratory: an evening to enjoy camaraderie and to bond around their entry into traditional male sport. This was in contrast to the negativity surrounding women and girls in sport which questioned their abilities, their willingness, as well as their right to participate (Lenskyj, 2004). Female teams expressed an initial kinship after having to endure oppressive language, actions and beliefs from a variety of sources but most notably from male athletes. The constant bombardment of insults and questioning of their athletic abilities bonded women and girls in their common experience, and hence, most expressed no need to further welcome their teammates with humiliating or degrading hazing rituals (Johnson, 2007). Yet research shows that not only are levels of violence and aggression in female sports on the rise, but so too are levels of harmful and abusive hazing practices similar to those found traditionally in the male sporting context (Johnson, 2007; Johnson & Holman, 2009).

In the present context of increased levels of violence and aggression in female sport and what seems to be an adoption of the more harmful and abusive hazing practices of their male counterparts (Johnson, 2007; Johnson & Holman, 2009), this project employs media analysis to provide a historical account of female hazing practices in sport since 1972. This study includes
an analysis of all hazing incidents reported in the U.S. media post-Title IX. Tracing and analyzing reported media accounts of hazing in female sports, this study further complicates the impact of Title IX at the intersection of increased female sport participation and the various trajectories of the culture of hazing in female sports over the past 40 years. This research demonstrates the need for further research on the impact of Title IX on female athletes and sport development.

Amy Cole and John Wong, Washington State University, “Reforming Juvenile Delinquents: A Historical Analysis of Recreation Programs at Washington State Green Hill School”

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a social movement emerged that aimed to improve human conditions through social engineering. Generally known as Progressives, reformers of the period sought to initiate social change through both private and public institutions. Modern sports became a means to this end. State institutions such as public school systems started to incorporate physical education classes and extracurricular sport programs to instill in their charges values such as hard work, team spirit, disciplined behavior, and fair play. While much scholarship has investigated the role of modern sports in the reformers’ attempt to reshape American society, research on the use of sport within an important state institution like the criminal justice system remains largely unwritten.

The Progressive Era’s emphasis on scientific positivism and the reformative role of the state led to a change in correctional thought and practice by focusing on prevention and treatment over undue incarceration. This emphasis can also be seen in the reformers’ belief in the rehabilitative role of sport. A case study examination of Washington State’s Green Hill School, which operated as a juvenile reform institution from 1890 to 1992, provides insights into how these two principles of a changed correctional philosophy and a belief in reformative sport come together to illustrate the overarching ideology of the Progressive Era. Using archival documents from the State Corrections as well as newspaper sources, this paper examines the role of recreation and physical activity in the Green Hill School and considers in what ways this institution reflects the Progressive Era perspective on the reformative role of physical activity in the lives of youth.
Tony Collins, De Montfort University, “The High Tide of Amateurism, c. 1890-1960”

In the Anglophone and Anglophile world, amateurism proved to be a very durable and flexible institution. At one end of its spectrum, it was a widely respected and uncontested principle. At the other, a tightly policed network of regulation and discipline. In between lay interlocking levels of compromise and hypocrisy. Moreover, definitions of amateurism proved remarkably slippery, changing over time and between places. This paper examines the ‘High Tide’ of amateurism and explores how it was able to command the moral high ground in the face of the tremendous commercial development of sport between the end of the Victorian era and the 1960s. It compares attitudes towards amateurism in Britain, the USA and France and contrasts the differing practices of sports’ governing bodies. It concludes by suggesting that the economic reasons for the survival of amateurism were as compelling as its moral rationale.

Brad J. Congelio, University of Western Ontario, “The Final Frontier’s Dancing Moose: Rick Mystrom’s Bid To Bring the Games to Alaska”

At approximately 10:15 am on October 15, 1986, a delegation of 32 people adorned in blue parkas stood in front of the most powerful gathering of people in international sport—the International Olympic Committee. Moments later, the small group began to sing the Alaskan Flag Song while their mascot—a moose—tap-danced to the tune. This was Anchorage, Alaska’s bid to bring the 1992 Winter Olympic Games to the “final frontier.”

When the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) awarded the American bid to Anchorage on June 15, 1985, media portrayal of the event was less than dazzling, with many top opinion columnists agreeing that the Winter Olympics in Alaska sounded like a “dark and numbing experience.” Furthermore, the Anchorage Organizing Committee (AOC), the group tasked with planning, presenting, and winning the right to host, was bombarded with questions at the completion of their bid presentation to the IOC. Rick Mystrom, the President of the AOC, had to, for example, assure the influential members of international sport that Anchorage did indeed have daylight during winter and that the city with a population of 250,000 was more than just a frontier trading post. As one can expect, stereotypes of the Alaskan frontier were one of the main sticking points to Anchorage earning the right to host the Olympics Games.

This paper will explore the social, political and economic context of Anchorage’s attempt to bring the 1992 Winter Games to Alaska, and dissect the paradox that was created between Anchorage’s “frontier image” and that
of the Olympic Movement’s global reach. What was the AOC’s plan to convince the IOC that such an isolated city—arguably the most isolated to have ever bid for hosting rights—was prepared to welcome the Olympic Movement? Further, what caused the USOC to grant the bidding rights to Anchorage over veteran host Lake Placid (New York) and the more urban Salt Lake City (Utah)? These questions will form the basis for the historical examination.

This research will enhance our understanding of Anchorage’s 1992 Olympic bid, of which there is a dearth of scholarly information, while also contributing to our understanding of the massive cultural reach of both the Olympic Movement and the International Olympic Committee.

Dan Covell, Western New England University, “‘And We’re Dropping Them?’: Managing Transitions in Intercollegiate Football at Bowdoin College, 1946-1964”

This research investigates how Bowdoin College, a private, academically selective, all-male liberal arts college founded at the close of the eighteenth century in southern Maine, with an enrollment of well under a thousand, experienced and responded to shifts in the competitive landscape of intercollegiate athletics in the management of its football program in the period from 1946, when the College resumed play following the end of World War II, until the mid 1960s. Specific focus is given to the management of stakeholder expectations in the context of the termination of Bowdoin’s annual rivalry with the University of Maine, the state’s flagship public land-grant institution, which existed from 1893 until cessation in 1964.

An analysis of the operation of Bowdoin’s football program revealed that from its inception in 1888, the school experienced high costs associated with maintaining the program, considerable interest from alumni and other stakeholder groups in the outcomes of contests against rival schools, the ability of athletics programs to attract potential students, the ability of schedule composition to impact the mission and goals of the institution’s athletic program, as well as the ability of these scheduling affiliations to influence how stakeholder groups perceived both the athletic program and the institution at large.

The resumption of intercollegiate athletics by American colleges and universities after virtually all sports had been suspended following World War II served to trigger a significant transformation point in the intercollegiate athletic environment, especially among the schools seeking to compete in football, by far the sport with the greatest popular interest on the part of fans and stakeholder groups. In addition to the advent of television and the post-war economic expansion experienced across the country, rules changes
such as open substitution, which allowed for even greater specialization and skill refinement amongst participants, as well as allowance of spring practice sessions led many programs across the country to realize the commercial opportunities and increased stakeholder interests associated with football.

During the post-World War II era, the University of Maine, like many other similarly situated public land-grant schools, experienced a growth in enrollment, in part due to the G.I. Bill, in part due to America’s economic expansion, both of which made a college education a viable option for a greater percentage of Americans. Maine’s growth led to a level of dominance over Bowdoin and its other in-state rivals (Bates College and Colby College) to a degree that had the three reconsidering the viability of continuing competition against Maine.

In response, Bowdoin administrators were forced to deal with the issue in the face of stakeholder concerns. Bowdoin President James S. Coles attempted without success to push Maine toward Bowdoin’s institutional approach to football by controlling management policies to level the competitive playing field. These actions were not enough to save the rivalry, even though Bowdoin upset Maine 7-0 in 1963. The teams played their final game the following year, a 22-0 Maine victory.

Mike Cronin, Boston College, “Social Networking in Researching Sport History”

The rapid growth of social networking in the past decade has thrown up a number of challenges for historians. The most obvious is how (if at all), historians can use social networking as a research tool. This is especially important in the context of sport history as the sporting community is one of the most visible within social networks. This paper builds on my own experience of using social networking sites as part of the research I have undertaken on the oral history of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA; www.qaahistory.com) and the sporting heritage of Ireland (www.irishsportingheritage.com). In both these projects Facebook and Twitter were used as a means of promoting the research project, engaging with potential subjects for research and informing the public as to how the projects were progressing.

While I would conclude that the use of social networking was successful, in that the projects engaged with the public in sizeable numbers, I would also have real concerns as to the ethical and methodological value of such interaction in informing research. While our use of oral history in the GAA project had clear ethical and legal parameters, these were difficult to apply to material that emerged from social networking sites. Ultimately those people we ‘found’ via social networking were included in the research
Christopher R. Davis, South Texas College, “The Right Man for the Job: Race, Manhood, and Oklahoma Football in the Mid-1960s”

In December of 1965, after a disappointing season, the University of Oklahoma’s head football coach Gomer Jones resigned under intense pressure from the team’s disgruntled fans and supporters. During the next three weeks as they searched for a candidate to replace Jones, the University’s president, George Lynn Cross, and the members of its Athletic Council were the recipients of an intense outpouring of communication from the team’s legions of avid supporters. From all around the country, but especially from Oklahoma and Texas, advice, most of it unsolicited, poured into Cross’ office with suggestions regarding the type of candidate who could restore the Oklahoma football program to the position of national prominence it had enjoyed during the 1950s. Much of this correspondence is preserved in the Cross Presidential Papers in the University’s Western History Collection.

Read today these letters, memos, telegrams, and newspaper clippings provide a fascinating account of the prominent role played by a commercialized spectator sport in the life of a major university during the 1960s. They also move beyond sport to highlight basic attitudes about cultural constructions such as manhood and race that were culturally hegemonic during the period. Cross and the diverse constituencies that emerged to support various candidates for the position, all shared a desire to locate the man best suited to the job. In doing so, they articulated a narrative that highlighted their ideals of masculine leadership. Another interesting aspect of these correspondences is the almost complete silence on the issue of race. In the mid-1960s, as African-American athletes were beginning to transform major college athletics, football at the University of Oklahoma, at least in the minds of its supporters, was an overwhelmingly white endeavor. Despite the fact that the 1965 team included three African Americans, and that there was a tremendous desire to produce a winning team, not a single correspondent suggests the idea of recruiting talented African-American players as an avenue to success. In fact, only two African-American Sooner fans discuss issues of race at all.
Ari de Wilde, York College of Pennsylvania, “Outlaw Wars: Bicycle Racing, Monopoly and John M. Chapman’s Struggle to Control a Professional Industry, 1913-1920”

Scholars of sport often identify the so-called Big Four sport leagues, such as the National Football League, as examples of “legal” monopolies. The status of the teams has given team owners and league commissioners tremendous power. For example, sport historians point to the “Reserve Rule” in professional baseball as a case of this power and a long-running injustice. Yet while scholars have examined many of the injustices brought by the status, there is a paucity of literature in which scholars examine cases when major leagues are challenged by upstart leagues or organizations. Moreover, scholars have primarily focused on traditional team sports such as baseball and basketball.

During the first half of the twentieth century, before team sports completely dominated the professional sports scene, bicycle racing was an important professional sport in North America. Though most scholars of North American sport history end their examination of cycle racing at 1901 or the end of the “bicycle boom,” one of the most fascinating periods of bicycle racing activity existed during the latter years of the 1910s. When, in the context of labor strife, modernizing institutions and the Great War, entrepreneurial racers and promoters fought for their rights in this industry. During the period, newspaper writers aptly referred to the situation as “Outlaw Wars.” An examination of these years highlights many of the contextual tensions of the Progressive Era and provides a lens to examine monopolistic structures in the sports industry.

Christopher Deal, King’s College London, “Radio Moscow Broadcasts to North America during the 1980 Moscow Olympic Boycott Campaign”

In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, leading to worldwide condemnation, economic sanctions, and a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. This paper presents the arguments and criticisms Radio Moscow, the Soviet Union’s premier external radio service, broadcast to the North American continent in an attempt to counter the boycott.
campaign. The evidence presented is based on transcripts of Radio Moscow material recorded and transcribed by the BBC Monitoring Service, and is focused on broadcasts surrounding key moments between the invasion of Afghanistan, 26 December 1979, and the opening of the 22nd Olympic Games in Moscow, 19 July 1980. This paper pays particular attention to broadcasts surrounding the announcements by President Carter of 4 January, suggesting a boycott, 19 and 23 January, demanding Soviet withdrawal within a month or the US would boycott the Games, and the statement of 21 March 1980 that ‘Ours will not go’. The paper also includes research into broadcasts surrounding Muhammad Ali’s visit to Africa in an attempt to build support for the boycott, and broadcasts surrounding the deadline for acceptance of Olympic invitations, 24 May 1980.

This paper discusses five themes that appeared throughout broadcasts to North America, and how each of these themes was designed to create doubt about the real reasons for the boycott in the minds of any listeners. The five themes that will be discussed are as follows. Firstly, that the boycott campaign was an attempt by President Carter at gaining re-election. Secondly, that people in the United States would suffer from the boycott, not just athletes but also businesses linked to the Games. Thirdly, that sport and politics should not mix, a rather ironic statement for the Soviet Union to make perhaps. Fourthly, that the boycott campaign had isolated the United States on the world stage, proven by lack of solid support from other states such as Britain, France or Canada. Finally, the Soviet radio argument that the boycott campaign was a smokescreen designed to distract the American audience from the US administration’s imperialist and militarist actions elsewhere in the world.

This paper examines how the Soviet Union radio broadcasters framed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Moscow Olympic boycott campaign to different audiences around the world. It builds on previous work on the Moscow boycott campaign that has tended to focus on the way the United States went about trying to organise a boycott, as works by Hulme and Sarantakes have demonstrated. The significance of this research to sports history is that it presents the Soviet Union’s reaction to the boycott campaign, specifically how Soviet radio broadcasters attempted to counteract it. This paper will present parts of the research into that topic, and through focusing on how the Soviet Union tried to counter the boycott with arguments broadcast directly into the US heartland, will add to understanding of Soviet actions surrounding the Olympic boycott campaign.
Catherine D’Ignazio, Temple University and Rutgers University-Camden, “Gym Class, Cheers and Costumes: The Culture of City Schoolgirl Sport 1890-1950”

What was the culture of schoolgirl sport in early twentieth-century Philadelphia? Why was it different than schoolboy sport and suburban schoolgirl sport? This paper presents three distinctive cultural aspects of schoolgirl sport in the city high schools of Philadelphia from 1890-1950 and discusses changes in the meaning of gym class instruction, cheering and athletic (school-sanctioned) clothing over time for both the professional women physical education instructors and the high school girls under their supervision.

Many sport historians have noted the hold that national professional standards had on girls’ physical education and sport programming varied over any given region. Most notably, Pamela Grundy makes this point between rural and urban North Carolina. Where the standards of the profession were most successfully applied in the Philadelphia metropolitan region, in the city high schools, a distinctive culture of urban schoolgirl sport emerged. Schoolboys in the city and suburbs and suburban girls experienced a different kind of sport culture.

An analysis of specific aspects of schoolgirl culture reveals the different purposes and meanings the school sport experience had for the PE teachers and students. At times their attitudes and perspectives aligned, at other times they were at odds. This paper will discuss the way professional PE women shaped their domain for their professional purposes. Simultaneously, (referencing school girl writings from yearbooks), girl students describe, often with surprising candor, tense differences in how they experienced those same policies. For example, when in the early 1900s gym classes (for girls) were understood as the first step in following the path schoolboy sport took toward interscholastic competitions, they were sites of liberatory expressions for both students and their instructors. At that time, the voluminous sporting costumes, while impractical, represented for schoolgirls a liberatory confrontation with the shibboleths of bourgeois decorum (paraphrase of Guttmann, 1991). Later, when interscholastic games were banned as a strategy of professionalism, and gym classes no longer led to competitive teams, the much more practical gym romper was described by schoolgirls as an unpleasant part of a repressive experience. Cheering too had contradictory meanings for the teachers and students. Cheering had professional sanction because it supposedly enhanced peer cohesion. While students relished this aspect, they also enjoyed the way it brought them to the brink of uncontrolled rowdiness.
Changes in the cultural history of schoolgirl sport introduce a gendered and geographic lens to the narrative of the history of high school sports in the US. Yearbooks are the primary source for this paper.

Andy Doyle, Winthrop University, “Cautious Revolutionaries: The Desegregation of Alabama Basketball”

Several scholars and popular authors have written recently about the desegregation of the University of Alabama football program. The iconic status of Bear Bryant, the team’s stellar record in the 1970s, and the relative smoothness of the transition made it a model for the post-desegregation South and have led many to mistakenly assume that Alabama was among the first southern athletic programs to desegregate rather than one of the last. Far less has been written about the basketball program, however, even though Wendell Hudson became the university’s first African-American scholarship athlete in 1968, a full year before Bryant signed his first scholarship football player. This paper will examine the inevitable difficulties that Hudson and Newton faced, but it will also focus on the more significant successes. Hudson shined both on the court and in the classroom, and he faced few overt problems from the overwhelmingly white student body.

This paper will place the basketball program in the context of Alabama’s traumatic racial history. While the wounds were still raw, it had been five years since George Wallace’s stand in the schoolhouse door and Bull Connor’s fire hoses and police dogs had indelibly linked Alabama with barbarism and brutality, and three years had passed since the state’s last major racial violence had occurred in Selma. By 1968, most whites had grudgingly adapted to the inevitability of desegregation, and racial moderates controlled the Alabama governorship and the mayor’s office of Hudson’s home town of Birmingham. Both Hudson and Newton cite the court-mandated desegregation of the Alabama High School Athletic Association in 1968 as a major factor in the increased willingness of white Alabamians to accept the inevitability of interracial athletics. On campus, the Vietnam War had replaced race as the most divisive issue.

Newton was the ambitious young coach of a struggling program who was more concerned with recruiting the best players than with becoming a racial pioneer. Newton staked his career on a careful risk-reward analysis: he selected Hudson because of the latter’s star potential, academic ability, and stable temperament rooted in a solid family background. Hudson quietly shared his positive experiences with the first African-American football recruits to sign with Alabama as well as African Americans who followed him into the basketball program, and both he and Newton believe that this was instrumental in their decisions to come to Alabama. By Hudson’s senior
season, Alabama went 18-8 and had four African-American starters. Ultimately, the pleasure that white students, alumni, and fans derived from the revival of a moribund program far outweighed their concerns over this breach in one of the last bastions of white supremacy.

This paper will examine a relatively unexplored area in the historiographical record of southern athletic desegregation, and it will ground athletics in a broader social and political context.


In this paper I analyze the political uses of sport pursued by the authoritarian governments of Oliveira Salazar and Getulio Vargas, in Portugal and Brazil respectively, from 1930 to 1945. Both governments, which gave themselves the titles of “New States,” were influenced by the fascist governments of Mussolini and Hitler in many areas, including the regulation of sport. In this comparative study of the uses of sport by fascist governments, I examine four areas: the use of sport as a tool of eugenics for the production of an allegedly perfect national body (mainly through physical education); the regulation of, and the official intervention in, sports governing bodies; the role of sport in national propaganda (principally through youth movements, national celebrations and sport events); and the uses of sport by official leisure organizations. This paper presents a possible comparative typology for the political use of sport by authoritarian governments in the interwar years with no disregard to their local specificities and their interpretations and possible negotiations of external influences. The specificities of the Brazilian and Portuguese cases illustrate how authoritarian governments involved themselves in sport and were highly influenced by fascist experiences with sport in Italy and Germany.

Mark Dyreson, Penn State University, “From Sideshow to Centerpiece: A Brief History of the Olympic Marathon from Athens to Berlin”

The marathon race represents the most curious of the “invented traditions” cobbled together by the antiquarians and aristocrats who created the modern Olympic games. In spite of claims to the contrary, the race has no parallel to any event in the classical Greek festival. The legend of Pheidippides and his fatal run from the battlefield at Marathon to announce in Athens the Greek victory over the Persians was considered a dubious tale
even among the ancients. The Greeks of antiquity had no interest in endurance running contests. They considered long-distance pedestrianism the occupation of peasant messengers.

Adding to the curious origins of the event, given the passionate embrace of amateurism among the founding fathers of the modern Olympic movement the inclusion of a faux-classical marathon race is even more surprising given that endurance racing in the late nineteenth century was clearly the occupation of professional pedestrians and not a pastime favored by Oxbridge amateurs and their legion of imitators. That a group of aristocrats including the philologist Michael Bréal and his friend the Baron Pierre de Coubertin constructed a race that in their era was clearly the province of the proletariat marks one of the great paradoxes of the early Olympic movement.

Bréal’s brainchild fared poorly among athletic cognoscenti in the first two decades of the modern Olympics. Chroniclers of early Olympic marathons generally scoffed at the race as a mere sideshow to more serious tests of athletic mettle. Some critics even condemned the race as dangerous to health and welfare of participants. The 1904 Olympic marathon in St. Louis which included a carnivalesque cast of characters and spawned the disqualification of the first runner to cross the finish line because he rode in a car as well as a how-to-treatise on the use of strychnine to dope the winner, represented perhaps the nadir of Olympic marathons. The 1908 race in London, dogged by persistent allegations of professionalism, continuing discussion of doping as the key to victory, and the specter of British officials dragging an Italian runner across the finish line in order to prevent a victory by an American runner, marked an additional albeit exciting low point in Olympic history. Critics hounded the marathon as too dangerous, too professional, and too strange for the Olympic stage.

Robert Ellis, University of Huddersfield, “Asylums, Isolation and Sport”

In recent times, historians with an interest in the history of mental health institutions have explored the tensions at work in the social and physical separation of the insane. Addressing the notion of ‘total institutions’, recent scholarship has concluded that the walls of asylums were often more ‘permeable’ than other healthcare institutions such as general hospitals. Central to this changing perspective has been the movement of visitors in and out of asylums. Here, sport has increasingly been used as evidence of a more ‘open’ asylum and mental hospital system than has previously been understood. The aim of this paper is to build on this and on other work that has attempted to assess the role sport played as a therapeutic tool in the
armory of medical staff. In doing so it will seek to place sport, and cricket in particular, within those wider societal and medical frameworks. The paper will explore who within the asylum system played cricket and whether it was patients or staff that formed the basis of asylum teams. Both have featured in the historiography of mental health institutions but case studies from English asylums will be examined more fully than has been done previously. This, of course, will be placed within an international context. A wide range of primary source material will be used but evidence from sports reports and asylum records in the north of England will allow for an interactive approach to the analysis. The paper will explore who played cricket within the asylum and who represented those teams in the local community. In highlighting the different compositions of teams it will consider the implications that this has for recent debates on ‘permeability’. In this case, the paper will show that an examination of sports participation can help to illuminate the asylums’ place within the wider community. Conversely, it will add to a wider understanding of the history of participation and non-participation in sports. Ultimately, the paper will argue that while asylum sports teams were at the heart of community involvement, the patients of these institutions were not.

Meilyr Emrys, Caernarfon, Wales, “Percy Smallwood: The Forgotten ‘Welsh Wonder’”

Percy Smallwood was one of the finest professional runners of his generation. Having emigrated from his native Wales in 1903—in order to further his fledgling athletics career on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean—he spent the latter half of the first decade of the twentieth century competing regularly (and with a great deal of success) against such renowned distance runners as Dorando Pietri, Johnny Hayes, Alfred Shrubbs, Tom Longboat and Henri St. Yves. He raced at a number of famous American venues (including Madison Square Garden and Duquesne Gardens, Pittsburgh) and set a number of new records as he did so. Indeed, shortly after he set a new world record time for ten miles at Jeannette, Pennsylvania, in June 1909, it became generally accepted that ‘The Fleet-footed Welshman’ was now the ‘champion middle-distance runner of the world’, and one (slightly over-zealous) journalist even went so far as to describe him as ‘the greatest middle-distance runner the world ever saw’.

This, however, is only half the story, because having already achieved considerable success as an athlete, Smallwood then turned his hand to coaching. He become the trainer of Cleveland’s American League baseball team in 1919, and—having quickly gained a reputation as ‘the greatest trainer in the business’—his implementation of a new ‘scientific’ training
regime (based on ‘his own ideas’) seems to have played an important role as the Indians gained their first World Series victory a year later.

But whilst Percy Smallwood therefore clearly gained a notable degree of success—both as an athlete and as a trainer—his achievements were never recognised or acknowledged in any great degree beyond the borders of the United States. Indeed, whilst reports of his accomplishments could regularly be found on the pages of major American newspapers such as the New York Times or Pittsburgh Post, Percy’s transatlantic successes were barely ever commented upon by the late-Edwardian Welsh and British press. Similarly, whilst the scholarly works of Gareth Williams, Dai Smith, and others, have subsequently recorded the successes and popularity of other Welsh-born sportsmen who found success whilst competing in the United States around the turn of the twentieth century, Percy Smallwood’s contemporaneous triumphs have thus far been ignored by sports historians, and he has therefore become the forgotten star of Welsh sport.

Based mainly on archival and newspaper evidence, this paper will cite both the location of Smallwood’s birth – in the small seaside resort town of Conway on the north Wales coast – and his failure to replicate the success he so regularly achieved whilst racing in America when competing before his countrymen in Britain, as factors which explain why the ‘Welsh wonder’ failed to gain any contemporary fame or recognition in his homeland. Furthermore, it will also be argued that the failure of British sports historians to subsequently acknowledge Percy’s obvious athletic prowess is indicative of a far greater and more general historiographical deficiency, which has placed major limitations on the way the modern history of Wales is portrayed.

Colleen English, Penn State University, “The Reinstatement of the 800 Meter Race in the 1960 Olympics”

At the Olympic Games in Amsterdam in 1928, women competed in track and field for the first time ever in Olympic competition. Though this represented a great advancement for female athletes in this time period, some controversy still arose surrounding distance running. After a world record breaking performance by the top six finishers in the 800 meters, many press reports claimed that the women runners collapsed and appeared exhausted after the race. This caused the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) to ban the 800-meter race from Olympic competition for more than three decades, until the Summer Games in Rome in 1960. In the United States, national competitions did not include the 880-yard or 800-meter run until 1958.

By the late 1950s, support for increasing women’s track and field gained some traction in the United States. Though women had competed in
distances 200 meters and shorter throughout the twentieth century, in the 1950s, some women advocated for the inclusion of longer distances at meets. For example, eventual 800-meter national champion Grace Butcher began a letter writing campaign to include the event on the program for the national championship meet. Moreover, the 800-meter run was included on the track and field programs of other nations, such as some European countries. Pressure from women runners, combined with the acceptance of the race in other countries eventually led the United States to include the 800-meter race on the national track program. Moreover, the IOC succumbed to outside pressures and allowed women to compete in a middle distance race again by adding the 800-meter run to the 1960 Olympic program.

This paper will attempt to address key questions such as, why did the United States begin to allow the 800-meter (or 880-yard) race in national competitions in 1958? Why did the IOC reinstate the 800-meter race in the 1960 Olympics? Did the reinstatement find support from medical discourse or women physical educators? Was there any backlash because of the inclusion of the race? Current scholarship on women in sport history does little to address the reinstatement of the 800-meter run in 1960 nor its further implications. While some historians discuss the importance of the inauguration of the women’s marathon in 1984, few have dealt specifically with the 800-meter race in 1960. Furthermore, much scholarship surrounding women’s track and field in 1960 revolves around the sprinting events, and specifically on Wilma Rudolph. This paper will attempt to discover why the 1960 Olympics (and 1958 American national championships) reintroduced the 800-meter race and will contribute both to scholarship on women in the Olympics and to women and distance running.

Pat Farabaugh, Saint Francis University, “The Rise and Fall and Rise of Maurice Stokes: Constructing and Exploring the Legacy of One of Basketball’s Unheralded Heroes”

Maurice Stokes is not a household name among basketball fans, yet he was a trailblazer within the sport. While his induction into the Naismith Basketball Hall of Fame in 2004 brought a degree of attention to his remarkable story, Stokes’ significant contributions to the game remain widely unknown. This paper seeks to address this oversight.

Among the first African-American basketball players to compete at the collegiate and professional levels, Stokes led tiny St. Francis College in rural western Pennsylvania to unprecedented success, including a berth in the final four of the 1955 National Invitation Tournament. The Rochester Royals selected him with the second pick of the 1955 National Basketball
Association Draft and the Pittsburgh native earned Rookie-of-the-Year distinction in 1955-56 and was a three-time league all-star. Stokes was arguably the first big man in the NBA who possessed a “complete game.” In addition to his size (six feet, seven inches/250 pounds), he possessed speed, agility, ball-handling prowess, outside shooting skills and a cerebral approach to the game. Then tragedy struck. In the Royals’ final regular-season game of the 1957-58 season, Stokes fell awkwardly and his head struck the court violently, knocking him unconscious. He was revived with smelling salts and returned to action.

Three days later, Stokes fell into a coma, the result of swelling on his brain caused by the fall. He emerged from the coma, but the swelling had caused extensive damage to his brain’s motor control center. While Stokes’ mind was not affected, his body could no longer respond to commands delivered from his brain. He was paralyzed from the neck down and could not speak. He worked tirelessly the remaining years of his life to regain limited speaking ability and physical mobility, but improvements were negligible. Stokes spent the next 12 years under hospital care before dying of a heart attack in April 1970 at age 36.

This paper argues that Stokes’ story strengthened the influence and leverage of the NBA Players Association (NBPA), which in 1967, forced league owners to provide players with medical and insurance benefits, a pension plan and a minimum salary. At the time of Stokes’ injury, no such financial “safety net” existed. The NBPA used Stokes’ story as an example of the league’s failure to provide for the needs of its players. The paper also details the humanitarian role Stokes’ friend and (white) Royals teammate Jack Twyman assumed following the accident. The costs of Stokes’ medical care were significant and Twyman came to his friend’s aid, becoming Stokes’ legal guardian in order to make financial decisions on his behalf. Twyman organized multiple fundraising activities to help cover Stokes’ mounting expenses. He successfully sued the state of Ohio on Stokes’ behalf, arguing his former teammate was entitled to worker’s compensation benefits. During a period when race relations were tenuous across the country, the story of Stokes and Twyman served as an inspiration of what was possible. In addition to Twyman’s selflessness, this paper also highlights the generosity that people from many walks of life showed Stokes during his time of need.

Russell Field, University of Manitoba, “Representing the Rocket: The filmic use of Maurice Richard in Canadian history

The “Extraordinary Canadians” series, launched by Penguin Canada in 2008 as an attempt to (re)introduce Canadians to significant figures—with series editor John Ralston Saul determining which subjects are significant—
encompasses 18 volumes covering 20 subjects. The authors selected are not scholarly historians, but well-known Canadian literary figures. Only one of the series’ subjects is a sports figure, and it is left to Charles Foran to profile Maurice “Rocket” Richard, the Montreal Canadiens star of the 1940s and 1950s. Foran is well suited to the task; the author of a number of well-regarded novels, his 2010 biography of Mordecai Richler won the Charles Taylor prize for literary non-fiction. The challenge, however, is that Richard’s story, or more precisely the mythology surrounding the Francophone hockey star is well known: he has been crafted as a symbol of French-Canadian resistance, especially following the 1955 “Richard Riot” in Montreal. His renowned dark stare, fiery temper, and the imposing speed and power he displayed on the ice all stood in for rising Francophone discontent in the 1950s.

Film plays a role in Foran’s attempts to write the man into the myth. He acknowledges the value of “Charles Binamé’s 2005 film The Rocket for its fine period detail, including its recreations of dramatic events.” In addition to Binamé’s biopic, the National Film Board of Canada—and especially its Montreal-based Francophone production team during the 1950s—has found Richard a compelling subject, producing at least five films about the hockey star in both French and English, including a 1998 profile also titled The Rocket.

This presentation focuses on efforts to uncover, mythologize, and celebrate Richard, with special emphasis given to his multiple filmic representations, especially Binamé’s biopic. Film historian George Custen dismisses the genre: “Hollywood biography is to history what Caesar’s Palace is to architectural history: an enormous, engaging distortion, which after a time convinces us of its own kind of authenticity.” But historian Robert Rosenstone argues that the contemporary celebration of the visual needs to account for the popularity of biopics and their impact upon popular historical consciousness. If indeed, film is “a new form of historical thinking,” what does this say about, on the one hand, the biopic as form and genre and, on the other, about efforts to demythologize Richard? Ultimately, this presentation argues that Richard was subject to the tools of the visual during his playing career and that efforts to use film to celebrate him shaped contemporary and subsequent cultural understandings of “The Rocket.”

Sarah K. Fields, Ohio State University, “When Art and Sport Meet: How Tiger Woods Protected His Visual Image”

In 1997 a young multi-racial golfer made history, winning the prestigious Masters tournament for the first time. Tiger Woods not only won the tournament in his first attempt as a professional, but the twenty-one-
year-old also won by twelve strokes, a Masters record. The conservative Augusta (GA) National golf club which sponsors the tournament had not allowed non-white players to compete in the tournament until 1975 and had only accepted its first non-white member just a few years before Woods’ historic victory. The club remained elite and conservative, excluding women from membership through the present day.

Woods’ victory inspired artistic tributes. The Franklin Mint created, advertised, and sold advance copies of the Tiger Woods Eyewitness Commemorative Medal which had Woods’ image on it. Woods had never agreed to nor was he compensated for the medal, and he won an injunction ordering the Franklin Mint to stop production. The victory also inspired Rick Rush, a painter specializing in sports memorabilia. Rush painted a picture of Woods’ driving the ball while flanked by his caddie and his opponents’ caddie. Floating in the sky above the scene were the faces of Jack Nicklaus, Arnold Palmer, and other legendary golfers. The painting was then reproduced as a print and 5,000 copies were offered for sale. When Woods learned of the painting and the prints, he sued Rush for violating his right of publicity. Rush argued that his work was protected under the First Amendment as art while Woods argued that the work was sports merchandise like a poster and that it was subject to the right of publicity. The court agreed with Rush and said that despite the fact that multiple copies existed, it was still art and deserved full First Amendment protection.

This presentation describes the ETW v. Jireh Publishing (2000) case and examines its role in the evolving right of privacy. Relying on the published legal materials as well as primary and secondary source material about Woods and the participants, this presentation explores how the ETW case utilized the right of publicity to attempt to regain control over and profit more directly from Woods’ image, control that was lost because of his celebrity status. Although Woods himself lost the battle to control Rick Rush, one of his attorneys, Mark S. Lee, drafted a law review article articulating what he believed was a better test for the right of publicity which briefly became the standard of law for the state of Missouri. The case and its aftermath raise questions about what is art and what limitations should exist regarding art involving a public figure. Further the case foreshadows Woods’ battle for privacy and control of his image, a battle he lost briefly and publicly in 2009 when his marriage ended. This presentation argues that the struggle for control over a celebrity’s image walks on a high-wire fraught with tension between the celebrity’s need for control and the celebrity’s need for attention.
In August 2011, the International Association of Athletics Federations Council agreed at its 48th Congress in Daegu, South Korea that only times from all-female road racing competitions would be acknowledged as world records, and performances in mixed competitions would be referred to as “world-best” times instead. The new rule on world records would come into effect on January 1, 2012. The challenge with the IAAF decision is that most of the major road races held worldwide are mixed races, where men and women compete together. In effect, the IAAF disqualified any world records that women might henceforth achieve in mixed road races, while still recognizing those achieved by men.

The response from the media was swift. Some news reports framed the IAAF ruling as an individual issue, affecting only a few female athletes. Other reports indicated a link between women’s road racing and the economics of sport, suggesting the IAAF was trying to assert its dominance over the two main bodies responsible for organizing elite level road races, specifically the World Majors Marathon and the Association of International Marathons and Distance Races. Few reports examined the broader social implications of the IAAF decision: the denigration of women’s sport. Then, three months later, in November 2011, the IAAF clarified its August ruling, stating it would continue to recognize currently existing world records, regardless of the type of race in which they were achieved (mixed or women only), but that new records would be officially recognized and ratified only if achieved in women-only races. In other words, the ruling remained in effect.

This paper will examine how the IAAF ruling and responses to it were framed in the commercial media. Our initial look into this matter reveals three problematic trajectories. First, the media generally positioned the IAAF ruling as an opportunity to advance women’s road racing worldwide, and pointed to the IAAF as a female-friendly (even feminist) organization that was concerned about the status of women’s records. Second, the media suggested that female athletes who competed in mixed competitions were cheating because they somehow benefitted from running with men (and not vice versa). Third, female athlete perspectives represented in the media usually did not challenge the ruling. Instead, they sought technical clarification as to what this would mean for elite female runners in the future. Each trajectory will be examined in detail, and will be placed in its proper social, historical, and economic context. We will apply a feminist reading of the media to discuss how this particular issue extends our understanding of the history of women in sport, specifically athletics, as well as the possible implications that stem from our analysis.
Rafael Fortes, Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, “Making Surf Media in Brazil: Social Agents and the Organization of Surfing in the 1980s”

In this paper I explore the discourses of the social agents who were involved in establishing and making the Brazilian surf media in the 1980s. The media played a crucial role in the organization and commercialization of surfing in Brazil during that decade. I am particularly interested in the limits and challenges to creating and maintaining TV shows, radio programs, magazines and newspapers dedicated to surfing. In order to investigate this I relied on oral history, interviewing those involved with the surf media in two cities, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. I highlight the key factors responsible for both the success and failure of different initiatives. These include insider knowledge of surfing, media knowledge and the ability to attract and keep advertisers. Debates over the concept of social memory inform my presentation which also involved investigating media production settings, as well as the dilemmas and expectations faced by those involved in it. These are subjects few sport historians have examined and which do not emerge in media products. Indeed, this is not peculiar to Brazil; most media conceal the processes under which they produce their products and few media agents collaborate with academic research.


Every year, volunteers organize and participate in countless running/walking events with one common goal: to raise money and awareness for particular diseases. The number of events of this ilk seems to be increasing rapidly. Perhaps the strangest aspect of this group behaviour is that the majority of participants in these events actually pay to volunteer to raise funds for and the profiles of the illnesses in question by performing exercise—often competing against each other—in highly visible and public ways. When did this phenomenon begin in earnest? What political and economic conditions gave rise to this behavior? What psycho-social conditions perpetuated it? Is there a precedent in the history of the British Commonwealth for these conditions and this kind of volunteering behavior? Using primary and secondary source publications gathered from the fields of economics, British military history, medical history, sport sociology, performance studies, as well as my own up-to-the-minute field questionnaire, I will show that paying to volunteer to defend one’s country
from a foreign invader more than a century ago occurred under virtually identical politico-economic circumstances as today’s phenomenon and, furthermore, looked eerily similar to the way paying to defend oneself and one’s compatriots from the (largely) invisible inner invasion that we collectively call disease appears to us today. While much information exists on volunteering in general and in the context of sport in particular, very little of it discusses this particular subset of volunteers who are not coaching Little League teams, not driving swim team buses, not selling raffle tickets nor holding the myriad bake sales which often enable organized minor sport to exist. This ‘new’ breed of volunteer has taken ownership of healthcare funding that has always been, and nevertheless remains, within the purview of government. Seemingly satisfied with the status quo (especially with respect to the way governments choose to prioritize spending on environmental issues, disease prevention and treatment, public health, and healthcare accessibility, to name but a few related issues) participants continue to shovel millions of dollars into the bottomless pit of healthcare spending with no end in sight. This is sport and recreation by and for individual adults in the name of individual health. There is much more to this spectacle than meets the eye.

Joel S. Franks, San Jose State University, “The ‘Yellow Peril’ Steals Second: The ‘Chinese University of Hawaii’ Baseball Team in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1912-1916”

Arguably, the most famous “independent” baseball team competing in the U.S., a nine misrepresented in the mainland as consisting of students of the fictitious “Chinese University of Hawaii” played more than 100 games a tour from 1912 to 1916. Comprised of Chinese, Japanese, native Hawaiian, and haole Hawaiians this team took on college, semi-professional, African American, and minor league nines, winning a vast majority of games and subverting to some extent the racialist and orientalist perceptions of Asians as dangerous “Yellow Perils” or exotic “celestials” incapable of playing effectively a physically demanding, competitive sport at a relatively high level.

This team, perhaps best called the Hawaiian Travelers, invariably entered the mainland first by way of the San Francisco Bay Area. There, they played college teams such as Stanford, Cal, and St. Mary’s, as well as the Pacific Coast League nine from Salt Lake City. In the process, they experienced a region that had long been ground zero for anti-Chinese and anti-Asian political movements but was undergoing significant change in the second decade of the twentieth century. Secondly, they encountered a Chinese American community experiencing a transformation as well. Finally,
they were greeted by varied and contradictory media attention, for which to some degree their promoters were responsible.

**Gerald R. Gems, North Central College, “The Globalization of Boxing”**

Boxing is perhaps one of the oldest contests known to humankind, yet it is one of the lesser-studied subjects among sport historians. This study attempts to fill a gap in the literature and offer an analysis of the development and spread of the sport to international proportions.

This presentation concentrates on the conditions and events that led to the globalization of boxing over the course of the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. It considers such factors as modernization, according to the criteria elaborated by Allen Guttmann in *From Ritual to Record*, as well as other social, technical, economic, and political factors. Colonialism as practiced by both Great Britain and the United States brought boxing to Asia, Africa, Australia, and Central America; and counterhegemonic nationalistic responses by indigenous peoples challenged the notions of Social Darwinism in racial comparisons and tests of masculinity. New technology in the form of the telegraph and the radio combined with already existent print media to produce a celebrity culture that promoted boxing heroes; while the development of shipping, and later, airplanes allowed for the transport of such figures to international contests with boxers from South America entering the international fray. Morality crusades attempted to ban boxing in the United States, and the racist prohibitions on African-American boxers led to a black diaspora that popularized the sport on the European continent. By 1904, the Olympic Games included boxing on its program. Other social and economic conditions, such as poverty, assured a never-ending supply of boxers for participation in global spectacles throughout the remainder of the twentieth century.

**Jason Genovese, Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, “The Reporter-Athlete Relationship: From the ‘Golden Age of Sports’ to the Age of Twitter”**

This paper traces and closely examines the history of the reporter-source relationship in sports journalism. The relationship between sports reporters and the athletes and coaches they cover has acted as the engine driving the news, information and publicity that are at the heart of the thriving sport-media complex. Its importance to the work of sport historians is also significant. Using newspapers, magazines, books and other accounts from those in the sporting press and athletes and coaches as well as
Internet content, the dynamic relationship of reporters to those they report on will be explored in detail. From the era of hero creation to the rise of a more critical press to the Internet’s empowerment of athletes and coaches, this research poses the following questions: How has this relationship changed since the 1920s and the “golden age of sport”? How have those changes affected the content of the sports media we consume? And what does the contemporary incarnation of this relationship mean to sports fans and historians? This paper argues that understanding this relationship and its constant evolution is crucial to the comprehension of resources sport historians often utilize in their work. The aim of this research is to improve sports historians’ understanding of the ways in which the reporter-source relationship has influenced those resources used to construct/reconstruct historical narratives and to provide a sense of the direction this important relationship is moving.

Larry R. Gerlach, University of Utah, “Olympic Mascots: From Symbols to Historical and Cultural Representations”

Since Munich 1972, summer and winter Olympic Games have been uniquely emblematized by unofficial, albeit sanctioned, symbols—mascots. Designed by local organizing committees with approval of the International Olympic Committee, the mascots have been popular with the public both as marks of individual Games and as commercial, even collectible, products ranging from pins to plush toys.

Mascots have not received serious study, perhaps because they initially served primarily as advertising ploys and merchandizing gimmicks. However, over time they have assumed an additional purpose that redefines them as important Olympic icons. Carefully designed to embody attributes distinctive to each host city or country, mascots have become significant representations of local history and culture.

This presentation examines the chronological development of Olympic mascots with emphasis on their role as historical and cultural signifiers in five Games—Salt Lake City 2002, Athens 2004, Beijing 2008, Vancouver 2010 and London 2012. The presentation includes not only descriptions (with pictures) of the mascots, but also analyses of creative intent, popular and critical assessment, and effectiveness as signifiers of local history and culture.

Because it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to obtain from local Olympic organizing committees detailed information for each mascot concerning design process, commercial success or public assessment, this presentation is a preliminary examination from public sources that nonetheless clearly reveals the nature and intent of the individual Games.
mascots and their evolution from games symbols to historical and cultural representations.

**Dennis Gildea, Springfield College, “Canonizing the Coaches: Rockne and McGeehan, Bee and Time”**

In 1928, *New York Herald-Tribune* sports editor W.O. McGeehan went to South Bend, Indiana, “to investigate the rumor that a university was located there.” McGeehan, one of the leading practitioners of the Aw Nuts! School of sportswriting, harbored no expectation of finding a genuine university. He felt certain he would find abundant evidence of Knute Rockne’s football juggernaut in South Bend, and he made the trip reasonably certain he would discover that Rockne and his players cared not a whit for academics, which was the story he intended to write.

In 1936, Henry Luce’s *Time* magazine, a publication with one of the largest circulations in the United States in an era of tremendous magazine growth and influence, sent its researchers and a writer across the East River to gather material for a story on Coach Clair Bee and his Long Island University basketball team that was in the process of putting together an undefeated season. LIU was just eight years old, and its entire campus consisted of a slightly renovated six-story factory building on Pearl Street not far from the Brooklyn Bridge. LIU’s “only link with the Ivy League is the fact that Yale locks formerly were either manufactured or packed for shipping” in the campus building, reporter Harry Grayson wrote.

The stories that appeared in both publications virtually canonized the coaches, lauding both their sports acumen and especially their recognition of and insistence upon the role academics should play in the life of a college athlete.

Reading the stories that resulted from the journalistic visits raises the question: Did the coaches hoodwink the writers? For that matter, did the stories enhance the reputations, particularly the academic reputations of the two universities, burnishing the notion of the coach as educator and character-builder? This essay undertakes a close-textual analysis of the stories and examines also the context surrounding the stories to determine their accuracy. Despite their disparate locations, Notre Dame and LIU had much in common as far as their educational mission was concerned. Rockne and Bee also had much in common, not the least of which was a media-savvy quest for positive publicity.
Around the turn of the twentieth century both the United States and Europe were witnessing an increase in leisure time possibilities and the widespread commercialization of different forms of popular entertainment. Casinos, circuses, theaters, music-halls and open air fairs drew large audiences from all ages and backgrounds. Since most forms of entertainment were generally associated with fantasy—something that was unreal and therefore relatively unthreatening—the entertainment industry offered a platform for performers to mock and challenge contemporary societal issues and instabilities. Especially after the First World War, a time of strong anxiety about the 'emasculcation' of crippled soldiers and the seeming crumbling of the (Victorian) male-female binary, popular entertainment stages provided spaces in which both performers and audiences could explore new gender possibilities while questioning old ones.

One of the performers who challenged and distorted ideas about 'masculinity' and 'femininity' was the aerialist 'Barbette' or Vanderclayde (1904-1973), born in Round Rock, Texas. Vanderclayde reportedly learned his high wire and trapeze skills on his mother's clothesline and started out his career as a trapeze performer with the Flying Alfaretta Sisters. One of the sisters had died and Vanderclayde, dressed as a woman, took on her role on the flying team. An ambitious perfectionist, it did not take long before Vanderclayde aspired to develop his own act—one that would bring him fame in the United States and in France (Paris) in particular. He adopted the name 'Barbette,' which not only sounded French and seemed to him more sophisticated, but also encouraged the newspapers to announce him without giving away his gender. This subterfuge became crucial for the success of his show.

With her short and slender stature and fancy feathered dress and big hat, there was little doubt in the minds of the audience that Barbette was a beautiful and graceful woman. While walking down the stairs, she shed some of her clothes before negotiating the high wire on the tips of her ballet shoes. Then she would lie down on a sofa and with feminine gestures slowly take off her feathered skirt. Her next act was to swing on the rings followed by a series of spectacular leaps on the flying trapeze. When she finally took off her wig after multiple rounds of applause, the audience expressed surprise, alarm and laughter: 'Barbette is a Boy.'

Barbette's performance was provocative and timely at a moment of 'gender crisis.' Drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of the carnivalesque, I argue that although gender confusion and inversion as displayed by Barbette was only possible within the space of the theater, he/she suggested new gender possibilities and showed that the gendered body is 'never finished'
and always in a state of 'becoming.' In addition, I will suggest that the air as a seemingly boundless medium provided a special space in which (gender) differences could be performed with less questioning.

**John Gleaves, California State University, Fullerton, “Charley Paddock and the Changing State of Amateurism”**

The inter-war years were a period of sustained challenges to the amateur sporting ethos. In the aftermath of one of the darkest and most violent epochs in modern history, western civilization reemerged from the shadows of the Great War radically transformed. Amidst the smoldering of ash, dilapidation, and lost lives, democratic impulses swept throughout Europe and North America, as evidenced by the rise of socialist and communist movements on the continent and the granting of enfranchisement to women (Germany, Netherlands, United States 1919, U.K., 1920). In this era of widespread social and political upheaval, the old world aristocratic and conservative power structures that sustained and legitimized the dominant traditions of bourgeois amateurism were rocked to their core. Progressive nations, in concert with a small band of international governing bodies, pushed for a gradual loosening of the amateur restraints during the inter-war years.

In the United States, long a bastion of British-style amateurism, the rising commercialization and democratization of sport directly threatened the Amateur Athletic Union’s (AAU) vaunted amateur ideal. During this era, U.S. athletes increasingly found themselves navigating the potential profit and fame that came with athletic success while abiding by a seemingly outmoded amateur code. One such athlete was the star American sprinter Charles Paddock. The first to be dubbed “the fastest man in the world,” Paddock, whose career lasted from 1919 to 1928, embodied the roaring Twenties’ fascination with sports and entertainment. Paddock was equal parts athlete and showman. Born and raised in Pasadena, California, he retained an air of Hollywood. His athletic feats, including numerous world records, secured his place in the 1920s athletic pantheon.

Despite his numerous successes, Paddock’s athletic career was nearly cut short due to questions regarding his amateur status. In this essay, I will examine Paddock’s battles with the AAU over his amateur status as a case study revealing the shifting cultural and social views towards amateurism. This will include asking questions about Paddock’s new opportunities in film and the increasing disregard—both by athletes and the public—for the ideology of amateurism. I will first document the events that raised concerns regarding Paddock’s eligibility by examining primary source texts including AAU meeting minutes and personal correspondences. Second, I will show
that such events resulted from larger social changes including new media such as film and radio and increased coverage of sports in the print media. This provided athletes with new opportunities to profit from their athletic success. I conclude that Paddock’s battles with the AAU over amateurism exemplified the cultural tensions between increasingly commodified athletics, changing cultural and social values, and the evolving world of elite sport.

Aram Goudsouzian, University of Memphis, “Basketball Survives Chamberlain: The 1957 NCAA Championship and the New Age of Modernity”

This paper uses the 1957 NCAA championship as a lens into the political and cultural tensions surrounding the rise of Wilt Chamberlain as college basketball’s first genuine celebrity. Based on an earlier article for Kansas History: A Journal of the Plains, it draws on such primary sources as local and student newspapers, national publications, correspondence from the Chancellor’s office and NCAA investigations, memoirs, and personal interviews with some University of Kansas figures. It seeks to understand the ways that Chamberlain stood at the forefront of changes in the landscape of both American sports and race relations, and to analyze the cultural conversations about both Chamberlain’s physical dominance and personal failure.

The 1957 final game against the University of North Carolina went into triple-overtime, and it has been called the greatest game in college basketball history. It pitted the sport’s past against its future. Undefeated and ranked #1, the University of North Carolina reflected back upon New York City, the historic heart of college basketball. Since the 1930s, Madison Square Garden had hosted numerous sold-out doubleheaders and the prestigious National Invitation Tournament, spurring the national popularity of college basketball. Since the 1930s, Madison Square Garden had hosted numerous sold-out doubleheaders and the prestigious National Invitation Tournament, spurring the national popularity of college basketball. Frank McGuire, coach of the Tar Heels and a Queens native, had moved to Chapel Hill after taking St. John’s to the 1952 NCAA Final, and he brought New York basketball to the Bible Belt. By the 1956-57 season his entire starting five—four Catholics and one Jew—hailed from New York. Tall and skilled, they played a deliberate, patterned, quick-passing, pivot-oriented offense to perfection. The style hearkened back to the great New York programs, such as Nat Holman’s City College teams. But the southward-migrating Tar Heels also reflected that New York City had lost its status as college basketball’s Mecca. A 1951 point-shaving scandal originating in Madison Square Garden had tarnished the city’s teams and allowed the NCAA to supplant the NIT as the premier postseason tournament.
College basketball’s future was not so much represented by the University of Kansas—26-2 and ranked #2—as by its star player, Chamberlain. The towering center possessed an on-court style and off-court personality that ushered the sport into the modern era: he created national publicity, he fashioned a compelling public persona, he altered the very structure of offensive basketball, and he was black. Chamberlain reshaped the meaning of college basketball to American culture. The 1957 NCAA Final was a landmark event in American sports history, broadcast by an unprecedented number of radio and television stations. The poetic perfection of the match-up, the juxtaposition of a crafty white squad against a menacing black giant, provides important insight into the cultural and racial meaning of sport in this transformative era.

**Allen Guttmann, Amherst College, “It’s All Style, or Form as Content”**

This paper is a contribution to the historiographic discussion that began with Synthia Sydnor’s NASSH presentation, “The History of Synchronized Swimming,” later published in *Journal of Sport History* (1998). As such, it should be relevant to everyone who has participated in or at least followed this ongoing discussion. It will be in part a critique of theoretical works written by Sydnor, Murray Philips, Gary Osmond, and, especially, Douglas Booth and it will refer to but not repeat some of the arguments I made in my review of Booth’s *The Field* (2005) and in my *IJHS* article, “The Ludic and the Ludicrous” (2008). It will be my version of the “linguistic turn” touted by some postmodernist scholars. It will be illustrated in part by reference to some of my own work, more or less in the manner associated with the so-called “New Criticism” that was theoretically regnant in Anglo-American literary studies in the 1940s and 1950s.

**Richard Hardesty, George Mason University, “‘Happy Series, You-all’: Rights, Resistance, and the 1966 Baltimore Orioles”**

The Baltimore Orioles’ first world championship in 1966 revealed baseball as a source of potential social change in a deeply divided urban environment. Based on newspaper accounts, government records, personal recollections, and correspondence, this paper seeks to address the hopes and limitations surrounding baseball as a social force, focusing specifically on Baltimore in 1966 when a splintering, and increasingly militant, civil rights movement interacted with growing white resistance to additional civil rights. Why did municipal leaders connect the Orioles to additional civil rights in Baltimore? What goals did they hope to accomplish? Did they succeed? What
did success or failure reveal about baseball’s ability to influence social change? The Orioles first championship offers a valuable opportunity to explore uncharted scholarly territory that examines baseball within the context of emerging white resistance to black civil rights.

Baltimore experienced racism and increasing racial tension during the 1960s, making the city vulnerable to predictions, rumors, and threats of racial violence. By 1966, the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.) named Baltimore its target city, setting out to end discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations. C.O.R.E. also used Baltimore as the setting to renounce non-violence in favor of “black power.” Ultimately, C.O.R.E.’s presence in Baltimore prompted an appearance from “professional segregationist” Charles Conly “Connie” Lynch, seeking to facilitate a race riot similar to the one he fostered in St. Augustine, Florida in 1964. As Baltimore teetered on the brink of a race riot, Orioles’ right fielder Frank Robinson played a pivotal role in turning the Orioles into champions. Politicians like Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin consequently connected Robinson to issues of social change, especially regarding the desegregation of local taverns. Yet nothing happened. Tavern owners refused to desegregate their establishments during the World Series, and refused to do so afterwards. Most of all, the plight of Baltimore’s black community changed little, as blacks continued to face discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations. As a result, Robinson’s play on the field could not generate rights off of it, highlighting the strength of growing white resistance to additional civil rights.

**Stephen Hardy, University of New Hampshire, “Miracles and Memories: 1960 and 1980 Olympic Hockey”**

It’s a scene for the ages: the Olympic ice hockey medal round, and the United States leads the Soviets by one goal as a huge arena crowd and a national television audience anticipate a momentous upset. The announcer counts down the last 10 seconds: “10, 9, 8 ...” Everyone watching at home can sense a punch line. Sound familiar? Except that in 1960, CBS’s Bud Palmer exclaimed simply, “And the game is over, the United States wins.” Twenty years later, ABC’s Al Michaels sent his game into history with “Do You Believe in Miracles? Yes!”

Two Olympics, with very similar results, and very different legacies. One victory understated, one heavily dramatized. One team nearly forgotten by the general public and one launched into a stratosphere of celebration, both immediate and lasting. One a near historical orphan, the other a subject of numerous books, articles, web sites, and a Disney feature film. As historian John Soares emphasizes in a new documentary called *Forgotten*
Miracle, the 1960 team has received “nowhere near” the kind of recognition they have deserved: “Anytime sports writers start writing about the history of US hockey, it seems to begin at Lake Placid.” This despite the unblemished 1960 record of victories (the 1980 team had one tie) against the world’s powers including Canada, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. What accounts for the divergence between amnesia and memory? A good place to start lies in comparing Forgotten Miracle with an earlier HBO film called Do You Believe in Miracles: The Story of the 1980 U.S. Olympic Team (2001) and with Disney’s 2005 feature film Miracle. These films may be viewed as more than recollections of performance, but as artifacts in the production of history and collective memory.

As Robert Rosenstone has emphasized in his work on film and history, the stories we tell about the past are all “constructed,” whatever the medium. Doug Booth has expanded this notion to include orientations of “reconstruction” and “deconstruction.” Consciously or unconsciously, all storytellers make choices about content and delivery. All media—written, oral, visual—somehow distort the lived experience of any one person or group of persons. All expressions of the past require some forms of condensation, compression, metaphor, to name just some of the warping maneuvers. In sport history, these decisions often occur as authors describe particular elements of their story, including:

- The broader context of an event or a team—e.g. social, economic and competitive conditions.
- The development of the player/team/event and the particular performance—e.g. the role of coaches and entrepreneurs.
- The social and cultural significance of performance—e.g. resonance across gender, race, ethnicity.

This paper will compare the 1960 and 1980 Olympic stories along these lines, both as told in these films and as parsed from my own research on the history of hockey. It compares and contrasts material from the movies mentioned above, newspaper and magazine accounts, scholarly reviews, and movies reviews, all within a framework of social and collective memory. The paper attempts to make a contribution to the history of hockey, movie-making, and memory.


Using the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project as a case study, this paper discusses the unique advantages as well as some of the
challenges of using oral history methodology in sport history. Housed at the Institute for Olympic Studies in the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports at the University of Texas at Austin, the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team Oral History Project was born as a collaboration between members of the '68 team and Dr. Thomas M. Hunt, the Stark Center’s Assistant Director for Academic Affairs. The project’s continuing mission is to collect, record, preserve, and provide public access to the oral legacy of the '68 Team. To that end, Dr. Hunt has recruited a small team of interested graduate students and has provided them with training in oral history methodology. Through the oral history interview process, we seek not only to record the words of each participating team member as a community service to that Olympian and his or her family, but we also aim to discover new insights into Olympic history and America’s broader cultural heritage as revealed through the individual lived experiences of 1968 U.S. Olympic Team members.

Though dismissed by some traditional historians, oral history has enjoyed continued growth from its post-war populist roots and is now widely viewed as a legitimate historical discipline. Since the 1980s, professional sports historians have recognized the potential of oral history for recording and preserving the tacit knowledge of sports. Yet, oral history is much more than a technique for capturing unwritten information about the past; it is an interactive, creative methodology that reveals and interprets layers of meaning from memories. In more recent years, oral history has been a key methodology in the study of the subjective nature of memory and the ways people remember, represent, and use the past in their private and public lives.

Oral history is not journalism, biography, or memoir and is distinguishable from other forms of history in that it derives from and possesses the distinctive qualities of orality, narrative, performance, subjectivity/intersubjectivity, memory, mutability, and collaboration. These characteristics permit a novel analysis the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, thought by many scholars to be among the most historically and culturally significant in the modern history of the Olympic Movement. The distinctive qualities of oral history permit in-depth knowledge of the recollections of the individual sports-men and women who lived through the momentous events of 1968—a year that defined a generation and may have been the most documented and divisive year in global history.
Phil Hatlem, Saint Leo University, “Catalyst of Change: Pursuing and Building the Football Stadium On-Campus”

In the fall of 2011, for the first time in 87 years, the University of California football Golden Bears did not play their home games at Memorial Stadium on the east side of the Berkley campus. Rather, the teams and fans crossed San Francisco Bay by bridge or ferry to play their games in AT&T Park in San Francisco. This was a one-year, temporary off-campus move due to a major renovation of Memorial Stadium, and the Bears will be back playing in picturesque Strawberry Canyon in September.

On university campuses throughout the United States, the football stadium helps develop a sense of place for many fans (Youngblood 2009, Rosentraub 2009). For many campuses the football stadium is the most visible of university buildings (Katzer 2010), and can be a catalyst of growth for the campus and the university (Velotta 2011). But some Football Bowl Subdivision schools are not so lucky to be “off-campus” for only one year, as was the case with the University of California. The University of Minnesota Gophers spent 27 years at the Metrodome in downtown Minneapolis, before opening TFC Bank Stadium back on campus in 2009 (Youngblood 2009). Other schools, including Louisville, Central Florida, and most recently Florida Atlantic, recently completed on-campus stadiums for their teams and fans.

By examining through archival materials and personal interviews the history of these schools that recently funded and built on-campus football stadiums, the perceived value to the university of having the football team play on campus is discovered. This, in turn, can be helpful to schools currently undergoing the evaluation process of the benefit of bringing “their team” back on campus, or, in the case of the University of South Florida, on campus for the first time.

Rob Haulton, University of South Carolina, “A Sound Mind in a Fit Body: Exercise in American Culture, 1880-1916”

This paper examines the role of physical culture in fin-de-siecle American culture and its implications for American conceptions of self-hood. Building on the scholarship of Daniel Walker Howe and Stephen Nissenbaum, I argue that exercise, at the end of the nineteenth century, became increasingly important as a way for men and women to shape and improve themselves. Americans had exercised since the colonial era but at the end of the nineteenth century they increasingly shifted their focus to *purposive exercise*, physical activity conducted to produce a specific change, as opposed to *incidental exercise* that occurred as part of labor or leisure activity. This shift in practice was abetted by a democratization of exercise.
Once the purview of the wealthy and a handful of exclusive clubs, exercise became open to the general public through a fitness consumer culture and the spread of gymnasiums across the country. I also contend that, as exercise became more popular, the meanings attached to it began to change. Professional and commercial exercise advocates stressed that Americans could improve their minds, bodies, and even their souls through rigorous exercise.

My paper contributes to the history of sport by contextualizing physical culture within an American tradition of self-improvement. Previous scholars have missed this link. As a result, our understanding of physical culture has been flawed. Historians have used the term imprecisely either to refer to an ahistorical category of physical activity or to evoke a vague set of historical practices. The shift toward purposive exercise occurred within, and challenged, a longstanding tradition of self-improvement known as faculty psychology, which was dominant throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Faculty psychology celebrated discipline and rationality as means of controlling physical appetites and emotional impulses. In contrast, purposive exercise placed the body at the center of self-improvement and stressed its importance for developing the mind and soul. These developments help to explain the centrality of exercise and the fit body in twentieth-century American culture.

Mark E. Havitz, University of Waterloo, “Running With the Tide and Against the Wind: Michigan State’s Foundational 1974-1981 Women’s Cross Country Teams”

Michigan State University dominated eastern, midwestern, and national cross country landscapes for a forty-year period spanning the 1930s through the early 1970s. During this era, MSU earned fifteen IC4A cross country titles against eastern competition, fourteen Big Ten titles in 22 years after joining the league in 1950, and eight NCAA team championships. In addition to its prominent position in hill and dale competition, the school played a formative role in developing the sport on a national scale, first by challenging eastern hegemony on its primary proving grounds in New York’s Van Cortlandt Park and then by uniting the nation’s college teams with a centrally based competition. Michigan State founded, nurtured and hosted the NCAA meet from 1938 through 1964, during which nuances related to course layout and scoring were refined by MSU coaches. As the 1970s progressed, its men’s cross country fortunes began to wane, perhaps in testament to the classic statistical maxim “regression to the mean,” but attributable to economic conditions and personnel decisions as well. Coincidentally, Michigan State opted to take a pioneering role in
intercollegiate women’s athletics immediately preceding passage of Title IX legislation in 1972 and prior to its official implementation in January 1975. Perhaps most notable was its hiring of Dr. Nell Jackson, Olympian and Olympic coach, as associate athletic director in 1973. Cross country was not the first women’s sport recognized on campus, but MSU fielded one of the earlier university-sanctioned competitive teams in the United States in 1974. Dr. Jackson was a prominent advocate for women’s sport in general and took a lead role in budgetary deliberations and media relations. She initially served as Michigan State’s first women’s cross country coach before turning day-to-day operations to a distance running specialist, Mark Pittman, during that inaugural season. Michigan State won the first unofficial (1976) Big Ten women’s cross country championship and placed highly in AIAW and AAU competitions during its first eight seasons. Women’s cross country entered a new era in 1981 when both the Big Ten and NCAA staged their first competitions. MSU won the former and finished fourth in the latter. In addition to historical sources including university archives and contemporary press coverage, primary sources for this paper include structured survey responses from over a dozen women and semi-structured interviews with five women and several coaches associated with Michigan State’s pioneering women’s cross country teams. Together, these materials provide in-depth perspective on a turbulent and foundational time with respect to women’s intercollegiate sport. Data suggest that challenges faced by early intercollegiate women runners were numerous. Coaches and administrators jockeyed internally and in the court of public opinion to carve an emerging niche. Athletes spoke of shared experience and social norms affecting women athletes, acceptance/interaction with male athletes and the broader student population. Related themes included resistance and reinforcement of traditional gender roles, body image, and physicality of sport. Although Michigan State’s men’s team struggled during this time, evidence suggests that it would be a mistake to blame the men’s challenges on the fledgling women’s rise.

Benita Heiskanen, University of Turku, “Straddling the Pugilistic/Societal Gender Line”

This paper will consider everyday experiences and media representations of twenty-first century women boxers in the United States. Based on oral history interviews conducted in Texas, the paper first probes into the interviewees’ own conceptualization of their careers and identities within professional boxing; it then compares these experiences with various media discourses characterizing pugilism as a gendered practice. The boxers’ self-conceptualization competes for visibility and meaning with the media
representations, shaping not only the range of choices available for women boxers but also the prizefight industry.

The relationship between the everyday experiences and representations is discussed through a spatial analytical framework that explicates the ways in which women boxers configure their positions differently within the everyday contexts of the sport and the public domain where they are represented. The paper argues that unlike at the gym or boxing matches, in media depictions fighters have little control over their self-portrayal, and the further they move from the private/marginal sites into the central/mainstream locations, the less control they can claim in their identity representations. The ramifications of such image productions are also spatial, as the discursive strategies try to legitimize certain types of combative prowess in and out of the ring, while others attempt to destabilize portrayals that challenge the existing status quo.

Notwithstanding this discrepancy between the women’s experiences within “real” space, as opposed to representational space, for the broader sporting public the singular representations typically trump individual realities. The manipulation of space, then, becomes central to creating and valorizing particular expressions of masculine/feminine sporting prowess. For just as the geography of the canvas is premised on carving away the opponent’s space, claiming space in society accumulates social power for the claimant. Ultimately, women’s boxing is not only grappling with representations of it but with the social ramifications stemming from the changes in contemporary professional boxing beyond the ring.

Matt Hodler, University of Iowa, “Deciphering Sybil Bauer: Gender Politics and the 1924 Olympics”

Olympic swimmer Sybil Bauer died from cancer in 1927 at the age of 23. At the time of her death, Bauer held eight world records in the backstroke. Most notably, in 1922 Bauer smashed the overall (i.e., men’s) 440-yard backstroke mark by more than four seconds and then lowered it again in the late winter of 1924. These feats objectively demonstrated that women could participate on an equal playing field (or, in this case, pool) with men and beat them. Her record swim in 1924 inevitably led to speculation as to whether or not she would be “allowed” to compete against male swimmers at the Paris Olympics. She was a 1924 Olympic champion, but in the women’s 100-meter backstroke.

Using primary (popular periodical literature, artifacts and documents from the International Swimming Hall of Fame and documents and literature from the Northwestern University Sports Hall of Fame) and secondary sources, I will explore this under-told history of a pioneering sportswoman.
Bauer’s sheer excellence in the pool causes us to (re)consider ideas about sport as both a male and masculine preserve, allowing us to discuss gender in terms of power relations rather than merely as a position and/or an identity.

Annette R. Hofmann, Ludwigsburg University of Education, “‘Bringing the Alps to the City’: Winter Events in the Modern Cities of the Early 20th Century”

Often urbanization can be seen in connection with the rise of sports, especially when it comes to team sports and the business of professional sports. For the United States Steve Riess writes that the cities “provided players and spectators.” Moreover, many sport clubs and institutions were established in the cities, as well as parks for recreational sports. This was not much different in Europe. But to have sports which depend on a special landscape or weather conditions—like winter sports—take place within cities was unusual.

Since their beginnings winter sports and especially skiing have been associated with nature and often an alpine landscape. Already in the 1880s in various European countries winter trains transported the skiers to their beloved hills and mountains to perform their sports. But it was also vice-versa: in the late 19th century the first winter sport enthusiasts brought their activities to the cities mainly to entertain the crowds. Examples are the big ice palaces in Russia or North America where ice skating was an especially important event. About two decades later, during the anneé folle, in various metropolises of the world even skiing was transferred to the city.

Sources show that in 1927 an indoor ski palace on artificial snow was opened in Vienna, about ten years later various winter sport spectacles took place in Boston and New York. Paris and London followed the example: London invited the best ski jumpers for competitions and shows to Earl’s Court as part of its “Winter Cavalcade” just before the long, excruciating war years started.

In my paper I want to examine the establishment of these urban winter events and contextualize them within the modern city of the time. Main questions to be pursued are why people felt an urge to bring winter sports to the city and what role they played for the people living in those cities, and how they contributed to the establishment of modern cities of the time.
Richard Holt, De Montfort University, “The Origins of Amateurism in Victorian Britain, c. 1850-1890”

Don’t we already know enough—even too much—about Victorian amateurs? In the sense of amateurs as public school athletes perhaps this is so. But in a deeper historical sense amateurism remains something of a mystery. When did the concept of the ‘amateur’ become an explicit aspect of British sport? Why did an ideology of sport, which was so hostile to commercialism, originate in the centre of world commerce? Did amateurism begin as a form of voluntary organisation and evolve into an ideology? And if so, what kind of ideology was it and how did it differ in different sports? To what extent did the amateur ideal embody dominant economic and religious values such as competitiveness and evangelicalism? Recent work on Victorian religion, for example, has thrown new light on such well-worn ideas as ‘muscular Christianity’ and its relationship with amateur sport. The purpose of this paper is to review the state of knowledge and establish, as clearly as possible, that amateurism was more complex than mere ‘anti-professionalism’ or class segregation. This paper is intended to link up with other papers on the dominance and trajectory of amateur organisations and practices in the first half of the twentieth century and their subsequent decline from the 1960s onwards.

Peter M. Hopsicker, Penn State, Altoona, “The Grim Reaper is at the Steering Wheel: The 1932 Lake Placid Olympic Bobsled Events as an Omen to the Death of a Luger”

On February 12, 2010, while training for the Vancouver Winter Olympic Games, Georgian luger Nodar Kumaritashvili lost control of his sled in the final corner of the Whistler Sliding Centre, went over the track wall, struck a steel pole, and subsequently died from the injuries. The tragedy prompted an investigation into the slide’s engineering and location, and the blizzard of analysis that followed sought accountability. Was this accident the result of driver error or track design?

Five days later, the Wall Street Journal suggested that decisions grounded in commerce and profit were to blame. The story’s authors traced the inception of the slide to choices based on the facility’s “financial sustainability” and other “commercial” interests. These decisions, among others, moved the facility from Grouse Mountain in Vancouver to the Whistler ski resort in the Canadian Rockies in order to “make the track financially viable after the games.” The relocation also made the slide the steepest and fastest of all Olympic sliding facilities since the 1980 Games in
Lake Placid boasting a vertical drop of 11% and speeds approaching 100 miles per hour.

While the *Wall Street Journal*’s investigation into the development of the Whistler Sliding Centre is provocative, it fails to recognize that this tragedy was not the first time slide engineering, location, and administrative decisions were significantly questioned after terrifying accidents. The Mt. Van Hoevenberg bobsled run at Lake Placid, for example, provides historical precedent for similar decision-making and ensuing mishaps. During the week prior to the opening ceremonies, the practice sessions for the 1932 Olympic bobsled events demonstrated chaos with multiple crashes, near crashes, and bailouts involving over a dozen athletes.

As with the Vancouver games, accountability for the Lake Placid crashes focused on the slide’s design and location. Described as an “extremely fast track,” Mt. Van Hoevenberg possessed a vertical drop of nearly 10%, speeds approaching 70 miles per hour, two hairpin turns, an S-turn, and several other turns “with pronounced drops”—the latter characteristic setting the slide distinctively apart from other European facilities. The chaos also called into question the management of the slide, specifically the decisions made by Dr. Godfrey Dewey, the key administrator of the games. An ensuing protest by seven attending nations publicly highlighted the perceived mismanagement of practice sessions and maintenance of the slide. In response, Dewey relinquished all control of the run to German and Swiss members of the international bobsledding committee, although this transfer of authority did not eliminate subsequent mishaps, ironically, to the German and Swiss bobsled teams.

An analysis of the Lake Placid Organizing Committee’s decisions regarding the placement, engineering, and administration of the Mt. Van Hoevenberg bobsled run reveals not only a historic example of the dangers of Olympic sliding events, but also a dark forecast of how commercial interests have influenced the location and engineering of these facilities, at times to the detriment of athletes’ health, since at least the 1932 Winter Olympic games.

**John Hughson, University of Central Lancashire, “Modern Design for Modern Events: Analyzing Olympic Games’ Posters (1948 and 1956)”**

This paper offers a continuation of the presenter’s work on the cultural significance of Olympic posters. It will offer case studies of two posters associated with each of two post-WW II Olympiads, 1948 and 1956. For the 1948 London Olympic Games, the official poster designed by Walter Herz and the tourism poster designed for British European Airways by Abram Games will be discussed. For the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, focus will
be placed on the official poster designed by Richard Beck and the tourism poster commissioned by the Melbourne Organizing Committee from the designer Max Forbes. Both Olympiads occurred at important modern historical junctures, for Britain and Australia respectively, and this was reflected within the Olympic poster designs. The 1948 Olympiad provided a large-scale event for Britain to welcome international visitors after the ravages of WWII, especially to London. The Herz and Games posters issued rather different messages, one nodding to the past, the other to the future. Herz’s colorful, but almost homemade looking montage, featuring a representation of the Discobulus figure transposed over familiar London landmarks, signaled the actual limitations of the so-called Austerity Games. Abram Games’ modernist image of a track-running athlete may be seen to symbolize Britain heading into a brave new postwar world. The 1956 posters somewhat inverted this tension. Max Forbes tourism poster drew on one tendency within European design of the time toward happy, almost cartoonish, illustration. In contrast, Richard Beck’s official design for Melbourne 1956 brought the clean-lined minimalism of the International Style movement to Olympic posters. A key argument of the paper is that although dispensing with the heroic male athletic figure altogether--the first summer Olympiad poster to do so--Beck’s design offered an innovative reengagement with de Coubertin’s notion of ‘art inspired by sport’.

The presentation draws on visual analysis methods from art and design history and offers an historical documentary analysis of the posters’ provenance and commissioning. Both case studies involve relevant archival research undertaken at museums and records offices in England and Australia. The presentation continues research of ‘visual culture’ pertinent to the history of sport and puts sport history into further conversation with design history.

**Dong Jinxia, Peking University, “Sports Industry in the Context of Economic and Social Reforms in Post-1980 China”**

China’s economy has grown fast in the past three decades, which paved the way for the development of sports industry in the populated country. Sport industry refers to the sum of all kinds of activities that generate economic profit through providing sports products and services to the public. It comprises the manufacturing of sport related goods, services, and ideas through the combination of sport activities with business, mass media, and politics.

What characteristics did Chinese sports industry have in its evolution? What was the relationship between national policy, sports strategy and sports industry in terms of the development of sports industry in China?
What factors have contributed to its current status and what is its future? All this requires an academic exploration.

Based on literature review of both English and Chinese publications, governmental documents and case studies, this paper will review chronologically China’s sports industry from 1980 to 2011, which will be divided into three stages: the 1980s, the 1990s, and the 2000s, and analyze the intricate relationships between social and economic reform, sports policy, sports reforms and the take-off and expansion of sports industry.

The paper claims that with the emergence of corporate and private sponsorship of sport in the mid-1980s, sports industry came into being in the country. In the 1990s when the market economy was embraced, a dozen sports started the experiment of ‘enterprisationize’ sports associations. Professional sports clubs, athletes’ registration and transfers, and professional teams were introduced immediately. Sports industry began to get attention and was put on governmental agenda. Except for the sports goods such as shoes and clothes, sports sponsorship, advertising and sports lottery as well as sports fitness industry witnessed fast expansion. Beijing’s successful bid for and hosting of the 2008 Olympics had significant impact on sports industry. It created millions of jobs and made significant contribution to the national economy. In the mean time, foreign investment in Chinese sports industry also boosted around the Games.

Despite the rapid progress, the Chinese sports industry is faced with a number of challenges, including the contradiction of a state-financed system and market forces, the unclear ownership of elite athletes, the underdeveloped sports service sector, incomplete legal provision and ineffective enforcement of the existing laws and regulations relevant to sports industry. Nevertheless, with the governmental support and the deepening of the market economy, there is no doubt that sports industry in China will grow in the 21st century.

Jarrod Jonsrud, Penn State University, “Little Brother’s Day in the Sun: Penn State Basketball’s 1954 Final Four Appearance”

While it is no secret that Penn State football reigns supreme on the campus in Happy Valley, the basketball team might seem like a well-kept secret to those unfamiliar with Nittany Lion basketball history. Although the basketball team began playing in 1897, just ten years after the football team began, little attention has been paid to the team’s, admittedly infrequent, successes. Living in the shadow of a big-time college football program, Penn State basketball has achieved success at every level of post-season play. Most recently, Penn State basketball was crowned champions of the National Invitational Tournament in 2009. But most impressively, the 1954 Nittany
Lions achieved their greatest success to date, reaching the NCAA Final Four. Although they missed the chance to play for a national title after a tough loss to the eventual national champion squad from LaSalle, they did manage to beat USC for a third place finish. Despite these successes, however, little has been written about Nittany Lion basketball history.

This paper will document the 1954 Penn State men’s basketball season and situate the team and its success within the larger social, cultural and historic context of 1950s America. During a difficult time for African Americans in sports, Jesse Arnelle led his team to the 1954 NCAA Final Four, went on to be named an All-American that season, and finished his career at Penn State as the all-time leading scorer and rebounder before going on to play in the NBA for the Fort Wayne Pistons. Along with Arnelle’s experience, this paper will explore the attitude on campus toward the basketball team through attendance records and the prevalence of articles in the local college newspaper, the *Daily Collegian*, dedicated to the basketball team.

The extensive archival collection available in the Penn State University Archives will greatly assist the research process, providing direct access to a wide range of primary resources. The archival collection includes a complete listing of the *Daily Collegian*, detailed athlete records for all members of the 1954 team, and many press releases from the athletic department.

The presence of big-time college football does not always mean the absence of big-time college basketball. While it’s true that the basketball program has not had the same kind of success that other programs have had, Penn State basketball should be a source of pride for the student body and the alumni, especially in light of recent events. Perhaps paying more attention to the team’s past successes will inspire a renewed commitment to Nittany Lion basketball. Regardless, the dynamic between the football and the basketball programs at Penn State present an interesting case study in college sports of how the perception of a university being a “football school” detracts from the popularity, and ultimately the school’s level of support for the basketball program.

Matthew Katz and Matthew T. Bowers, University of Texas at Austin, “The Impact of Huey P. Long on the Evolution of Tiger Stadium and Louisiana State University Football”

Tiger Stadium, at the Louisiana State University (LSU), opened in 1924 well before the campus’ grand opening on April 30, 1926. In 1932 and 1937, various expansion and renovation projects on Tiger Stadium, prompted and somewhat led by Huey P. Long, emerged as part of a second wave of campus construction at LSU. This incredible campus building initiative, estimated at roughly $9 million ($118 million in 2011), included a new
medical school, various residential and educational buildings, a new Music &
Arts Building, and improved athletic facilities/venues such as Tiger Stadium
to supposedly increase the number of academic departments and to expand
the scope and reach of those existing programs and promote the university.
William Ivy Hair, in *The Kingfish and His Realm*, argued: “Louisiana State
University benefited from becoming a special pride of the Kingfish. Huey
came to identify himself with LSU so closely he customarily referred to it as
my university.”

Huey P. Long biographer Carlton Beals similarly suggested, “LSU was a
springboard for bold projects for the glory of Huey P. Long. It was a place of
academic whoopla, gaudy parades, and Hitleresque ceremonies, where
students and professors did not dare tell the truth. . . .The millions spent on
L.S.U. were for the purpose of show, political power, and to provide a basis
for a nationwide conquest of student and professorial support.” Hair also
noted that the prominent largess of venues and Huey’s personal involvement
in popular activities such as band parades and football established him as
the personal anchor for Louisianans. Establishing points for social interaction
and “leading the Fighting Tiger band in parades and cavorting along the
sidelines during games might seem juvenile antics for a governor or senator”
but Long recognized it meant increased national publicity for LSU and
himself.

The purpose of this historical research endeavor aimed to briefly
review the aggressive architectural and building plan of LSU through the
case of Tiger Stadium and demonstrate how Tiger Stadium emerged as a
center of athletic, cultural, educational, and recreational pursuits in
Louisiana. With special attention to the technological and architectural
details provided by a renovated and expanded Tiger Stadium, this work
seeks to highlight the historical significance of that building on the campus
of LSU through the exploration of numerous primary and secondary sources.
Ultimately, it is the goal of this work to show Tiger Stadium existed as one of
the most important social anchors ever produced on the campus of LSU and
also the result of several interesting financing activities and political
maneuvers under the leadership of Huey P. Long. Combined, this information
should present important evidence to help determine if LSU’s biggest fan,
Huey P. Long, was a narcissist or megalomaniac as debated by many Huey P.
Long biographers, contemporaries, and historians.

Kohei Kawashima, Musashi University, “The 1928 Amsterdam
Olympic Marathon and the Racialization of Athleticism in Japan”

In the Amsterdam Olympics of 1928, the Algerian French runner
Ahmed Boughera El Ouafi won first place in the marathon. Equally
important, two Japanese runners, Kanematsu Yamada and Seiichiro Tsuda, also distinguished themselves by winning fourth and sixth places. It should be also noted that, as the second-place winner was Manuel Plaza, a Chilean, four of the top six places were taken by unexpected persons according to the standard of that era when Nordicism, or “white supremacy,” prevailed. The result completely overturned the Nordic-centered expectation.

Since the dawn of the Meiji era in 1868 until the time of the Amsterdam Olympics, many Japanese had held an implicit racial hierarchical assumption of the “whites” (Europeans), the “yellows” (Asians), and the “blacks” (Africans) in this order. It was basically a three-layered structure. This was a result of Japan’s importation from Europe what was then a dominant view primarily based on the categorization by German physiologist J. F. Blumenbach, French naturalist Georges Cuvier, and others. This view was both accepted and spread positively and negatively by Japanese enlightenment thinkers such as Yukichi Fukuzawa through the eras of European impact and adaptation in the early-Meiji, of nationalistic reaction in the late-Meiji, and of democratic counteraction of the Taisho.

The Amsterdam Olympic marathon demonstrated an order contrary to the traditional one: namely, a non-white African El Ouafi took first place, and equally non-white Japanese took two top places. The Japanese result led the Japanese media to vociferously argue that they should deserve a place even better than the silver medal. As the marathon is a competitive event in which runners compete against each other at a level closest to the limit of human physicality, endurance and mind for strategic maneuverability, the result of the race could be easily translated into an argument and interpretation that the traditional hierarchy of white, yellow, and black should be challenged and even modified.

In a broader context we will analyze how this event facilitated the formation or transformation of the Japanese worldview and their view of themselves vis-à-vis other imperial powers including the United States.

Joyce Kay, University of Stirling, “In-House Media: Representing Workplace Sport in the Company Press”

Many British firms produced weekly or monthly magazines, occasional pamphlets and special jubilee publications throughout the twentieth century. A wide range of material was published, from company news and information—cynics might say propaganda—to photographs, letters and personal announcements. Sport and recreation featured extensively in the bulletins but items went far beyond the mere notification of fixtures and results. An analysis of different in-house publications can illustrate the ethos
and principles of workplace sport, the attitudes and opinions of staff and management, and the extent of inter-business co-operation and competition. This paper will examine in-house media from several areas of the British economy during the twentieth century. Manufacturing is represented by Cadbury's UK and Lever Brothers; finance utilises the archives of the Royal Bank of Scotland and its subsidiary banking houses; the retail sector focuses on the John Lewis Partnership (JLP), one of the major UK store groups and an early exponent of worker participation and democracy. Although several of the staff magazines were introduced before 1914, the majority started life in the inter-war period. Local branch periodicals sometimes followed after 1945 with the aim, in the case of the JLP, of helping ‘the team work of the Branch in its business and its social life’.

A study of company sport through the pages of its homegrown press indicates not only its extent and variety, from angling to yachting, from the bumpy sports field to the American-style country club, but highlights issues of gender, class and motivation in the workplace.

Darren D. Kelly, University of Texas at Austin, “‘Black Students First, Athletes Second’: The Creation of the Student Athlete Coalition at the University of Texas at Austin”

The Spring 1990 semester at The University of Texas at Austin was quite an eventful 15 weeks for students, faculty, and administrators. Protests against apartheid in South Africa and efforts to promote multiculturalism at the university were common. The student body recently elected a black and openly lesbian, twenty-four year old student body president. Yet during one weekend late in the semester, two racial incidents involving white fraternities sparked greater protests from students of different backgrounds. Alongside the students, student-athletes from multiple sports decided to get involved in the protests. However, after the president of the university attempted to use athletes to bolster student support for his response to the protests, the student-athletes created their own political action organization called the Student Athlete Coalition (SAC).

The Student Athlete Coalition was formed to act as an organization that would speak out for student-athletes and represent their voice on pertinent campus issues. Not only did the group seek to speak out on issues, but it also wanted to debunk stereotypes of athletes being apathetic to involvement in university issues and politics. The group met regularly and organized a march and rally that featured 100 student-athletes and 750 supporters. Student-athletes spoke out against the recent racial incidents and lack of multiculturalism on campus and articulated their vision for the new organization.
The SAC gave a voice to a group of students who, while revered, typically were not politically involved in the campus affairs due to their athletic commitments. The organization sought to address a broad range of educational issues, demystify and debunk negative stereotypes of student-athletes, and create a student athletic advisory council that would help ease the transition of freshmen student-athletes into the college environment and help unite student-athletes with other students on campus. The SAC brought a new and unique voice and perspective to the protests that spring and demonstrated that the student-athletes not only cared about their sport, but also their complete college experience.

This paper will argue that while the SAC allowed student-athletes’ voices to be heard and had a lasting impact on those involved, the organization lost momentum over the summer and failed to have a sustained presence at The University of Texas at Austin. After the school year, many of the student-athletes had gone home and begun to refocus their energy on their respective sports and academic careers. The demands of being an elite student-athlete at a prestigious university proved to outweigh the movement to maintain a political presence on campus.

Seth A. Kessler, University of Texas at Austin, “A Liberalist Perspective of Sport and International Relations: U.S. Olympic Boycott Movements, 1936 to 2008”

Using the liberalist theory of international relations, this paper analyses state and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) involvement in three Olympic Games: the 1936 Berlin Olympics, the 1980 Los Angeles Olympics, and the 2008 Beijing Olympics, through a liberal theory application. Specifically, this paper applies liberal theory to the key U.S. policymakers’ decisions related to the use of sport for international relations. (i.e., to boycott the Olympic games or not). The historical analysis for this paper derives from previous research utilizing primary and secondary sources on each Olympic Games, the incorporation of prominent international relations literature regarding liberalism, and archival documents illuminating policymakers’ political philosophies.

Liberalism assumes that absolute gains in international relations are more valuable than relative gains compared to other nation-states, and absolute gains can best be achieved through cooperation. Therefore, nation-states’ preferences, rather than a nation-state’s power, are the primary determinants of state behavior. As a result, nation-state’s preferences (and ultimately) decisions regarding the same issue can change, and these fluctuating decisions are related to such factors as culture, economic system,
government type, and current political atmosphere. In all, liberalism can offer an alternative understanding of decisions regarding Olympic boycotts.

To briefly illustrate, leading up to the 1936 Berlin Olympics the Nazi regime chose to cooperate with other nation-states, and allow them to influence their actions. In 1980, through choosing not to cooperate, the U.S. gave up the opportunity to influence the U.S.S.R.’s actions regarding the games (and potentially other foreign policy and social issues). In 2008, the People’s Republic of China choose to cooperate with other nation-states’ and NGOs’ demands regarding environmental (e.g., air quality) and human rights (e.g., trade relations with Sudan). Deciding whether to cooperate (i.e., boycott) dictated the U.S.’s ability to influence these nation-states’ actions.

Sport historians examining Olympic boycotts should heed the liberal theory of international relations for a multitude of reasons. First, real-life (historical and contemporary) policymakers have advocated and made decisions based in liberalism. Liberal theory should be utilized when examining the nexus of international relations and sport, including such events as Olympic boycotts (or the lack thereof). From an interpretive perspective, liberal theory helps illuminate a boycott’s attractiveness when compared to alternative diplomatic options. Finally, liberal theory is applicable even in cases where U.S. policymakers decided to take no action (i.e., not boycott), because inaction can be understood as an action in the U.S.’s national interest.

Exhibiting relevancy to other disciplines is a challenge for sport researchers. To this end, this paper contributes to the growing literature outlining sports’ significance in other social sciences, such as political science, public administration, and public policy analysis. Further, this paper clearly demonstrates governments’ interests in sports, and calls for the continued investigation of the intersections among sports (and mega-events) and national governments.


Korean professional baseball, which finished its 30th season in 2011, has emerged among the most popular sports in South Korea. While Koreans are passionate about national soccer matches such as the World Cup, baseball is their major pastime. In 1982, Korea professionalized baseball 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, Korean professional baseball has seen tremendous changes as the sport encounters globalization. Korean baseball has to meet a range of challenges rooted in globalization processes. The World Baseball Classic (WBC) was viewed as a proactive strategy to deal with globalization. This paper will examine the influence and impact of the WBC in Korea and discuss how it is being accepted by Korean society. We will focus on 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.

Richard Ian Kimball, Brigham Young University, “How Cowgirls Got the Blues: The Death of Bonnie McCarroll and the Prohibition of Women’s Roughstock Events”

Rodeo cowgirls worked in the most gender-trangressive sport in the early twentieth century. Although other female athletes—like swimmer Gertrude Ederle or tennis champion Helen Wills Moody—entered the popular imagination, they played sports that were considerably more “feminine” than competitive rodeo. Sports like tennis, swimming, and even field hockey were played by upper-class women in country clubs and private schools, and, therefore, were more acceptable to critics of female sport. Rodeo, on the other hand, was not genteel, private, or traditionally feminine. But it was popular, especially in the West.

From the 1890s through the 1920s, rodeo “offered great opportunities for cowgirls, who could and did compete directly against men in steer roping, trick roping, trick riding, and Roman racing. Rodeo was the first, and perhaps the only, sport in which men and women truly competed as equals.” According to Mary Lou LeCompte, “Even with the growth of special cowgirl contests in bronc riding, trick riding, trick roping, and relay and cow pony races, women continued to compete successfully against men in a variety of events, and still enjoyed the respect and friendship of the cowboys.” Compared to life on the ranch, rodeo work was exhilarating and unthreatening at the same time. “Professional athletic careers provided talented ranch girls an exciting alternative to unending drudgery, while apparently poising no threat to their perception of their own femininity,” argued LeCompte.

Because Bonnie McCarroll and other female riders rarely entered the intellectual orbits of physical education advocates or opponents of women’s sports, they avoided the sharp denunciations aimed at other female athletes.
The lifestyle of competitive cowgirls appeared so alien to most young American women that it was beyond contemplation, let alone serious concern. So far removed from everyday life, this “separate sphere” was more a novelty than a threat to established gender norms. That is, until the death of Bonnie McCarroll at the Pendleton Round-Up in 1929. For all practical purposes, McCarroll’s death led to the prohibition of women’s rodeo for a generation and ended women’s participation in roughstock events for good. McCarroll’s death hastened the demise of women’s rodeo, a once-thriving institution that offered women an unorthodox occupation and lifestyle.

George N. Kioussis, University of Texas at Austin, “Soccer in the American Psyche: A Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage of The Beautiful Game, 1982-2010”

When Brazilian superstar Pelé joined the North American Soccer League’s New York Cosmos in 1975, domestic media coverage of soccer was not only scarce, but reflected a public that was largely unfamiliar with the sport. Newspaper and magazine articles were essentially dumbed down for the hoi polloi, featuring diction and an educational tone that would have drawn ridicule in Great Britain. The same could be said of television broadcasts during the time period.

As soccer has grown in the United States in the decades since, journalistic approaches to the game have shifted accordingly. This project seeks to consider soccer’s positioning in the American consciousness by looking at trends in media coverage of the World Cup from 1982-2010. Using a qualitative approach, it offers a content analysis that focuses on the depth and sophistication of writing and reporting in four major newspapers: The New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Chicago Tribune, and the Houston Chronicle. Depth and sophistication are defined and considered in four terms:

1. Efforts to educate the public about soccer
2. Efforts to familiarize the public with soccer through parallels to American sport
3. The language
4. The level of tactical discussion

Though the print media analyzed over the time period show an increasing level of depth and sophistication, remnants of older techniques used to educate the public about and familiarize the public with soccer remain an interwoven--if not a prevalent--aspect up to and through recent years. Hence, it is reasoned that while soccer is growing, it has yet to completely permeate the cultural mainstream. However, citing broader globalization and
demographic factors, it is also suggested that soccer is poised to disrupt the “Big Three and One-Half’s” hegemony sooner rather than later. This paper is intended for social and cultural historians, and those with an interest in the broader study of globalization and mass media.

George B. Kirsch, Manhattan College, “Baseball, Nationalism, and the Civil War: Revisited”

This paper reconsiders aspects of baseball history during the Civil War era, nine years after the publication of my book *Baseball in Blue and Gray: The National Pastime During the Civil War* (2003). In particular, I will focus on the origins of the modern form of baseball; the role of baseball and games played in army camps and prisons in both the Union and Confederate armies; the growth of the sport on the home front; and the impact of the Civil War on the spread of the sport (especially the New York version) after the war. I will respond to reviewers’ comments and criticisms of my book and evaluate recent books and articles. I will also summarize and evaluate recent work by researchers who have contributed to databases on ball playing during this era that are now available on the Internet.

On the origins of the modern form of baseball and the role of members of the New York Knickerbocker club, I will discuss the contributions of David Block’s *Baseball Before We Knew It* and John Thorn’s *Baseball in the Garden of Eden*. On the role of baseball and examples of games played in army camps, prisons, and on the home front during the war I will describe and evaluate the results of research by members of the Society of American Baseball Research and others which has been compiled online on the Protoball website www.retrosheet.org/Protoball. This resource presents a detailed chronology of over 150 examples of ball playing in army camps and prisons in both armies, including dozens of new instances that I did not consider in my book. The complete Protoball working chronology of early ball playing also lists additional examples of baseball on the home front. Finally, on the larger question of the significance of the Civil War for the growth of baseball during the Reconstruction period, I will respond to comments made in reviews of my book by Larry McCray, Steven A. Riess, David Wee, and Andrew Lindsay, among others.

Matthew Klugman, Victoria University, “Crafting the History of a Transformative Racial Image: Memory, Methodology and Form”

In April 1993 the Indigenous Australian Rules football player Nicky Winmar responded to racial abuse by lifting his jumper and pointing with
pride to his black skin. It is Australia’s most important popular image of recent times. It helped facilitate the transformation of attitudes towards racism within the Australian Football League (AFL); it quickly became an enduring symbol of Australia’s problematic race relations beyond the sporting field; and it continues to be reprinted again and again, as well as inspiring countless reproductions.

Gary Osmond and I are currently working on a book tracing the history of this image. We will also be curating a 2013 exhibition marking the twentieth anniversary of this image. This paper will chart the challenges and contrasts in writing a history of a now iconic image and curating an exhibition on that history. At issue are matters of methodology and form, and the different ways that words and images may, and may not, be twined together. Underlying this are questions of representation, memory, and the complex social and cultural impact of specific sporting moments captured in visual form.

There is an emerging body of literature pointing to the power of sports images in particular racial images. But the affective dimension of these images remains underexplored, as does the windows these images provide into both the social and cultural practice of sport, and race relations more generally. Like many other iconic images of race, the photographs of Nicky Winmar’s gesture revealed something that was entrenched but rarely discussed. The unveiling of this football racism had a transformative effect. And yet the image retains a demand for change that points beyond sport to Australia’s still problematic race relations. How, I want to ask, do we tell and exhibit this story.

Rick Knott, University of Pittsburgh–Bradford, “Rose Revisited: An Examination of the Pete Rose Baseball Scandal after More Than 20 Years”

If the media is genuinely a reflection of the dominant culture, then Americans, as reflected by the media, best resemble feeding sharks. As with other celebrities, we worship our sport heroes, but at the slightest hint of wrongdoing we turn on them, ready to devour. In an age of the CNN-one-hour news cycle, when scandal breaks, it is as if blood is in the water, and the sharks begin the frenzy. Big-name athletes now hire public relations firms to help them take control of their message. One need not look back further than Tiger Woods, Jim Tressel, or Jerry Sandusky to recognize the pattern. The focus of this story goes back more than 20 years to Pete Rose, baseball’s all-time hit-king.

When the story of Pete Rose’s gambling allegations broke, nearly all of the media jumped right into the frenzy. Facts, however, were slow to
materialize. Talk radio entertained numerous hours of calls devoted to nothing more than speculation. News services conducted opinion surveys as to Rose’s guilt or innocence. The message was controlled by the commissioner’s office. Instead of helping himself with the media, Rose remained silent under advice of counsel. It was easier for the media, as well as the public, to believe the articulate former Yale professor of literature over the arrogant working class river rat from Cincinnati.

The news of Rose’s sins first reached the commissioner’s office in the fall of 1988 through a FBI investigation. Among other things, Rose was being investigated for income tax evasion. The investigation caught some of Rose’s associates. Rose’s so-called friends felt pressure to cooperate with federal authorities. Early in 1989, Rose’s friend Paul Janzen contacted the commissioner’s office. Janzen had been in the role of "runner" for Pete Rose, placing bets on his behalf. Janzen was hoping the commissioner would help him get a reduced sentence for his cooperation. Another friend and "runner" for Rose, Tommy Giosiosa, called Rose to warn him upon hearing of the investigation. But without subpoena power, baseball’s case against Rose was very weak from a legal standpoint, especially since Giosiosa was unwilling to cooperate, leaving many with the hope of Rose’s innocence.

The focus of this paper is the twenty-two years of sports journalism since this story first came to light. The Dowd Report, parts I and II, as well as the nine volumes of depositions and documentary evidence in baseball’s case against Pete Rose, were used for historic context. Also, interviews and videos of speaking engagements by Rose’s former friend Tommy Giosiosa were utilized. This paper is an attempt to explore questions of public perceptions and attitudes, and to understand what the destruction of our heroes says about our society.

Julien Laurent, Unlabelled Consulting, “Living the American Dream in San Francisco: The EMB or the Street Skateboarding Mecca of the 90s”

Sports and physical activities are not just about performances, victories and competitions (Laurent, 2009). As an urban sociologist, I focus my research on individuals and groups who share time and space in urban landscapes (Gibout & Laurent, 2007; Laurent & Gibout, 2011). Mega-events like the Soccer World Cup, Olympics, Super Bowl and Formula One (Laurent, Mottet, Lefebvre, 2012) take place in prestigious stadiums and brand new arenas, or on trendy metropolitan avenues. What’s happening with an urban activity like skateboarding? What’s the kind of place used by professional skateboarders? Where are these buzz-worthy landscapes? What do they mean for a city like San Francisco? As an activity that arose out of
California’s leisurely lifestyle, skateboarding grew up in the city by the bay—the city that offered what street skateboarders want and need to live their lifestyle to the utmost.

Some skateboarding spots generate their own distinction, or cachet, beyond serving as a location to show skills (Laurent, 2010). The most significant spot during the 90’s was Justin Herman Plaza located in the Financial District, at the start of Market Street. Skateboarders, possessed of a mentality that they owned urban environments, called it “Embarcadero” or “EMB.” Since then, this plaza has represented the ideal street “skateboarding playground.” It generates a unique identity and impacts street culture. As a lifestyle (Wheaton, 2001), street skateboarding also serves as a way to represent the city. This school of life served as the classroom for some of the skateboarders in the 90s to learn the best tricks to live the American Dream.

With already ten years of academic research on street skateboarding in France, Canada, and the U.S., I'll focus my research on this spot and this generation. I will demonstrate that individuals living this creative and entrepreneurial street lifestyle were the last generation to live the American Dream as a socio-economical and professional radical evolution. I base my research on Simmel theories (1999) and ground part of my analysis on dynamic sociology (Balandier, 1981; Touraine 1974), which is closer to an historical approach. Life stories of the EMB denizens allow me to decipher this era and to reach a better understanding of these people and their uses of the city.

I cover two periods, the rise and the fall of the plaza and how this space modified the personalities of the skateboarders: the way to be, to think, to act and, for some, to reach the top of the skateboard industry. One of my goals is to demonstrate what this spot brought to these individuals and how this place made San Francisco the most representative city in the street skateboarding culture of the 1990s. The destruction of places used for skateboarding contributes to huge identity and cultural losses (Laurent, 2012b). In contrast, allowing kids and teenagers the use of public space could have an impact on their personality, their integration, and their welfare in the community.

Cui Lequan, Sports Development Centre of National Sports Administration, “Olympic Games and the Development of China Sport”

This presentation analyzes the bidding, preparation, and hosting processes of the Beijing Olympic Games, and discusses the development of Chinese sport combined with the present situation in China.

Successfully hosting the Beijing Olympic Games had a great effect on
the development structure of sport. The Chinese management system of sport will be reformed further. Second, competitive sports will gear to the market deeply along with the key point of sports undertakings turning to mass sports. Third, with the springing up of mass sports after the Olympic Games, the staff and peasant sports population will grow gradually, which will be the best sports organization as the main labor force in the city and countryside. Last, the sports industry will play a unique role in the national economy, and sports market will be more prosperous.

The Olympic Games in 2008 were a milestone the development of Chinese sport. The development of domestic politics, economy and sport, as well as China's international image building, have offered the solid foundation for Chinese sport, and also provide Chinese sport with the motive power to deeply reform and continuously develop. Therefore, Chinese sport will calmly face the future.

**Geoffrey Levett, Birkbeck College, University of London, “‘Noirs Contre Blancs’: Race and Rugby 1905-7”**

In 1906 the South African rugby union team made its first trip to Europe to play a series of international matches against the ‘home’ nations. The tour was billed as a tour of reconciliation with British and Boer South Africans uniting on the sports field just five years after the end of the South African War that had bitterly divided them. Rugby was a part of a range of cultural activities that were exploited by South African Unionists to foster ‘South Africanism’ with co-operation on the football field projected as a model for the future development of South Africa within the British Empire.

The losers were the black majority, on the sports field and in society as a whole. Black players were excluded from representing South Africa and this paper will show how South African racialism was both accommodated and challenged during the rugby team’s European tour. When the Springboks toured Britain and France they faced teams with black players. This paper explores the way in which race became a subject of debate during the tour and the way in which black players were treated in each country. While in Britain the authorities were induced to reinforce the color bar on the sports field, in France players of color were not only selected, they were lionized as being icons of French masculinity.
Andrew D. Linden, Ohio State University, “Images and Meanings of Sports Entrepreneurship: The Polarization of Art Modell’s Representation”

Franchise relocation in the American sports industry typically causes social segmentation and often seemingly illogical viewpoints and opinions toward team owners, administrators and civic officials. Images of these professional sport entrepreneurs yield insights into cultural meanings of sport in the United States. This paper is part of a larger project that explores the social and economic effects of the relocation of the Cleveland Browns to Baltimore in 1996 and the emergence of a new NFL franchise in Cleveland three years later, one which retained the Browns identity and legacy. In this work, I examine the paradoxical images and meanings of the sports entrepreneur through the lens of how the press in Cleveland, Baltimore and nationally envisioned Art Modell both during, and in the aftermath of, the transfer of his team. I use these discussions to illuminate how the contradictory visions of the sports entrepreneur expresses the public's segmented perspectives of sport as a business and as a community identifier. To examine these issues I rely on the media in Northeast Ohio, Baltimore/Washington metro area, and nationwide to express the following themes: (1) Modell’s representation as a civic promoter and a contributor to the NFL beginning with his purchase of the Browns in 1961; (2) his maligned image in Cleveland and nationally upon the transfer of the team in 1996; and (3) the evolving illustrations of Modell as the avaricious entrepreneur to his role as a Baltimore sports icon in the years following his arrival.

Benjamin D. Lisle, Colby College, “Busch Memorial Stadium, St. Louis, and Ideologies of Whiteness in the Modern American Stadium”

New stadium construction in the 1960s and 1970s was often motivated by racial concerns, as old baseball parks were frequently locked into increasingly impoverished, deteriorating, and African-American neighborhoods. Race and racial ideology were, of course, key components of urban change more broadly. Urban historians like Thomas Sugrue and Arnold Hirsch have demonstrated how a postwar ideology of whiteness was mapped across cities, enabled and enforced by economic and political efforts that were both public and private. This paper will track this ideology of whiteness from urban space more generally into the stadium itself, examining the cultural construction of whiteness there. Busch Memorial Stadium in St. Louis, opened in 1966, illustrates the “whitening” of stadium experience—an ideological re-racializing of the
stadium (that was also bound up with shifts in the class and gender of targeted stadium audiences). The old Busch Stadium (known as Sportsman’s Park) was wedged into an area of the city beset by the “cancerous growth” of “blight,” adjacent a “decaying Negro ghetto.” Civic Progress, a group of elite businessmen, employed governmental powers of slum clearance and governmental subsidies to recast downtown urban space in the image of the suburbs. What was once an area of “blight and decay,” populated by “unfortunate human derelicts,” was pitched as a consumer playground for affluent white suburbanites. Rhetoric of death, decay, and blackness was joined with dark photographs of the blighted city; a language of “rebirth” and “renaissance” was accompanied by illustrations of a gleaming, new, and decidedly white stadium. A thinly veiled, racialized stadium discourse was revealed, consistently, in stadium programs, local and national newspapers, and magazines.

While many have noted the role that white fears of blackness played in new stadium construction in the 1960s and 1970s, the extension of ideologies of whiteness into those new stadiums has remained unconsidered. This paper addresses that gap. An implicit whiteness was central to modern stadium projects, in St. Louis and many other American cities. Many observers have noted a shift from sports to sports entertainment in the 1960s—what Benjamin Rader called a “mysterious boundary—sometimes imaginary, sometimes real”—in which television and the stadium were key actors. Stadium experience shifted dramatically, as stadium entrepreneurs (like their television counterparts) tried to attract broader, more affluent, and thus necessarily more casual audiences (rather than committed sports purists). The extension of an ideology of whiteness—suburban, consumerist, and domestically mixed-gender as well—was a pivotal facet of the reconfiguration of the stadium experience. It is a legacy evident in contemporary stadiums.

Charles Little, London Metropolitan University, “‘I Don’t Want Them to Know I’m Hurt’: Football, Memory and Popular Mythology”

The histories of all sporting clubs are replete with certain incidents that have been elevated to the status of club lore and legend. Beyond just recalling sporting triumphs or tragedies, these incidents are often presented as reflecting the spirit of the club and its core values. In addition, such popular mythology can be read as providing powerful representations of beliefs and attitudes, as well as serving to promote or reinforce certain social values. This paper investigates the meanings and values that are embedded in these stories. Why are some incidents remembered above all others, and what do the narratives that retell these events represent?
Utilising a case study of the popular history of the South Sydney Rugby League Club in Australia, the paper interrogates the most fabled stories in the collective memories of the club’s supporters. Two stories in particular, those of Clive Churchill’s broken arm and John Sattler’s broken jaw, feature most prominently in club legend, and have also been repeatedly perpetuated through both popular and academic histories of the club. Why, out of all the incidents involving the club, do these two stand out so much? The paper will argue that it is because the two incidents can be viewed as best embodying the hegemonic masculine values of the community, and that their privileged position in the canon of club lore plays a role in the reproduction of these same values.

Matthew P. Llewellyn, California State University, Fullerton, “Britannia Overruled: Ahmed Boughera El Ouafi and the Democratization of International Sport”

The 1928 Amsterdam Games marked Great Britain’s worst Olympic performance since Pierre de Coubertin’s revival of the Olympic Games in 1896. Finishing in a dismal eleventh place in the overall medal standings, Britain lagged behind both its Dominion, Canada, and rival European nations, Hungary, Switzerland and Italy. British sportsmen and sportswomen cut abject figures in Amsterdam, claiming only twenty medals (3 gold, 10 silver, 7 bronze), fourteen less than they had earned in Paris four years earlier. For the founding nation of global sports culture, Britain’s Olympic performance sparked fears of national decadence and decline.

In the backdrop of gloomy and hysterical forebodings about the decline of U.K. sport, Algerian-born French marathon runner Ahmed Boughera El Ouafi captivated British audiences following his sensational gold medal performance in the marathon. The sight of the fleet-footed North African, accompanied by second place finisher, Chilean Manual Plaza, atop the medal podium in Amsterdam revealed the inexorable forces of globalization and the rising competitiveness of international sport—Olympic glory was no longer the exclusive preserve of “white” Nordic and Anglo-Saxon athletes. Media scribes marveled at El Ouafi’s technical and scientific approach to long-distance running and questioned whether or not Britain should abandon its seemingly antiquated “amateur” methods in favor of a more rigorous and extensive training and careful attention to efficiency. Some British commentators even hailed Olympic hero El Ouafi as a paragon of modern athletic and scientific excellence; a counterforce to the dilettantish and unmethodical “British” amateur sportsman. In the marathon event in Amsterdam, British runners finished 8th, 11th, and 13th; a disappointing set
of results that offered further evidence that British sporting prowess (both perceived and real) had fallen into a near total eclipse.

Set in the context of British sporting decline, this paper will explore the nationalistic and racialized ways in which the British media, public and sporting officials interpreted Ahmed Boughera El Ouafi’s stunning victory in the Olympic marathon. During an era in which France openly selected athletes of “color,” British Olympic leaders upheld a rigid racial color-barrier—the British even refused to promote the Olympic participation of any of its “dark” colonial dependencies. 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, imperial and sporting newspapers and periodicals of the time, this paper will detail and analyze how El Ouafi’s marathon victory at the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam signaled the increasing democratization of international sport.

In a stunning reversal of fortune, a little more than a quarter-century later the marathon stood as the showcase event in Olympic spectacles, the capstone competition that experts and fans alike regarded as the most significant test of the mettle of athletes and nations. Indeed, after the 1936 Olympic marathon in Berlin, the New York Times proclaimed the race the most global event in world history. The marathon had become widely acknowledged as the ultimate Olympic test of human ability. Runners of non-European descent increasingly dominated the event from 1928 to 1936, raising even more questions about scientific and popular conceptions of racial and national hierarchies.

Stacy L. Lorenz, University of Alberta, Augustana, “‘I Am Sending the Team a Case of Heart and Nerve Cure’: Hockey Violence, Masculinity, and the Ottawa ‘Butchers,’ 1903-1906”

This case study of violence and masculinity in Canadian hockey examines newspaper reports of Stanley Cup matches involving the Ottawa Silver Seven between 1903 and 1906. It analyzes cultural narratives of rough and aggressive hockey in relation to gender and class identities in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada. Media accounts from newspapers based in Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg form the basis of this study. Coverage of Ottawa’s championship hockey team frequently made reference to violent incidents and rough tactics. For example, after a series against Ottawa in 1904, goaltender Doug Morrison, from the Brandon Hockey Club, stated, “We don’t mind getting our bumps in scrimmages and when playing the puck, but we can’t stand for these butchers who sneak up behind us and cut us down without provocation or
any chance to defend ourselves” (Toronto Star, 15 March 1904). Similarly, the injuries suffered by the Rat Portage Thistles during a 1905 challenge led a Toronto Star writer to comment on the sports page, “Somebody kindly pass the axe to the Rat Portage team and let them chop out the rough work of the Ottawa stick slashers and jabbers.”

Newspaper coverage of hockey violence created cultural narratives that combined elements of “brutal butchery” and “strenuous spectacle.” These narratives spoke to different ways of experiencing and enjoying hockey, and to various tensions within public perceptions of the sport. Depictions of “brutal butchery” combined outrage and fascination; accounts of “strenuous spectacle” portrayed violence as part of an absorbing, aggressive, masculine display. Ideals of respectable, middle-class masculinity and rough, working-class masculinity coexisted within accounts of fast, skilled, rugged, hard-hitting hockey. In addition, the danger, physicality, and competitiveness of “strenuous hockey” cultivated and reinforced standards of passionate manhood and primitive masculinity, while helping to counter the fear that over-civilization was making men weak, effeminate, and over-sophisticated. As a result, sports like hockey played a significant role in the social construction of masculinity during this time period.

By evaluating key issues surrounding violence, gender, and class in early hockey, this research addresses important gaps in the study of Canadian sport history and the analysis of hockey and Canadian popular culture. In particular, this paper begins to answer the need for careful, focused case studies that examine hockey violence in a historical context. In addition, knowledge of the historical origins of hockey violence is crucial to understanding debates over present-day hockey violence. By offering a historical perspective on the place of roughness, physicality, and intimidation in the game, this study provides a comparative frame of reference which highlights the distinctive features of contemporary hockey violence and the social and cultural context in which it is situated.

Cathryn Lucas-Carr, University of Iowa, “The Enthusiast Girl’ Tours the Country: Vivian Bales, Harley Davidson, and Emergent Sexuality”

By the late 1920s, long distance motorcycle trips had become fairly commonplace in the United States. Motorcycle tours, as they were called, were recognized as a major mode of recreation amongst the motorcycling community. Yet one tour captured media attention in ways no other tour did. During the summer of 1929, a young middle-class, White woman named Vivian Bales rode her Harley-Davidson from Georgia up to Milwaukee, where she stopped at the Harley-Davidson factory. She then rode onward to New
York and Washington D.C., where she met President Herbert Hoover. While Harley-Davidson was careful to say they were not officially sponsoring the trip, Bales wrote two articles for the promotional magazine *The Harley-Davidson Enthusiast* and was nicknamed “The Enthusiast Girl.” She was also supported by local Harley-Davidson dealers and met with journalists and local dignitaries in each city she stopped at. This orchestrated tour is indicative of the myriad cultural shifts of the 1920s. During that decade, mass consumption and buying on credit proliferated (Cohen, 2003; Olney, 1991). At the same time, the motorcycle industry saw decreasing profits. Harley-Davidson and rival company Indian attempted many different business and marketing strategies to increase sales (Girdler, 1997). Adopting a strategy similar to automaker Chevrolet, both companies developed multiple model lines which were targeted at different consumer markets. Women had been riding motorcycles since the first motor was attached to a bicycle, yet it was not until the 1920s that women were specifically targeted in marketing campaigns. The emergence of marketing toward women coincided with shifting notions of gender (De Grazia, 1996). Previously, women’s participation in mechanical exploits such as motorcycling brought about fears of gender transference: that women would become their opposite and would pick up all the vulgarities of the most manly of the men (Cahn, 1994; Marks, 1990; Scharff, 1996). However, in the 1920s, sexuality emerged as a category separate from gender, and new public forms of heterosexuality were displayed. Fears about gender transference through motorcycling were displaced by fears of the pathologized homosexual (Cahn, 1994; Ullman, 1997). Bales’ tour was emblematic of the new forms of consumerism, marketing, and sexuality. In this paper, I examine multiple primary sources about Bales' tour and Harley-Davidson’s business practices to make connections between marketing, consumerism, heterosexuality, and the nuclear family unit. In doing so, this paper complements the extensive scholarship on female athletes of the era and suggests that motorcycling provides a unique location to examine the shifting cultural terrain of the 1920s.

**Malcolm MacLean, University of Gloucestershire, “Whatever Happened to Standing on the Shoulders of Giants? Copying, Crediting and Commodification”**

Recent changes in the political economy of higher education have resulted in a slow but steady redesign of scholars’ intellectual environments, in particular an increasing commercialisation and commodification of scholarly activity. Our work is now an output, measured and assessed for its quality and impact, with (depending on the jurisdiction) effects on individual
and collective funding for teaching and research and for salaries. These forces alongside the increasing costs of publication and the need for global access to research literature via electronic networks (part of the ‘impact’ issue) as well as the growing concentration of scholarly publishing in a small number of conglomerates have brought about a set of profound shifts in the way we work. Historians are not unique among scholars in being slow to recognise the impact that discourses and the actions of an information society have had on the context and political economy of our work.

Scholars and scholarly societies need to revisit and reconceptualise how we work and how we make sense of the political-economic environment in which we work. Central to this debate is the question of the ‘ownership’ of knowledge and intellectual work, a key issue in areas such as sports history where there is extensive interest beyond the academy and where addressing a broader audience may be seen as exposing the tension between academic measures of quality and assessments of impact. As a means of opening up this debate, this paper draws on Buddhist-inspired analyses of copying by the literature scholar Marcus Boon and the recent work in political economy and philosophy exploring ‘primitive accumulation’ and the threats of commodification of the commons of culture, of external nature and internal nature to explore the contradictory character of intellectual property in scholarship.

In drawing on theories of the commons I argue that historians must grapple with the antagonism between scholarship and copyright, between membership of a ‘secular vocation’ and the relations of intellectual production and labour processes of the contemporary corporate university. Finally, I consider ways that scholarly societies can respond to these emerging relations of intellectual labour and production.

Eilidh Macrae, University of Glasgow, “‘Age Need Not Deter Anyone From Enjoying the Privileges of Keeping Fit’: Negotiating Pregnancy, Birth and Motherhood as a ‘Sporty’ Woman in Scotland, 1940-1960”

Throughout the life-cycle women’s experiences and patterns of physical recreation can change dramatically in response to changing financial circumstances, family situations, motherhood, marriage, or regional relocations on account of such changes. By examining a series of oral history interviews conducted with women born in central Scotland between 1920 and 1950 this paper will look into the diverse opportunities for and experiences of sport and exercise which these women encountered throughout various stages of their lives. Specifically, the paper will focus on issues of ‘knowledge and understandings of the body’ and the ways in which women experienced pregnancy and motherhood from a physical perspective.
It will investigate how their own relationships with their bodies and physical activity impacted upon their experiences of pregnancy and birth.

The paper will argue that many women of this era were misinformed and had misunderstandings about the capabilities of their female bodies and their physical ability to cope with pregnancy, birth and motherhood. The paper will examine the growth of the natural birth movement in Britain and the ways in which ideas of ‘physical preparedness’ for birth were brought to the fore. In particular, it will show how certain Scottish women who viewed themselves as ‘sporty’ women in their youth negotiated the physical challenges of pregnancy, birth and motherhood. It will be argued that many of these women felt more prepared and more comfortable with the capability of their bodies throughout pregnancy and labour as a result of the presence which sport played in their lives on the lead up to the birth. By combining the oral history testimony with contemporary medical sources related to pregnancy and new birthing techniques this paper will show that whilst ‘old wives’ tales’ prevailed in relation to the incompatibility of pregnancy and physical activity, there were certain spheres where women were being encouraged to embrace their pregnant bodies. These were women who maintained an awareness of the positive impact physical movement and exercise could have on their bodies throughout all stages of the life-cycle.

This paper contributes to our understanding of the history of women’s sport in Britain and the gendered nature of sport participation. The paper points to the importance of appreciating the way in which the particularities of the healthy female body inevitably effect the way women experience exercise and sport throughout their lives.

Shellie I. McParland, University of Western Ontario, “The Gender Game: Rewriting the Rules of Basketball through Autoethnography”

This paper is an autoethnographic examination of the subordinating practices that have maintained the marginalization of female athletes for over a century. I characterize the game not as a contest between two teams fighting for possession of a ball, but as the internalization of societal pressures to be at once champion athletes and womanly beings. It is the exploration not only of my own sport history, but of how I ended up in this game within a game. Through narrative and evocative, embodied writing, my sport history roots reach deep into the experiences of the corset-wearing croquet players, the feminized Edmonton Commercial Graduates, the *Playboy* posing Olympians, and all women who have come before me in the world of sport. Attempting to resist the game as it tries to pull me into the balancing act between masculinizing athleticism and feminine womanhood, I find the rules of the game are written in the language we hear everywhere.
on a daily basis, especially within sport. Rule number one: femininity and masculinity must be polar opposites. This belief embedded in past and present societal ideals prevents women from internalizing their sporting success as part of their femininity, thereby reinforcing the notion that athletic traits are masculine, and femininity remains associated with weakness and passivity.

As I attempt to demonstrate the power language has to curb feminine freedom and success, I am drawn into a reflexive spiral, considering how the words I write, the way I dress, and the sports I play might reflect or refract from my location of feminist sport historian. I navigate through the history of the women’s movement in North America, losing myself in the maze of multiple and often conflicting feminisms as I search for my place behind the soggy feminist front. Lastly, I use poetry to share my inner conflict regarding the meaning of two seemingly simple words, masculine and feminine, and how they relate to athleticism, feminism, and my chance birth as a daughter.

Scott G. Martyn, University of Windsor, “Samaranch Sparkles in Washington: A Turning Point in the Public’s Perception of the Worst Scandal in Olympic History”

In the November 1998 through March 1999 period, Juan Antonio Samaranch and his colleagues within the International Olympic Committee (IOC) were forced into managing the crisis stemming from the Salt Lake City Bid Scandal in reactive fashion. However, in the aftermath of the 108th Extraordinary IOC Session in March 1999, they utilized the creation of the IOC Ethics and 2000 Commissions to encourage a shift in their crisis-management roles. Despite the occasional disruption, media coverage of the IOC and its activities improved, thereby providing some breathing room for the IOC to craft and implement its reform proposals.

Despite a number of unwelcome distractions, the summer months of 1999 saw IOC leaders forge ahead. Their efforts ultimately yielded passage of fifty reform measures to the Olympic Charter at the IOC’s 110th Session in Lausanne in December. Girded by their passage and the encouragement of his colleagues on the IOC Executive Board, Samaranch departed Lausanne for Washington with fellow IOC member Richard Pound and IOC Director François Carrard to answer questions before Fred Upton’s House Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation.

In the first appearance by an International Olympic Committee President before Congress, Samaranch skillfully defended the IOC’s interests in the US market. He offered answers for every question congressional lawmakers contentiously “zinged” his way. His “virtuoso performance” ultimately signaled that the IOC had stepped back from the abyss and has
been characterized as a turning point in the public’s perception of the worst scandal in Olympic history.

Employing a content analysis of Samaranch’s appearance before Congress on 15 December 1999, this work systematically examined the preparations undertaken prior to and the eventual performance of the IOC President during the congressional hearings in Washington, D.C. Clearly, Samaranch’s performance justified the strategy employed by the IOC in dealing with Congress’s demands. Although his two-hour appearance held significant risk for the organization he represented, as well as its continued ability to generate revenues in the American marketplace, the results affirmed the actions taken by the organization and the reform package passed. Along with the support of various secondary sources, this work relies on the IOC Archives in Lausanne, Switzerland and the video records of Samaranch’s appearance before the House Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation.

Tara Magdalinski, University College Dublin, “Into the Digital Age: Sports History, Teaching and Learning, and Web 2.0”

Every now and then teaching and learning methods appear on the NASSH conference programme and those of other sports history organisations around the world. Many of these deal with innovative assessment techniques and ways to engage student interest in what often appears to be an irrelevant field of study to those in kinesiology, exercise science or sports management courses.

Increasingly, the Internet and its attendant applications are being incorporated into teaching and learning strategies, and the use of Web 2.0 technologies offers exciting options for lecturers seeking methods that align with students’ online interactions. This paper examines some technology-based teaching, learning and assessment strategies appropriate for sports history pedagogy, including wikis, blogs and social media. Although sports history may seem a little more “dusty” than “techie,” this presentation offers practical options for even the most dusty amongst us to inspire students to take sports history out of the archive and to encourage online learning opportunities.

Renee Mahoney, University of Western Ontario, “A Continuum of Violence: The Myth of Sex Trafficking During the Olympic Games”

Historically, during every major sporting event since the 2004 Summer Olympics, media outlets have reported that host countries should expect a
dramatic increase in both sex trafficking and sex work during the event. Widespread and often without merit, these reports claim to bring awareness to the dangerous world of sex trafficking and sex work. However, despite claims that these reports both disseminate important information and protect women’s rights, it will be argued that these reports do nothing other than create hysteria around an entity that has never been statistically proven to exist.

In actuality, and as will be further explored, reports about sex trafficking do nothing other than destroy the rights and reputations of domestic sex workers in the cities that host these mega sporting events. Using the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics as an historical case study, this paper will outline claims that sex trafficking was set to increase during the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Discussing whether there was actually an increase in sex trafficking, it will be concluded that while sex trafficking was (and continues to be) a real, global problem, the idea that it is connected to mega sporting events remains largely a myth. Instead, it will be offered through an analysis of both the media and documents released by various advocacy groups, the Vancouver police department, and other prominent agencies that reports of sex trafficking as a result of the Olympics were largely unfounded. Instead, the fear of sex trafficking during the 2010 Olympics simply exacerbated historic issues plaguing domestic sex workers in British Columbia. Essentially, as a result of solely focusing on the threat of sex trafficking, attention that could have been provided to the domestic sex workers was revoked. This missing attention was replaced by perpetuated myths about sex workers and their lives, breathing new life into derogatory assumptions about one of Canada’s most vulnerable and misunderstood populations.

João Malaia, Universidade Nove de Julho (Uninove-SP), “Economic History on the Field: Rio de Janeiro and the international sports competitions in 1919 and 1922”

Notwithstanding the fact that Brazil is about to host two mega-sporting events, the 2014 Football World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, local economic historians have yet to take sport seriously as a research subject. In this presentation, I argue that sport offers economic historians an important analytical window into the past. By way of illustration I analyze two early sports competitions hosted by Brazil, the South American Football Championship, in 1919, and the South American Games, in 1922. This second event was part of Brazil’s centennial celebrations of independence. In this presentation I highlight the infrastructure for the two events, the selection of athletes as national representatives, and the extent of
involvement by spectators/supporters. I argue that these methods/approaches provide a useful critical lens for addressing important contemporary questions relating to the hosting of forthcoming mega-sporting events. My aim is to show some methodological possibilities in the treatment of sports for economic historians.

In order to do so, I propose a broader perception of the economy, located in a theoretical perspective that goes beyond merely quantitative analyses and is open to social, political and cultural events. From this perspective, I research issues such as building of sporting facilities, payment of salaries to amateur players who represented the national football team and the championships’ organization as marketable and profitable events. I argue that these methods/approaches provide a useful critical lens for addressing important contemporary questions related to the hosting of forthcoming mega-sporting events.

**Clint McDuffie, University of Missouri-Kansas City, “College Football: Social Darwinism’s Playground”**

By the middle to late 1800s college football in the United States experienced a surge of interest from collegiate and external communities. To many, football became the primary activity on college campuses that stood for manliness and virility by the end of the nineteenth century. In this paper I focus on Social Darwinian principles as they were applied to the development and evolution of college football in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. This project investigates Social Darwinism’s role in the evolution of football as a prominent collegiate sport and conveyor of masculine principles. This is a synthetic work that analyzes popular publications from the era, autobiographies, organizational proceedings, historiographical texts, and scholarly journals in order to investigate the intellectual sentiment expressed in Social Darwinism and how its sentiments were conveyed through college football.

My premise is to present college football as a means by which Social Darwinian teachings were applied and in turn promoted racial and social superiority through a hegemonic structure that placed white males at its apex. I will not exhaust all the intellectual historians, scientists, psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists who contributed to formulating Social Darwinism; however, my focus will be on two specific theorists, Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner. Although Spencer and Sumner are indebted to the works of such scholars as Charles Darwin, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, Thomas Robert Malthus, Charles Loring Brace and others, the primary focus of this research will be on Spencer’s development of Social Darwinism and Sumner’s interpretation and influence in the United
States. Also, my project argues that college football’s emerging popularity derived, in part, from early advocates of the sport, such as Walter Camp and Theodore Roosevelt, and their acceptance of Social Darwinian principles. College football was an arena in which Social Darwinism was on public display because football aligned with its teachings of holistically developing the mind and body. Young men at America’s academic institutions at the end of the nineteenth century utilized football to develop their physicality and further their masculine identity, applying Social Darwinian theories in the process. This project’s significance to the field of sports history is it presents a threaded connection between Social Darwinism’s development and its adoption in American sport, particularly college football. Social Darwinism as a concept or theory permeates the historiography of sport, but an overview that weaves the theory’s origins and its implementation in American sport is an aspect underdeveloped. This project intends to make that connection through college football.

David McKee, University of North Texas, “Boxing Gender: A Century of Women in Boxing”

Though women have only been allowed to box professionally for less than two decades, women’s participation in boxing dates from the earliest days of the sport in America. With roles as varied as spectators, writers, ring physicians, managers, and trainers, women have made contributions to boxing. The relationship of women with the sport has been a relationship of contradictions and contrasts, almost always couched in terms of their roles as interlopers in (or justifiers of) the deeply masculine tropes that arise from and define boxing.

Boxing is a historically masculine domain in practice, notwithstanding the fact that women now lace up gloves and give and take the same punishment men endure. This essay examines the ways in which promoters have used women to sell boxing as a civilized sport—or simply to sell tickets. The specific, and sometimes under-examined, roles women have chosen to play in professional pugilism are considered, with an eye to both their impact on the sport and boxing discourse and an eye to their own interest in, and experience of, the sport. Interviews with women boxers, writers and other female boxing professionals provide insight into the varied perspectives of women as they ply their trade in a domain so steeped in masculine tradition.

Boxing is a system for defining, redefining and reifying dominant attitudes about masculinity. Where women become involved in the sport they either challenge the dominant masculine discourse or are caught in a discursive system that attempts to use them to justify its assumptions. This historical review of women’s involvement with boxing brings light to their
changing roles in the sport and reveals ways in which women have at times been overtly used in these processes and others where they have challenged norms in ways that have redefined gender expectations of both men and women.


This paper is about the emergence of the Yugoslav First Federal Football League in the years immediately following the Second World War and the establishment of Socialist Yugoslavia. While there is a small and steadily growing body of historiography on the subject of Yugoslav sport, very little attention has been paid to the role played by sport in the establishment of this socialist federal state. An examination of the early revolutionary years demonstrates that football was explicitly entwined with politics and nationalism from the first days of communist rule.

Drawing upon contemporary archival documents, newspaper articles and domestic club histories, it will be argued that political interference by means of suppression of ethnic nationalist clubs and promotion of their socialist, and thus virtually by definition ‘multiethnic’, counterparts took place in the immediate postwar period and continued until the country’s disintegration in the early 1990s. In this atmosphere clubs that had been associated with exclusive national groups or defeated fascist regimes were forcibly erased, while their counterparts that could demonstrate solidly left-wing historical credentials were allowed to flourish. Similar tactics, albeit reversed, would be utilised once again in a number of Yugoslavia’s successor states during the 1990s. Incidentally, this post-socialist era also witnessed the resurrection of many of the ideologically suspect clubs that were disbanded at the end of World War Two.

Of equal importance, the victorious socialist regime of the 1940s utilised newly structured football leagues in order to facilitate the construction of the federal Yugoslav state, modelling the leagues as a mirror image of the new political situation, and carefully including representative clubs from all of the newly created federal entities. It is argued that in this respect club football served to legitimise the incipient socialist state, acting as a form of what Michel Billig describes as ‘banal nationalism’. However, the fact that these federal entities were largely based upon ethnonational criteria meant that by the 1980s the football leagues in question—deliberately designed to foster unity and cohesion within the socialist state—eventually became a vehicle which could be harnessed by nationalist actors striving for the destruction of multiethnic Yugoslavia. This was the case because club
football enabled opposing national groups of football supporters to confront one another on a weekly basis, utilising the structure of the First Federal League to champion the virtues of their own ethnicity, while denigrating the other peoples of the federation. The paper thus examines the complex national and political connotations of Yugoslav club football during the socialist era and the ways in which the regime exploited clubs, depending upon their ideological credentials, as valuable tools in the construction of a new socialist reality.


Many, perhaps most, people today assume that hunting is, and always has been, an exclusively masculine pastime. This viewpoint has influenced historical gender scholarship, with authors suggesting that hunting during the late nineteenth century demonstrated an assertive masculine identity and exemplified upper-class white male cultural ideals. More recently, scholars have demonstrated that the links between sport hunting and manhood are largely a twentieth century cultural construction, and that nineteenth century American sport hunting was a heterosocial recreation shared by privileged Americans. These authors have utilized sportsmen’s literature effectively to highlight the changing social status of women within the hunting community.

Victorian-era hunting journalists relied upon the femininity of leisure class women hunters to distinguish sport hunting from lower-class market and subsistence hunting, demonstrate its legitimacy as a suitable recreation for social elites, and lend it a veneer of civility. In the early twentieth century, sportsmen’s magazines promoted a different hunting narrative that increasingly emphasized hunting as a male sphere in which women hunters were not welcome. Between the World Wars, outdoor magazines amplified the gendered hunting narrative, and World War Two accelerated the trend toward gender exclusivity. Mid-century sporting journals no longer defined hunting as simply a recreation for men, but repackaged it into an intensely masculine duty that promoted group discipline and homosocial relationships necessary for national defense. In this hyper-masculine construction of hunting as a manhood ritual, women hunters were characterized as threatening interlopers whose feminine presence undermined all the necessary values hunting instilled in American men, and their voices as authentic sportsmen virtually disappeared from hunting literature.

Twentieth-century archery magazines are an equally unique window into the role women played in the development of bow hunting and assumptions about hunting masculinity. In an effort to legitimize the
controversial new recreation, shield it from critics, and win support for legalization, beginning in the 1920s these journals created a bow hunting ethic distinct from that of firearms hunters. The bow hunting journalists promoted their sport as a hetersocial recreation because, as with Victorian women hunters, female bow hunters gave their sport an air of legitimacy and restraint. For bow hunters, women were not a feminizing threat to manhood, but partners in a hunting style that placed a premium on sportsmanship, hunting skill, authenticity of the hunting experience, and personal fulfillment. At the same time the mainstream sporting literature increasingly trivialized women’s hunting experiences, bow hunting journals regularly featured successful women bow hunters and promoted the sport as an enriching hunting alternative for women, couples, and families. Rather than outcasts or curiosities, women bow hunters remained partners in the long-term success of the new sport and a sense of gender equality prevailed—a hallmark of the modern sport of bow hunting. Today, this legacy of gender inclusion has made bow hunting one of the fastest growing hunting styles, and one in which thousands of women participate each year.

Lauren S. Morimoto, Sonoma State University, “Playing for the Plantation: Asian American Female Athletes and the Construction of Working-class Femininity”

While recent sport history scholarship has expanded the literature on race and sport beyond African-American experiences to increasingly include those of Asian Americans, in general, male athletes remain at the center. In particular, examinations of working-class sport on Hawaiian plantations tend to focus exclusively on male sports participants, rendering female athletes invisible. However, articles in Kaua’i’s plantation newspapers as well as the local paper indicate that throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Asian-American working-class females participated in sports, occasionally drawing a significant number of spectators. This study examines the presentation of female plantations sports in plantation and local newspapers to illuminate how race, gender and class intersected in plantation culture.

From the late 1920s through the early 1950s, prior to the unionization of workers, sugar and pineapple plantations and canneries on the island of Kaua’i, “sponsored” sport contests to promote plantation worker loyalty (often with hopes of staving off labor unrest). Most plantations created Athletic Associations that often allowed a few male workers to participate at the organizational level. While the majority of sports—and certainly those that attracted the largest number of spectators—focused on male participation, females had opportunities to engage in tennis, volleyball and bowling. Certain sports, like volleyball, proved popular with female
participants and spectators of both sexes and were covered by the plantation newspapers. Despite the presence of women on the court, they were excluded from Athletic Association leadership.

As with African-American female athletes on the Mainland, Asian-American females were able to participate in sport thanks to their racial and class identities, which granted them certain freedoms relative to the white, upper-middle and upper-class plantation owners’ and managers’ wives and daughters. Because their bodies did not require “protection,” working-class women could engage in competitive, exertive sport without completely dismantling their femininity. While sports participation bestowed a kind of status on female athletes within plantation camps and communities, it reified the perceived differences between white upper-class women and working-class women of color. Consequently, despite sports’ ability to challenge gender ideologies, they often reaffirmed racial and class ideologies that supported the conceptualization of female laborers as “other,” and therefore, undeserving of respect, rights and opportunities afforded to women belonging to the owner-class.


This presentation will look at the ways in which two “race” industries, black baseball and the so-called “Chitlin’ Circuit,” a network of small, primarily Southern nightclubs, reacted to the gradual process of desegregation in the United States, beginning with the reintegration of Major League baseball in 1947. Although, at first glance, these industries seem to have little but race in common, this is not the case. In many ways, the development of the music business parallels that of the sport. The Chitlin’ Circuit, like black baseball, developed to fill a gaping hole created by the pressures of Jim Crow practices. Both industries have a shared origin, having been funded, to a great extent, by money from the numbers or policy rackets, and both were dependent upon the participation of travelling African-American performers, playing to African-American audiences. Both were shaped, moreover, by the incursion of predatory white businessmen.

Where the two industries parted ways was in their respective responses to the gradual process of desegregation. This presentation will consider the ends to which black baseball’s owners and operators resorted in order to keep their increasingly moribund businesses alive. Additionally, it will briefly explore the effects of black baseball’s decline on other businesses that depended, at least in part, on the game’s continued solvency. In contrast, it will look at ways in which the Chitlin’ Circuit’s promoters found a
way not only to keep their business solvent, but to make it thrive under similar conditions. Using evidence gleaned from the press, both black and white, as well as personal interviews and studies of ethnic economies, it will ask why one industry succeeded while the other failed.

Ultimately, this presentation will argue that, although demand certainly played a part in the success of one industry and the failure of the other, the fate of each was determined by their respective business models. While the Chitlin’ Circuit was a tightly controlled, vertically integrated, if not racially integrated, business, black baseball, even in the Negro Leagues, was a loose organization, comprised of squabbling owners, both black and white, unable to see their mutual interests until it was too late.

While attention has been paid to African-American baseball as both a game and a business, this presentation will look beyond the sport itself, to black baseball’s economic place in the larger construct of African-American society in the 1950s. It will, moreover, consider the position of the sport in a larger web of black businesses, particularly in relationship to the music industry. As such, it will provide a critical look at baseball’s desegregation narrative. In this way, it will contribute to the growing body of literature dealing with African-American baseball, in particular, and sport, in general.

**Eileen Narcotta-Welp, University of Iowa, “Imagine Me This? Mia Hamm and the Creation of a Women’s Soccer Imaginary”**

Do you remember where you were on July 10, 1999, when the U.S. women’s national team won the Women’s World Cup? If you were one of the 18 million Americans who took part in the excitement of this women’s sporting spectacle you experienced the crystallization of a women’s soccer imaginary. This paper intends to examine the social and cultural conditions of the 1980s and its relationship to the creation of a women’s soccer imaginary and the establishment of the US Women’s Soccer National Team in 1987. I intend to build upon Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* and continue to develop the notion of imaginaries and sport. Imaginaries for particular sport teams, such as the US women’s national team, invent traditions and generate shared experiences between fans, coaches, and players. I intend to not only reveal the social, economic, and political contexts needed to conceptualize a women’s soccer imaginary in the United States, but also how mainstream U.S. culture influences the construction of particular subjectivities within the women’s soccer imaginary.

We cannot separate the US national team from its access to developmental and collegiate athletic experiences granted by Title IX. Title IX allowed women to break through barriers of access at all sport levels: development, club, collegiate sport, and finally on the biggest stage—the
international level. In 1999, and more specifically on July 10, women were seemingly at the top of the sporting world. In this paper, I argue that women’s soccer is enveloped in an imaginary that promotes contradictory discourses of women’s empowerment and postfeminist gender essentialism of the late 1980s and 1990s. I will argue that the discourse of empowerment is grounded not in second wave feminism attributed to Title IX, but rather is a product of the commercialized feminism of major sporting companies in order to sell more products. I will contend that Mia Hamm was the ideal sporting female for these sporting goods advertisement campaigns as Mia successfully negotiated the space between masculine and feminine norms present in sport. Finally, I will compare the 1999 Women’s World Cup media coverage of Mia Hamm, the most prolific offensive player in the world, with Briana Scurry, the most successful goalkeeper in US national team history to demonstrate the women’s soccer imaginary as a constructed and uncontested white, middle class, and heterosexual terrain.

John Nauright, George Mason University, “White Zulus: Race, Embodiment and Representation in South African Sport”

As South African sport entered the 1990s there were rapid moves to establish multiculturalism in the dominant sports of rugby, cricket, and soccer. In particular, white athletes with real or imagined ties to black South Africa were promoted as new national heroes for a new South Africa.

Racism in South African sport has a long history. The mixed race fast bowler, Krom Hendricks, was viewed by experts at the beginning of the twentieth century to be the best in South Africa, yet he was excluded from playing for the South African team in international contests. Soon after, South African rugby teams attempted, at least briefly, to mimic the New Zealand rugby team’s use of the haka in international matches by performing a Zulu war dance. Throughout the twentieth century a racist South Africa dominated by whites constructed the Zulu as an ideal type of African based on the concept of the Zulu as warrior. Thus, the idealized Zulu attracted many white South Africans who rarely if ever engaged with black South Africa other than to order around their servants or workers.

While much of the literature about sport in post-apartheid South Africa has focused on the slow but steady inclusion of black athletes into South Africa’s major sports, this paper examines white sportsmen in those sports who were promoted to black South Africa as “white Zulus” or at least whites who played, spoke, or acted enough like black South Africans to assist in assimilating blacks and whites into a more unified post-apartheid sporting culture. Specifically, I examine Jonty Rhodes and Lance Klusener in cricket; Mark Fish in soccer; and James Small in rugby. Each of these players was
represented in ways that inscribed blackness onto their sporting bodies. I examine how media and advertising representations drew on historical conceptions of blackness and the body to “sell” these athletes as cross-over figures as a way to reach across old racial divides and, in the case of cricket and rugby in particular, to generate a non-racial national sporting identity in the post-apartheid era.

**Murry Nelson, Penn State University, “Financial Issues and Constraints in Creating the American Basketball League”**

This paper examines the American Basketball League (ABL) and the financial issues associated with the creation and initial operation of that league in the period from 1960, before the league began, through December 1962, after which the league ceased operation. Much of the paper relies on archival material from the Abe Saperstein Papers, housed at the Dolph Briscoe Center of the University of Texas, in addition to various newspaper articles, and interviews with former players.

The paper looks at the following basic issues: franchise costs, player salaries, referee salaries and expenses, other team expenses, financing the league office, generating gate receipts and media coverage. All of these will be put in context and compared with the ABL’s competition, the established National Basketball Association (NBA).

The first order of business for the new league was to find owners who were able to afford a franchise and then setting some parameters for the cost of these franchises. From the time Abe Saperstein initiated the league, he fielded at least a dozen prospective inquiries from (mostly) legitimate potential owners. Discussion as to how some were eliminated and the eight that came aboard were selected reveals that a few were never well capitalized and, despite the notion that the league would not make a profit for at least a year or two, none of the franchisees were prepared for the size of the deficit that would be built in such a short time.

The major expense would be player salaries and league owners discussed informal salary caps and suggested a range of salaries. This seems to have been between $3500 and $12,000, but there were exceptions that exceeded that, usually based on how attractive the owner thought a player might be to home town fans. There was also the question of signing players from the NBA and who the league would target. Most of the NBA players who signed with the ABL were not starters and the ABL offered both a better salary and the chance to establish themselves as capable professional players. The competition for young players out of college also yielded some positive results because of the mix of money, opportunity and local appeal. Thus, Bill Bridges and Larry Siegfried, most notably, signed with the ABL.
Referee salaries, hiring and scheduling was left to Phil Fox and the paper provides minute detail about these data, such as $15 per diem, 15 cents per mile for travel and tourist class for air travel.

Overall the paper allows scholars to see in microcosm how a professional league addresses financial issues necessary to structure the entity, but also how risks are taken to ensure success and, how, in this case, those risks were too much, leading to league failure.

Erik Nielsen, University of New South Wales, “‘Sincere and Ever Courteous Friend(s)’: Uncovering the American Influence on Australian Amateur Athletics”

The development of amateur athletics in Australia is usually conceived as an example of British (specifically English) cultural inheritance. Key figures, such as the long-serving President of the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia Richard Coombes, are noted for their Anglophilic tendencies. This representation neglects the vital influence that the United States had over the development of athletics in Australia in the early twentieth century. This paper will attempt to outline the influence that figures such as William Curtis and James Sullivan had on Australian athletics. Two key issues will be investigated: first, the United States served as an example for Australia in terms of the preparation of athletes and the general organisation of the sport. Coombes advocated that American athletic methods be adopted by Australians in order to boost their competitiveness. Second, the United States acted as a vital conduit between Australia and the international community. In distinction to the aloof British athletic leadership, Curtis and Sullivan provided Australia with vital information about international goings-on. This relationship faltered after the controversial London Olympic Games of 1908. The growing stature of Canadian athletes from this point saw the lessons and values formerly attributed to the United States by Coombes focused on Canada from this point. These issues point to tensions between Australia and Britain as well as the link between Australia and the United States. This paper will be based on discussions between Coombes, Curtis and Sullivan that were reproduced in the Referee, a Sydney sporting newspaper. A ‘British History’ approach will be employed in order to place the relationship into an international context. It will be argued that Coombes advocated for American influence on Australian athletics in order to better prepare it to take up the cudgels on behalf of the wider British community in international competition. The Australian response to the United States in the early twentieth-century was filtered through a lens formed by debates within British sport. This paper tells us much about the development of amateur sport in both Australia and in the United States. Australia did not
merely replicate the British example, but took on other international examples. The United States was an active player in the development of sports outside its immediate sphere of political influence. In a wider sense, this paper will demonstrate that the British approach to amateur sport cannot be reduced to the dominant paradigm of elite amateurism, and that there were wider debates about the nature of sport that held a transnational edge.

Christine M. O’Bonsawin, University of Victoria, “‘Hymn to the North’: Colonial Narratives, Indigenous Histories, and the 2010 Opening Ceremony”

As is Olympic tradition, the opening ceremony of the 2010 Vancouver Winter Games opened with an extravagant celebration that was protocol driven as well as artistically inspired. Consistent throughout the ceremony was the presence of Indigenous peoples and/or related symbols and imagery. As has been discussed elsewhere, Indigenous programming was a prominent aspect of protocol elements of the opening ceremony, and in many regards, it appeared to be handled with due diligence. Nevertheless, as all Olympic ceremonies do, the opening ceremony of 2010 included an artistic display comprised of music, dance, singing, and theatre to portray a sense of history, culture, and nationhood to national and global onlookers. While highly artistic in nature, the cultural displays of Olympic ceremonies are by no means apolitical.

As previously stated, Indigenous imagery remained a prominent aspect of all components of the opening ceremony; however, as the cultural display commenced it became clear to the critical observer that Canada’s history would, once again, be presented as a celebration of historic and ongoing colonial endeavors. This paper analyses and critiques the practical and interpretative components of the first segment of the cultural display, Hymn to the North, thereby arguing that when given the opportunity to present the history of the land, and thus nation, to the world, organizers relied on narratives of migration and immigration. The problem with this being that such assumed national narratives are heavily colonial in nature as Indigenous peoples and societies recognize their creation and origin as having derived elsewhere—and separate from theories of migration. The ongoing denial of Indigenous histories, arguably, aids in the ongoing denial of Indigenous rights in Canada. Using sources such as 2010 Opening Ceremony footage, the Media Guide: Opening Ceremony of the XXI Olympic Winter Games and the Opening Ceremony Programme, this paper analyzes the physical and interpretative images as well as the textual/verbal summaries of this particular segment of the cultural display of the opening ceremony.
ceremony. Furthermore, drawing from the works of Indigenous academics and leaders, such as Vine Deloria Jr., Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and Leanne Simpson, this paper challenges the ongoing imposition and privileging of Western narratives over Indigenous histories, and thus the ongoing struggle for rights among Indigenous peoples and societies in Canada.

Booker C. O’Brien and John D. Fair, Georgia College & State University, “‘As the Twig is Bent’: Bob Hoffman and Youth Training in the Pre-Steroid Era”

For most of the twentieth century the American sporting community and general public doubted the efficacy of weight training as a means to develop health, fitness, and athletic performance. Even more controversial was the proposition of whether children should train with weights. While Bob Hoffman, proprietor of York Barbell and editor of *Strength & Health* magazine, was a strong proponent of weight training since the 1930s, it was only after World War II that he advocated its application to youth. It was a bold promotional strategy designed not only to capitalize on the growing desire of consumers for his strength and fitness apparatus and food supplements but to provide a youthful base for nurturing American athletes.

To this end Hoffman launched a “Boys Club” section of his magazine with a 1956 editorial entitled “As the Twig is Bent.” This feature was devoted completely to youth training and included articles, success stories, and advice to parents on ways to guide their children to a healthier and more athletic development. Their impact was enhanced by writings and illustrations of Hoffman’s editor, Harry Paschall, who wielded the most powerful pen in iron game journalism. Eventually youthful readers were offered the opportunity to join the “Boys Club” and to purchase a line of “Little Samson” products, including training shirts and barbell and dumbbell sets.

Further to enhance the appeal of his campaign, Hoffman offered a set of role models. Most notable was Rod Allen, a 13-year-old All-American kid from California who could perform 34 chin-ups and 135 push-ups while making good grades and having lots of friends in school. But Hoffman could not resist enlisting Bobby and Stevie Grimek, the pre-adolescent sons of York employee John Grimek, reputed to be the best built man in the world. Notable among the teenage recruits to his cause was 16-year-old Tony Garay of El Paso who became America’s premier lightweight and competed in the 1964 Olympics. It was the football team of Istrouma High School in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, however, that provided the best example of the effectiveness of Hoffman’s program of resistance training for youth. After engaging in a six month weight program, Istrouma rolled through the 1955
season undefeated, routed rival Baton Rouge High, and won the state championship. Many more inspirational stories ensued over the next ten years.

The waning popularity of “Boys Club” by the mid-1960s was partly a product of its success. Training with weights was becoming more acceptable generally and more accepted by youth hoping to be bigger and stronger. But they were also supplementing their weight exercises with another training aid to induce even more muscular strength and size. Ultimately, and probably to Hoffman’s chagrin, not least because he could not market steroids, the twig was being bent in a different direction.

The significance of this paper is that it focuses on one of the ways in which weight training, now an accepted means for gaining health, fitness, and greater proficiency in sports, was introduced to aspiring youth in the 1950s and early 1960s.

Joyce Olushola, University of Texas at Austin, “When and Where They Enter: African-American Female Interscholastic Sport Participation”

Jackie Joyner-Kersee. Althea Gibson. Wilma Rudolph. A thorough compilation of U.S. sport history would be remiss if these women were not included. The feats of African–American female athletes color the fabric of sport history as they challenged the racial ideologies that oppressed their communities and the gender ideologies that suppressed their ability to play. While the accomplishments of African-American women are noteworthy, the success of these individuals seems to eclipse the overwhelming lack of sport participation among African-American females. More African-American women have been provided the opportunity to continue in these women’s footsteps, yet fewer African-American girls are participating in sport than ever before (Pate et al, 1995). Structural barriers, more specifically the ideologies behind these structures, create social challenges early in these girls’ lives which deny them opportunities to capitalize on the benefits sport can provide to increase life quality (Jones & Jones, 2002). Increasing attention has been given to this population as low physical activity rates are linked to increasing health disparities, yet relatively little is known about how and why these women participate in sport to understand how to maximize their participation.

Sport is viewed as a potential means of redressing these conditions because of the salience of its cultural value for African Americans and gives researchers and practitioners a medium for understanding the social complexities surrounding issues of race, gender, and class in this community and the larger society (Carrington, 2011; Carter, 2009; Scranton, 2001). For
African Americans, sport has historically served as a viable medium for expressing cultural values and transmitting them to children where other forms of cultural expression were prohibited. For African-American girls, sport is viewed as a potential vehicle for them to obtain perceived status and socially desirable fame (President’s Council on Physical Fitness and Sport, 2006). African-American high school girls value athletic capabilities second only to academic achievement (Kennedy, 1995). The entrenched nature of sport in African-American culture is salient at the individual, community, and societal levels of this population and provides a lens to an often obscured view into the effects of racism, sexism, and classism on the daily lives of African-American girls. While this cycle of oppression is preventable, the ineffectiveness of traditional interventions suggests a more innovative approach is needed along with the opportunity to apply that knowledge to creating more empowering social structures for this and other communities.

This study employs a historical perspective to examine the emergence of African-American female interscholastic sport participation as a subject of inquiry and the ideologies underlying the research methods of this subject. Given the detailed analysis of articles spanning multiple disciplines, accompanied with descriptive statistics on the research available on African-American female interscholastic sport participation, this study has the potential to expose ineffective, if not harmful, methodologies being employed to explain African-American female interscholastic sport participation. More importantly, identifying the areas of improvement in this research will guide researchers in designing studies that can positively impact the sport participation rates of African-American women.

Mike O’Mahony, University of Bristol, “Helen of Berkeley: The Female Tennis Player as Icon and Artist”

Helen Wills Moody has frequently been described as the first American female sports superstar. Her international victories at Wimbledon (eight times champion), in the U.S. National Championships (seven times champion) and at Stade Roland Garros in France (four times champion) meant that she dominated the sport throughout the 1920s and 1930s. It was not only her sporting victories, however, that brought Wills Moody to international attention. In the jazz age, the female tennis player rapidly emerged as a new and complex icon of the modern era, simultaneously representing conventional notions of Hollywood-style glamour and female liberation and self-assertion. This was perhaps epitomised by the French tennis star Suzanne Lenglen who established a reputation as the image of the post-war ‘new woman’, both on and off the court, regularly appearing at high society events dressed in haut-couture dresses designed by Jean Patou.
Wills Moody notably cultivated a more sober image. Indeed her steely determination and unflinching approach to her game resulted in one sports commentator famously dubbing her ‘Little Miss Poker Face’. Her fame and unconventional personality not only attracted the mass media. In her native California she was also regularly represented by sculptors and painters, including Haig Patigian and, most famously, the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera who surreptitiously included a colossal portrait of Wills Moody in his mural designed for the San Francisco Stock Exchange. Wills Moody’s image also frequently appeared on the cover of Time magazine and was famously illustrated by Miguel Covarrubias for a 1932 cover of Vanity Fair.

This paper analyses this illustrative material as research evidence to explore how Wills Moody was represented in visual culture and what this might tell us about her both as an individual and as a representative of female sport in the 1920s and 1930s. Here the argument will consider to what extent the image of Wills Moody, as articulated in these key artworks, conformed to, or redefined, the popular image of the female sports star. Further consideration will also be given to Wills Moody’s status not only as an icon, a subject for other artists, but also as a practicing artist in her own right. In 1925, Wills Moody graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, having majored in art. Despite her long career as a tennis player, Wills Moody always retained her interest in art and remained a practitioner throughout her life. She illustrated her own books on tennis, produced notable fashion and textile designs and was regularly documented in magazines and in newsreels working in her studio. Wills Moody’s dual status as subject for artists and artist in her own right thus provides a unique and complex case study for further research into the importance of visual culture as a vital resource for sport history.


The June 2010 “World Congress on Exercise Is Medicine” was by no means the first such international event. The 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle had included an extensive “congress” dealing with physical education and health. Twenty-five nations discussed such matters at the Fourth International Congress on School Hygiene held at Buffalo, New York in 1913. When the American School Hygiene Association (founded in 1906) held its ninth congress interest in school-based physical training in relation to health was intensifying in several countries. Twenty percent of the presentations at the ASHA’s 1917 conference would deal with physical
education. Although a few historical accounts have discussed such matters there is more to be learned.

The effects of World War I were felt around the world. With the goal of bringing men and women from many nations together, sharing information, and fostering world peace the World Federation of Education Associations was founded in 1923. Its meetings have received almost no attention from historians. Eight biennial WFEA conferences would be held prior to Germany’s invasion of Poland in October 1939. Reports of the WFEA and its monthly periodical World Education—both of which gave considerable attention to health and physical education—reflect how quickly wider political and other forces can reorient objectives. At the first WFEA conference (held in Edinburgh in 1925) Dr. Otto Neustatter, perhaps not unexpectedly for a physician, discussed how in Germany the teaching of hygiene was being successfully linked to both gymnastics (i.e., physical education) and physiology. Middle school principal J. Ikeda’s emphases were quite different. His remarks focused around how baseball and other sports that American educators had introduced during the Meiji Restoration were seized upon to help reestablish values of “manliness and strength” (an integral part of the Samuri tradition) and reassert Japan’s national pride. Nothing was said about the continuing military conflicts in which Japan had been engaging.

Two of the most interesting—but alarming—papers that emerged from the 1932 Denver WFEA conference were by contributors from Japan and Italy. Their papers reveal how quickly the goals of health and physical education can be reoriented. It is not difficult to discern the growing tensions between China and Japan that emerged in the presentation by Morio Yasuda, MD, of Tokyo Imperial University. Yasuda was preceded by Pietro Gerbore, Royal Italian Consul, who concluded with the statement: “The Fascist Government has endeavored . . . to contribute to the modern world a strong, idealistic, hard-working youth, not bent on prey and conquest, as our enemies would suggest, but seriously aiming at an increase of the prosperity and prestige of their country within the compass of international friendship and cooperation.” Gerbore’s words notwithstanding, it already was becoming evident that international friendship was not what Benito Mussolini had in mind.

This paper examines usually overlooked matters relating to health, exercise, physical education, games, and sports in the period from 1917 to World War II.
The sports, events, and disciplines made available to the Olympic Programme today have increased considerably from the Games’ original offerings. With 302 events slated to take place in the 26 sports of London’s 2012 Olympic Programme, women’s participation in Olympic competition has risen steadily over the course of the 20th century. While participation levels are not yet close to the 50-50 split International Olympic Committee (IOC) President Jacques Rogge claims to strive for, the addition of several team sports for women in the last twenty years has arguably contributed to the greatest gains made in women’s Olympic participation. Football (1996), softball (1996, removed 2012), and water polo (2000) have added to participant numbers dramatically while the addition of individual sports including badminton (1992), judo (1992), weightlifting (2000), pentathlon (2000), triathlon (2000), wrestling (2004), and boxing (2012) has also broadened avenues for entry into Olympic competition. However, questions of power, politics and influence underscore the role and authority of the IOC in revising the Olympic Programme. The processes involved in adding—as well as removing—Olympic sports to the Programme continue to influence participation in the Games today. With mandated examinations and revisions of the Olympic Programme conducted by the IOC’s affiliate bodies—namely the IOC Olympic Programme Commission and IOC Executive Board—opportunities for sports to be included in the Olympic Games remains under the sole discretion of the IOC.

While the IOC has claimed its revisionist practices are indicative of its commitment to increase women’s participation in sport, the influence and control authorized by the IOC requires greater scrutiny. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the ways in which the technical rules, policies, and lobbying efforts of the IOC and its affiliate bodies have evolved over the course of the last century, allowing the IOC to successfully dictate women’s participation in Olympic sport. This paper will review the requirements and mandates put forward by the IOC’s Olympic Programme Commission, an entity charged with examining the Olympic Programme after every Games edition and establishing the criteria to evaluate all sports considered for inclusion. The authority vested in the IOC Executive Board and its discretionary influence over the sports made available to the Programme will also be analyzed in relationship to women’s participation in the greater Olympic Movement.
Gertrud Pfister, University of Copenhagen, “Sir Galahad and His Love of Skiing”

Sir Galahad, alias Bertha Eckstein-Diener, was a famous author writing in the first half of the 20th century. Her most important books were the novel *The Conic Sections of God* (1921), which contains much autobiographical material, and *Mothers and Amazons* (1931), a cultural history of women focusing on matriarchies. Bertha Eckstein-Diener had an unusual life: the daughter of a well-to-do factory owner, she grew up in Vienna, married polymath Friedrich Eckstein against her father’s will, divorced her husband after several years of marriage, survived a tragic love affair and travelled constantly.

She was proud of both her slim figure and her sporting achievements. As a young woman, she was one of Vienna’s best figure skaters, an excellent horse rider and a mountaineer. She gave up skating for skiing, which became her main pastime in winter. She also learned ski jumping. The little information that is available about her skiing activities clearly demonstrates that this sport played a key role in her life. Besides being in perfect keeping with her self-image as a competent woman, skiing provided her with an opportunity of escaping ‘normal’ life and experiencing freedom and adventure.

Adam Pfleegor, Louisiana State University, “Examining the Prospective Megalomania of Huey P. Long through the Monumental Building Campaign of Sport and Recreation Venues at Louisiana State University”

Scholarly efforts on notable Louisiana political figure Huey P. Long present his incredible desire for monument building as an important aspect of his negative leadership behavior because these structures were geared as much toward servicing his ambition for power as they were for the constituents of Louisiana and the effective operation of their government and economy. Few academic works have concentrated on monument building or offered it as a component of dysfunctional leadership. Instead, most dysfunctional leadership examinations focus on workplace bullying, absenteeism, and declined productivity and product quality. It is through this lens that we acknowledge the paucity of leadership studies on dysfunctional leaders often associated with demagoguery.

Roughly thirty years ago the *Centre for Creative Leadership* started to examine the issue of “leader derailment/failure.” As an example, scholars Morgan McCall and Michael Lombardo argued the source for dysfunctional or negative leadership emerged through a combination of personal faults and
the unrealization of organizational and personal goals/agendas. Highlighted in their work were several causal factors which included: a) insensitivity; b) arrogance; c) untrustworthiness; d) aggressive ambition; and e) overall skill deficiencies or unpreparedness. Malcolm Higgs also promoted toxic leadership, negative leadership, evil leadership, “dark-side” leadership, abusive leadership, and destructive leadership as alternative dysfunctional labels to support the notion that those practicing a dictatorial or autocratic style of management could be identified as “corporate psychopaths or Machiavellians” because they would “use any means necessary to achieve their objectives.”

Despite this information on the various dysfunctional leadership styles, this examination is incomplete. As an example, megalomania as a style of leadership has not been fully explored or broken down into its key dimensions. This historical research endeavor aims to fill this gap in the literature by exploring the political behaviors, financing maneuvers, and rhetoric promoted by Huey P. Long during the building construction he supervised and supported on the campus of the Louisiana State University between 1928 and 1932. Paying special attention to the building named after him, the Huey P. Long Field House, and Tiger Stadium, we will examine the concept of megalomania, which has enjoyed little formal examination or formal acknowledgement as a dysfunctional leadership style. Megalomania has interestingly been codified in other academic works on construction projects and campaigns. For example, Sinsupa Sagerklint and Patima Porntepcharoen positioned megalomania in their thesis, *Megalomania in Dubai? Assessing a Largescale Public Entrepreneurship*, as “madly inflexibility” and as an embracing of activities which support “expansions without appropriate consents in its limits to facilitating them or if its plans actually make sense.” In this work, we will utilize sport history to determine if Louisiana culture fostered the rise of megalomania through the building campaign orchestrated by Huey P. Long. Finally, we will judge if Huey P. Long was actually a megalomaniac or narcissist as some suggest. Overall, the concept of megalomania will be introduced, then explored and vetted through the lens of the Huey P. Long Field House and Tiger Stadium.

**Lindsay Parks Pieper, Ohio State University, “‘Compulsory Heterosexuality’ and Olympic Doping Regulations, 1968-1980”**

In 1967, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) instituted the Olympic Medical Commission to counteract the perceived threat of doping. Deemed a necessity to protect athletes, promote ethics and ensure equality for all competitors, the commission also reaffirmed conventional gender norms and encouraged societal suspicion of muscular female athletes.
Several scholars have identified doping regulations as a social control that re-inscribes a dichotomous gender order (Burke, 1998; Burke & Roberts, 1997; Davis & Delano, 1992) and additionally as a tool to promote nationalistic ideals (Hunt, 2010); however, scant work addresses the historical nature of the construction, maintenance and promotion of heterosexuality through anti-doping policies.

This project utilizes Adrienne Rich’s theory of “compulsory heterosexuality” to argue that the Olympic anti-doping campaign, commenced during the Cold War and uncritically supported by the United States, not only promoted a gendered hierarchy in sport but also constructed femininity as specifically white and heterosexual. This paper therefore builds upon Rebecca Lock’s discussion of doping (2003) and (1) demonstrates the historical trajectory of compulsory heterosexuality as necessitated in the United States through anti-doping regulations; (2) addresses the nationalistic overtones that constructed the white, “feminine” Western woman as appropriate, natural and aesthetically pleasing when contrasted against the “masculine,” unattractive Eastern European woman; and (3) assesses the U.S. media anti-doping discourse that purposefully mandated a white heterosexual gender order in the Cold War, which consequently reinforced white, masculine, heterosexual hegemony. While doping is considered an imperative ethical issue in sport, this paper suggests that historically, broader political and social implications have shaped the Olympic anti-doping policies.

Megan L. Popovic, Humber College, “School Figures from Her rINK: The Practice of Autoethnography within Sport History”

This paper presentation brings voice to my experiences in the sport of figure skating to explore femininity and the ways in which memories shape and inform perceptions of self in the present. I want this presentation to feel different than my earlier autoethnographic works on ice hockey, using metaphors, form, colours, imagery, inquiries, and emotions that invite session participants into the complex web of paradoxical meanings in memory-work, reflexivity, and interdisciplinary sport history scholarship. In its entirety, the presentation will meld together like an intricate puzzle, with each subsection connecting to spiraling experiences in figure skating, academia, and the process of autoethnographic work. Moreover, this affective, artistic paper evokes memory, feminine consciousness, embodiment, self-awareness, and self-acceptance in and through my autoethnographic her-story of figure skating.

To reveal the complexity of academic and personal identity, I will articulate my challenges with doing alternative sport history research during
and upon completion of my PhD. Consistently throughout this educational process, I had to move beyond my personal and professional fears of writing from my heart, from that vulnerable place with emotion and deep reflection, to uncover why figure skating and autoethnography were meaning-full in my life—as a scholar, a former athlete, a woman, and a writer. I will include questions I pondered about ways of be-ing in academic and personal spaces that (mis?)align with tenets of feminist research and traditional sport history norms (...and biases?). Further, I will share how my experiences present atypical, interdisciplinary, and valuable interpretations of sporting culture and sport history.

Dilwyn Porter, De Montfort University, “‘We Don’t Want Amateurs. Get Professionals’: The End of Victorianism and the Erosion of the Amateur Hegemony in British Sport, c.1960-2000”

In the late 1950s and early 1960s Britain succumbed to anxious introspection and its media became obsessed with the ‘state of the nation’. For would-be modernizers one unifying theme was that the people running the country were out-of-touch and its institutions were out-of-date. The bodies which had governed British sport since the Victorian era (or even earlier) and the ethos of amateurism that they embraced were especially vulnerable in these circumstances. It did not help that British athletes often appeared to underperform in international competition just as sport was acquiring political significance in the context of the Cold War. ‘Amateurism’ quickly acquired negative connotations. Its links with social exclusivity made it especially vulnerable in an era that saw a reaction against being officered ‘by birth and breeding’. At the same time, the idea that ‘modern professional management’ was the key to industrial efficiency and economic growth provided a rationale for abandoning ‘Victorian’ institutions and practices in sport—the abolition of the maximum wage in soccer (1961), the end of ‘Gentlemen’ and ‘Players’ in English cricket (1962), and the opening of the Wimbledon tournament to professionals (1968). Thus the 1960s marked the beginning of the end for the hegemony of amateurism in British sport and the start of a process that was completed only when rugby union embraced professionalization in 1995.

One consequence of the abandonment of amateurism as a default position was that sport and business were able to develop a closer relationship via sponsorship and the media. From the 1960s through to the 1990s amateur sport was increasingly subjected to an unsympathetic commercial gaze. ‘We don’t want amateurs. Get professionals’, was the response of the chief executive of ATV on hearing that the rights to cover the 1968 Olympics had been secured. However, despite this hostile climate,
some elements of the amateur hegemony resisted change, especially where they were buttressed externally by the Olympic connection, as in track and field athletics, and also in rugby union, where amateurism was effectively the sport’s raison d’être. The unevenness of the process throws up key questions which this paper will address by drawing on evidence derived from institutional archives and informed press commentary. Why did cricket abandon the amateur/professional distinction so early? Why did it take soccer so long? Why did it take rugby union even longer? And why in the early years of the twenty-first century have some commentators begun to idealize the amateur hegemony and the values that it embodied?

Robert Pruter, Lewis University, “Skating, Skiing, and Leif Ericson: Norwegians and their New Chicago Homeland”

The United States sports culture has benefitted from imports brought over from Europe by various immigrant groups, mostly from the United Kingdom. But other immigrant groups have also made an impact, notably the Norwegians with their various winter sports, most evident in Minnesota and Chicago. Unlike Minnesota, which is well known for its large Scandinavian population, Chicago’s significance in winter sports history has not been fully recognized. This paper will address this neglect and will examine how the Norwegians developed their sports in Chicago in the context of their other endeavors to retain their cultural heritage, most conspicuously May 17 celebrations and their veneration of the “first Norwegian-American,” Leif Ericson. The paper will also show how their sports impacted on the cultural life of Chicago and its surrounding area.

The Norwegians settled on the northwest side of Chicago during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Beginning in the 1890s they turned a large community park, Humboldt Park, into their winter play land to engage in sports that helped define themselves as Norwegians—namely ski jumping, cross country skiing, and speed skating.

The winter sports the Norwegians brought to Chicago soon gained wide acceptance and spread into the recreational and competitive sports culture of the Chicago area at large. The influence of speed skating was particularly strong, and by 1923, the Chicago area in the wintertime was dotted with more than 600 outdoor rinks (more than any other city), and its wintertime sports calendar was filled with speed skating races, notably the Chicago Tribune’s famed Silver Skates competition. The high demand for racing skates made the city the home of three major skate manufacturers.

In speed skating, the Norwegians in particular gave Chicago a sporting legacy in which the city excelled for decades. The Chicago area produced speed skating competitors for every winter Olympic Games from 1924 to
2008, notably Eddie Schroeder, Ken Henry, Diane Holum, and Shani Davis. Chicago also stood alone among the major cities with its public high school’s speed skating competition. Skiing did not become a city sport, but residents of the city and suburbs took up skiing in vacation trips to Wisconsin, Michigan, and Colorado.

Beginning with the 1920s though, the Norwegian population of Chicago increasingly assimilated into the American population as a whole, and its cultural celebrations and sponsored winter sports competitions almost completely disappeared. The only Norwegian cultural manifestation that remains today in the Chicago area is the ski jumping tournament sponsored by the Norge Ski Club each winter at suburban Fox River Grove. Thus, in sport history as a whole, this paper will show how the nexus of ethnicity, climate, and urban environment created a sports culture.

Susan J. Rayl, SUNY-Cortland, “Legal Plagiarism, Professional Rape: Why our Work is for the Taking”

Teachers frown upon and often punish students who plagiarize sources in order to complete papers and other written assignments for their courses. With tremendous advances in technology, copying, cutting and pasting, and plagiarizing online material has become easy and all too frequent. And while colleges expect students to uphold academic honesty codes and expect possible dismissal from a college for breaking a code, the fact remains that many forms of plagiarism in the “real world” are perfectly legal. Recent history records a number of cases of plagiarism by well-known authors. These authors continue to sell their books or products at a profit, while the plagiarized victim—often unknown—quietly slips into the background as part of an undisclosed settlement.

More than a few NASSH members have experienced plagiarism of their work in varying degrees, yet it is a topic that has yet to be discussed with any merit within NASSH. As Sport Historians, we spend thousands of hours and dollars delving into primary sources, such as library archival material, newspapers, letters, obituaries and interviews, for the original work we create. And, as sport and making money on sport gains in popularity, the time consuming and costly research that sport historians do becomes more attractive to would-be authors and film or documentary producers. Our work is theirs for the taking, or at least that is how people and organizations who want our information for their use view it. We, in essence, experience professional rape at an increasing rate and the law stands on the side of the offender.

This paper briefly delineates the experience of one NASSH member, whose work was legally plagiarized for profit by a well-known hall of fame
athlete, turned author and film producer. It also discusses how people in the public domain are able to get away with plagiarizing the work of unknown authors, how publishers encourage plagiarism through their publishing policies, and why colleagues fail to stand up for each other when they discover plagiarism has occurred. Suggestions for protecting ourselves, individually and as an organization, are presented. Finally, it is hoped that NASSH, as a well-respected organization, takes a public stand in denouncing legal plagiarism of its member’s work.

Anju Reejhsinghani, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, “Warriors for the Nation? Women Boxers in Latin America”

This paper considers women’s amateur and professional boxing in Latin America. While relating the history of women boxers from the early 20th century on, it emphasizes developments from the past twenty years. I begin by linking early women’s boxing in the region in the early-to-mid-20th century to the rise of an American prizefighting culture in the wake of U.S. imperialism; the growth of traveling wrestling and variety shows; and the creation of transnational workforces that increased opportunities for women to fight both domestically and in neighboring countries.

I then consider national differences in relation to the sport’s growth. Why, for example, did a number of countries—such as Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, and Panama—legalize professional women’s boxing at the turn of the 21st century, while others—notably Cuba—continue to prohibit or discourage it? What explains the growth of women’s prizefighting in certain areas while others are barely entering the amateur arena? I use the 2011 Pan-American Games (Guadalajara, Mexico) and the 2012 Summer Olympic Games (London, U.K.)—events that include amateur female boxers for the first time—to frame my discussion of the uneven strides the sport has made in the region.

Finally, I analyze constructions of Latin American female boxers in the national media of their home countries. In the years shortly after the sport’s legalization, for instance, Latin American journalists and commentators frequently used tropes of femininity to tie female boxers to nationalist imagery and to downplay the inherently violent nature of boxing. These tropes included images of women boxers as devout Catholics, devoted mothers, and loyal wives. Boxers who are daughters, sisters, or wives of current or former pugilists could expect that these relationships would feature prominently in coverage of why they took up the sport. Fighters’ diverse class, race, and ethnic backgrounds also played a role in media constructions, sometimes in explicit ways. As female boxing has become more popular and familiar to television viewers, these women have
increasingly evolved from media caricatures to respected athletes and even superstars who bring pride to the nation. This is in marked contrast to the U.S., where female boxing remains on the margins of media coverage.

**Samuel O. Regalado, California State University, Stanislaus, “Racism in the Air: The Larry Krueger Incident”**

On August 3, 2005 in a rant regarding the San Francisco Giants and their mediocre play, Larry Kruger, the host of a popular bay area radio program called “Sportsphone 680” referred to the Latino players on the club as “brain dead Caribbean hitters hacking at slop nightly.” He went on to suggest that manager Felipe Alou had “cream of wheat for brains.” The racially charged comments brought on a firestorm of protest led by Alou himself. Within days, the radio host was placed on suspension and ultimately fired for his remarks. Ironically, forty-one years earlier, in July of 1964, Alvin Dark, the manager of the club, publicly lashed out at his black and Latino players with the claim that they were not as “mentally sharp” as his white ballplayers. Dark’s comments effectively ended any relationship he had with his players of color and, in part, led to his own firing at the end of the season. To be sure, while each incident could be easily dismissed as foolhardy on the part of Dark and Krueger, the recipients of these charges felt otherwise. Interestingly, among the recipients was Felipe Alou, who had played on Dark’s 1964 ballclub and in 2005 was the manager in the bulls-eye of Krueger’s ire.

My paper will not only scrutinize the 2005 incident as a microcosm of the tenuous racial atmosphere that had haunted the Giants’ organization, but also how the Kreuger incident exposed the larger ethnic divides found in the San Francisco community of that time. In doing so, I will discuss the origins of the racial climate in that region since the arrival of the Giants in 1958 as a backdrop for the larger tale of Krueger’s infamous broadcast and the response to his firing.

In my quest to cut into the image of a 2005 San Francisco community that, in the eyes of many was the personification of a city that exemplified pluralistic and eclectic thought, I will draw upon such dailies and periodicals as the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Oakland Tribune*, and *San Jose Mercury-News*, along with accounts found in player biographies and secondary source materials to support my argument.

Some of the key questions I explore revolve around the social and political climate in existence by 2005, baseball’s response to Krueger’s comments, and the seeming continuity of racially charged incidents that involved the Giants organization. Equally important is the question about the standing of Latino community itself in the San Francisco area by 2005 and
its sense of empowerment, particularly given its then-illuminated presence in the world of sport.

**PearlAnn Reichwein, University of Alberta, “The Canadian Rockies Go to War: Mountain Warfare Training and the Alpine Club of Canada, 1942-1944”**

Mountaineers in the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) served Allied war efforts from 1942 to 1944. Through the instruction of troop training courses for mountaineering and ski mountaineering, members of Canada’s national alpine club played an active role in mountain warfare programs to prepare for overseas combat. ACC camps in national parks were recommitted to the needs of the Canadian Army and Allied Forces. In this study, a national sport organization and national parks are situated in the process of wartime militarization. It argues masculinist mountaineering discourses in the club shifted in meaning from civilian leisure to armed combat, much as Rocky Mountain parks were remade as nationalistic sites of military power. State media manufactured mountaineering heroism and grandeur to exploit as militaristic propaganda; by contrast, the stories of novice soldiers and club civilians can be read for contested experiences of mountain sports in the midst of conflict.

The intriguing role of the ACC and Allied Forces in mountain warfare training in the Canadian Rockies (Taylor 1994) warrants further investigation. Together with the Scottish Lovat Scouts and United States 10th Army Mountain Division, and international mountaineers—including Belmore Browne, Frank Smythe, and Don Munday—the ACC was instrumental in the advancement of integrated Allied mountain warfare training regimes. This study highlights the militarization of a national alpine club in cultural landscapes positioned at the historiographic crossroads of sport and tourism.

Research based on written and visual archives focuses on the wartime function of the ACC engaged in military service and sport nationalism. It analyzes how the ACC adapted its sport camps to the demands of war. How did soldiers learn skills and respond to mountaineering in Yoho and Jasper national parks—did they see the Rockies as tourists? How did ACC men and women continue the culture of civilian mountaineering in wartime? Why were national parks in the Canadian Rockies enlisted as militarized sporting landscapes? What were the wartime legacies of these landscapes?

Drawing on Vertinsky and Bale (2004), this paper examines how mountaineering discourses reproduced “sites of sport” in national parks as sites of war in the 1940s—cultural landscapes that were later erased in peacetime and rewritten as holiday destinations occupied by Canada’s postwar tourism economy.
Toby C. Rider, Penn State University, Berks, “America Drops the ‘T-Bomb’ on Oslo: The Campaign of Truth and the 1952 Winter Olympics”

The Cold War is often referred to as the battle for “hearts and minds,” and not without good reason. The Soviet Union and the United States each poured a vast amount of resources into propaganda initiatives that could impact or sway public opinion across the globe, and both drew upon particular rhetorical devices in the process. In the early years of the Cold War, Soviet propaganda aimed to convince audiences at home and abroad that communism was a vehicle of “peace” and America was a purveyor of war. From 1950-52, the Truman administration responded with the Campaign of Truth, an aggressive worldwide propaganda strategy to scotch the “lies” issuing from the Kremlin, and to disseminate the “truth” about American democracy. Indeed, “truth” was a carefully chosen theme, a word, reasoned government officials, which carried significant “political force.” General Dwight D. Eisenhower called it the “T-Bomb.” In order to pursue the Campaign of Truth, Congress allotted nearly $80 million to increase propaganda operations in radio, press and publications, film, exchanges of persons, and other cultural activities.

At about the same time as the Campaign of Truth was launched, the U.S. government noticed that sport was also being enveloped in communist “peace” propaganda. The entrance of the Soviet Union into the Olympic Movement in 1951 added another dimension to this problem. Realizing that the Soviet Union would use the Games as a further means to promote anti-American propaganda, information experts in the U.S. government prepared plans of their own. These plans were inspired and driven by the Campaign of Truth. As a result, American participation at both Olympic festivals in 1952 was carefully manipulated. By drawing on declassified documents from the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, this paper will demonstrate how the U.S. government devised and executed plans to “exploit” the Oslo Winter Games, the first of the two Olympic festivals in 1952. It will be shown that American propaganda experts attempted to showcase the friendliness and sportsmanship of the U.S. Olympic team, developed negative stories about Eastern European athletes, and encouraged private businesses to make Oslo a showground for American enterprise and culture. A great deal of the program involved close cooperation with the United States Olympic Committee and the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States. This marked the erosion of a long held tradition. The U.S. government had begun to work in concert with the private sphere in sport-related propaganda at new and uncharted levels under the mounting demands of the Cold War.
Ironically, as it turned out, the Soviet Union never sent a team to participate in Oslo.

Steven A. Riess, Northeastern Illinois University, “The Secret Story of the Cancellation of the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Games by the California Tenth Olympiad Association . . . in 1928”

Most institutional history, be it in sport or other subjects, is usually written based on published records, including newspapers and autobiographies. However important, parts of the narrative are missed unless abetted by interviews (when possible) and archival records. We are all indebted to archivists who have produced finding guides for major collections like the Avery Brundage Collection at the University of Illinois, Champaign. Nonetheless, sometimes we get lucky and fall into a remarkable document that no one has ever noticed before.

In 1928, the Community Development Association (CDA) was far into its plans to stage the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles where the CDA had built the Coliseum to hold that event and boost the reputation of Southern California as a progressive and developing area. The association sent Zack Farmer, a former journalist and local booster, over to Amsterdam to observe the IXth Olympiad to help him in his duties as the manager and secretary of the Xth Olympiad. Farmer sent back a single-spaced, eight-page letter in which he took to task the Olympic Movement so ardently that the California Tenth Olympiad Association (CTOA) passed a resolution—that was never publicly reported—to abandon the Olympic Games. Of course, as we all know, the Games were staged in Los Angeles. According to a letter from William May Garland, the prime L.A. booster, and one of three American members of the International Olympic Committee, written to Avery Brundage in 1935, it was only due to the belated arrival of Los Angeles power broker Harry Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, that another vote was taken to rescind the resolution. Garland was not present at the meeting, having never expected such a strong rejection of the Olympic Movement by Farmer. At a subsequent meeting of the CDA, Garland was able to change the minds of his colleagues, and the work resumed to hold the games.

The purpose of this paper is to examine in depth Farmer’s analysis that convinced the planning committee (for a moment) to forego the 1932 Games. He examined Olympism as an institution, as well as the IOC and the complicated correlation of national and international sports organizations, as well as the actual staging of the games by the Dutch. He was also concerned about the “innumerable and largely intangible and inconstant groups throughout the world” who “represent the dictating force of the Olympiad.”
and was worried about their impact on the CTOA’s ability to do its job. Farmer concluded that Olympism was failing to achieve its lofty goals, and that prior Olympic sites had not benefited from holding the Games, and that the Olympics would be of little tangible benefit to Los Angeles. His report avoided any discussion or analysis of the actual athletic performances in Amsterdam, including the outcome of the women’s 800-meter race when several competitors finished exhausted which was taken as evidence of women’s limited athletic potential. This report provides us with a rare critique of Olympism prior to its dramatic surge in the 1930s.

As noted above, his frank and critical report had a significant impact, convincing, albeit temporarily, the CTOA to disengage from the Olympic Games. Farmer was held in such esteem by the committee that he was not only not fired for his report (as would likely happen today), but went on to serve as General Manager of the 1932 Games. He was responsible for many of its innovations, including the creation of the first Olympic Village, and the production of the first profit making Games. Incidentally, Farmer was so independent that in late 1935 he announced he would not attend the Olympic Games in Berlin because of the unOlympic policies of Adolf Hitler, a position that did not go well with the AOC.

Jackie Roberts, University of North Texas, “Hog-Tied: A Texas Cowgirl’s Struggle to Play Professional Basketball”

Contrary to popular opinion, women’s professional basketball did not begin with the Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA), or the short-lived Women’s Professional Basketball League (WBL). Instead, women were paid to play professional basketball as early as the 1930s in barnstorming leagues.

The paper will use original oral histories from members of the Texas Cowgirls, a lesser known women’s barnstorming team that played from 1952-1953, to construct a social history. Operating solely from an 8” x 10” team photograph taken in 1953 and the contact information of one teammate, the Cowgirls were tracked down despite major obstacles. Original interviews were conducted by the author and transcribed. Over the course of conducting these in-person interviews, the author has also managed to collect a number of primary documents from personal collections, including contracts, personal correspondence, diaries, photographs, and literature from basketball games. It is this researcher’s goal to give voice to the experience of the women who played over fifty years ago and provide an accurate and vivid account for further research.

The subject of this paper, Dolores Dyer, was one of the seven Texas Cowgirls. Dyer pioneered a woman’s version of the American Dream during
the twentieth century in Texas. A gifted athlete born into a working class family, she first took advantage of the opportunities provided by barnstorming women's basketball teams to escape the deadening world of agricultural field labor. Soon, however, finding that the promoters of barnstorming emphasized stunts and sexuality more than the game, she quit and used her time spent on the tour as a learning experience. She then became a very successful high school coach and teacher. Delo Dyer never married, and she rose strictly through her own abilities and efforts. Her accomplishments predated popular norms by several decades.

The paper will attempt to answer some key questions about Dyer’s experience with the Texas Cowgirls to probe the importance of her accomplishments in the socioeconomic context of the 1950s. Among the questions asked are: How did being a native Texan affect Dyer’s experience? What were the socioeconomic factors that influenced Dyer’s maturation into a professional basketball player? Finally, what did the American Dream mean to Dyer, and did she achieve her American dream? It is the author’s belief that not only does Dyer predate the modern perception of the female athlete, but she is also an early example of an athlete using sport to attain the American Dream. Dyer’s attainment of the American Dream is emblematic of the greater struggle of aspiring female athletes to be afforded the same athletic opportunities as men. It was this struggle that eventually led to the passage of legislation like Title IX.


The post-Second World War baby boom brought about many changes in North American social attitudes toward children, family life, and education. In the Canadian context, scholars such as Douglas Owram and Neil Sutherland have discussed its general social impact, but they do not mention of the role of organized youth sports, even though the provision of healthy physical activities was one of the integral components of the reformulation of education ideology in the period. In my research, I found that as new sports activities for young Canadian boys became increasingly formalized and organized towards educational goals, they came into conflict with the practices and priorities of the established pre-war youth amateur sports organizations, especially the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA), whose quasi-commercial practices and relationship with the National Hockey League came under specific scrutiny. From the late 1940s, the proponents of the educational value of sports, including university presidents, politicians and even religious leaders, began to publicly object to the placing of boys as
young as twelve ("Nicholas Nicklebys") on lists that reserved their professional services to NHL clubs. The criticism focused on the moving of players to sponsored amateur teams based far from home in pursuit of a professional hockey career, which was seen to hurt the players’ chances to complete their high school education.

Using archival research and the correspondence of the CAHA, NHL, and educational and religious groups, this paper examines the conflict between those who espoused a new norm of universal high school completion and those who emphasized the potential economic opportunities afforded by professional athletic play. I argue that, as greater prosperity during the postwar decades allowed delayed entry of boys and young men into the workforce, Canadian society in general was able to redefine childhood to include universal completion of a high school. This eventually affected the hockey recruitment system, which changed in 1967 with the removal of sponsorships of amateur clubs by professionals.

Fabien Sabatier and Maguy Moravie, Bordeaux University, “Sport, Postcolonialism and Post-proslavery in France: The Case of Yole Sailing in Martinique”

In France, sport history has been belatedly developed and has mainly provided food for scientific works of the “diffusionist school of thought” (Holt 1981, Guttmann 1994, Singaravélou 2010), by studying the sport propagation process on a national scale (Hubscher 1992, Terret 2004), then on an imperial one (Fates 1995, Combeau-Mari, 2004), mainly neglecting the cultural and civilizational aspects, which were already invested by the “Evolutionist School of thought” (Guttmann 1978, Elias/Dunning 1986). Nowadays, the French researchers, from a perspective of differentiation, more particularly study the international expansion of sports (Darbon 2011), and as far as we are concerned, we are interested in the connected dynamics of the post-proslavery and postcolonialism (Gastaut 2003, Bancel 2009, Sabatier 2011 [a]). In other words, in the contemporary history of sport, we are interested in the existence of a specific dynamic inherited from the imperial French past. Indeed if sport can be seen as a resource that participates in the working-out of the ethnic frontiers, of their preservation, their reinforcement, or conversely of their weakening (Barth, 1969, Poutignat & Streiff-Fenart, 1995), it can also participate in their surpassing in certain spatial and historical configurations.

Within the context of research of cultural History of sport and on the basis of consultations of public and private records, and of participating observations and interviews, we intend to present the case of the “Yole ronde” in Martinique.
The “Yole ronde,” a traditional sailing sport practised in Martinique, a French overseas department, nowadays gets a renewed interest from the natives of the island. Being a real cultural referent for people of Martinique and a means to express ardent passions (sometimes verging on “mass hysteria”), the Yole ronde, all along its history experienced profound transformations that have irremediably changed the conventions of practice and brought its traditional characteristic into question.

The first yole sailing races were adaptations of an occupational activity (fishing) to a recreational one, the fishermen’s challenge to sell their fish as quickly as possible. Those challenges continued in the sixties during the different local festivals in the island, until the real structuring of that practice with the creation of the “Yoles Rondes Society of Martinique” (SYRM) in 1981, recently transformed into the “Yoles Rondes Federation of Martinique” in 2011.

For a long decade, that “barefoot” sport has conveyed two contradictory processes of identity assertion. Through the recurrent assertion of being “Martinican,” the Yole ronde races, a traditional practice (Boutrin, 1997) changed into a sport (Pruneau-Dumont, 2006), today embody a plan to go beyond a traumatic insular history. Nevertheless, the Yole ronde remains, despite everything, an “ethnic sport” with an ethnocultural distribution of the “sports” parts (mainly “black people” on the small boats). Yole ronde sailing takes the shape of an incorporated memory of the complexity of some island societies that have experienced the slave trade and colonialism.

**Stephanie Salerno, North Central College, “Skateboarding in Chicagoland: Negotiating Public Space, Play and Self-Expression”**

This paper examines the relationship between skateboarding in the 1960s, 70s and 80s and public space in Chicagoland. Using various Chicago Tribune articles published during those three unique periods in skateboarding’s history, the public’s shifting attitudes and concerns surrounding the sport are compared. As the style of skateboarding changed and the streets were favored over skateparks, skateboarding became synonymous with rebellion and the misuse of public space rather than merely a safety hazard. Examining these primary documents from skateboarding’s early history involved considering not only the meanings of public space in Chicagoland, but how skateboarding fit into the definition of play and self-expression at the time.

In particular, this paper seeks to illuminate how a subculture took possession of public space in both a physical and creative manner, attempting co-existence with mainstream society. Johan Huizinga’s study of play, Don Mitchell’s explanation of visions on public space and Jeffrey T.
Schnapp’s discussion of the history of asphalt support the primary documents relative to skateboarding’s presence in Chicagoland, leading to the conclusion that though Chicago’s architecture of public spaces welcomed skateboarding’s free style period, or street skating, society rejected it, viewing skaters’ expressions as threats to picturesque spaces. Society was more comfortable with sequestering skaters to private skate parks where safety concerns could be policed and the environment, in general, could be controlled, much like mainstream sports such as baseball, basketball or football. Because of this mainstream attitude, skateboarding’s place in the punk subculture was solidified. Though skateboarding was a very American activity, participants’ identities were set apart because of its aggressive use of public space, convoluted presentation of play and rebellious expressive nature, a tag skateboarding still carries in spite of its wide acceptance within the mainstream in the late 20th and 21st centuries.


In the Spring of 1967, about 150 young men took to the practice fields at the University of Alabama in hopes of playing for legendary head coach Paul W. Bryant. Among the dozens of non-scholarship prospects were, for the first time ever, five African Americans. Of that group, just two—Andrew Pernell and Dock Roane—would dress out for the school’s final spring scrimmage. While neither would be on the squad the following season due to eligibility issues, they are a forgotten vanguard in the integration of the South’s flagship college football program.

The integration of the Crimson Tide football program is usually marked in 1970, when Wilbur Jackson became the first black scholarship player. As a freshman, he was not permitted to dress out with the varsity squad that season. The next year he did, although transfer student John Mitchell beat him into the starting lineup and broke the Crimson Tide color barrier. By the time Jackson and Mitchell saw playing time, Alabama’s various teams had a small number of black participants and a growing African-American student presence that served as a support network. Moreover, their difficulties served as an important first step for school officials to understand the difficulties they would encounter with newly integrated sports teams.

The University of Alabama became a flashpoint of the civil rights struggle in 1963 due to symbolic show of defiance by Governor George Wallace, known today as “The Stand in the Schoolhouse Door.” His efforts were futile and the institution admitted two black students. During this same period, the fortunes of the Crimson Tide football team had soared following
the return of Paul W. Bryant to his alma mater in 1958. By 1967, the once-moribund gridiron giant had returned to national prominence, earning three national championships and one hotly-debated near-miss.

The continued public sentiment in the state for segregation had made it difficult for the highly visible football program to follow similar steps. The dominance of the all-white squad over the competition also seemed to many an unspoken validation of the now illegal separate but equal doctrine. In the Spring of 1967, Roane, Pernell and three other young black men challenged this by walking on to the Crimson Tide squad.

Roane had been a Negro All-State guard at his Montgomery high school, and Pernell had been a standout running back at Birmingham’s Brighton High School. Their oft-overlooked efforts to integrate the football team were neither smooth nor without incident. Pernell would be included in a 1969 lawsuit filed by the NAACP against the university alleging discrimination in its athletic programs. While both were talented players, neither possessed the slate of exemplary characteristics demanded at the time of integration pioneers. Moreover, since the school had integrated just four years earlier, the support network for blacks in athletics as well as on the campus was still in its infancy giving the players little to rely on as they tried to make the team.

The experience of the football team’s first black players was one of transition between an earlier era of strict segregation and the complete integration made possible by the trauma of the Civil Rights struggle in Alabama. This paper will look at the specific difficulties faced by these players in a program still at the onset of integration as well as their experience on a predominantly white campus that had admitted blacks just a few years earlier under the most adverse conditions possible. Sources will include interviews with Roane, Pernell, and other key figures involved in athletic integration at Alabama, newspaper accounts of their efforts, the team’s practice logs, and a deposition by Bryant as part of the NAACP lawsuit.

David Morrill Schlitt, University of Michigan, “A Tale of Two Domes: Regionalism, Deindustrialization, and the Super Bowl in Pontiac and New Orleans”

In 1981, New Orleans’s monumental domed stadium, the Louisiana Superdome, hosted the Super Bowl for the second time in four years. The next year, the big game moved north for the first time in its sixteen-year history to the Silverdome in Pontiac, Michigan. Both buildings were constructed during the 1970s—part of a wave of domed stadium construction across the country—using public funds in the hopes of remaking
their cities’ economic fortunes. Both operated at a consistent loss. And yet, the stadiums received wildly different treatment in both the press and the popular imagination. The Superdome came to represent the apparent runaway success of its Sunbelt region, while the Silverdome became a symbol of Rustbelt haplessness.

Despite widespread perceptions in the 1980s of New Orleans’s recovery and Pontiac’s unbroken decline, the cases of the Superdome and the Silverdome shared important commonalities. During the life of each stadium, both regions saw spiking economic inequality and a shift toward a flexible low-wage workforce. Taken together, New Orleans’s and Pontiac’s investment in landmark stadiums and the sports industry tell a larger national story of deindustrialization and public investment in the service sector.

In my paper, I analyze the Superdome and the Silverdome, as spaces and symbols, with particular attention paid to the Super Bowls hosted by New Orleans and Pontiac in 1981 and 1982. The paper’s timeframe extends into the twenty-first century to include a discussion of Hurricane Katrina, a tragedy that laid bare the structural inequality that was an adjunct to New Orleans’s perceived revival. My analysis of the two domed stadiums sheds light on the sports industry’s role in the economic, social, and political life of metropolitan regions during the last thirty-five years. This paper complicates the over-determined and oversimplified Rustbelt/Sunbelt dichotomies that pervade postwar historiography (and media coverage), using the lens of sports history to offer a more holistic view of deindustrialization in the United States.


Most of the currently published works on the history of American women’s golf generally act as though most of what is worth remembering began with the founding of the Ladies Professional Golf Association in the years shortly after World War II. Yet the fact is that from the end of World War I until the mid-1930s women’s golf in the United States enjoyed its first golden era. During this time American women’s golf featured quite a number of outstanding players—some compiling records that have placed them among the all-time greats of the game.

Meanwhile, the sport of top level women’s golf also underwent significant changes that typified the increasing potential for femininity in athletics, and to an extent symbolized similar expansions of women’s roles in American society of the era, keynoted by winning the right to vote in 1920.

The player who led the way into the golden era of U.S. women’s golf, and remained near the top of the sport through most of the 1920s, was a
young woman named Alexa Stirling who won her second U.S. National championship in 1919. Her victories were seen as providing a major stimulus for younger women players to seriously hit the links, while the universality of the game in the U.S. was believed to already provide the foundation for a strong future in American women’s golf. The great upsurge in golf’s popularity after World War I also substantially helped to fuel the significant evolution of the women’s sport.

One of the most significant aspects of women’s golf during the fifteen years after World War I was the dramatic improvement in the overall skills of the top-flight players, and an impressive lowering of the scores being posted. Also, the ongoing modernization of women’s golf fashions during the era played a major role in both the significant improvement of the players’ skills and the popularization of the sport.

By 1934 American women’s golf had reached the top spot in the world for the female version of the sport, and the groundwork had been firmly established for the major upward surge in the U.S. women’s sport in the years after World War II and its growth into a professional sport by the 1950s.

This paper will begin the process of expanding the documented history of American women’s golf during the first half of the 20th century by carefully examining the significant changes that evolved around the women’s sport during its golden era, while also introducing some of the top women players during the period. Because little of the material in the paper has ever appeared in currently published works on the American game, the paper has substantial significance for both golf and women’s sport history.

Jaime Schultz, Penn State University, “The Truth About Historical Sport Films”

*The Express* (2008) is a biopic about Syracuse University running back Ernie Davis, who in 1961 became the first African American to win college football’s Heisman trophy. Shortly thereafter, Davis succumbed to leukemia at the age of twenty-three. Set against the civil rights movement, his moving biography is one of triumph, courage, and social change, with all the trappings of an affective sport film. Just after its release, however, critics revealed that filmmakers significantly altered history when putting together their narrative. Of particular concern were several fabricated, racialized incidents. As Ger Schwedes, Davis’s Syracuse teammate, commented, “As a work of fiction, the movie is terrific. But that’s not the way it was.”

To what degree are filmmakers responsible for getting the story “the way it was” when it comes to historical events? Actor Dennis Quaid, who played Syracuse football coach Ben Schwartzwalder, defended the film,
remarking: “Sometimes if you get all the facts right, you miss the truth.” In
this presentation I consider the relationship between “the facts” and “the
truth” in several “racial-first” sport films. By this I mean movies that depict
actual events in which athletes of color desegregate or integrate sport, or
become the first to win prestigious athletic awards, including The Express,
The Jackie Robinson Story (1950), Remember the Titans (1999), and Glory
Road (2006). In each, filmmakers ignored, invented, and revised history in
creating their final products. I ask if telling the truth necessitates historical
accuracy or should we, as historian Robert Rosenstone suggests, “look at
historical films not for literal truths but for more symbolic or metaphoric
interpretations”?

Amanda N. Schweinbenz, Laurentian University, “In Search of the
‘True Woman’: An Examination of Biomedical and Scientific Sex
Testing Discourse”

In 1966, the International Amateur Athletics Association first
introduced sex testing at the European Athletics Championships in Budapest,
Hungary. After the return of Eastern Bloc teams to international competition,
the presence of unfeminine female athletes who dominated championships
became a primary concern for international sport administrators. They
argued that the threat of men masquerading as women and stealing
victories from innocent female participants justified the introduction of sex
testing—commonly referred to as gender verification. Medical experts were
enlisted to confirm the validity of female competitors and to reassure the
public that these elite athletes were in fact legitimately women.

However, the quest to identify the sex of an individual was not initiated
by the international sport community. The scientific and medical
communities had long been arguing that a person’s true sex could be
verified through the scientific examination of one’s genes. This positivist
approach to absolute truth is not uncommon from both communities as sex
is often defined as biologically intractable. The naturally sexed body is
unquestioned as fact and, as such, the constructs of gender and sexuality
are a natural expression of sex.

This paper critically examines the biomedical and scientific discourses
that were used to support systematic sex testing of international female
athletes between 1964 and 1999 using discourse analysis. I argue that this
positivist search for truth and true sex inherently supported a binary concept
of gender that was used to systematically marginalize female athletes.
Chad Seifried, Louisiana State University, “The Lifecycle of the Louisiana State University’s Magnificent Daily Social Anchor: The Huey P. Long Field House and its Megalithic Pool”

The construction of sport and recreation facilities on university campuses began during the early 20th century. As an example, the University of Michigan originally provided a robust $743,000 ($9,843,446 in 2011 dollars) toward the construction of the Intramural Sports Building in 1928 to be the first venue specially constructed for recreation and social activities on a campus of higher education. Other universities wanting regional respect and competing for prospective students in the 1930s through the 1970s gradually recognized the importance and significance of adding and improving recreation and social centers to their institutions. The Louisiana State University (LSU) did not exist as an exception to this practice. Specifically, in 1932, the Huey P. Long Field House emerged as a venue for athletic competition, recreation/intramurals, and as a place “where old friends gather, new friends meet, dates are made, and sometimes broken” for several generations to come.

The purpose of this historical research is to briefly review the massive building campaign introduced by Huey P. Long within the scope of Louisiana’s political and social environment. With special attention paid to the construction of the Huey P. Long Field House, this work seeks to highlight the historical significance of that building on the campus of LSU and reveal it as a host to numerous social, recreational, athletic, and educational activities through the exploration of numerous primary and secondary sources. Ultimately, it is the goal of this work to show the Huey P. Long Field House and Pool existed as one of the most important social anchors ever produced on the campus of LSU through its commendable service. Next, this research endeavor will show that the Huey P. Long Field House emerged within the wake of several interesting business activities and political maneuvers under the leadership of Huey P. Long. Combined, this information should produce significant introspection about prospective renovation, preservation, restoration, and rehabilitation projects within the decaying core of LSU’s campus venues and present important evidence to help determine if Huey P. Long was a narcissist or megalomaniac. Many scholarly efforts completed on Huey P. Long by contemporaries (e.g, Webster Smith, Hodding Carter, and Carleton Beals), biographers (William Ivy Hair, T. Harry Williams, and Richard D. White) and other historians (W. Lee Hargrave, Reinhard H. Lutin, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.) support this position as they identified him as a demagogue and a flamboyant leader of political and financial maneuvering. Again, we will explore the Huey P. Long Field House and Pool as a representation of Huey P. Long.
Jae Chul Seo, University of Iowa, “A Post-Colonial Reading of Olympia (1938)”

Leni Riefenstahl’s Olympia (1938), a documentary glorifying the 1936 Berlin Olympics, has been a highly controversial film within both sport history and film history. On the one hand, the film has been regarded as an aesthetic masterpiece. On the other hand, it has also been severely criticized for servicing Nazi propaganda. This controversy is driven by the difficulty of identifying the complicated relationship between ideological functions of aesthetic forms and the specific German political circumstances. Adding another view of reading to the criticisms, this paper reads the film from a post-colonial perspective. To be more specific, in the film narrative, the scenes representing the marathon gold medalist Kitei Sohn will be examined as textual objects. A Korean athlete, Sohn won the gold medal as a member of the Japanese delegation because Korea had been colonized by the Empire of Japan since 1910. Thus, Korean post-colonial history will also be discussed as context for interpreting the film.

This paper will be divided into three parts. In the first, I will briefly summarize the criticisms of the film, focusing on the issue of racial discourse of body and further discuss how the text of Sohn can be understood within the film’s controversies, comparing it to the case of Jesse Owens. In the second, I will examine Korean colonial contexts in which Sohn’s victory was introduced, circulated, reproduced, and incorporated into the Korean sport nationalism, contrasting to Japanese imperial contexts such as racial ideology and sport policies. In the third, I will explore how the stories of Sohn have become a national mythology and how the film, as the media or technology, has played a crucial role in constructing Korean post-colonial history. I will also compare it with the Black Power Salute.

Catherine Shankweiler, University of British Columbia, “Wooden Pegs and Cheetah Legs: Sport as Medicine in Times of War”

The United States’ War on Terror has resulted in the return of over 35,000 permanently injured veterans. In contrast to those disabled in past wars, today’s ‘Wounded Warriors’ have the administrative and technological support to reach beyond ‘social reintegration’ toward elite athleticism. Today’s (mostly male) Army physical therapists emphasize the ‘healing power of sport’, both for acute care and lifelong engagement; it therefore seems only a matter of time before these (mostly male) ‘tactical athletes’ seek out sports medicine expertise in their own communities. Civic physical therapists, however, may not be up to this challenge, the profession having
strayed progressively farther from its roots in exercise and disability in favor of general health promotion and primary care. It is ironical that the pioneer (female) physical therapists (known as ‘reconstruction aides’) of World War I used sport extensively to rehabilitate disabled soldiers, helping to restore their ‘lost masculinities’ by making them re-fit for war or work. Treatments such as ‘no pain, no gain’ massages and stump-pounding drills prepared one-armed and one-legged men for boxing, wrestling and baseball, all ideal forms of ‘movement education’. The militarized culture in which we now live lends itself to a re-examination of the physical therapy practices of WWI. To what end were these practices carried out, and why was sport so perfectly suited for the rehabilitation, re-acclimation and re-masculinization of the wounded veteran?

Maureen Smith, California State University Sacramento, “Remembering and Forgetting the ‘Revolt of the Black Athlete’: 21st Century Monument Projects on American College and University Campuses”

In 1968, there were over 30 protests on college campuses involving African-American athletes who used sport as their platform to highlight racial inequities on campus and in the United States. In the years that followed, other campuses were roiled with similar protests resulting in African-American athletes being removed from teams, coaches losing their positions, as well as advances in racial issues on campus, such as the creation of Black Studies programs and the hiring of Black assistant coaches. Many of these events that were the cause of great controversy at the time have experienced shifts in how they are remembered. In my project, I return to these events to understand the ways the public reads and remembers these events, in some cases experiencing dramatic shifts. I am interested, specifically, in those colleges and universities that have “remembered” these civil rights moments with monuments on their campuses. This project hopes to take advantage of the recent efforts of these institutions and to document their recent actions and building efforts.

I seek to understand the ways that monuments are utilized by institutions of higher education to promote preferred versions of history in efforts to (re)frame their own roles in the civil rights movement. While universities get into the business of reconstructing history, sport historians move towards the deconstruction of these newly reconstructed events. While I am interested in the events that occurred over 40 years ago, I am less interested in reconstructing these histories and more concerned with deconstructing the ways the events have been reconstructed and constructed by contemporary educational institutions. These statue projects
reveal the roles of forgetting and remembering in the process of reconstruction.

In this short paper, I provide an overview of the colleges and universities that have participated in this 21st-century monument building trend, and which illustrate a number of themes, including the local university, the University of California Berkeley.

**Ronald A. Smith, Penn State University, “General Robert Neyland, a Football Slush Fund, and a Tennessee Cover-Up”**

An attempted cover-up by athletic officials and higher administrators of alleged child molestations by a Penn State University football coach in 2011 is not a new phenomenon. The cover-up by athletic departments of illegal activities has been going on for over a century. Many undiscovered illegal athletic activities are likely a common occurrence, especially where athletic advantage can be gained with illegal activities. This paper has to do with a successful cover-up of one of America’s most honored football coaches of the twentieth century, General Robert Neyland of the University of Tennessee. While many cover-ups are eventually uncovered, Coach Neyland’s gaining advantage through payment of athletes through a fund he controlled has remained silent for a half century.

Nearly all scandals in American college sport dating back to the nineteenth century have resulted from one of two conditions: A school or team has attempted to unbalance the playing field by illegally recruiting and providing benefits to athletes or by breaking the law or violating moral and ethical standards. For instance, the University of Iowa was banned from the Big Ten in 1930 for illegal payments to its players. Two decades later, a number of athletes were involved in breaking the law in the 1951 point-shaving scandals in basketball. Both of these violations were uncovered and institutions and individuals were punished. However, in the mid-1950s, probably the best known football coach and then athletic director in the South, Brigadier General Robert Neyland, was known by University of Tennessee officials to possess a slush fund for football for many years, but the president and his closest advisors covered up violations of the rules of the Southeastern Conference and National Collegiate Athletic Association.

The hidden Neyland Scandal would likely still be covered up had it not been for President Cloide Brehm’s decision to record an administration advisor meeting and produce a 17-page typescript. The transcript, found in the University of Tennessee Archives, reveals that “slush funds” had existed at Tennessee dating back to the 1920s. Bob Neyland, after graduating from the West Point Military Academy, had fought Pancho Villa on the Mexican border and spent time on the Western Front in World War I before working
with Douglas MacArthur when he was commandant at West Point. Neyland had previously starred at West Point in football (playing with Dwight D. Eisenhower) and baseball, and was the heavyweight boxing champion at West Point. He became head football coach at Tennessee in 1926 and had a 173 win, 31 loss, and 12 tie record through his final season in 1952 with two timeouts from coaching for military duty, the last one as a general in Asia in the war against Japan. Upon retiring as football coach, he became athletic director.

President Brehm knew that the famed football coach, like Joe Paterno at Penn State a generation later, had more power and influence with the Tennessee Board of Trustees than the president did. “I am not sure that you can get rid of [Neyland’s] ‘slush fund,’” he told the other six Tennessee administrators. One administrator responded: “I don’t want to be responsible if and when the Southern Association Accrediting Agency moves into this thing.” Another said: “How long do we want to continue to condone these illegitimate practices?” Brehm noted: “I have kept quiet and have tried to be adroit.” But he concluded that if the Trustees found out we are protesting Bob Neyland, “they may cut my throat.” The Trustees, he said, are only “concerned that the University have a good football team.”

The result of the two-hour meeting that included the next Tennessee president, Andy Holt, was that the university administration would do nothing. They would, however, wait for Bob Neyland to die, which he did in 1962. The cover-up succeeded. General Neyland would be honored with Tennessee’s 100,000-seat stadium named after him, an academic scholarship fund in his name, and a nine-foot bronze statue dedicated at the stadium in 2010. Andy Holt, involved in the cover-up, became president in 1959, and later had the Andy Holt Tower, Andy Holt Apartments, Andy Holt Scholarship Fund, and Andy Holt Avenue named for him. The honors remain. The paper will show that cover-ups in college sport have a long history, and several other cover-ups will be integrated into the presentation.


One of the co-founders of the Paralympic Games was Ludwig Guttmann, who after 1933 fled the Nazi regime and emigrated to London, England, where he basically continued to practice as a conservative neurologist. However, the impact of refuge and exile on his clinical research program strongly reflects an emigration-dependent process of professional change from being a trained neurosurgeon to becoming a fervent
neurological clinician. As is well known, Sir Ludwig developed into a widely renowned rehabilitation specialist for the paraplegic and became a “father” of the Paralympic sports movement in his later career—starting with the “hospital games” at Stoke Mandeville. In fact, his research program later reintegrated aspects from early rehabilitation and sports as a reflection of the underlying assumption of neuronal adaptation and brain plasticity. But this was far from obvious in the beginning.

Guttmann is a good example for an analysis of the cultural impact of work norms on scientific development—here in an outstanding physician and rehabilitation specialist. Conventional research trends have neglected the complex cultural modes, scientific interactions, and evolutionary patterns associated with the historical process of forced migration. The aims of this paper therefore are: first, to introduce the general research topic of forced-migration in the neurosciences; second, to map the non-linear biographical development in Sir Ludwig’s amazing career; and third, to flesh out a perspective that challenges the well-held belief of many science managers, politicians and even some historians of science who champion a linear “brain gain” theory of emigration-induced change in the post-war (neuro-) sciences in the United Kingdom, United States or Canada. This paper draws on archival work in the archives of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in London as well as on interviews and talks with Canadian and Israeli colleagues of Guttmann.

Jennifer Sterling, University of Maryland, “Exhibiting Sport Art: Physical Culture(s) and Active Physicalities on Display”

Defined as art with sport as its subject matter—including but not limited to the athletic body, sporting celebrity, leisure or competitive sporting pastimes and practices, or sporting spaces—sport art is crafted as a specific genre through its collection, inclusion, and exhibition in sport museums, art museums and galleries, and in particular, sport art museums.

Opening its doors in 2011, the National Sporting Art Museum in Middleburg, Virginia became the fourth dedicated sport art museum in the United States alongside of the Art of the Olympians (Fort Myers, FL; 2010), American Sport Art Museum and Archives (Daphne, AL; 1984), and the National Art Museum of Sport (Indianapolis, IN; 1959). With a focus that “preserves the performance and movement of man [sic] by creating an awareness of the role art mediums play in capturing our sports heroes and perpetuating their performances for posterity” (American Sport Art Museum and Archive, 2011), sport art museums often feature representational, documentary and commemorative art, and the work of sport artists (e.g. artists with a focus on sport-related subjects, or athlete-artists). Exhibitions
organized outside of sport-centric institutions or events, on the other hand, often feature art that embodies sport as part of an artist’s wider oeuvre, is indicative of a specific art movement, or focuses on a concern with, or critique of, the relationship between sport and society (e.g. *Mixed Signals, You’re Such a Good Sport*).

Often expressed through a rhetoric of surprise at the pairing of sport and art, and the utility of the two in bridging opposing cultures (and their consumers), sport art exhibitions have been on the rise despite scaled back public funding and a lean economy. Generated from an ongoing review of sport art and its exhibition, this paper introduces emergent themes regarding the purpose of sport art displays (e.g., promotional, event-related, philanthropic) and examines the role of exhibitions in preserving, critiquing and producing sport histories. In particular, this paper compares the role of the four US sport art museums with temporary exhibitions such as *Mixed Signals* by unpacking the complexities of curating and constructing exhibitions and the process of promoting particular versions of physical culture(s) and active physicalities. Finally, the paper explores the methods and material available for researching exhibitions, the role of the digital in archiving and research, and the possibilities of sport art exhibitions as sites, sources and expressive opportunities for scholars of sport history.

**Tyran Kai Steward, Ohio State University, “Black and Blue: Willis Ward, Gerald Ford, and the 1934 Michigan-Georgia Tech Football Game”**

On October 20, 1934, Willis Ward, an African-American football player at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and the roommate of future U.S. President Gerald Ford, was benched in a game against Georgia Tech because of his race. In keeping with the segregationist dictates of the South, Georgia Tech had a “Jim Crow” clause which prohibited its all-white squads from competing against teams that featured black players. Georgia Tech, however, did not act alone in forcing Ward to the sideline; the University of Michigan was also complicit. Led by famed Athletic Director Fielding Yost, the University deliberately scheduled the game a year in advance despite knowing Tech’s position on the race issue. Thus, Ward’s benching was also a part of Michigan’s own Jim Crow tradition.

A significant body of scholarship has examined the history of Jim Crow in the South. This paper, in contrast, provides an opportunity to examine Jim Crow’s existence in the North through the interplay of race and sport. Specifically, this study depicts the racialized social order maintained by the University of Michigan during the interwar period of the 20th century by focusing on the role that Fielding Yost and the University of Michigan played
in denying African Americans opportunities to participate in sports. Studying Jim Crow through the lens of sport is beneficial since athletics have been characterized historically as avenues of both racial integration and social mobility. The Ward incident, however, complicates that history and demonstrates how societal racial barriers were reconstructed in collegiate athletics.

The previously unstudied history of Ward and other black athletes at Michigan yields significant insights regarding Northern race relations. First, the efforts to prevent black athletes from fulfilling their athletic quests expose how Michigan and other Northern institutions maintained separate and unequal practices without the same legal underpinnings that existed in Southern states. Second, the opposition that black athletes faced reveals how Michigan actively engaged in constructing racial blockades that constrained African-American performance and compelled these players to exceed the standard athletic expectations in order to earn spots on Michigan’s teams. Third, the racism black athletes met on the court and gridiron mirrors the racial prejudice they and other African Americans experienced in their interactions on campus, in the community, and throughout the country.

The questions and topics analyzed in this paper consider several issues. The paper probes the impact of sports on American culture and values. It examines the role that institutions played during the early twentieth century in shaping American race relations. And it contributes to the analysis of the racialized terror black athletes endured in the North as they were randomly subjected to benching and brutality.

**Duncan Stone, University of Huddersfield, “Deconstructing the Gentleman Amateur”**

The concept of the Gentleman Amateur remains an important aspect of upper-class Victorian and Edwardian male identity. However, what did each part of this construct, so closely associated with sport, represent and mean? Despite the vast amount of academic research devoted to the study of amateurism, the origins of this social construct—and amateurism itself—remain vague.

This ‘deconstruction’ forms a small part of an examination into how an ‘upper-class’ form of amateurism was derived from the cricket and political elites who influenced the establishment of the strictly non-competitive Club Cricket Conference (CCC) in 1915. The Conference was highly influential in club cricket throughout the South of England and this research aims to develop a greater understanding of amateurism and the far-reaching social and cultural consequences that arose from its practice.
The historiography indicates that amateurism in sport has been understood in two ways: either as an expression of Victorian manliness or ‘Muscular Christianity’, or alternatively as an arena in which the hegemonic imposition of bourgeois values and social segregation occurred. Despite often entrenched and fiercely defended positions, both schools of thought have treated the concept of amateurism (despite its inherent ambiguities) as if it had arrived fully formed. Although ‘the Gentleman’ and ‘the Amateur’ have different philosophical foundations, the evidence suggests that these titles (both individually and as a construct), were manipulated in such a way that they became ideological methods of social distinction and division.

Before any such claims may be made, this paper will discuss the founders of the Club Cricketers’ Charity Fund and its offspring the CCC; highlight who these ‘Gentlemen Amateurs’ were and why they felt the need to create an ‘upper-class’ version of amateurism in club cricket at this time. The paper will then briefly discuss the public schools, the development of sport and the importance of each in forming the character of the ‘English Gentleman’, before then deconstructing the philosophical origins of the ‘Gentleman’ and the ‘Amateur’, with reference to contemporaneous developments elsewhere in Victorian society.

It will be argued that by deconstructing the social, cultural and philosophical origins of the ‘Gentleman Amateur’ we are better placed to understand each half of this construct, their utility to those who employed them, and indeed amateurism itself.

**Chris Stride and Ffion Thomas, University of Sheffield, “The Seven Statues of Jackie Robinson”**

Jackie Robinson is honoured by seven different statues sited across North America, making him the baseball player most frequently depicted in this way. Whilst this proliferation of Robinson monuments is unsurprising given his unique position, his multi-faceted influence presents a dilemma to sculptors and commissioners: which parts of his life should be portrayed, are his sporting or wider achievements to be prioritised, is he victim or victor? This paper investigates how these monuments attempt to define Robinson’s legacy on and off the field, through an inspection of statue designs and locations, their connections to specific moments in Robinson’s life, and comparisons with the wider baseball statuary.

The common design typology of the Robinson statues reflects the paradox that discrimination both initially denied him the opportunity to fulfill his sporting talents yet presented the opportunity to make such a profound and positive impact upon wider society. In every statue he is depicted dressed as a ball player, yet only one of seven displays him playing the
game; in contrast, of the 140 statues of baseball players across the US, two-thirds portray playing action. Plinths and plaque inscriptions give almost no coverage to his stellar on-field achievements and career statistics, consisting of either epithets such as ‘courage’ and ‘character’, or historical discourse focused upon his status as the first player to break the Major League colour bar.

The location of Robinson’s statues betrays a further contradiction; whilst primarily celebrating his part in defeating racism in baseball, they are located in cities where he was immediately welcomed or where society quickly embraced him. For example, the Robinson-Reese statue at Coney Island portrays ‘bravery and comradeship’ in the face of racist abuse that actually took place 500 miles to the west at Cincinnati’s Crosley Field. The plinth inscription that accompanies his statue at Daytona Beach, where Robinson played his first training game for the Dodgers organization, proclaims: ‘The Daytona Beach community is proud to have hosted that legendary game and spring training, both of which are viewed as milestones in the history of sports and civil rights’.

We conclude that the Robinson statues are largely homogenous in terms of their focus. First, in the context of their locations they are ‘tolerance branding’, celebrating an acceptance that already existed as much as Robinson’s part in the triumph over wider intolerance. Second, when acknowledging that triumph and his status as ‘the first’, they collectively marginalise the conduit between these historical reference points, namely Robinson’s ability as a baseball player and perhaps more uncomfortably, the degree of worth placed upon sporting achievement by society. To quote teammate Duke Snider: ‘He knew he had to do well. He knew that the future of blacks in baseball depended on it’. And the Reverend Jesse Jackson: ‘He was a therapist for the masses by succeeding, by doing it with such style, flair and drama. He helped level baseball off, to make it truly a game for black and white, with excellence the only test for success’.

Daniel Yu-Kuei Sun, University of Iowa, “Taiwanese Women Immigrants’ Sports Participation in America”

Nancy Struna (1984) and Patricia Vertinsky (1994) both point out that it was very important to add the perspectives of the non-mainstream—women of working class, women of minorities, and women of immigrant groups—to women’s sport history. Only in this way could the mainstream feminist definitions of feminism be transformed to more inclusive and comprehensive viewpoints. This paper will focus on Taiwanese women’s sports experience in the United States to echo Struna and Vertinsky’s calling. There have been increasing numbers of Taiwanese immigrants in the United
States since 1965 when the Immigration and Nationality Act removed the immigration restrictions applied to Asians. The early Taiwanese who came to the US before the 1970s were mostly highly educated, middle-class, male graduate students, but these characteristics gradually changed in the mid-1970s as more women and people of other professions came to the U.S. In 2010, as many as 230,382 people identified themselves as Taiwanese in the United States. Limited research has been done on this distinct ethnic group, and previous scholarly research usually lumped together Taiwanese and Chinese-American populations. This paper seeks to 1) contextualize this group’s specific migrating experience which separates them from Chinese Americans and Chinese immigrants; and 2) examine Taiwanese and Taiwanese-American women’s sports experiences. What does it mean to be a Taiwanese woman in the United States? What are the preferred—and contested—gender relations among Taiwanese Americans? How do they, both males and females, perceive their bodies and the understandings of masculinity and femininity? How do such perceptions affect, relate to, or intertwine with their sports and/or physical activity experiences? Do Taiwanese women appropriate sport and physical activities as a means of negotiating or challenging traditional gender roles in Taiwanese culture? Are Confucian values still dominant among Taiwanese immigrants in the United States? After examining the online forums, organizational newsletters, books, newspaper columns, and other materials from the 1980s to the contemporary era, the findings suggest that sports experiences among Taiwanese/Taiwanese-American women are still limited or lacking. There does not seem to be a sporting female role model for Taiwanese women to identify with. This, however, could change in the future thanks to Tseng Yani, the top-ranked LPGA golfer in 2011 who is Taiwanese and resides in the United States.

Daniel Taradash, University of Iowa, and MacIntosh Ross, University of Western Ontario, “The Historiographic Marginalization of ‘Smokin’ Joe Frazier”

When ‘Smokin’ Joe Frazier succumbed to liver cancer on November 8, 2011, he left a remarkable resume of athletic achievements. He won the heavyweight gold medal in boxing at the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo, Japan. He won the professional heavyweight championship of the world by knocking out Jimmy Ellis in 1970. He participated in arguably the greatest trilogy of boxing matches in the sport’s history, taking on Muhammad Ali in 1971, 1974 and 1975. Yet, aside from an autobiography, there are virtually no histories of Frazier written to date, with popular and scholarly authors alike choosing to focus on Frazier’s rival, Muhammad Ali. Ali’s graceful boxing
style, bombastic, in-your-face personality, and radical political agenda are the topic of numerous books, films and articles, while Frazier is referenced almost exclusively in the context of Muhammad Ali, their trilogy and Ali’s legacy.

As suggested in the documentary film *Thrilla in Manilla* (2008), Ali is anchored in society’s understanding of boxing as a more talented and historically important boxer than Joe Frazier. What many people do not realize is that much of what the public reads or hears about Frazier was constructed by Ali, leading up to their third fight in 1975. It was Ali who labeled Frazier ‘Gorilla’ and ‘Uncle Tom,’ suggesting that ‘Smokin’ Joe was less ‘black’ than himself. According to Ali, Frazier—who was backed by numerous white businessmen—sold out to white America, turning his back on his own race. Nothing could be further from the truth, but Ali’s repetition of such ideas inevitably trickled into the press, where they were discussed, repeated and assessed by journalists.

The purpose of this research is to examine contemporary accounts of Joe Frazier in popular publications such as *Sports Illustrated*, *Ring Magazine*, *Life Magazine* and *Ebony*, to explore the extent to which Ali’s comments on Frazier were disseminated throughout the press and to what degree journalists reinforced or contradicted Ali’s views. We will compare and contrast accounts by African-American publications and mainstream publications, as well as boxing-specific magazines and more general sporting journalism, to identify consensus and debate concerning Frazier. In doing so, we hope to identify some of the factors leading to the marginalization of Frazier in the historiography of sport, revealing possibilities for future studies of Joe Frazier and his times.

Sarah Teetzel, University of Manitoba, “The Olympic Age Rule: Paternalistic and Ageist Considerations”

This paper argues that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has been complicit in condoning and perpetuating discrimination based on age throughout the modern Olympic Games despite the public perception that age restrictions do not exist. Through an examination of the revisions to the *Olympic Charter*, this paper traces the historical development of Rule 43, also known as the ‘age rule’. From the first appearance of the age rule in the French text of the 1924 *Olympic Charter* until 1977, the rule stipulated that participation in the Olympic Games was not restricted to anyone based on age alone. However, arguments from João Havelange and Willi Daume prompted the IOC to adopt a clause in 1978 that allowed International Federations to set and enforce age limits if the IOC accepted the proposed restrictions. Frequent modifications to this rule throughout the late 1970s
and early 1980s enabled International Federations to cite health reasons as justifications for age limits for competitors. Although the Athletes Commission supported the inclusion of health-based lower age restrictions, the requirement that health reasons must justify age rules was abandoned in 2003. With this most recent revision, age restrictions are only acceptable if imposed by an International Federation with the approval of the IOC Executive Board.

The minutes of the IOC Sessions and IOC Executive Board meetings used in this paper reveal the contentious nature of these changes to the age rules. The consequences of these rules have led to inconsistent minimum age limits across Olympic disciplines, which can seem arbitrary, unfair to talented young athletes, and ineffective in functioning as protective factors. Similarly, the paternalistic and ageist arguments used to impose upper age limits in specific events can be seen as violating athletes’ autonomy to decide for themselves when they should retire and stop competing. Through an analysis of past stances of the IOC toward age as a component of Olympic eligibility, this paper demonstrates that upper age limits cannot be justified using the same paternalistic reasoning and arguments used for minimum age limits that protect the health of young athletes. This paper seeks to understand how the IOC has historically used age restrictions unjustly to prohibit athletes from competing at the Olympic Games.

Dain TePoel, Ohio State University, “A Knit Cap and Knack for Social Change: Mary Garber’s Coverage of Black Sports in the Segregated South, 1944-1964”

Mary Garber (1916-2008) was an American sportswriter and pioneer among sport journalists. She received numerous prestigious awards during a career that spanned seven decades, but limited historical treatises examine this influential figure. In general, there is a dearth of research on sport journalism. Few scholars have attempted to understand the history of women in this male-dominated field, or the sociocultural forces and obstacles that contextualize and hinder their contributions.

Sport sociologists and communication scholars have conducted several content analyses scrutinizing the amount and quality of coverage of female athletes, but a paucity of literature considers the experiences of the producers of sport media. The historical lens of these studies has typically been situated post-1960s as authors neglect to analyze the content and writing of women sport journalists from the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth century. Recent works investigate the prominence of women as marginalized sideline reporters during the 1990s and 2000s, but these
inquiries suffer from a lack of historical perspective. Sport historians have essentially ignored the subject.

In this paper, I address the gap in research that disregards sport as practiced, managed or communicated by women by focusing on legendary sportswriter Mary Garber and the meanings engendered through her coverage of black high school and collegiate athletics in the *Winston-Salem Journal Sentinel* of North Carolina during the 1940s through early 1960s. My research is not intended to offer a compensatory historical narrative of an exceptional woman, but rather, I strive to create a discourse advancing solutions and methods to eradicate the gender inequity of women in sport journalism. In contrast with representations of women in mainstream sport media presently, I argue that Garber made meaning, addressed important social concerns and replaced what is commonly produced in sport media with fair and accurate representations of the population she covered.

The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (TIDES) recently published the third edition of the Associated Press Sports Editors (APSE) Racial and Gender Report Card. For the second consecutive report, the APSE received an “F” for gender hiring practices. In 2010, only six percent of newspaper sports editors were women. Based on the 2011 TIDES report, studies aimed at generating equality in numbers still have extreme validity. Much more research is warranted, however, on the ability women have to change the atmosphere and environment of male-hegemonic sport domains through their work—rather than mere presence—in sport media outlets. It is important to understand the history to grasp the significance of the TIDES results.

**Holly Thorpe, University of Waikato, and Rebecca Olive, University of Queensland, “A Multi-generational Dialogue on Feminist Sports History”**

In this paper we enter into a dialogue with feminist sports historians from the past, present and future about some of the political, theoretical, methodological and representational issues experienced by scholars from different social and temporal contexts. This discussion consists of two main parts. We begin by contextualizing our dialogue within developments in women’s and gender history more broadly. Following this, we weave together some of our own reflections with literature and comments from a selection of female sport historians from different generations and contexts, to discuss developments and debates about feminist approaches to history, and to expose old and new challenges facing feminist and female sport historians. Structuring this discussion, we broadly conceive feminist sports historians as consisting of (at least) three ‘generations’. Representing the
first generation of feminist female sport historians, we include the voices of Patricia Vertinsky, Susan Cahn, and Catriona Parratt. Speaking on behalf of second-generation feminist sport historians, we feature comments from Tara Magdalinski and Jaime Shultz. Finally, representing the third generation of feminist sport historians we have ourselves, Holly Thorpe and Rebecca Olive, as well as Megan Popovic. As this paper illustrates, the experiences of, and theoretical and methodological approaches employed by our ‘cast’ are dynamic and constantly evolving in different historical, scholarly and socio-cultural contexts. Despite the variation within generations, there are also interesting distinctions between the opinions expressed by feminist sport historians across these three generations, helping us to explore the development and value of feminist approaches over time.

**Terry Todd, University of Texas at Austin, “O! 'Tis excellent to have a giant’s strength”**

The aspiration behind these lines from Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure* is as relevant today as it was three centuries ago . . . perhaps even more so. What young man—or, increasingly, what young woman—wouldn’t want to have greater strength? More and more sports such as American football, basketball, volleyball, tennis, baseball, and softball are being dominated by athletes who are stronger or larger or both than the top competitors in those respective sports 50 or 100 years ago. A hundred or even 50 years ago young men were aware in a general sense of the advantages of strength but most of them subscribed to the time-honored belief that size and strength were primarily inherited—as opposed to acquired—traits. Now, however, because of the increasing awareness over the last half-century that an athlete who trains diligently with weights and consumes enough food can make huge gains in power and—if not in height—at least in weight and functional muscle mass.

However, what of the giants among us over the years on whom nature conferred the sometimes mixed blessing of truly unusual body size? What of people like Goliath of Gath, whose reported nine cubits and a span would have made him over nine feet tall; the Emperor Maximinus, who at a reputed 8’6” could rule his people literally as well as figuratively; Angus MacAskill, the Cape Breton Giant who in the mid-19th century was perhaps the strongest man in the world as well as the largest at 7’9” and 475 pounds; the 7’, 500-pound professional wrestler Andre the Giant who could easily lift cars; or Alexander Karelin, Siberia’s seemingly unbeatable strongman who dominated Greco-Roman wrestling for more than a decade like no man before him? Most of these men, almost certainly, grew to have “a giant’s strength” and size because they were acromegalic, i.e., their
pituitary glands produced so much Human Growth Hormone that it caused them to increase in height while retaining the basic bodily proportions inherited from their ancestors. Only the last of these men—the USSR’s 6’3”, 300 pound Karelin, who won three Olympic Games—could possibly have gained his height and bone/muscle structure at least in part from exogenous HGH as HGH would have been available to Soviet Sports Medicine either from cadavers or from biomedical technology using recombinant DNA; the other men did not live at a time in which either cadaver-derived or laboratory-created HGH was available. Reports from the world of endocrinology will also inform the paper, the overall purpose of which is to examine the lives of a number of history’s acromegalic giants (e.g., Angus MccAskill, Andre Rousimoff, Primo Carnera, David Prowse, Louie Kelcher, Uljana Semjonova, Alexander Karelin, and Yao Ming), and to speculate about the implications of a future in which we see more and more manufactured mega-men and wonder-women in the world of sports.

Bethany-Marie Tovell, University of Windsor, “Closing the Book on Vancouver: Aristotelian Narratives and the Inclusion of Music in the Olympic Closing Ceremony”

The primary objective of this research endeavour was to examine how the closing ceremony of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games adhered to Aristotelian narrative tenets and classic dramatic storytelling principles. Additionally, this study explores how the Executive Director, David Atkins, employed music as a production strategy to fuel the artist-centric script. This research project helps narrow a pre-existing gap within the current Olympic historiography in relation to the spectacle and narrative of the closing ceremonies. Extending my previous research on the narrative of Vancouver’s opening ceremony, analyzing the closing ceremony was a necessary continuation to complete the storyline.

Unique to the closing ceremony is the use of satirical humour, which helped create a strong sense of Canadian pride and nationalism. Using a content analysis as the research methodology, the structure of the closing ceremonies has been examined through video footage provided by CTV Television Network’s XXI Olympic Winter Games 5-Disc DVD Box Set. Furthermore, a thorough appraisal of interviews, media and documentary sources, which includes collections from the International Olympic Committee archives, was undertaken for data collection. David Atkins insights with regards to the organizing of events, music and segments within the closing ceremonies were most important in determining the sequence of the story.
The paper argues that the closing ceremony of the 2010 Vancouver Games followed the ideal narratives as described in Aristotle’s *Poetics*. The beginning of the closing ceremony recommences from the last scene of the opening ceremony. In the 18-day intermission between the ceremonies, actors are transformed into protagonists who drive the plot and overcome obstacles that threaten the achievement of a single salient goal—the successful completion of Vancouver Olympic Games. Together, the closing ceremony complements the opening ceremony as both are needed to create a storyline as read in a book from beginning to end. In addition, the inclusion of music enhanced the viewers’ sense of participation in the journey and depicted the actor’s humanness as well as heroism, thereby facilitating audience identification with the event. David Atkins’ closing ceremony is a celebration of Canadian humour, talent, and innovation, showcased through interwoven theatrical and musical segments, which showcase Canada on an international stage.

**Stephen Townsend and Gary Osmond, University of Queensland, “Sport History on Wikipedia: An Australian Evaluation”**

Attitudes to Wikipedia moved from derision to grudging critique following the 2005 publication in *Nature* of a favorable comparative analysis of science articles in Wikipedia and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. While historians, generally speaking, have begun to grapple with Wikipedia and its implications for history making, sport historians have been more reticent. This paper constitutes the first concerted empirical effort to investigate the representation of Australian sportspeople in the English-language version of Wikipedia. The overarching question is: how does Wikipedia’s sheer bulk and open-source operational approach influence its coverage of Australian sport histories and how does Wikipedia acquit itself when compared to authoritative, printed encyclopedia?

Employing the esteemed *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB) and *Oxford Companion to Australian Sport* (OCAS) as ‘gold-standard’ comparative tools, this paper offers a macro-analysis of Australian sport history representations on Wikipedia as well as a micro-analysis of the treatment of one Australian sporting identity. The macro-analysis is twofold and contains a broad-scale investigation of all Australian sport biographies in Wikipedia (8,016 in total) and a detailed analysis of a smaller study group comprising entries common to all three sources (115). The first part of the macro-analysis is unique, organizing and analyzing information expressly provided for this research project by Wikimedia Australia. Examination of both this data and that of the smaller study group is geared toward uncovering trends affecting the representativeness of gender, generations
and particular sports within Wikipedia. Understanding these trends also requires understanding Wikipedian communities of practice and their impact on the production of knowledge, which will also be addressed. The micro-analysis involves an investigation of an individual Australian sport biography, that of swimmer Annette Kellerman, to develop a qualitative gauge of Wikipedia’s factual accuracy, comprehensiveness, and literary quality. Based on these analyses, the paper argues that Wikipedia acquits itself well against the more traditional sources and, while not without flaws and limitations, can represent a legitimate information source for sport history.

Bob Trumpbour, Penn State University, Altoona, “The Astrodome: Public Perception, and Civic Pride, and the Evolution of the Stadium in America”

When plans for what later became known as the Astrodome were under development, Houston was perceived as a low-tech, backwater town that may have been incapable of achieving great things. This paper will explore the role that the Astrodome played in the evolution of Houston’s public image as well as the role that the Astrodome played in the larger issue of stadium and ballpark construction in the United States. This project explores how the Astrodome was a key factor in changing how Houston was perceived nationally and how the Astrodome changed the nature of sport spectatorship in clear and compelling ways. The rise of commercial sport has created a spectator hierarchy that involves modern fans in debates over seat licenses, luxury suites, and an array of concession amenities, among other stadium-related issues. This research will explore the role that the Astrodome played in that process. This work offers a stark contrast to the spectators’ role in the much more Spartan ballparks of an earlier era, and will offer information that suggests that the Astrodome, though now out of use, provided a fundamental model, predicated on luxury, that many sports entrepreneurs hoped to emulate. In a variety of ways, the Astrodome inspired an environment that, for better or worse, served to shape the evolution of the construction of the present day billion-dollar mega-stadium in profound and significant ways. This research contextualizes the significance of the Astrodome’s construction as a site of civic pride and, more importantly, as a most important structure in shaping the direction and evolution of sports architecture.

Jeremy Tynedal, University of Calgary, “Disabled Bodies, Normative Concepts and the Emergence of Functional Enhancement Views in
Public Perceptions of the Paralympic Movement: A Longitudinal Study of the New York Times Newspaper, 1930-2010"

Athletes with and without disabilities, officials, spectators, sponsors and governments have certain expectations in regards to sport. Different stakeholders have different expectations from sport organizations. Advances in science and technology product and processes are one dynamic that influence expectations of sport and sport organizations. Social and moral behaviours evolved over time and changing social concepts and values are one area that affects the uptake of performance enhancements and vice versa. A major research question of this project is to analyse the performance enhancement discourse through an ableism and transhumanism lens: One of the most controversial areas in sport is science-and technology-enabled performance enhancement of athletes. The public’s knowledge about and attitudes toward persons with disabilities including Paralympic athletes are among others constructed and influenced by the mass media. The New York Times (NYT) is one such media source. A frequency and content analysis was conducted of the NYT to investigate historical and contemporary media constructions and discourses surrounding the Paralympics. The NYT was searched for articles covering the Paralympics from the ProQuest database for articles from 1851-2006 and the latest East Coast Edition (1980-2011); 217 documents were obtained. It was found that the Paralympics were underrepresented in comparison to the Olympics. Media language covering the Paralympics often stereotyped and marginalized athletes with disabilities whether through deficiency language or through the superscript image. The outcome envisioned is that knowledge generated from this research could assist policy makers and participants in sport and sport education to put forward a vision for sport and sport education that increases the numbers and quality of participation in performance and recreation sport and sport education for people with and without disabilities.

Cathy van Ingen, Brock University, “‘She’d Punch a Hole Right Through You’: Gender Politics and Canada’s Illegal Female Boxer(s)”

In Canada, numerous provincial regulations and federal laws prohibited public boxing matches for women. In 1991, the Canadian Amateur Boxing Association relented under the threat of a lawsuit and permitted its first women’s bout, making Canada the first country in North America and one of the first in the world to sanction amateur boxing for women. Yet there remains scant regard in boxing histories for pugilists who, because of conventional understandings of gender, were never allowed to compete in
officially sanctioned bouts or granted membership in recognized boxing associations.

This paper examines the struggles of a gender variant boxer, Suzanne Hotchkiss, who fought unsuccessfully to gain entry into the ring more than a decade before it was legal to do so. Hotchkiss’s story is ignored in the usual hierarchy of boxing histories, which employ discourses of masculinity and capture the drama, sensuality, and brutality of the ring and its craftsmen. Engaging in what Foucault calls ‘subjugated knowledges’ this presentation seeks to foreground histories that have been disqualified from boxing narratives. In other words, it considers the ways that we know what we know about women’s boxing history and how it is possible to think differently about its past and present. The inclusion of trans identities, subjectivities and activism not only challenges the ‘unifying’ category of female boxer but also calls for deeper analysis within contemporary sport histories.

This paper draws on considerable documentary sources including newspapers, government reports, correspondence, photographs as well as oral histories to explore the textured layers of gender and sexuality in Canadian boxing. Oral histories, in particular, are an essential method for researching traditionally disempowered groups whose voices and perspectives show up least in written records. Moreover, oral histories can aid in the resurrection of subjugated knowledges that reveal the ways in which boxing histories are produced by a power/knowledge apparatus, one which applies norms, controls, exclusions, and renders some histories privileged and others confined to the margins.

Nicolien van Luijk, University of British Columbia, “United Nations, Sport, and the Olympics: A Partnership for Peace and Development?”

This paper will present a much-needed overview and critical examination of the United Nation’s (UN) use of sport throughout its 65-year history. While sport is something the UN has engaged in at different times, it was not until the 1990’s that the view of sport as a tool to aid peace and development really began to garner momentum. In 1993 (and every Olympic year since) the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution, entitled ‘Building a peaceful and better world through sport and the Olympic ideal’ designed to urge countries to observe the ‘Olympic Truce’ (UN, n.d.). Since then a growing partnership between the UN and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and Olympic Movement has been evident. In 2009, the IOC gained permanent observer status at the UN general assemblies; they are one of only two NGOs to have achieved this feat (Peacock, 2011). The purpose of this paper is two-fold, firstly to present a historical overview of the role of sport in UN organizing. Secondly, to
engage in a critical analysis of the partnership between the IOC and the UN by unpacking both of their histories. This paper utilizes current academic literature and engages in a document analysis to assist in answering these research questions: How has sport been utilized in the UN’s history? What role has the IOC played in this history? What are the potential impacts with the IOC’s involvement in achieving global peace and development goals? While there are many academic researchers who have critiqued the role of the IOC and the Olympic Movement on issues of human rights (Lenskyj, 2002, 2004, 2008; Roche, 2002; Young and Wamsley, 2005), the UN is adopting an uncritical approach, and is unabashedly promoting and utilizing the IOC to assist in alleviating world poverty (Beutler, 2008). The findings of this paper suggest that we need to continue to question the IOC’s role in the UN, also to question the reasons behind this partnership. The IOC has a history of ignoring and arguably taking part in human rights abuses, particularly in hosting the Olympic Games mega event. Should this organization to be considered an ‘expert’ in achieving UN humanitarian goals?

Stephanie van Veen, University of British Columbia, “The International Skating Union and the Disciplining of Ice Dancers’ Movement Practices”

In 1897 the International Skating Union (ISU) adopted the first formal rules for competition and defined an “international” skating style that all member federations were encouraged to adopt: “The body will not bend at the hips but will not be stiff. The free leg will be held behind the skating leg and bent slightly at the knee but not far away. The arms will not swing but may be used to assist in movement” (Hines, 2006, 87). This style became the judging criteria for international competitions sanctioned by the ISU and started a long history whereby the ISU strictly controlled the techniques, styles and movement practices performed by figure skaters and the ways in which they were and still are evaluated.

For example, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, ice dancers started to perform more theatrical and gender bending performances. The famous British team of Jane Torvill and Christopher Dean, along with their later pupils Isabelle and Paul Duchesnay of France were largely responsible for this change in ice dancing style, described as totally abandoning gender binarism in their movements and portrayals within their programs (Kestnbaum, 2003). This led to an ISU demand that ice dancers return to the ballroom approaches of the past and thus reemphasized more traditional gender representations.
Throughout ice dance history and more recently with the inception of the new Code of Points judging system in 2004 after a massive judging scandal at the 2002 Salt Lake City Olympics, ice dancers’ movement practices have drastically changed. Skaters’ movements have however remained traditionally gendered. The Code of Points judging system has continued to encourage hyper-feminine characteristics of flexibility, gracefulness and submission to the male partner in the case of pairs and ice dancing, where such characteristics have typically been awarded with top points.

In this paper I will critically examine the ISU rules and regulations that have influenced the movement practices and styles in ice dancing since its beginnings and the ways in which these regulations have disciplined the movement practices of ice dancers themselves. To trace these changes I will draw upon documentary evidence from the International Skating Union concerning rules, regulations and judging criteria.

More broadly this paper will examine how the movement practices of ice dancers have been strongly influenced by the social relations in which they are embedded, as well as the historical and cultural traditions of ice dance, and the rules and regulations of its governing bodies.

Maria J. Veri, San Francisco State University, “The Use and Representation of Athlete Endorsers in Food Industry Print Advertisements”

In this paper, I will discuss how the representation of athlete celebrity endorsers in print advertisements for food products influences the use, understanding, and cultural popularity of certain items or brands. Specifically, I will analyze and compare Progressive Era promotions of milk, early 20th century food advertising campaigns featuring celebrity athletes, and the contemporary Got Milk? series of print advertisements. At the turn of the twentieth century, the dairy industry and public health officials sought to promote milk consumption among Americans, especially men and European immigrants. One key to this promotional strategy was to frame milk in a more masculine light in print advertising campaigns and public service announcements, thus separating it from its female origins and feminine association as a beverage (Block, 2005). Through analysis of the gendered dimension of early dairy advertisements and other food advertisements of the same era that featured athletes, I will demonstrate how food companies and professional organizations benefitted from similar masculinizing cultural associations. Furthermore, I will compare the contemporary Got Milk? series of print advertisements featuring athletes to these Progressive Era ad campaigns in order to show how athlete endorsers
are used to promote the current goals of the dairy industry. Although the aims of the dairy industry have changed (Stamler, 2001; Wallenstein, 1995), I argue that the “milk mustache” athlete ads have had a similar cultural impact. My analysis of print ads and their influence on the use and cultural signification of food products is informed by theories on advertising ideology (Williamson, 1994) and work in the areas of food studies (i.e. Block, 2005; Quaila, 2007), sport studies (i.e. Burstyn, 1999; Cuneen & Spencer, 2003; Messner, 2007), and cultural studies (i.e. Hall, 2001). It is my hope that this interdisciplinary analysis contributes to the body of literature in sport history, food studies, and critical sport studies.

Patricia Vertinsky, University of British Columbia, “Ida Rubinstein: Decadence and the ‘Art of the Beautiful Pose’”

In In Praise of Athletic Beauty, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht stimulated an important debate around the promise of approaching history in the “aesthetic” mode, arguing for greater attention to theories of aesthetics and performance in which the body’s presence is central. He urged historical work on physical culture to place a sustained focus on aesthetics—especially expressive/aesthetic movement forms such as dance and the ways in which ideologies have been reproduced in body techniques and practices. In the leap from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, bodily practices were a potent barometer of cultural transition, but the dancing body, which in many respects had never been considered more than a distraction, became a particularly conspicuous participant in Europe’s social, cultural and political life. Dance culture was informed by vigorous debates about gender, nature and artifice and the meaning and procedures of staging human subjectivity. It provides a fertile ground for exploring the performance of gendered identities, physical culture and the active female body in the early years of twentieth-century Europe at a time when the meanings of femininity and masculinity were being redefined on many levels and the world of dance was becoming a site of contention about the nature of movement, performance and art.

My presentation will focus upon a study of the extraordinary life of Russian Jewish celebrated modern dancer Ida Rubinstein. Performing both on and off the stage of high society in the early 1900s, Rubenstein made her mark upon the international public, contributing to changing attitudes about women, art, and dance movement aesthetics. Heir to enormous wealth, her lengthy, innovative, flamboyant, extravagant and eccentric career as diva, dancer, choreographer, and producer in Russia and France is both fascinating and surprisingly little known. When Vicki Woolf wrote a biography of Rubinstein in 2000 she began with a 1960 obituary from Le Figaro: “Last
month Ida Rubinstein died in Vence. Her death was ignored by the whole world.” Not a hint in that announcement, Woolf says, of the “Jewess who overcame the endemic, fashionable anti-Semitism of her times to enchant and captivate the highest of societies” in Paris and St Petersburg in the early 20th century. Not a breath, she continues “that there lies a woman who entered the courts of Europe, who danced with Nijinsky, who commissioned Ravel’s Boléro and Debussy’s St Sebastian, whose audience was threatened with excommunication from the Catholic Church.” She had died a virtual recluse and her fortune had disappeared with her housekeeper.

Figures of female sexuality at the fin de siècle are frequently represented as both exotic and veiled—most popularly represented as Salomé, the dancing daughter of Herodias. One of the first feminist Salomés was Rubinstein, whose 1908 performance of the “dance of the seven veils” in her production of Oscar Wilde’s Salomé precipitated an outburst of Orientalism, anti-Semitism and misogyny. Tall, thin and exotically beautiful, Rubinstein came to incarnate what Peter Wollen calls “the phallic woman” of the Decadence…an icon of sexual inversion as well as an object of fascination for male homosexual artists.

Her performance of Salomé brought Rubinstein to the attention of Serge Diaghilev who included her in the first Paris season of the celebrated Ballet Russes, leading to other major successes in “gesturally expressive” and sexually daring roles. Actress Sarah Bernhardt and dramatist Gabriele D’Annunzio both supported her acting ambitions, while her admirer Léon Bakst dedicated his creative effort to designing her stunning costumes and stage scenery. Among her lovers, male and female, were artists Valentin Serov and Romaine Brookes who both painted her as a “long, thin, decadent, and melancholy” nude. Long time admirer Walter Guinness, member of the immensely wealthy Irish brewery family, set her up at the London Ritz during World War 2 when she fled the possibility of Nazi persecution in France. Ironically she had already converted to Catholicism in 1936 and he was killed in Cairo by the Jewish Stern Gang before war’s end.

Was it the luxury of extreme wealth that opened the doors to Rubinstein’s artistic fame? What roles if any did her Jewishness play in her career as dancer and producer? From where and from whom did she receive the inspiration and training that led to her artistic successes, especially in terms of the development of her approach to gesture and spectacle? And what was the relation of her work and art to modern dancers such as Isadora Duncan who was also taking Europe by storm with her new movement aesthetic and unconventional lifestyle?
Having captured the gold medal in both the 1920 and the 1924 Olympic marathon races, Finnish runners were favored to triumph at the 1928 edition, too. At least this was the dominant Finnish perception in the build-up to the Amsterdam games. Alas, the fleetest Finn finished the road race well behind athletes representing France and Chile, respectively. The victorious runner originated among the North African Berber people, an ethnic minority globally almost as insignificant as the Finnish people.

The Finnish response to the emergence of non-Western marathon men (among them a couple of fleet-footed Japanese) turns out to be rather ambiguous. Owing to renowned distance runners such as Hannes Kolehmainen and Paavo Nurmi, Finland had been a track and field athletics powerhouse since the 1912 Stockholm games. As a peripheral country with no pedigree in universally recognized sports, however, Finland had inevitably become an athletic “other.” The achievements of Finnish athletes had generated spurious speculation and pseudo-analyses ranging from racial beliefs to dietary peculiarities. Although the Finns had been accepted as bona fide members of the Olympic community (or what passed for such a largely imaginary family), the process of “othering” had by no means dissipated by the late 1920s.

Based on contemporary published sources, my paper suggests that the totally unexpected results of the Amsterdam marathon race divided Finnish commentators into two camps. Since Finland was a Western nation that by and large shared the widely accepted prejudices regarding non-white ethnic groups, there was a distinct temptation in 1928 to engage in an “othering process” with El Ouafi, Plaza, Yamada and Tsuda. A significant number of Finnish media reports did interpret the marathon results as a sign of a primeval surge of seemingly exotic and unpolluted races toward global stardom.

Yet precisely because the Finnish athletes had been subjected to a similar treatment for the past sixteen years, other Finnish observers made a discernible effort to read the race from a purely athletic standpoint. According to them, it was only to be expected that the Western (or Nordic) sports supremacy would eventually be challenged by other ethnicities. This interpretive line left no space for mystifying the marathon outcome, and, as I argue, since the Finns had traditionally been at the receiving end of sportive “othering,” many of them were sensible enough not to attribute other people’s physical prowess to natural ability alone.

My paper revisits the issue of center and periphery in the early twentieth century world of sport. Although Finnish sportsmen certainly

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Erkki Vettenniemi, University of Jyväskylä, “Making Sense of the Finnish Failure: How a Nordic Nation Coped with the 1928 Landmark Marathon Race”
belonged to the center in terms of their illustrious achievements, in the bigger picture the Nordic nation still remained rooted on the periphery. The results of this problematic and potentially paranoia-inducing state of affairs can be seen in the Finnish reception of the Amsterdam marathon race. Put another way, the adherents of essentialism believed in nature while the proponents of modernity swore by nurture.

**Travis Vogan, St. Anselm College, “Maintaining Masculinity in Sport History: CBS’ ‘One Shining Moment’”**

Since 1987 CBS has closed its television broadcasts of the annual NCAA men’s basketball tournament with a video highlight montage entitled “One Shining Moment.” The video reflects on the tournament by pairing an inspirational ballad with snippets of emotional footage from the event. Complementing its efforts to inspire, the highlight package constructs a historical argument about the NCAA tournament and its significance. No matter what happens year in and year out, the highlight nostalgically situates the event as an expression of the values the song champions. The sentimental highlight reel creates a stable framework through which viewers are encouraged to understand, remember, and consume the tournament.

In 2010 CBS altered its presentation of “One Shining Moment” by commissioning the popular vocalist Jennifer Hudson to sing the song. Hudson’s performance elicited a flood of derision from critics and fans—most of which was published on Internet blogs and message boards. Much of the commentary centered on her position as a woman singing a song that had previously only been performed by men—most notably Luther Vandross—and that concerns a men’s sporting event. One critic compared her version to the act of defiling Leonardo da Vinci’s Mona Lisa. In response to the overwhelmingly negative reception of Hudson’s performance, CBS reinstated Vandross’ version for its 2011 broadcast of “One Shining Moment.”

The criticism surrounding Hudson’s performance and the changes CBS made in response to it suggest that “One Shining Moment” is a sports television tradition that can only be properly communicated and understood by men. Just as “One Shining Moment” always situates the NCAA tournament as a signification of the same basic qualities, the discourses surrounding the text suggest—and indeed demand—that it should always provide the same male-centered viewing experience. This presentation examines how the new media-generated discourses surrounding “One Shining Moment” worked to preserve and enforce its position as a vehicle for a specifically masculine form of nostalgia for sport and sports television. Moreover, it uses “One Shining Moment” to consider how sports television
productions negotiate audiences’ gendered expectations for how sport should be represented and remembered.

Kevin B. Wamsley, University of Western Ontario, “Tumbling Through the Age of Innocence: The Modern Olympic Games and the Child Gymnast Fetish”

Following a series of studies which explained how and why the Olympic women gymnasts of the 1930s became the girls gymnasts of the 1970s to the present day, this paper examines the emergence of the child athlete, particularly young female gymnasts, in the context of the environments in which they train and perform. With respect to other cultural practices including the fashion and model industry and the child pageant circuit, scholars have identified the mystifying ideology of child innocence as a point of departure for analysing how children’s bodies are marketed and what other social values related to race and class are legitimated through these processes. The idea of innocence, it is argued, protects adults from assuming responsibility for how children labour within cultural institutions such as the Olympic Games. In spite of rather recent changes to the minimum ages required to compete in women’s gymnastics, the sport is now so complex that children must begin training and competing at very young ages to reach their peak physiological form in their mid-teens. Although an exhilarating sport, its current complexity, levels of difficulty and sheer risk enforce a training regime of thousands of hours of repetition in closed environments. Women’s gymnastics has been a top draw for ticket holders at the Olympics since the 1970s. Young gymnasts are taught to identify themselves through the judgmental eyes of coaches, judges, and audiences; the presentation of the innocent child-athlete serves to shroud the inherent processes of sexualisation and commodification of girls in these sport settings. The cultural form of the Olympic Games has long been acceptable, so critical analysis of the participation of very young female athletes remains relatively limited.

Building upon a collection of data which examines how coaches, athletes, and judges talk about their sport, this study utilizes television, newspaper, magazine, and internet coverage of women’s gymnastics from the 1930s to the present day to explore how the child body is represented and consumed in the Olympic Games. The material is contextualized within a broader cultural framework of child labour and performance in various settings.
Geoff Watson, Massey University, “‘The Greatest Event in New Zealand’s Debating History’: The ‘Negro Debaters’ 1938 tour of New Zealand”

In July 1938 J.S. Byas, C.W. Gilton and their manager R.G. Alexander, all from Le Moyne College, Memphis, Tennessee, toured New Zealand at the invitation of the New Zealand University Students’ Association. Debating was a well-established sport in New Zealand. Along with athletics and tennis it was one of the three founding sports contested at the first inter-university sports tournament in 1902. The visit of the Le Moyne College team was keenly anticipated. Reportedly ‘the first negro team ever to have debated outside the United States’, the ‘Negro Debaters’ (as they were called) sought to promote the intellectual achievements of African Americans. Alluding to the well-known African-American accomplishments in music, their brochure sought broader recognition stating ‘Negroes can think as well as sing’.

Referring to newspaper reports from the time, this paper evaluates the way in which the Le Moyne debaters were represented to New Zealand readers. It argues that the generally positive reception they received was consistent with the treatment of Asian sports teams which toured New Zealand in the interwar period, such as the Indian Hockey Teams which toured in 1926, 1935 and 1938 and the Chinese Universities Soccer Team which toured in 1924. Such teams were presented as something of an exotic attraction and attracted significant interest from spectators. Drawing on the work of scholars such as Andrew Honey, it is argued that sport performed an ambiguous role in shaping perceptions of Asian and African-American ethnicities in New Zealand. On the one hand, some of the advertising and commentary reinforced stereotypical beliefs about ‘other’ peoples. On the other hand, such tours provided a space where the intellectual and physical achievements of Asians and African Americans were acknowledged at a time when coverage of these peoples was often negative. At a wider level, it is suggested that sport was an important site of engagement between marginalised peoples and the Western World between the Two World Wars and might be viewed in the wider context of an emerging activism. The paper also hopes to add to our understanding of debating, an activity which has a sometimes ambiguous status as a ‘sport’ but has a history spanning thousands of years.

Paul Wells, Loughborough University, “Goofy—Animation’s Greatest Sportsman?”

This paper will look at ‘Goofy—the Good Sport’, the popular Disney character featured in more than a dozen animated shorts, defining both the
Goofy’s sporting narratives operate as Disney’s response to the radicalisation of ‘the cartoon’ in the hands of Warner Bros.’s Tex Avery and Bob Clampett, and use ‘sport’ as a way of re-addressing the very premises of ‘motion’, ‘choreography’ and ‘caricature’ in animation. Crucially, Goofy was essentially re-invented as a comic persona to accommodate this change, and to speak to new audiences. The Disney studio was, thus, effectively addressing already invested Disney audiences, but also the large adult audiences dedicated to sports participation and spectatorship. These popular shorts, therefore, offer a pertinent period commentary on the role and function of sport in American culture between 1940-1949.

The discussion will engage with the shorts from the perspective of revealing how distinctive language of animation represents sporting activity, determining its relationship to ‘games’, ‘pastimes’, ‘physical exercise’ etc., and in delineating its limits and outcomes, addresses broader issues of social and cultural identity and ideology at a key time in America’s participation in global politics in the War and Post-War period.

Reference will be made to the original perspectives of the Disney animators who created Goofy (Thomas & Johnson 1981, 1987); issues of historiography (Sobchack (ed) 1996); theoretical perspectives drawn from animation studies (Klein 1993; Smoodin 1993; Wells 1998; Barrier 1999; Amidi 2006; Telotte 2010); sports history (Pope 1996; Booth 2005; Dunning et al 2006); and Sports Science (Syer & Connolly 1984; Davids et al 1998; Denison & Markula (eds) 2003).

Some attention will also be given to comparable animated sporting figures and contexts as a way of determining Goofy’s ‘specificity’, as key in this analysis is the concept of the ‘body in action’, and how such visual representation informs a particular understanding of historical contexts and issues. The very ‘fluidity’ of the animated form enables what might be termed a ‘commentary-in-flux’ on sport in its socio-cultural context, and articulates key perspectives about the social and political significance of sport. Further, it allows for the delineation of how specific creative practices might be located as paradigms of historically pertinent visualisation and critique, especially in ‘milestone’ moments of social history.

Stephen R. Wenn, Wilfrid Laurier University, “Reforging the Rings: Jacques Rogge’s Legacy and Juan Antonio Samaranch’s Shadow”

In July 2001, Jacques Rogge was elected President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) at the organization’s 112th Session in Moscow. The task before him was substantial. He needed to safeguard the Olympic brand that had been badly damaged by the Salt Lake City bid scandal,
employ the recent establishment of the World Anti-Doping Agency as a springboard to aggressively combat doping in sport, oversee the 2004 Athens Olympics in the face of slow progress in preparations, and restrain the growth of the size of the Summer Olympics. His challenge also entailed leading the IOC through the preparations for an Olympic festival to be staged for the first time in China. Beijing captured the right to host the 2008 Summer Olympics in Moscow three days prior to Rogge’s personal triumph over four challengers (Un Yong Kim, Richard Pound, Pál Schmitt, and Anita DeFrantz).

In managing these tasks, Rogge proved an effective caretaker, but his actions also reveal one whose vision for the IOC and the Olympic Movement remains unclear. In rendering this judgment, it should be noted that he had the unenviable task of succeeding Juan Antonio Samaranch, whose clearly defined vision left a lasting imprint on the Olympic Movement. Samaranch expanded the Olympic Movement and elevated its global profile. His agenda for accomplishing this goal included: 1) Establishing new National Olympic Committees in the developing world; 2) Welcoming the world’s best athletes by tossing amateurism once and for all in the dustbin of history and modifying eligibility regulations that opened the door to professional athletes; and, 3) Harnessing the monetary prospects of television and corporate sponsorship thereby providing the organization with the financial autonomy required to leave the boycott era behind. Considered controversial in some quarters, and further questioned in light of the Salt Lake City bid scandal brought on by the increasingly competitive Olympic bid process spawned during his tenure, Samaranch’s vision was on display throughout the early years of his presidency, and pursued with vigor. In their recently published book, *Tarnished Rings: The International Olympic Committee and the Salt Lake City Bid Scandal*, Stephen Wenn, Robert Barney, and Scott Martyn concluded that, “for a man who succeeded in unifying the Olympic Movement, [Juan Antonio Samaranch] remains a polarizing figure for those individuals whose business is to observe and report on it.” Still, his vision defined his presidency.

Before the close of his presidency in 2013, time remains for Jacques Rogge to emerge from Juan Antonio Samaranch’s shadow. He, too, could make the claim to achieving needed expansion of the Olympic Movement by advancing women within the halls of Olympic decision making and laying the groundwork for the first opportunity for an African city to host an Olympic Games. He is expending much energy to bring forward a solution that will settle a long-standing dispute concerning the formulae for sharing Olympic revenue generated in the U.S., and such an accord would represent an important accomplishment. If he wishes to make a bold stroke in confronting the advancing costs of hosting an Olympic festival he could advocate an award process that yields two opportunities for an Olympic host city to
recoup its expenses, and such a proposal will be made in the context of this paper. Together, these goals might not represent a clearly defined vision, but they would mark progress for the Olympic Movement.

Jacques Rogge has done his best to avoid controversy during his presidency. Perhaps in highlighting his lack of a clearly articulated vision it could be advanced that the IOC did not require a visionary in the first decade of the 21st century, but one who lent stability to the operations of the organization recently buffeted by the Salt Lake City bid scandal.

This paper will examine the Samaranch and Rogge presidencies within the context of the era of globalization in which they governed, and assess the challenges facing the Olympic Movement in the short-term.

David K. Wiggins, George Mason University, “Holding Black Athletes Up As Symbols of Possibility: Arthur Ashe and the Writing of A Hard Road to Glory”

Arthur Ashe accomplished a great many things during his relatively short life. An outstanding tennis player who fashioned a wonderful career in the sport, Ashe won a NCAA singles championship while at UCLA, captained the U.S. Davis Cup team for three years, and captured singles titles at the U.S. Open, Australian Championships, and Wimbledon. In addition to his success on the tennis court, Ashe was actively involved in many causes, including efforts to improve the education of black children, fighting against South African apartheid, and struggling to improve AIDS awareness. He complemented these efforts by authoring or co-authoring such books as Portrait in Motion: The Arthur Ashe Diary (1975); Off the Court (1981); Days of Grace (1993); and A Hard Road to Glory: A History of the African-American Athlete (1988).

This presentation assesses the approach used by Arthur Ashe to put together A Hard Road to Glory and to determine how information was gathered for the book, the primary objectives in writing the book, and how the book was received by both a popular audience and academicians and the effect the book would have on subsequent authors interested in the black athletic experience. What is immediately apparent from a canvassing of the Arthur Ashe papers at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, is that Ashe had always been a lover of history and a bibliophile who recognized the dearth of survey texts on the history of the African-American experience in sport when first asked in 1981 to teach a course on the Black athlete in contemporary society at Memorial College in Miami, Florida. With a research team that numbered at any one time between five to seven people of various backgrounds and academic preparation, Ashe set about rectifying this gap in the literature by scouring the country looking for any information
he could find on the history of the African-American athlete and the ultimate result was the 1988 publication of *A Hard Road to Glory*. A three-volume work which is full of some good information but unfortunately also full of factual errors and devoid of historical context, *A Hard Road to Glory* closely resembles the earlier work of Edwin B. Henderson in that it is written in an effort to foster pride among African Americans and help reverse the racial beliefs of whites. While seemingly not as optimistic as Henderson regarding the power of sport to break down racial barriers, Ashe nonetheless provided an endless number of pages chronicling black athletic achievements to serve as symbols of black possibility and evidence of African-American progress. Importantly, in spite of its limitations, *A Hard Road to Glory* is a frequently cited text that must be read by all academicians interested in analyzing the African-American experience in sport.

Jean Williams, De Montfort University, “For Me, the Most Important Photograph of Women’s Participation at the Olympic Games”

The paper focuses on the 1912 British women’s swimming relay team photograph included in the original report of the Stockholm Games. We know that the women swimmers wore specially made silk suits and the divers woollen costumes. The paper asks three broader questions: how did this more revealed female silhouette become respectable at these games? How does this compare with other female Olympic sports clothing of the time? What can the 1912 photograph and related research tell us about the life of one of these female swimmers (Jennie Fletcher)?

The questions addressed in the paper are explored via evidence from the International Olympic Committee archive in Lausanne and the British Olympic Association archive in London; the Amateur Swimming Association archive in Loughborough; and local record office census material to examine the life and career of Leicester-based amateur Jennie Fletcher. She was the first British woman to win an individual swimming medal and won a team gold with 3 teammates of the 4 x 100 m Freestyle relay team. The International Swimming Hall of Fame in Florida calls her ‘the greatest lady swimmer of her time’, but this is an exaggeration. She was, however, a great sprint swimmer between 1906 and 1913.

The argument contends that this photograph, and the costume history involved in women wearing adaptations of the male racing suit, marked a media moment in the Olympic Games that has been widely overlooked, even though the photograph is quite well-known. The wider context of the photograph has been hidden in plain sight because the image is so ubiquitous.
The conclusions are that the First World War has been over-emphasised as a moment of disjuncture in helping to increase female access to elite sport. The working class female swimmers, as amateurs, indicate that these processes were evident in the Edwardian period and in the approach to 1914.

The significance of the paper is to question the historiography of Olympism which has emphasised male, upper-class amateurism as an ideal, even for working class participants. How did the British women swimmers of 1912 negotiate work, leisure and training as an elite athlete, to be able to represent their country? What did they think of wearing the latest specialist sporting costumes that may, or may not, have conformed to their ideas of respectable presentation? How were these images mediated to a wider public, and how were the female swimmers perceived by contemporary publications?

Michael T. Wood, Texas Christian University, ““La Importancia Del Foot-Ball’: Rollins College, Cuba, and College Football”

In Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle (1993), Michael Oriard treats college football games and print media coverage of them as primary texts through which he shows the close relationship between the expansion of college football’s popularity and the increase of space and kind of coverage in widely-circulated newspapers and magazines during the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. In his analysis, Oriard also reveals themes that appear in the coverage of college football such as the creation of game narratives, the dichotomy of athletic feats versus coaching skill, and definitions of manliness.

My paper applies Oriard’s model to a study of football games played between U.S. and Cuban teams. Rollins College, located in Winter Park, Florida, played ten football games against Cuban teams from 1908 to 1940. The paper examines how each side viewed these games, the importance placed on them, and how college football played a role in U.S.-Cuban relations in the early twentieth century. With regards to evidence, Rollins College archival materials and newspaper coverage of these games are treated as cultural texts and are used to analyze how U.S. and Cuban players, spectators, and reporters viewed these games and each other. Several themes appear in the coverage of these games, such as the use of football as a recruiting tool, the view of football as a “modern” sport, and nationalistic feelings embedded in the outcomes of the games. This paper provides a multi-disciplinary, cultural analysis that will expand our
understanding of football in U.S.-Cuban relations in the first half of the twentieth century.

Ying WuShanley, Millersville University, “Walter Byers’ Pragmatic Approach to Achieving Gender Equality in American College Sport”

He was the symbol of the National Collegiate Athletic Association and arguably the most powerful individual in the history of American college sport. Walter Byers, the first and the longest-serving Executive Director of the NCAA for nearly four decades, has been credited for many contributions to the growth of men’s intercollegiate athletics. He is known for implementing the NCAA enforcement program and pioneering a national academic rule for student-athletes. He brought college football and men’s basketball into mainstream America by helping to turn them into fully commercialized market commodities on television. He was instrumental in making the NCAA the most powerful amateur sports organization in the United States. Yet for more than a decade, Byers was also closely involved in the shaping of women’s college sports. Byers’ antagonists see him as a villain who orchestrated the NCAA’s “takeover” of women’s intercollegiate athletics. They blame Byers for destroying the legacy of women’s intercollegiate athletics controlled by women and the demise of an educational model of college sports. This paper argues that the NCAA “takeover” was the first major step in the right direction towards gender equality in college athletics within the social and legal context of the time, and Byers deserves most of the credit as the chief architect for the NCAA’s historic movement into the governance of women’s intercollegiate athletics. His vision, legal insight, political savvy, and extraordinary leadership skills paved the way for the practical development of women’s college sports under the principle of gender equality in the Title IX era. This paper examines Walter Byers’ involvement in the development of intercollegiate athletics for women between the 1960s and 1980s and reflects on the lasting impact of such involvement.

Yu Xiaowei, University of Western Ontario, “Precious Legacies or City’s Burden: A Brief Examination of Post-Games Utilization of the Olympic Venues in Beijing”

Starting with the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, commercialism has been dramatically involved in the Olympics, which makes the leaders of potential cities realize that hosting the Olympic Games would be a terrific way to both generate considerable financial profit and build phenomenal
international image for their cities and even the entire country. As a result, the last two decades have seen more cities than ever around the world joining the competitions for holding the Olympic Games; in turn, soaring investment, both public and private, has poured into the Olympic-related projects in the cities. Larger and larger Olympic-related facilities and infrastructure are being built for the competitions. The Olympic Games has become a gigantic event held every four years in different locations around the globe. Due to the characteristics of the Games, such as short term but tremendous and one time event for a host city, the last two decades have also seen underused facilities and lack of financial support for maintenance of the Olympic venues after the Games because of either no prior practical strategy planned for post-Games development of those venues or lack of efficient supervision and implementation of post-Games utilization plan for them.

Based on previous literature, the same phenomenon (white elephant effect) happened in nearly every Olympic city during the last twenty years. In terms of the latest edition of the Olympic Games, although four years have passed, the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games has been rarely investigated regarding the post-Games utilization of the Olympic venues in the city. This study tries to fill the gap for the knowledge base in this academic area. The study investigated post-Games utilization of the Olympic venues and examined what cultural, social, economic, political, and historical reasons behind the host cities and countries led to the program of venue utilization in Beijing. To complete the study, the researcher conducted field research in Beijing by interviewing venue managers, municipal officials, scholars and officials from sport administration.

By describing various conditions of the venues, analyzing the findings and discussing Chinese national sport in a historical context, the study indicated that the conditions regarding post-Games utilization of Beijing Olympic venues varied and the status quo of the venues were significantly different depending on the ownership and administration system, their management and operational mode, various functions, locations, structural scale and complexity, and even their reputation and popularity throughout the city and the country as well. Therefore, the study contended that the current status of Olympic venues in Beijing cannot be generally evaluated as either positive or negative, due to the complicated socio-cultural environments and historical traditional background. However, some positive aspects and practical experiences in Beijing can be recommended to potential host cities, while certain lessons should be learned in the future.
Physical Culture Studies and Sport History: A Panel Discussion

Moderator: Alison Wrynn, California State University, Long Beach
Jan Todd, H.J. Lutcher Stark Center, University of Texas at Austin
Tolga Ozyurtcu, University of Texas at Austin
Thomas M. Hunt, University of Texas at Austin
Kim Beckwith, H.J. Lutcher Stark Center, University of Texas at Austin

Panel Discussion: Sports and Political Activism

Moderator: Chuck Korr, De Montfort University
Richard Lapchick, University of Central Florida
Bruce Kidd, University of Toronto
David Meggyesy, author of Out of Their League (1970) and former National Football League player
Commentator: Richard Crepeau, University of Central Florida