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Richard Achtzehn and Ari de Wilde, York College of Pennsylvania
The Giants Move West: Suburbia, Parking and the Beckoning of a New Frontier

In 1957, two storied professional baseball teams left New York. One, the Brooklyn Dodgers led by Walter O’Malley, had been responsible for the racial re-integration of Major League Baseball, a consistent star team performer and, thus, the subject of more coverage and, later, histories. The other, however, Manhattan’s New York Giants led by Horace Stoneham were culturally important and the legacy of the move remains largely unexplored.

The great majority of scholarly work examining the move of the teams—such as Neil Sullivan’s *The Dodgers Move West*—focus on the actions of O’Malley, the famed owner of the Dodgers with Stoneham merely along for the ride. Yet Stoneham’s decision to move the team was complex and reflected the changing composition of Manhattan’s population, an increasingly car-driven society and white flight to the suburbs. These shifts translated to losses for the Giants. While the Giants had been a dominant New York baseball team during the opening decades of the twentieth century and seen success in the 1950s—a National League pennant in 1951 and a World Series title in 1954—attendance at home games declined precipitously in the mid-1950s and it was clear the franchise’s best days were in the past.

Foreshadowing many of the contemporary stadium debates, the Giants’ famed Polo Grounds Stadium was historic and antiquated. It lacked parking—important to the new car age—and the recent move of the Boston Braves to Milwaukee with the 1953 “Milwaukee Model” had shown the potential benefit in moving a franchise west. However, Stoneham was not destined to pick San Francisco as a home. After all, the Giants already had a western AAA team in Minnesota. Why, then, did Stoneham pick an overly western and windy San Francisco as home?

In this paper, the authors take an “inside-out” approach to examine the complex choices that Horace Stoneham was confronted with in the mid-1950s, the changing demographics of urban life as well as the memory and continued heritage of the Giants in New York City.

Iain Adams, University of Central Lancashire
Heroes, Pigs, Deviance and Manchester United:
Students’ topic choices for creative work in an Androgogical Learning Strategy

In Europe androgogy is generally recognized as a specific theoretical and practical approach to motivating learning in adults. It is underpinned by two central tenets; the student is autonomous and the teacher is seen as a facilitator of learning. A fully androgogical approach to a final year compulsory module, The Sporting Image, in a B.A. (Hons) Sports Journalism programme is not possible due to the demands of the validation process, but as far as possible teaching styles and content are designed to enable and emphasise learner choice.
Sporting Image is not a Sports History module; it was designed to help students understand and scrutinize how sport, a cultural phenomenon, is portrayed in other cultural phenomena, such as literature, poetry, photography and painting, and how these created images are resonant with values and standards specific in time and place. Several weeks are dedicated to workshops where students experiment with writing poetry, short stories and creating visual images; other weeks are set aside to investigate specific media such as paintings, statues and music. Discussions are led to ensure that defined learning outcomes such as a critical understanding and demonstrated ability to use discourse analysis, content analysis, semiotics and communications theories are met.

The assignment always requires the student to produce a creative piece of work accompanied by a coda which explains the work. The coda points out the theories and concepts underpinning the work and introduces the truth in counterfactual images; in general the coda tells ‘the rest of the story’. Over the last few years, as the teaching staff have become more confident in dealing with creative works, the assignments have become more androgogical in style allowing students to select their own topic and the theories or concepts that underpin them.

As students produced their short stories, counter-factual stories, poems, paintings and sculptures, it became obvious that we had, serendipitously, created an interest in sports history. This paper analyses the work that students have produced and creates a classification of the work; identifying heroes, sports capitalism, deviance, disaster and Manchester United as being prime subjects that ‘turn students on’ to become self-motivated learners. As the illustrators of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century’s turned to the Boer War and Napoleonic Wars to express their concerns and interests of the day so our students often turn to the past to express their sporting interests and concerns of today.

Mary Louise Adams, Queen’s University

Nineteenth-Century Pedestrianism and the Cultural Meanings of Endurance

In 1809, Scottish landowner Robert Barclay Allardice (later and better know as Captain Barclay), walked 1,000 miles in each of 1,000 successive hours (42 days), in order to claim a wager of 1,000 guineas. Four years later, in 1813, Walter Thom published a detailed chronicle of Barclay’s famous feat. In Thom’s account, Barclay’s endurance, especially his ability to withstand pain, is presented as a mark of both his exceptional physical powers and his character. Subsequent writers share Thom’s view of Barclay’s performance as extraordinary. In texts published throughout the nineteenth century it was invoked as the epitome of athletic accomplishment—even as later pedestrians surpassed it in various ways. Barclay’s success was seen to demonstrate the possibilities of a gifted body shaped by its fine lineage, a skilled, white, masculine body maintained by scientific training practices. While Barclay engaged in other athletic endeavours, it is his 1,000-mile walk for which he remains famous.

Throughout the nineteenth century, long-distance pedestrian events drew huge crowds, especially in Britain and in the eastern, English-speaking parts of North America. Newspapers covered the matches closely. Some of the records continue to astound—115 miles in 24 hours, 500 miles in six days. In the 1860s and 1870s many pedestrian events were held indoors. Competitors sometimes
circled the track for days on end, their pain and their deteriorating bodies a key part of the spectacle. Watching their endurance, what did spectators see?

In this paper I look at accounts of nineteenth-century long-distance pedestrian events—in newspapers, magazines and textbooks—in an effort to historicize endurance as a prized athletic quality. What does it mean to endure? What kinds of endurance, expressed by what kinds of bodies, have been classified and celebrated as sport? What discursive formations have produced sporting endurance as venerable? Understandings of endurance in sport are not independent of notions of endurance that circulate more broadly, for instance, in Christian teachings or in capitalist discourses about labour. For this reason I argue that “more enduring” is a different sort of athletic goal than higher, faster, or stronger, and that the strong semantic links between endurance and suffering mean that endurance sport has unique cultural effects. The paper is intended to provide historical context for present day discussions about recent steep increases in the popularity of extreme endurance sport.

Michael Ayotte, University of Windsor
Stroke of Destiny: A Case Study of the International Golf Federations’ Creation and Organizational Development

This paper examines the process by which a sport federation, not previously affiliated with the Olympic Movement, gains recognition by the International Olympic Committee and secures a coveted spot on the Olympic Programme. This process will be highlighted by focusing attention on the trials and tribulations experienced by the International Golf Federations (IGF) during its three attempts to return golf to the Olympic Games. The Olympic Charter outlines several steps that a sport must follow to be recognized by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as an Olympic sport. This includes developing an International Sport Federation (ISF) as the governing body of the sport worldwide. An examination of the way in which the IGF was formed, and the individuals who were essential in its formation, is undertaken. Following the creation of an ISF, several presentations need to be made to the IOC Program Commission, the IOC Executive Board, and the Session of the IOC. The presentations that the IGF made to the each of the previously mentioned bodies will also be reviewed and analyzed.

An exploration into the process by which a sport gains IOC recognition is essential, as this provides a foundation upon which future sport organizations and ISFs can establish their arguments as they attempt to secure a coveted spot on the Olympic program. Further, it unravels the mystery behind our understanding of how a sport develops an ISF in order to govern itself internationally, and in turn, which is the first step in an attempt to gain recognition by the IOC, and in a broader sense, the Olympic Movement. In addition, the examination of this process will provide a framework for how sports not previously affiliated with the Olympic Movement are able to achieve recognition by the Olympic Movement.
As historians we tend to assume that sport, with its voluminous recordkeeping, provides a vast reservoir of memories. When I started to work on this project my primary focus was simply an assessment of sporting memory. To that end, I developed a survey, the central element of which was a list of thirty questions calling for the identification of personalities, events and institutions from the period 1945-60. In selecting questions I sought to cover a wide range of sports while, at the same time, reflecting the dominance of football, cricket and horse racing in that era. (A confession of guilt, I failed to include swimming.) I included in the survey three other sections that I initially viewed as subsidiary: demographics, recollections, with questions not calling for specific answers, and, for comparative purposes, a number of questions on politics and popular culture in that period.

I have not yet generated as large a respondent pool as I am ultimately aiming for. Some problems in acquiring sufficient surveys reflect attitudes prevailing in the post-war period. At that time sport was perceived as a male-dominated sphere of activity and interest. Many women born before 1945 declined to participate on the grounds that “sports were for men.” It appears that attitudes rooted in that earlier era have persisted across the decades. (There is some substantiating evidence drawn from analysis of answers to the questions in the demographics section that ask whether respondents considered themselves sports fans, then and now. This shows very little shift in self-perception from the 1940/50s to the present.) The persistence of gender stereotyping has resulted in a 70% male dominance of the “pool.”

A further problem arises from the reluctance of some men and women to participate in what they perceived (despite a statement to the contrary in the preface) as a test of individual ability. The generation of the 11Plus is still suspicious of “testing.” Having begun analysis of responses to the survey, I find myself moving away from a simple assessment of collective memory and toward recognition of the insight into the social history of sport in the post-war period that is gained. (In this context, the section on recollections is probably of more interest than that on memory.) An example of such an insight is provided by responses to the question under demographics that calls for respondents to judge whether they played or watched more.

Sections of the press frequently complained that too many people were spectators not active participants in sport. However, 71% of male and 58% of female respondents claim to have played more than they watched.

In answering the short section addressing non-sporting memory, respondents generally, and women in particular, were significantly more successful. Using information provided in the demographic section, I plan to develop analysis of responses based on gender, education, age and region.
Andrew Bakos, University of Windsor
The Green Games: The Development of the Third Pillar of Olympism

This paper explores the inclusion of environmental sustainability into the planning and eventual staging of an Olympic Festival. The development of the environment, identified as the third pillar of Olympism, can be traced back to two historically significant events in the history of the Modern Olympic Movement. The first was the substantial environmental damage caused by the staging of the Albertville 1992 Olympic Winter Games. The second event was the Lillehammer Olympic Organizing Committee’s (LOOC) successful inclusion of “green” initiatives into the organization and production of the XVII Olympic Winter Games. The author suggests that the successful inclusion of environmental protection into these Games can be directly attributed to Norway being a worldwide leader in the development of sustainable technology. In addition to a review of the differences between the two Olympic Winter Games concerning the third pillar of Olympism, the author also highlights the challenges facing Sochi 2014 and Rio 2016, regarding the development of a sustainable Olympic Games. Finally, the author will outline the challenges faced by the two Organizing Committees, concerning the integration of sustainability into the production of these Olympic Games.

Since Pierre De Coubertin’s vision led to the production of the modern Olympic Games first staged in Athens in 1896, there has been a positive trend in the number of athletes and spectators travelling to host sites. The stated goal of producing “green” Games, thereby ensuring that future generations can continue the aforementioned tradition of attending Olympic Games, will be compromised if the following trends continue. The first being the sheer growth of the Summer Olympic Games, which is demonstrated through the introduction of golf and rugby sevens into the Olympic program of the XXXI Olympic Summer Games in Rio de Janeiro in 2016. The second pertains to the Olympic Winter Games, where many cities have to construct venues in order to host events. The problem is that previous host cities have had difficulties recycling these venues back into the community, thus severely restricting their use following the conclusion of the Olympic Games. In order to produce “green” Games, potential host cities need to consider the vision and cooperation highlighted in the Lillehammer 1994 Olympic Winter Games. These Games successfully demonstrated the incorporation of the third pillar into the production of their Olympic Games. Further, this paper will highlight a framework for future Organizing Committees of the Olympic Games (OCOGs) to guarantee the preservation of the local environment.

David Barney, Albuquerque Academy
Out of the Shadows, Into the Light:
An Overview of the Genesis of Women’s Participation in Olympic Competition

As we all know from watching a fortnight of round-the-clock television coverage this past summer, the 2012 London Games of the XXX Olympiad became a celebration of women athletes, some of whom became powerful over-night symbols of what is possible for girls and young women though participation in sport. For the first time since women made their first “official” appearance in Olympic competition exactly a century ago, there were more ladies participating in London than there were men. By itself, that’s an astonishing statistic, as Olympic competition has always been
dominated by the presence of the male gender. Equally astonishing is the fact that for the first time ever in the history of the modern Games, every one of the more than 200 national teams competing in London contained female representation, including even the reluctant middle-eastern countries. Beyond the sociological impact of their presence in London, was the performance that women athletes put on for the world, a drama which held the planet’s attention in a magnetized embrace long after the games had ended and the Olympic flame extinguished. That view provides us with a coda to a full century of female participation in the Olympic Games. The purpose of this paper is to examine the beginning or the genesis of women’s participation in Olympic competition, namely, the Games of the V Olympiad in Stockholm in 1912.

Relying primarily on secondary sources, Out of the Shadows examines not only the social landscape leading up to the presence of women at the Games in Sweden, but the numerous barriers they had to overcome to be there in the first place. The paper also takes a brief look at various exhibitions performed by women in concert with 1912 Games, either as an adjunct to the Games themselves or as an echo following the Games proper. Mostly ignored by historians, these exhibitions would prove to be more than merely nuance. Indeed, they played a major role in edging open the door to an increasingly wider program of athletic opportunity for women in Olympic competition.

Robert K. Barney, Western University and Jeffrey Segrave, Skidmore College
Get on the Bus! NASSH Neanderthals and the Pre-Historic Evolution of Our Society

Our organization, where we now attend its 41st Annual Convention, can be said to have come into existence at a special meeting of “interested individuals” held in New Orleans on 16 January 1972, when it was moved, seconded, and passed by those assembled that a North American Society for Sport History (NASSH) be founded. Over the ensuing two years plus, officers were elected, a constitution written, an administrative structure implemented, and the first annual conference planned at Ohio State in the spring of 1973.

All that is known and remembered. But what earlier events prompted that meeting in New Orleans in 1972? Noted as factors was the implementation by Seward Staley of a History of Sport Section at the Annual Conference of the National College Physical Education Association for Men (NCPEM) starting in 1961. More critical was an appeal by Guy Lewis at the University of Massachusetts in 1966 to register support for an organization dedicated to sport history. Response to Lewis was warm in some quarters, less so in others. Nevertheless, Lewis persisted. Buttressed by his University of Massachusetts physical education faculty colleagues, a juggernaut cadre if there ever was one, a supportive Dean, as well as the presence of a group of graduate students/cum scholars as ever assembled at one institution, Lewis pressed for a history section to be added to the AAHPER Conference program in Boston in April 1969. There were two presenters: a youthful John Lucas, seven years fresh from having achieved his doctorate degree from the University of Maryland, and the then aged John Rickards Betts, the noted Boston College historian whose doctoral dissertation, one of the first written on sport, dealt with the technological revolution and the rise of sport in 19th century America. Those events are also matters of record.
What has been entirely forgotten are the events of the day following the Lucas/Betts presentations, a sport history bonding episode in the form of a bus tour to sites in western Massachusetts which figured prominently in the history of American sport, among them, James Naismith’s original gymnasium and basketball court at Springfield College, Edward Hitchcock’s first college gymnasium building at Amherst College, and the Round Hill School in Northampton, scene of the first school physical education program in America. This was a “bonding tour” of would-be sport historians, most of whom were destined to become the fathers and mothers of NASSH. This historical experience might be described as the first NASSH meeting ever, and then, as now, it was instructive, social, stimulating, and above all for the future, inspiring. The “happy travelers” returned to their institutions and their disciplines with renewed vigor, commitment, and motivation. The story of those proceedings that day and its implications on the rise of NASSH less than four years later, needs to be told, and especially told at NASSH.

Kim Beckwith, The University of Texas at Austin
Not for Men Only: A History of American Women’s Weightlifting

When she received her gold medal on September 17, 2000, in Sydney, Australia, American Tara Nott’s name entered the Olympic history books. Not only is she remembered as an Olympic gold medalist, but she is the first ever Olympic gold medalist in Women’s Weightlifting. Nott earned this distinction because the sport was in its inaugural year at the 2000 Summer Olympic Games and she lifted in the lightest weight class, women’s flyweight (up to 48 kgs.), and therefore lifted first on the program of events. Fellow teammate, Cheryl Haworth, followed Nott onto the medal stand five days later by winning a bronze medal in the super heavyweight division (75+ kgs.). The American women’s weightlifting team had successfully completed their own (as well as the world’s) first Olympic competition. However, they didn’t do it alone. These two athletes represent an entire cadre of coaches, athletes, and administrators who fought to gain respectability and notice for women’s weightlifting, not only on their own turf, but also on the world’s lifting platform.

Surprisingly, the history of American women’s weightlifting has not been investigated in any detail. Jan Todd wrote a four-page encyclopedia article on the topic for the International Encyclopedia of Women and Sport and John Fair briefly mentions women weightlifters in his article, “Georgia: Cradle of Southern Strongmen.” However, neither of these treatments is based primarily on the individual experiences of the women or coaches involved in the sport, as this paper attempts to do through interviews with coaches, athletes, and administrators integrally involved with women’s weightlifting. In particular, this paper will focus on the contributions of John Coffee—a staunch supporter and trainer of women lifters for more than thirty years—who has now helped his women lifters earn thirty-three national championship titles.

The first U.S. Women’s National Championships was held in 1981 in Waterloo, Iowa. Following this meet women lifters and their coaches felt so strongly about the need to compete at the same level as the men that they agreed to hold the first Women’s International Championships in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1987. Less than ten years later, the International Olympic Committee confirmed and made permanent their earlier provisional decision to allow women’s weightlifting into the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games as an official event. By 2012, more women than men competed at the
Olympic Games in London. This essay chronicles this remarkable history of these women who defied gender stereotypes as they pursued Olympic glory.

Paul W. Bennett, Schoolhouse and Institute and Saint Mary’s University

Imagining the Creation: The
Canadian Family Squabble over the Origins of Hockey

Few subjects in Canadian sport arouse as much passion as debating the origins of ice hockey, Canada’s mythical national pastime. Hockey fans, hobbyists, and even a few sports scholars have been known to “mix it up” off the ice when the discussion inevitably returns to the hotly contested matter of Creationism versus Evolution. The search for the “birthplace of hockey” has been compared to the dubious claim of Baseball’s Cooperstown, New York, and historians tend to support the “evolutionary model,” arguing that hockey evolved, from first Amerindian-European contact onward, and that different aspects of the game developed over time in various places.

Evolutionary theories of hockey’s origins continue to be challenged by Canadian hockeyists pressing competing claims for Windsor’s Long Pond, Kingston, Montreal, Dartmouth, and Deline, NWT. Since the 200th anniversary of King’s-Edgehill School in 1988, Windsor, NS, cranked-up its campaign, adopting the town motto “The Birthplace of Hockey,” publishing Garth Vaughan’s 1996 book *The Puck Stops Here*, and capitalizing on CBC-TV’s 2002 Hockey Day in Canada celebration. In May 2002, the Society for International Hockey Research (SIHR) took the unprecedented step of investigating and discounting the so-called “Windsor Claim.” Yet that same year, a Dartmouth lawyer, Martin Jones, entered the fray with a new book, *Hockey’s Home*, and civic leaders in Deline, NWT, have since surfaced with an Aboriginal claim.

Today avid hockey partisans continue to pour over obscure archival records, mine surviving newspapers, date Mi’kmaq hockey sticks, and assess decaying wooden pucks for further clues to hockey’s origins. In the face of mounting evidence of its evolutionary nature, what drives such enthusiasts to continue their quest and press their territorial claims? A decade after it was supposedly put to rest, this paper will look at the motives and influences behind the continuing search for the Genesis of Canadian hockey. The “commodification” of Canadian hockey is a critical factor, particularly in Canada’s competing hockey towns. Above and beyond the purely commercial motives, the paper will also tackle the question of what “imagining the creation” reflects about the unending search for identity, national or pluralistic, in the “Great White North.”

Adam Berg, Penn State University

From Stunt Hikes to 2,000 Milers:
Wilderness, “Thru-Hikers” and Modern Sport on the Appalachian Trail

On August 14, 1937, on Mount Sugarloaf in Maine, the Appalachian Trail (AT) became the longest hiking trail in the world. Even before its completion, the prospect of hiking the entire the 2,000+ miles from Georgia to Maine continuously stirred ambitions. As a place for individualized recreation,
“thru-hikes” of the AT might seem to fit nicely with trailblazer aims. Nevertheless, for nearly four decades the Appalachian Trail Conference (ATC) chose to discourage ultra-long-distances treks—relenting only in the 1970s when AT thru-hiking exploded.

The prospect of a goal-oriented trek, particularly a 2,000+ mile thru-hike, raises questions about the nature of modern hiking. At first glance hiking appears easily classified as a physical activity and leisure pursuit, but perhaps not a “sport” in the modern sense of the word. Indeed, the AT had not been built for pushing individual limits or for competing against others. The AT’s blazers foresaw the trail as a place to break from modernity, a place set apart from the hustle and bustle of civilized life. This perspective led ATC to regard attempts at speed and distance records as basic misunderstandings of the trail’s fundamental purpose. By differentiating hiking from competitive organized sports, the ATC sought to substantiate the AT’s presupposed role as a vacation space clearly distinguishable from a competitive and modernized civilization.

Over time, however, it became clear that the ethos of modernity and hiking could not be kept altogether separate. Acknowledging the inevitability of modern record-setting quests and welcoming the publicity ultra-long distance hikers generated, the ATC came to accept modern sport practices on its cherished primeval terrain. This essay will explore how ideals of wilderness and modern sport came together, how early “thru-hikers” led the ATC to embrace modern sport on their “wilderness trail.”

Susan Birrell, University of Iowa
The Heart of the Order: The Golden Age of Sport Films

The 15 years between the release of Rocky (1976) and A League of their Own (1992) comprise what might be thought of as the classic era of American sport films. In that short time period, a disproportionate number of films that head the various lists of “best sport films of all time” were made. These include Raging Bull (1980), Chariots of Fire (1981), The Natural (1984), Hoosiers (1986), Bull Durham (1988), Eight Men Out (1988), and Field of Dreams (1989). Two comedies, Slap Shot (1977) and Caddy Shack (1980), accompany these more serious sport films within this time frame.

In this paper I interrogate the viability of proclaiming this period as the “golden age” of sport films in order to explore the contexts in the sporting world and the film industry that might account for this unusually rich period of (mostly) American sport films. Since the premise of my argument depends in part on establishing both the enduring popularity and the cultural significance of these films, I begin by exploring the list-making of self-proclaimed experts, such as Sports Illustrated, ESPN, and The American Film Institute, by comparing the content of these lists and by interrogating the cultural practices of list making. Next I work to establish some measure of the popularity of the films through box office earnings and Golden Globe Award nominations and wins, and to assess a general sense of their critical merits with reference to three high profile award institutions, the Academy Awards, BAFTA, and the Cannes Film Festival.
To assess their claim on the American heart, I explore the themes that unite or differentiate these films. For example, with the exception of *A League of their Own*, the films represented on this list all fall within rather comfortable categories of masculinist celebrations of sport heroes, and with the exception of *Raging Bull* and *Eight Men Out*, all inspire by constructing sport as an arena for exceptional achievement or redemption. Focusing particularly on the dramatic rather than the comedic films, I consider the extent to which the meanings structured into each film strike particular chords with audiences at the time. I explore that question with reference to specific historical contexts in the sporting world and particular trends in the film industry.

Douglas Booth, University of Otago  
Sources, Theories, Traces: The Internet as a Historiographical Tool

The polymorphous nature of the Internet makes it difficult to evaluate its contributions, and potential contributions, to the content and form of historical narratives. In this presentation I use Alun Munslow’s trilogy of reconstructionism, constructionism and deconstructionism to analyze the Internet. Reconstructionists conceptualize the Internet as simply another repository of sources which they proceed to verify and validate in accordance with the traditional rules of historiography. Constructionists similarly conceptualize the Internet as a store of evidence. However, they also show heightened sensitivity to the broader context of the Internet, and the ways it operates as a vehicle of communication at the global and micro levels. This contextualization opens the door to explore new relationships between the past and present, especially in a world where people store, distribute and share information in new ways. Yet, notwithstanding this broader perspective of the Internet, constructionists, like reconstructionists, still assess its primary contribution in terms of what it adds to the content of their narratives. By contrast, deconstructionists conceptualize the Internet as a phenomenon that influences the content and form of historical narratives. The Internet offers deconstructionists sources *and* traces (those visible but scarcely readable signs or marks of things which can never be recreated and or brought to life but which can be read to reveal things which are both present and absent in the past) to build content. Deconstructionists also recognize the Internet’s potential for presenting the past in new forms. YouTube, for example, contains a plethora of video montages created by ‘producers’ who combine fragments/slices of the past in ways that are recasting the very nature of history. Examining the Internet through this framework reinforces the view that the meaning of history will always be highly contested.

William D. Bowman, Gettysburg College  
Conviviality and the Sports Club: Hakoah Vienna in Interwar Europe

This paper will pursue the question: to what degree did a European sports club, Hakoah Vienna, use conviviality and sociability in its ranks to recruit and maintain the organization’s vitality and reputation? Hakoah was the largest and most important Jewish sports organization in interwar Europe. It, like many sports clubs around the world, had divisions and activities for its members beyond the realm of competitive athletics and training. For example, it sponsored musical evenings, opera productions, and dances, which often incorporated displays of physical prowess. Further, it
had sections for chess and other non-physical leisure-based activities. These events and activities were important in building the base of the club and recruiting new members and entertaining and sustaining existing ones. They also added to the profile of the club in a culturally vibrant city, Vienna, and caught the attention of Hakoah’s sporting rivals and enemies. They are also fascinating topics for cultural analysis as such.

Using evidence from Viennese and Israeli archives (club documents, flyers, announcements, and newspapers, for example), this paper will explore how these social activities attracted men and women to the club and incorporated them into its overall structure and culture. The significance of this paper will be its contribution to sports historians’ growing understanding of the role of conviviality and sociability in the creation and maintenance of athletic organizations in the modern period.

Florence Carpentier, University of Rouen

The Queen’s Two Bodies: Politics and Sporting Culture from Indira Gandhi to Angela Merkel

In the 20th century, politicians did not really show their personal feeling for sport, which was despised as a popular and non-serious leisure. But since the 1990s and Bill Clinton’s famous jogs, Presidents proudly show their own sporting culture. Next to an official, distant and political body of the Head of State, a natural, everyday and sporting body is abundantly staged, especially by the media. This American model of a dynamic and virile politics spread throughout the world, like in France: the former President, Nicolas Sarkozy, was shown jogging and cycling, while the current one, François Hollande, was on strict diet before the Presidential campaign in order to shape a President’s body. Historians and sociologists explained how politics and sport were both male preserves. The aim of this paper is to present a gender perspective of the presidents’ two bodies, by studying sporting and body culture of female politicians around the world. From Indira Gandhi to Angela Merkel, what were the experiences, practices and values of sport of these women and what influences could it have on their policy? What kind(s) of body(ies) – official or natural – did they show as politicians? If “sport seems to be the perfect symbol of manhood,” as written by Pierre de Coubertin in 1913, while “manhood suits to power, and even strengthens it,” in the gender historian Christine Bard’s opinion, we understand how the staging of a sporting body can serve the authority and legitimacy of a President. In this way, how did recent female politicians overcome this double difficulty since the turning point of the 1990s? Whereas the myth of a “feminine approach” of power is over, women in politics may be different from men by their sporting culture and the political use of it.

I propose to study the numerous biographies of women who were Heads of State or Heads of government in the different parts of the world, and the media coverage of them. The feminization of governments is an extremely recent and internationally unequal phenomenon. Since the very first time in 1960, 87 women became Heads of a country in the world: 40 in Europe, 16 in Asia, 11 in Africa, 8 in South America and 8 others in Central America, 3 in Oceania and only one in North America. The study concerns only those who governed for a long time or had marked their country’s history: Indira Gandhi, Isabel Peron, Michelle Bachelet, the family dynasty of Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Golda Meir, Margaret Thatcher, and eventually Angela Merkel.
On January 1, 1926, the Alabama Crimson Tide upset the University of Washington, 20-19, in the Rose Bowl. Sportswriters had predicted an easy victory for the powerful Washington team, minimizing the chances of victory for any school, particularly one from the Deep South. The game has been assigned a high degree of significance, both athletically and culturally. It is credited with enhancing the nationwide stature of the South within the culture of intercollegiate athletics, while also symbolizing the emergence of the South from the ruins of war. But how did the newspapers of the era contribute to the cultural understanding of the event? Did they assign a high degree of importance to the event, or is this a phenomenon has evolved in the years since? This paper will employ both quantitative and qualitative methods in exploring how newspapers interpreted the 1926 Rose Bowl on a local, regional, and national basis. The sample will comprise newspapers from the state, the region, and the nation (including Alabama and Washington) for the week before and the week after the game. That the event occurred during the so-called “Jazz Age,” when newspaper readers sought and consumed such articles, responding to media-generated interest in sporting events, adds to the cultural importance.

The quantitative method of framing will be used in a content analysis, to compare the frames employed by sportswriters in their coverage. Was the game described in cultural/regional terms? Or was it covered as an athletic contest between two teams, regardless of regional affiliation? Did columnists and guest writers, when used, emphasize the regional frame over the sports frame?

Then the authors will analyze in particular the coverage of the University of Alabama team, using Kenneth Burke’s concepts of identification and Terministic Screens. These two qualitative methods will provide a deeper understanding of how media outlets used the team’s performance to fashion a strong common identity for the rebuilding South.

This paper will add significantly to the understanding of an important moment in sports history. The two methods combined will provide depth and breadth in exploring the role of sports media in defining the significance of cultural events.

Sophy Chan, Western University
“Welcome to the Olympic Victims Hotel”: Narratives of Homelessness in the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympics

Much has been written about the economic issues of the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games, yet there has been little attention paid to the people affected by the financial disaster resulting from those Games. This paper begins to bridge the gap by documenting the chronological series of events following 29 homeless families and individuals forced into homelessness due to the escalation of housing costs and demolition projects in relation to the Olympic Games. Moreover, this paper
reveals how Montreal’s failure to address gentrification resulted in the subsequent homelessness of these citizens. The *Montreal Gazette* followed and documented the plight of the homeless families and individuals prior to, during, and after the Games. As such, their stories make for a compelling case study of what happened to a small group of disadvantaged people who suffered greatly from the most financially disastrous Games in Olympic history.

This paper will attempt to address three questions. First, what were the factors that lead to Montreal’s failure to manage the displacement of the 29 homeless families? Second, how did the media perceive, prioritize, and report the issue of displacement and homelessness in relation to the Olympic Games? Lastly, what are the implications of overlooking the people most affected by the costs in association with hosting the Games?

The significance of this paper lies in its contribution to our understanding of how people are affected by the costs of hosting major international sporting events. To some extent, this paper also reveals how changes in policy decisions regarding mega sporting spectacles, such as the Olympic Games, translated into a real material effect on host city citizens. Finally, its significance lies in the way the once-silenced voices of the homeless are heard and contrasted with the dominant narratives of extravagance, glory, and fame.

Pascal Charitas, Univ. Paris-Sud

After the Second World War, a new international order was outlined by the balance of the Cold War and the appearance of the Third-World movement. France positioned itself as an intermediate nation that tried to protect its influences in Africa 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 development of the social orders in the postcolonial sport world (development of youth movements and sports activities, the africanisation of frames) and established new political relations (French-African cooperation and technical support, 1960) in transformation from bilateral to multilateral cooperations with the Conference of Youth and Sport Ministers of Francophonies (CYSMF).

Sport undergoes these evolutions and is in the center of the “françafrique.” The sports policy of France has an international cultural dimension with the African colonial independences of its former Empire. From 1960 to 1981, the French Ministers of Youth and Sport in connection with the Ministry of the Cooperation to the new African countries organized the French-African sports in cooperation with the assignment of different 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) and the Council Superior of African Sport (CSCA, 1966), and finally the National Olympic Committee Association of Africa (NOCAA, 1981).
My focus is to take sport like an analyzer of the new definition in the French-African and in the IOC-African relations. The goal is to find answers at four principal preoccupations: on one hand, to stop the Soviet influence of Third-World and progressives countries inside a competitive international world; then to counter vague desires and the greed of other neo-imperialists countries like USA, USSR and Great Britain; to build new political structures, by the way of “cooperations” in order to control the French presence in Africa and to preserve the continuation of the French civilisation mission; finally, a way for Africa to pursue the sport internationalization process and to fight strongly against apartheid.

Martyn Clark, Queen’s University
Making “Mr. Hockey”: Examining Media Representations of Gordie Howe in the 1950s

NHL superstar Gordie Howe played for the Detroit Red Wings, from 1946 to 1971, where he won four Stanley Cups, six Hart Memorial Trophies for league MVP, and six Art Ross Trophies for leading scorer. Howe came out of a brief retirement in 1973 to join two of his sons to play in the World Hockey Association for six more seasons, collecting another MVP trophy in 1974. In 1979-1980, at 52 years old, he retired after one last NHL season with the Hartford Whalers, and with many of professional hockey’s individual statistical records. However, the legend of Gordie Howe is made up of more than statistics. Popular histories of the game often point to a combination of skill, toughness, and “character” when identifying Howe’s “greatness.” Indeed, Foster Hewitt once claimed, “everything you can think of in hockey, Howe is.” As Hewitt’s quote and his nickname “Mr. Hockey” would suggest, Howe has become more than a great hockey player, but rather the archetypal hockey player.

In this paper I examine media representations of Howe from the 1950s when he was becoming a star in order to understand the archetypal hockey player. I examined 1950s print media sources such as *The Hockey News, Blueline – The Hockey Monthly, Hockey Pictorial*, and several major North American newspapers. I focus on the popular Howe vs. Maurice ‘the Rocket’ Richard debate of this era. While Richard was constructed as the “fiery” Frenchman who could not control his emotions, Howe was painted as tough but “in control.” The difference in temperaments allowed hockey journalists to consider Howe the more complete player—an assessment that lasts to this day.

However, I argue that in order to construct narratives about Howe’s superiority as a hockey player, journalists drew on dominant discourses of race, class, gender and nation in which Anglo-Canadian men are understood as naturally superior to French Canadian men. A critical analysis of the narratives surrounding Howe’s image offers a unique point of access to the constitutive meanings and power relations surrounding the sport of hockey and more broadly, the Canadian nation.

In my work I seek to understand dominant meanings attached to hockey and hockey players, and the connection between discourses of whiteness and the game. As such, my work contributes to hockey history by engaging with the burgeoning field of “whiteness” studies, which is the critical analysis of the (re)production of white identities as dominant, invisible, and “normal.”
Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937) is a controversial character and actor in modern history. On the one hand, his friends and disciples along with certain hagiographers, including IOC members and Presidents, have resurrected him as an iconic humanist. On the other hand, there is a whole literature that condemns him as “the great priest of the religion of sport” and assimilates olympism to fascism. Indeed, Pierre de Coubertin deserves far better than mere hagiography or black legend. The problem with “the renovator” is that he himself forged the legend of his life by publishing successive versions of the history of the revival of the Olympic Games and olympism. These accounts highlight the obstacles he faced all along his life, his ploys, his stubborn, blind determination, and confirm his commitment and unshakeable Olympic faith. He belongs to that rare breed of men who consider they can weigh on the destinies of the world. This paper deals with a decade of research on Pierre de Coubertin’s political culture, religious and ideological evolution, and sports itinerary. Unknown family archives and new correspondence are used to produce what French historians call an “intellectual biography.”

Known universally as “Restorer of the Olympic Games,” Pierre de Coubertin is an end-of-century social and educational reformer who fancies he can weigh on the destinies of France and the world by forging a new elite: the chivalry of sportsmen. The present intellectual and sportive biography questions his political neutrality and dismantles the myth of Olympic perpetuation. By bringing in sports into the Ecole Monge, then making sure they will spread to all lycées, he tries to invent a new-fangled sociological group that will transcend all the social hierarchies produced by the industrial revolution: the chivalry of sportsmen. The French Tory will be recruited in the middle-classes, down to the latest strata, provided the candidate behaves as a sportsman combining bravery, loyalty, distinction and good manners. Having rejoined the Republic as soon as 1887, close to the French liberals, then the Republican Federation Party, hardly understood or followed by his fellow citizens, he ends up taking refuge in an extreme-centre political swamp, which leads him to a kind of self-banishment.

Never has he managed to control the Olympic Games which, as soon as 1892, he had imagined international and pacifistic. Against nations and States, against organisers of shows and budding international sports federations, he forges ‘Olympism’ between 1906 and 1914. Conceived as a rampart against money, women and crowds, this sporting utopia is also a uchronia which evokes the feudal ages more than an ancient Greek stadium. Heading against the mainstream of the twentieth century, forced to resign from the IOC in 1925, Pierre de Coubertin failed to understand both the violence of World War I and the lethal oppression of Hitlerism.

James R. Coates, Jr., University of Wisconsin, Green Bay
Sports in Black Baltimore: From Group Leisure to Individual Icons

The rise of sport in American culture flourished during the progressive era. Baltimore, Maryland, contributed its fair share to that growth. The city’s African-American population participated in the rise of the sporting and leisure culture and the growth of that industry. During the height of racial
From the likes of the Athenians, Lenny Moore, Frank Robinson, and Earl Monroe, their sporting accomplishments served the city twofold. First, the city achieved national notoriety from these players’ personal accomplishments and team success. Second, the success of these individuals and their teams’ visibility fostered a pride in the African-American community that brought about a sense of belonging that transcended racial barriers. That pride was not just a one-way street. The white community in many ways became more accepting of these changing factors. Thanks to the contributions of these men, most of whom obtained iconic status nationally, as well as within the Baltimore metropolitan region, and the team’s supporting geographic region, and as an extension of African Americans success within athletic endeavors, social, religious and academic domains within white communities also began to be more accepting of the general black population. In other words, the superior accomplishments of these individuals in many ways promoted racial tolerance beyond Baltimore and into its supporting communities. They were not without harsh critics within the black community, as racial tension is a razor-sharp, double-edge factor.

Kenneth Cohen, St. Mary’s College of Maryland
Back to Definitions? The Interpretive Possibilities of Historicizing “Sport”

This paper suggests a new approach to defining and analyzing sport. The fundamental boundaries of what belongs in “sport history” have not received much attention since the significant debates surrounding the definition of “modern sport” about thirty years ago. Revisiting those debates in light of the cultural turn that has taken place since then reveals the presentist notions of “sport” which have prevailed in our field. Following the modish methods of social history in the 1970s and 1980s, scholars based their definitions and interpretations of sport on analytical categories devised by anthropologists and sociologists in the twentieth century. This paper argues that the resulting definitions and interpretations have restricted the compass of sport history, even as sport historians have drifted towards more “cultural” topics and more discursive analyses, because the new methods have not yet led scholars to challenge the definitions of sport posited in the earlier studies. In essence, I suggest that sport historians have been constrained because we have been blinded by the dominant discourse in our own field.

After this introduction, the paper goes on to present a more historicized approach to defining “sport.” Rather than relying on anthropological and sociological categories of “play,” or a modernization theory which excuses broader notions of sport only by explaining them away as part of a distant “pre-modern” past, my approach relies on a discursive analysis of the term’s use in a given time and place. The paper’s case study focuses on the early national period of the United States, from the Revolution until 1860. Analyzing use of the term “sport” in both public and personal writings from this period, the paper illustrates how “sport” was a synonym of both “play” and “risk.” By illuminating the relationships between these three terms in the early American republic, the paper goes on to explain why a study of “sport” in this time and place encompasses myriad topics usually ignored by sport historians, ranging from theatre to the stock market, and from entrepreneurialism to democratic politics.
In examining sport’s relationship to these topics, the paper demonstrates how the broad discourse of “sport” was a powerful tool which early Americans used to construct (and contend over) the ideas and practices of “capitalism,” “democracy,” and other core transformative processes identified with modernization. In effect, the paper shows sport to have shaped rather than just reflected the development of broader historical developments. Here, I recognize previous efforts to discuss sport in this way, most notably by Pamela Grundy and Mark Dyreson. But, by freeing “sport” from its currently confining definitions, I expand on the work of these scholars in two ways. First, this paper emphasizes the value of studying earlier periods and even non-Western places (which, I argue, largely have been ignored in the field precisely because the field’s existing discourse privileges a “modern era” that begins with Western industrialization in the late nineteenth-century). Second, and more importantly, the paper highlights sport’s larger purchase in historical inquiry. By dispelling from the dominant notions of sport that have restricted sport history to a narrow set of activities, the expanded terrain of the field increases opportunities to bring sport history into greater conversation with other historians, who – because of the reigning definitions and boundaries of sport history – do not currently consider sport history to be applicable to their field. In fact, the paper’s closing remarks demonstrate how “sport” retains many of its broad discursive meanings today, so that even studies of twentieth century American sport can take advantage of the term’s expanded compass.

Brad J. Conguelio, Western University
Opportunists, Politicians, and the Red Amoeba:
The Battle for Control Over Los Angeles’ Bid for the 1976 Olympic Summer Games

In 1939, on the heels of the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics, the Southern California Committee for the Olympic Games (SCCOG) formed via a direct request from the United States Olympic Committee (USOC). The purpose of the Committee was to provide prolonged support to both the Olympic Movement and Los Angeles in hopes of winning the right to host the sporting festival again in the future. The SCCOG received its chance in the late 1960s when the USOC selected Los Angeles as America’s bid city for the 1976 Summer Olympics. The bidding process took on overt Cold War overtones after Moscow’s late entry into the contest. With the bid proving to be doubly important, the SCCOG found itself powerless against the government-commissioned Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC). The SCCOG could only haplessly watch as the SCCOG received the assistance of President Richard Nixon’s administration in potentially winning the bid, thus a small triumph in the Cold War.

The purpose of this paper shall be to examine the often harsh and perilous relationship between the SCCOG and the LAOOC. With International Olympic Committee (IOC) President Avery Brundage as the middleman, the two arguing factions often condemned—if not outright sabotaged—the efforts of their counterparts. Thus, this paper will argue that the self-defeating infighting between the two groups slowly eroded any prospect the city of Los Angeles had at hosting the 1976 Summer Olympics. The evidence used includes the letters between the two quarreling organizations housed in the Avery Brundage Collection. Additionally, Brundage’s personal writings to his colleagues provide significant insight into the damage the SCCOG and LAOOC were doing to Los Angeles’ Olympic aspirations. The completed paper will provide additional context to the
bidding for the 1976 Summer Games while providing another avenue for research into the relationship between the Olympic Games and the Cold War.

Dan Covell, Western New England University
“Because the Hockey Tournament is Important to Bowdoin”: Managing Postseason Men’s Ice Hockey at Bowdoin College, 1965-1973

This research investigates how sport managers and administrators at Bowdoin College, a small all-male liberal arts college in southern Maine, experienced and responded to managerial issues resulting from the emergence of a successful men’s ice hockey program. As the school’s football fortunes faded in the 1950s, ice hockey emerged as the school’s most successful athletic program, eclipsing football as the sport with the greatest popular interest on the part of students, fans, alumni and other stakeholder groups. In addition to the advent of television and the post-war economic expansion experienced across the country, game rules changes and the allowance of spring practice sessions hastened the demise of Bowdoin’s football fortunes.

At the same time, infrastructure investments and technological innovations (such as refrigeration systems and ice resurfacing equipment) contributed to the rise in popularity of ice hockey at a select number of American colleges and universities, including Bowdoin. The school built an on-campus indoor arena, which opened in 1956, signaling a significant commitment to the program. The ability to compete with some measure of success against larger and prestigious regional opponents such as Dartmouth and Harvard also aided in promoting considerable interest from stakeholders. Through the auspices of the Eastern College Athletic Conference (ECAC), Bowdoin was also able to access competition in emerging regional postseason championships in the mid-1960s, an opportunity not available to football.

But these postseason opportunities were in direct conflict with stipulations in the Pentagonal Agreement, Bowdoin’s loosely aligned affiliation with three other similar New England schools (Amherst, Wesleyan and Williams). In 1961, in reaction to the emergence of the ECAC’s creation of postseason tournaments in a variety of sports, the four school presidents agreed specifically to prohibit postseason play for any team sport program. Individual athletes such as track participants were still allowed to compete in postseason events.

The formalized ban evinced substantial disapproval from coaches, participants and students, and competition from non-Pentagonal rival schools such as nearby Colby College, pressured Bowdoin presidents James S. Coles (who retired in 1967) and his successor, Roger Howell Jr., to negotiate with the heads of the other Pentagonal schools to finesse pertinent regulations so that Bowdoin’s hockey team could participate. Howell was unable to head off conflict in 1971-72, however, when the ECAC moved in midseason to expand its Division II tournament and added an additional round of games, which conflicted directly with the limited postseason participation guidelines agreed to by the Pentagonal. As a result, in a season where Bowdoin was the top-ranked program in the division, Howell and Bowdoin were forced to pass on the tournament to follow the Agreement, in effect placing a greater value on the maintenance of its affiliation with the three other schools over the ability to win a postseason championship.
Richard C. Crepeau, University of Central Florida
The Presidential Role: Cheerleader or Watchdog? Two Case Studies

This paper looks at the larger implications of the Sandusky scandal and ponders what a sex scandal and cover-up at a big-time institution says about the commercialized-professionalized nature of American collegiate athletics. Is the way in which athletics are governed in universities conducive to athletic scandals? Is the insular nature of college athletics, such as outside alumni control or inside business control, a contributing factor to scandals? It will consider if there has been an academic component to big-time athletics, and have faculty in the past been involved in college sport, and has this changed historically? Have faculty had a place in intercollegiate athletics by setting entrance requirement and standards? Are NCAA faculty representatives on each campus really faculty representatives? What has been their role in maintaining academic standards at the various institutions?

Heather L. Dichter, Ithaca College
“A Symbolic Day of German Sport”:
The Impact of the Media Coverage of the 1948 German-Swiss Intercity Soccer Games

In 1948, the American Military Government worked with Swiss soccer officials to organize Germany’s first postwar international matches, three simultaneous German-Swiss intercity games. The American occupation authorities viewed these games as part of their broader efforts to help teach Germans about democracy, as a way for the international community to begin the process of reaccepting Germany, and as a way to raise funds for charitable purposes tied to the reconstruction efforts. Even though the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) informed Swiss soccer leaders that participating in these games would violate the ban on games against Germany, the Swiss still agreed to three charity home-and-home intercity games: between Zurich and Stuttgart, Basel and Karlsruhe, and St. Gallen and Munich.

This paper considers how the media in Germany and Switzerland covered these games and the subsequent penalties imposed by FIFA on Swiss soccer. The press repeated the platitudes from the events surrounding the games about how the American Military Government worked with German soccer leaders in the American zone of occupation and Swiss soccer leaders in order to carry out these games demonstrating international friendship between neighboring states. However, with the widespread media coverage of these games in both Germany and Switzerland, the international federation could not ignore this flagrant violation of their rules and regulations and imposed a fine on the Swiss soccer federation. The popular support for these games, particularly by the soccer officials as well as general public in Switzerland, contributed to the renewed demand within FIFA to reconsider its exclusion of Germany and the ban on games against German teams. This paper will demonstrate how the popular support for these German-Swiss games and outrage over FIFA’s punishment of the Swiss teams ultimately helped facilitate Germany’s return to the international
community by forcing one of the most powerful international sport federations to reconsider its exclusion of Germany.

Andy Doyle, Winthrop University
The Turning Point: The Desegregation of Alabama High School Sports

An April 1968 federal court decision ordered the desegregation of Alabama’s separate white and black high school athletic associations, and it also ordered that the state’s school systems schedule interracial football and basketball games during the upcoming season. In a state notorious as one of the last bastions of white supremacy, such a move might be expected to elicit protests or even large-scale violence. However, high school athletic desegregation proceeded reasonably smoothly, beginning with the football season of 1968. A number of black athletes became stars at heretofore all-white high schools, and all- or mostly white teams played teams from all-black schools without incident. Racially integrated state championship tournaments and all-star games took place in 1969. The rhetoric of Governor George Wallace notwithstanding, whites in the state had lost their taste for bitter-end defiance of federal power and the violent suppression of mass civil disobedience by African Americans. Schools, public facilities, and private businesses were gradually becoming desegregated, and white Alabamians were learning to make accommodations to a new racial order. While whites found new methods of racial control that were not based on the anachronistic Jim Crow system, and class lines remained as strong as ever, both whites and blacks quickly learned to love racially integrated high school athletic competition with the same passion that they had invested in its segregated predecessor.

This paper is part of a larger project on the desegregation of the football and basketball programs at the University of Alabama, and it will argue that the desegregation of high school sports was a necessary precondition for the desegregation of athletics at the university. Head football coach and athletic director Paul Bryant was loath to move more rapidly than the state’s white population as a whole on the race issue, and the orderly desegregation of high school athletics made it clear that the university could recruit African American athletes without fear of political repercussions. The football and basketball programs at the university began actively recruiting African American athletes within months of the desegregation of high school sports, and the two events are clearly connected.

Robert Dunkelberger, Bloomsburg University
The Rise and Fall of the Bloomsburg Wheelmen: How an Organization Devoted to Sport Lost its Way

Cycling became very popular in the late 19th century. Primarily at first a sport for men, the riders were termed “wheelmen” and in 1880 formed the League of American Wheelmen. Communities large and small formed their own cycling organizations, and one of these was in Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1897. Although the initial purpose was to unite riders, it quickly developed into a social club that sponsored numerous events in the community and its headquarters became a cultural center.
This paper will look at the reasons behind the creation, growth, and decline of the Bloomsburg Wheelmen, the makeup of its membership, its activities, how local businesses catered to its members, and the organization’s place in the culture of the community. A comparison will be drawn to similar groups in the largest city in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, as well as the activities and focus of the national organization, particularly their role as advocates for good roads in a largely unpaved society.

The primary argument will be that Wheelmen organizations were the product of a traditional desire of people with similar interests to get together, but eventually went far beyond their original purpose of promoting cycling. The diversification into other athletic pursuits and evolution as a social body hurt the organization by taking it away from its core mission. The conclusions will demonstrate why this occurred on the local level in Bloomsburg and to a lesser extent nationwide.

The paper’s significance to sport history is that it will show how organizations of sports enthusiasts at the turn of the 20th century promoted both amateur athletics and served their communities.

Jessica Dunkin, Carleton University
Physique, Strength, Grace, and Health: Physical Activity and the Young Women’s Christian Associations in Canada, 1870-1920

My current research is concerned with the ways in which sport and fitness activities were key sites for the construction of women’s bodies and subjectivities in Canada in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century. It takes as its starting point the physical education and fitness programming of the YWCA. Much of the work to date on the YWCA has been concerned with the organization’s social reform activities. At best, a handful of pages in historical treatments of the Association are devoted to the question of physical activity and education. However, as early as 1890, local associations in Canada were providing physical culture classes for members and by the turn of the century, a range of health, fitness, and recreational activities were common features of association calendars. That sport and fitness opportunities were significantly more popular than the religious outreach the leadership believed was so central to the organization’s mission invites pause. So too does the fact that physical departments made the YWCA one of the few urban institutions, if not the only one in some cases, at the turn-of-the-twentieth century to offer opportunities for physical activity to women, but particularly working-class women.

In addition to emphasizing the organization’s social reform activities, conventional understandings of the YWCA also frame it as a white middle-class institution that sought to inculcate the women of the working and immigrant classes with middle-class values. While these were clearly motives of the Association, such interpretations overstate the power that organizers had over programming and the meanings that participants attached to their experiences of physical activity. Archival evidence, for example, suggests that the working girls of the Hamilton YWCA were quite vocal in their desire for a real gymnasium. More than this, they took steps to secure just such a space for themselves by petitioning the board and raising funds.

Drawing on research I have conducted in the collections of the National YWCA and local
associations in Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver, this paper seeks to complicate dominant understandings of the YWCA by paying close attention to sport, physical fitness, and health programmes it offered in the period between 1870 and 1920. I begin by exploring the objectives and content of these programmes. Here, I am concerned with the ways in which the organization’s health and fitness programmes, in their promotion of a specific set of ideals, produced particular cultures of movement and embodied ways of knowing. In the second half of the paper, I consider the role played by participants in shaping institutional programming. Paying attention to the actions and contributions of the very population that the YWCA leadership claimed to serve—working-class women, immigrant women, and women of colour—reveals that power relationships within the organization were more complex and their effects more diffuse than the current literature suggests.

Mark Dyreson, Penn State University

The Original Olympic “War against Doping”:
Oxygen Use, Swimming Rivals, and International Politics in the 1930s

At the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles the Japanese men’s swimming team delivered a shocking performance. Facing an overwhelmingly favored American squad in its “home waters,” Japan won five gold medals, four silver medals, and two bronze medals. Though the United States had dominated Olympic pools throughout the 1920s, Japan swept to five victories in the six events staged in Los Angeles. The results stunned the United States. Losing to any nation at the Olympics rankled American sensibilities, conditioned to perceive the Olympics as platforms for trumpeting American exceptionalism. To lose to Japan in 1932, a rising modern power that threatened U.S. interests in the Pacific, and a nation that had not previously challenged American Olympic superiority, rocked American notions of their nation’s place in the world. Japan’s monumental upset sent American experts and the American media scrambling to explain this startling reversal of fortunes.

The coach of the United States Olympic swimming team, Lou Handley, credited Japan’s devotion to modern science as the key factor that explained the upset at Los Angeles. In particular, Handley and other swimming coaches targeted the Japanese employment of poolside oxygen to revive their swimmers as the crucial element in Japan’s medal haul. American swimming leaders launched a fusillade of “doping” allegations against the Japanese. The barrage of criticism emerged in spite of two contrary facts about their claims. First, neither the International Olympic Committee nor any other athletic body had declared the use of oxygen an illegal or unsporting act. In fact, the Olympic movement did not yet have any prohibitions against “doping” in its bylaws. Second, the scientific community had come to a rough consensus by 1932 that oxygen did not actually “enhance” performances in swimming or other, traditional, anaerobic sports. Ignoring contrary data, American swimming coach Matt Mann declared a “war against doping” in the wake of Japan’s oxygen usage and pushed American sporting organizations such as the National Collegiate Athletic Association to launch investigations into the “crisis.”

Japan’s victory in Los Angeles instigated a high profile series of swimming meets between the United States and its Pacific rival. Twenty thousand Japanese fans cheered Japan to a 1935 dual meet victory at the at the Meiji Shrine swimming stadium. Japan again bested the U.S. men at the 1936 Berlin
Olympics. As Tokyo prepared to host the 1940 Olympics, the swimming rivalry took center stage. American allegations of Japanese doping fueled the growing international fire that raged between the globe’s two leading swimming nations.

The controversy during the 1930s over Japanese “doping” represents one of the first outbreaks of virulent outcries against the use of performance enhancing substances (whether they in fact enhance, or not) in the history of the Olympics, and in the history of modern sport. The controversies reveal that national identity and international politics as much as fears for public health and safety or concerns about the integrity of competitions shaped the discourse about the use of substances to improve performances.

Following the new scholarship pioneered by John Hoberman, Thomas Hunt, Paul Dimeo, John Gleaves, and others on the history of doping that situates debates over these practices in political, social, and cultural milieus, this study seeks to place this “first” outbreak of Olympian doping controversy in a broad and comprehensive historical context. The study is based on primary sources about the doping debate from American newspapers, magazines, and scientific journals. With the help of international colleagues, the study will also seek to uncover Japanese perspectives on the controversy. This original “war against doping” established patterns for future international conflicts over the performance enhancing substances in international sport.

Sarah Jane Eikleberry, University of Iowa
More than Milk and Cookies: Complicating Play Day Narratives

The year 2012 ushered in the fortieth anniversary of Title IX and the first Summer Olympic Games in which each attending nation sent female competitors. While women’s sporting participation and athletic accomplishments have increased considerably in the past half century, too many historians have contributed to narratives of progress. Women’s sport participation in higher education is particularly discussed as a linear chronicle beginning with the “new woman’s” foray in college physical training, the non-competitive interwar coed, and the liberated Varsity sportswoman of the 1970s. The college play day, a practice emerging in California and Washington in 1926 is often discussed as a pedagogical misstep or competitive gaffe. This structure of competition has been critiqued by scholars and referred to as a hampering faux pas in the development of legitimate competitive structures for college-aged women and women’s sport administrators. I argue this interpretive move encourages scholars to overlook or dismiss extramural structures that characterized the competitive landscape for American college women. The consequence of such an approach is that nearly fifty years of women and girls’ sporting pasts are trivialized or ignored.

In research driven by critical archival analysis, I argue that the play day was more than a decrepit stepping stone traversed by the American sportswoman. From 1926-1970 college play days emerged and served as a mainstay of many physical education curriculums and Women’s Athletic Association schedules. The innovation of the college play day served as a flexible spectacle whose purpose shifted to suit its users for half a century. College play days served to satisfy new philosophical platforms and create professional solidarity, expose high school students to college life, train physical education majors to conduct and manage events, and establish activities that provided women’s physical
educators access to enthusiastic recruiting bases. In the tradition of Susan Cahn, Nancy Bouchier, Martha Verbrugge, and Allison Wrynn, the aim of this paper is to attentively contextualize the professional and social milieu in which the college play day was adopted and executed.

Fatima Elfaquir, University Claude Bernard Lyon 1
The Elements of Evolution in Physical Education and Sport for Girls in Morocco (1956-2012)

The present study seeks to analyze the principal institutional transformations relative to Physical Education in schools for young girls in the urban milieu; and within the context of postcolonial Morocco. That is, since 1956, the date when Morocco regained its independence following 44 years of the French and Spanish Protectorate. During the period under investigation, two texts illustrate the progressive ascent in power of a host of political incentives in favor of the practice of sport among girls and women. In 1964, the first national colloquium took place which addressed the issue of Sport and Physical Education, and which launched the development of sport among girls, a practice that had been considered as an “unknown activity” for the latter. In 2008, a second national colloquium was held which engendered a new law relative to Physical Education that was put into effect four years later, within a context where physical education was undergoing an identity crisis, as it was torn between educational practices and performance sport. Over a period of sixty years, the number of girls that practice sport has considerably increased, leaving a set of noteworthy consequences on civil sport and, by further extension, on Moroccan society as a whole.

The analysis of these texts, as well as the intermediary measures, specifically demonstrate that the model of physical education that has for years been advocated for young girls results from a set of forces that interact within Moroccan society, and that need to be clearly specified: the persisting influence of the French model; the changes taking place regarding the status of women in Moroccan society; the tension building up between religious resistance and an increasingly globalised culture; the desire for ascension of a young person who grows up to see in school sport the fundamentals of a future higher-level practice.

Chris Elzey, George Mason University
The Pro Basketball Team That Made Baltimore Proud: The 1947-48 Bullets

The Baltimore Bullets of 1947-48 were the first and last professional basketball team from the Charm City to win a major championship. Coached by the indomitable Harry “Buddy” Jeannette, the Bullets surprised the basketball world by beating the Philadelphia Warriors and their highly touted star, “Jumpin’ Joe” Fulks, in the finals of the Basketball Association of America (BAA).

For Baltimoreans, the championship represented a proud moment in the city’s otherwise lackluster experience with pro sports. The Bullets proved to skeptics that a pro team from the Charm City could win a major sports title. The triumph in 1948 was particularly satisfying because the Bullets’ archrival, the Washington Capitols, had failed to qualify for the playoffs, having lost a three-team play-in tournament, which Baltimore ultimately won.
A year earlier, the Bullets, then playing in the lesser-known American Basketball League, had repeatedly challenged the Caps, arguably the best team in the fledgling BAA, to play an exhibition game, but each time Washington refused. To Baltimoreans, the Caps’ decision was viewed as a snub, another example in a long list of differences between the two cities. When the two teams met for eight games in 1947-48, each encounter took on added significance. A Bullets-Caps matchup was physical, well attended and lively. It was not just the Bullets against the Capitols. It was blue-collar Baltimore against white-collar Washington. The aim of the essay is to examine what the 1947-48 Bullets and their championship meant to Baltimoreans, particularly in the context of the rivalry between the nation’s capital and the Charm City.

Colleen English, Penn State University

Justification and Suppression:
The Impact of Using Sex and Gender Differences to Establish the Inferiority of Women’s Sport

From the late 19th century through the 20th century, male-dominated society sought to establish and perpetuate sex and gender differences. In sport, this meant using both scientific and cultural evidence to demonstrate that women either could not participate in vigorous physical activity or that they must maintain a specific type of femininity while competing (for instance, organizations often forced women to wear more feminine uniforms). From a scientific standpoint, sport historian Patricia Vertinsky argues that medical professionals discouraged vigorous physical activity and subscribed to the vital energy theory—the idea that women only possessed a finite amount of energy that needed to be reserved for childbearing, not athletics or education. Though these ideas eventually subsided, beliefs that women were incapable of fully competing in strenuous sport, from long distance running to five-on-five basketball, persisted.

In addition to scientific perspectives that women were unable to compete at a high level, cultural attitudes justified differences between men’s and women’s sport. Popular media outlets, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), and professional women’s leagues perpetuated the idea that women athletes needed to maintain a feminine appearance while competing. To do this women were banned from sports deemed too strenuous, required to wear uniforms with skirts, encouraged to wear makeup and style their hair, and to act in a suitably feminine fashion—in other words the organizations pushed for what feminist scholar Adrienne Rich called “compulsory heterosexuality.” Along with scientific justifications, cultural explanations of difference helped to suppress women’s athletics.

Despite the unfortunate ramifications stemming from the justification of differences in the past, the study of commonalities and distinguishing features in men and women can help provide a better metaphysical understanding of people and fit within feminist scholarship. Establishing holistic analyses of difference, with an eye toward depicting a more accurate picture of human nature, can help to create nuanced sporting traditions for both women and men. On the other hand, using these distinctions to celebrate one sex as superior to the other proved problematic. Traditionally, the establishment of difference was not pursued for philosophic goals of understanding human nature, but rather to repress women. I argue that, historically, sporting organizations and popular media
created and used explanations of difference that placed women’s sport in an inferior position. By justifying differences from scientific and cultural standpoints, male dominated sporting organizations succeeded in unfairly suppressing women’s sport while perpetuating athletics as a male preserve.

John D. Fair, The University of Texas at Austin

One of the curious features in the history of modern Olympic sports has been the almost continuous decline of American weightlifting since the 1950s. Under the paternal guidance of Bob Hoffman, President of the York Barbell Company, teams representing the United States rose to international prominence during the 1930s, and America remained a perennial power in world and Olympic competitions for several decades. With the rise of nationalized sports programs in Eastern Europe, Japan, and Cuba during the 1960s, however, fewer American lifters were winning medals or setting records on the world stage. What followed in the 1970s and 1980s was a prolonged stagnation in performance and a precipitous decline relative to foreign strength athletes, to the extent that American weightlifting was never been able to recover its former elite status. How and why it happened, despite such promising beginnings and America’s premier placement in other Olympic sports, has been the subject of much discussion and speculation but little serious study. This statistical analysis of the most critical period of weightlifting’s relative decline is designed to fill that void. While not discounting such factors as leadership, lifters, and drugs, it concludes that America’s lackluster performance is rooted more deeply in the ethos of its capitalist culture. With money and talent migrating to more lucrative sectors of the nation’s sports-crazed society, weightlifting remained largely true to its antiquated amateur origins and consequently suffered from a culture of underachievement.

This study draws on three kinds of primary sources. First, it is based on data derived from yearly reports of American, world, and Olympic competitions from 1970 to 1992. It also utilizes the commentaries, editorials, and news reports from the three major lifting magazines of the period. Finally, it incorporates information from interviews of about a dozen leading figures in American weightlifting over a sixty year period. This paper highlights and prioritizes many of the factors leading to the success or failure of an Olympic sports program and possibly suggests ways that current leaders might redirect their energies.

Sarah K. Fields, Ohio State University
Law and Shame: The Legal Implications of Athletic Scandals

This paper discusses how the actions of courts and legislatures have impacted the historical conduct of intercollegiate athletics. Have courts and legislatures contributed to scandals or helped prevent scandals in the past? Have laws or court decisions influenced the administration of college athletics by impacting governing boards, presidents, faculty, alumni, students, conferences, or the NCAA? Is there any indication that the president-dominated NCAA for the past two decades has reformed
intercollegiate athletics to lessen the likelihood of scandals or have presidents been deterred by laws and court decisions? What are the legal impediments to presidents reforming athletics? Are athletic reforms likely to occur from laws and legal decisions? What laws or court decisions might help lessen athletic scandals? Would a decision eliminating amateurism be helpful or harmful?

Janice Forsyth, Western University

When Does Enhancement in Sport Become Cheating?
The Case of Oscar Pistorius at the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games

Oscar Pistorius’s inclusion in the 2012 Olympics captured the world’s attention and was one of the most reported events of the Games in London, UK. While some media celebrated his athletic accomplishments as inspiring because of the tremendous physical obstacles he had to overcome merely to participate in sport, other media questioned whether he should be allowed to compete in the Olympic Games at all because he was thought to have a perceived advantage over able-bodied athletes in the same events. Pistorius, a South African track and field athlete and double amputee below the knee, competed with carbon fiber legs, which he could replace or adjust depending on his needs. Unlike other disabled athletes who competed in Olympic Games before him, Pistorius’s disability was highly visible and easily made the object of worldwide attention, a point reinforced by the media that dubbed him “The Fastest Man with No Legs” and “The Blade Runner.” Within the context of the Olympic Games, his high-tech legs became a symbol for a new threat to the Olympic order, which positions able-bodied athletes as being the legitimate beneficiaries of public admiration and support.

This paper will use the story of Oscar Pistorius to examine why his inclusion in the Olympic Games drew worldwide attention and raised questions about “fairness” in Olympic sport. Specifically, this paper will: 1) trace the history of Paralympic athletes who have crossed-over to the Olympic Games and summarize the issues raised by their participation in that field; 2) outline the challenges that Pistorius faced in trying to gain access to the Olympic Games and the compromises he had to make in order to gain access to the event in London; and 3) document, analyze, and compare how select media framed Pistorius’s involvement in the 2012 Olympic Games with his involvement in the 2012 Paralympic Games. This last comparison will provide a point of reference for how the media framed the use of technology that enables athletes to engage in sport and how those messages reinforce and/or challenge normalizing discourses about what kind of sporting accomplishments are worth celebrating and which ones should be viewed with suspicion.

Estée Fresco, Western University

Relational Cultural Identity and Benevolent Imperialism:
Media Coverage of the 1930 British Empire Games and the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games

Canada hosted the inaugural British Empire Games (later called the Commonwealth Games) in 1930 when the Games came to Hamilton, Ontario. Another international sporting event came to Canada in 1976, when the country hosted the Olympic Games for the first time; they were held in
Montreal, Quebec. This paper will compare and contrast Canadian print media coverage of the 1930 British Empire Games with coverage of the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games. The key question that my paper will address is: what main themes related to Canadian identity were present in the media coverage of both events?

Although my research is ongoing, I anticipate that my paper will argue that media coverage of the 1930 British Empire Games and the 1976 Montreal Olympics discussed Canadian identity relationally. In the case of the 1930 British Empire Games, the coverage focused on the way in which these Games offered Canada an opportunity to distinguish itself culturally from Britain. In the case of the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games, media coverage of these Games focused on the role that the Olympics provided Canada in defining itself as culturally distinct from the United States and differentiating its foreign policy from the policies promoted by its neighbour to the South. The paper will also argue that the theme of benevolent imperial power was a recurring theme in coverage of both events. Coverage of the 1930 event depicted Canada as a colonial country whose ties lay with its mother country, the United Kingdom. In contrast, coverage of the 1976 event discussed the Canadian government as a tolerant imperial power through its discussion of the involvement of Aboriginal peoples in the Games.

By examining the relationship between media coverage of sporting events, Canadian identity and imperialism, I hope to contribute to scholarship in the field of sports history that considers the role that hosting mega-events played in shaping perceptions of Canadian culture, both domestically and abroad.

Gerald R. Gems, North Central College
The Urban Athletic Club: Crucible of Americanization

Between 1880-1920 more than 4,000,000 immigrants traveled to the United States in search of a better life. Most congregated in urban centers where overcrowded ethnic ghettos posed health, safety, and assimilation concerns. Progressive era reformers devised a three-step process to promote acculturation and assimilation among the immigrant ethnic youth: child labor laws to remove children from the workplace, mandatory education laws that required children to attend school where they could be taught American culture, and physical education that included the practical application of the American value system under trained teachers, coaches, and supervisors in the schools, parks, playgrounds, and neighborhood settlement houses. While such programs met with considerable success, not all children adhered to the middle-class beliefs and practices promoted by such agencies.

Frederick Thrasher’s *The Gang* (1927), a sociological study of more than 1,000 such neighborhood organizations in Chicago, provided ample evidence of an alternative street culture among immigrant and second-generation youth. Working-class youth, in particular, chafed at middle-class regulation and adapted both clubs and sports to their own habitus. This interdisciplinary study utilizes primary and secondary sources as well as oral histories and interviews in a case study of one such social-athletic club in Chicago across several generations (1917-1984) to discuss and analyze the evolution,
composition, and meanings of the organization to its multiethnic, multiracial, working-class membership.

Larry R. Gerlach, University of Utah
Gold and Glory, But God? Alma Richard’s Divine Leap Revisited

In Stockholm 1912, Alma Richards from tiny Parowan, Utah, won a gold medal with an Olympic record leap in the high jump. The victory was shocking because the high school student was an unheralded competitor and his 6’2,” 210-pound physique was ill suited for high jumping; it was the more dramatic because immediately before his winning jump, he reportedly stunned competitors, teammates, Olympic officials and 20,000 spectators by falling to his knees in prayer. Richard’s extraordinary athletic achievement and faithful supplication became an instrument of faith promotion in the 1980s and 1990s. An interest in things Olympic as Salt Lake City’s increased efforts to obtain the Winter Olympics coincided with efforts of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to promote sports as a means of creating a “mainstream” social and religious image. The two developments came together when the LDS church packaged Richards and two other Mormon Olympians as paragons of faith and piety in inspirational programs for church members, primarily youth, designed to reinforce traditional beliefs, teachings, doctrines and practices. By personifying the role of religion in athletic success, and by extension other endeavors as well, the trio also appeared to non-members as exemplars of Mormonism. Peter Vidmar and Henry Marsh personally bore their testimonies before church groups, but the publication of Richard’s story was the more compelling because it involved a public expression of his faith and a prayerful supplication that resulted in Divine favor.

This presentation operates on two levels. First, it offers a case study of how religious institutions use sport to inspire and recommit the faithful as well as to proselytize by example those outside the faith. In this case LDS church leaders were especially interested in using sport to abet efforts to project a “mainstream” image of the minority faith widely viewed with suspicion if not hostility. Second, it examines the ways in which stories of religiosity are constructed so that faithful purpose overrides factual analysis. The burden of the paper is an examination of the Richards prayer story from the high jump pit in Stockholm through years of commentary in newspapers and personal correspondence; the evidence indicates that the incident is either grossly exaggerated or without foundation.

Steven P. Gietschier, Lindenwood University
“Uncle Sam Needs Only to Call”: Baseball and the United States’ Peacetime Military Draft, 1940-1941

As the foreign policy of the United States moved hesitantly from isolationism toward interventionism in the late 1930s, a proposal to initiate peacetime conscription for the first time in American history crystallized the debate over military preparedness. Should the United States prepare for war? Should the size of the armed forces be increased? Should the military rely on
voluntary enlistments, or would conscription, a draft, be the better way to accomplish the nation’s goals? If conscription were to become the law, how should a draft be implemented? And finally, how would a draft affect the civilian work force and the continued productivity of businesses that may or may not be deemed essential to the national defense?

This paper will examine these questions refracted through the lens of the business of baseball. Using primary sources—newspapers—and the secondary literature, the paper will reveal how baseball officials reacted ambivalently to the growing international crisis. On the one hand, baseball wanted not only to appear patriotic, but to be patriotic, assisting the move toward an internationalist foreign policy. On the other hand, baseball wanted to stay in business, hoping that the government and the general public would define the sport as a leisure-time activity so important to American morale that it could continue unimpeded even if the nation went to war.

Officials of professional baseball listened with keen interest as the debate over conscription unfolded in Congress. Club owners did not want to repeat their sport’s clumsy response to America’s entrance into the Great War when they quickly began to regard mobilization as an intrusion upon their business. Eschewing the sacrifice that wartime patriotism requires, baseball pled for special status in 1918 and suffered severe economic repercussions. This paper will trace baseball’s actions and reactions to the coming of the Second World War. The analysis will begin with Congress considering the Burke-Wadsworth bill that became the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 and conclude with the Japanese attacking Pearl Harbor. National League president Ford Frick asserted that “baseball is ready, yes eager, to do its duty in national defense,” but in fact, club owners adopted roughly the same pose during these treacherous times as they had two decades earlier: re-asserting their sport’s identity as the patriotic National Pastime but also working assiduously and nervously to protect it as their business.

Not long after the end of World War II and Jackie Robinson’s historical entry to Major League baseball, Sam Lacy, who began covering sports in 1918, changed the name of the column he wrote for the weekly Baltimore Afro-American to “A to Z.” His previous column title was “Looking ‘Em Over,” but the new title, Lacy maintained, was meant to suggest the need for a “diversity of focus.” Major League baseball had been integrated, a landmark of racial progress Lacy began arguing for in the 1930s, but many battles remained to be fought for African-Americans, both on and off the playing field. When he renamed his column, Lacy did so intending to stress the connection between sport, politics, and social criticism.

The truth is, however, that while Lacy promised a more intense focus on social criticism in the post-war period, his sportswriting always emphasized the social and political struggles of African Americans as much as it simply reported on the facts of a game. This essay is a close textual analysis of Lacy’s work, particularly as it pertains to sports other than baseball. Baseball was Lacy’s first love, and integrating baseball was his major journalistic crusade. Rather, this essay will examine Lacy’s position on the following events and issues: the Jim Crow treatment by the University of Maryland...
in 1937 of Syracuse football player Wilmeth Sidat-Singh; Lee Elder’s pioneering efforts on the Professional Golf Association tour; the seemingly racially motivated fights and arrests that followed the Washington City Championship scholastic football game between Eastern (predominantly African-American) and St. John’s (predominantly white and suburban) in 1962; and the John Carlos-Tommie Smith black-glove protest at the 1968 Summer Olympic Games. In covering these issues, Lacy followed his conscience rather than falling lockstep into a position that might have been favored by the majority of his readers.

Doriane Gomet, Institut de formation en éducation physique et en sport d’Angers
Survival Strategy or Bloody Violence? Boxing in Concentration and Extermination Camps

Although sport can help develop hygienic and recreational goals, it also can be a means of enslaving and torturing people. Such disturbing ambivalence is at the heart of this paper, which mainly focuses on boxing among French prisoners in the concentration and extermination camps between 1940 and 1945.

Three different conditions and significances of boxing are considered: i) the fights and training sessions practiced by certain privileged deported people; ii) the boxing matches organized by the SS and imposed to the deportees who were known for their skills in boxing; iii) the fights imposed to the deportees to punish or even to kill them. For instance, certain deported people serving as Kapos or Blockaltester used other prisoners to do shadow boxing, to train or even to reduce them to punching balls, knowing that they used frequently the other prisoners by way of sandbag. As for performances, the Nazis let deported people train; they gave them more substantial food rations and forced them to take part in fights organized on a real boxing ring on Sundays, where prisoners had to fight against themselves or against SS.

On top of the known literature on the history of the concentration camp system (Broszat, Wormser-Migot, Orth, Sofsky) and various camps monographs (Fabréguet), the study is based on records kept in Paris (National Archives, Centre for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, Archives of Victims of Contemporary Conflicts) and Berlin (Bundesarchiv). It also uses documents from the Association of Mauthausen and Gedenkstätte (museum) of this last camp, but also from the camps of Dachau and Buchenwald. The corpus is completed with minutes of the tribunal held after the war, including the famous Frankfurt trial, and with several interviews published in the decade which followed the end of the war, twenty-three testimonies from former prisoners of Auschwitz, twenty from Mauthausen, twenty-five from Buchenwald and twenty-three from Dachau.

The study shows that the specificity of the camps, whose foundations were laid in Dachau in 1933, had important implications in all aspects of the daily life of prisoners: while some enjoyed leisure time, a majority tried to survive and escape from various forms of violence, mobilizing strategies between accommodation and resilience.
Leah Grandy, University of New Brunswick  
Racing on Paper: The Growth of Sporting Culture through the Press

The sport of harness racing rose to significance in eastern North America during the mid-to-late nineteenth century amid a period of key economic, social, and cultural change. The popularity of harness racing reflected the new social focus on industrial and urban society. A significant factor in the development of industrial and mass culture was the use of new technologies in communications such as the telegraph and the daily newspaper, and the rise of harness racing as a popular sport mirrored the rise of the popular press. Harness racing appeared as an item of interest almost as soon as the press was established, with the extensive year-round coverage of the sport within newspapers being indicative of the sport’s widespread popularity. Trends in the Fredericton *Daily Gleaner*’s coverage of harness racing epitomized the popular press’ emergence as a “booster” for the sport. Articles on harness racing in the newspaper reflected a distinctively poetic style of journalism often typical of early sports writing and letters to the editor were very serious and controversial when it came to the topic of harness racing. Bangor, Maine’s *Daily Commercial* has also been examined for a journalistic comparison. The year-round coverage of harness racing in the newspapers allows for a seasonal profile of the sport, and provides a contemporary perspective to demonstrate its growing significance in Maritime and New England society.

Martina Gugglberger, University of Linz  
“A Woman’s Place is on Top”: All-Women’s Expeditions to the Himalaya since 1959

The history of mountain climbing is a gender-biased history. In the beginnings of mountaineering in the 18th and 19th centuries the ideal climber was constructed along stereotyped masculine values and linked to heroic and nationalised discourses. In countries like Great Britain the new founded alpine clubs in the second half of the 19th century were considered as man-only associations. Even if women were not clearly excluded from membership as in many other national alpine clubs their places and roles remained marginalised until the end of the 20th century.

This paper investigates former strategies of women climbers to follow their passion for high-altitude mountain climbing. After WW II, female climbers in Europe and the U.S. picked up a practice already established by British women in the 1920s and 1930s: all-women-rope teams and expeditions.

With the opening of Nepal to foreigners since 1950 new efforts were made to reach the summits of the highest peaks of the world and to discover new areas in the Himalaya region. Even though female climbers were successful for example in the Alps and the Andes, women rarely were among those who headed for the unclimbed 8000 m high Himalayan peaks. Claude Kogan, in 1954, achieved the highest point a woman ever had climbed before with a French expedition to Cho Oyu. After her experiences in a mixed team she organised the first all-women’s expedition to Cho Oyu (8,188 m). Her international team consisted of 12 members and assembled the female climbing elite at the time in Europe. The expedition was accompanied by an intense media response, especially after the expedition ended tragically with the death of the leader Claude Kogan and the Belgian Claudette van Stratten.
After this first effort of an exclusively female expedition it was a Japanese group of three women who reached the first 8,000 m peak, the Manaslu in 1974. A milestone in the history of women’s expeditions was the American Women’s Himalayan Expedition organized by the climber Arlene Blum. The slogan of the project to climb Annapurna (8025 m) is used for this presentation as a title: “A women’s place is on top.” Nearly twenty years after the Cho Oyu expedition a more feminist inspired generation of female climbers tried to escape the paternalism of male mountaineers.

In my presentation I will focus on the expeditions of 1959 and 1978 to discuss gender arrangements in the field of high-altitude mountaineering after 1945. Based on archival materials, personal documents, oral history interviews, and contemporary newspaper articles I will discuss the circumstances and conditions of all-women’s expeditions from the 1950s to the 1980s. A focus will be set on gender discourses in the context of sport, especially high-altitude mountaineering, and the question of the role of feminist politics upcoming in the 1960s with its impacts on the leading female climbers.

The presentation argues that the generation of female climbers of the 1970s were influenced by the feminist movement bringing a new notion of gender politics to the space of alpinism. Additionally a change in argumentation from the 1950s to the 1970s concerning the debate on physical capacity of women for high-altitude climbing is illustrated. The paper concludes with the question of possible shifts of gender arrangements in the space of high-altitude mountaineering from a historical perspective.

Richard Hardesty, George Mason University
“A Wink at a Homely Girl”: The Orioles and Baltimore’s Urban Development, 1954-1974

In October 1966, as Baltimore prepared to host its first World Series, Mark Kram from *Sports Illustrated* penned a lengthy, at times acerbic, article that chronicled the city, its people, and its sporting traditions. In “A Wink at a Homely Girl,” which played off a noted H. L. Mencken quote, Kram described Baltimore as a lazy town in decline, “a waterfront orphan” often ridiculed by neighboring Washington and Philadelphia. Baltimoreans, in Kram’s view, stood out as mostly honest, hardworking people. Yet they also resisted change, opting instead to live in the past by overstating yesterday’s glories. Baltimoreans embraced the city’s rich horse racing tradition through the annual running of the Preakness, but they vocally embraced and expressed loyalty to the city’s football team, the Colts. Ironically, as the Orioles won their first world title, they did so in a football town with a deep horse racing past.

As a native Baltimorean, Kram had intimate knowledge of the city. He grew up in the Canton section of town, became a three-sport star at local Calvert Hall High School, and spent four years writing for the *Baltimore Sun* before moving on to write for *Sports Illustrated*. Kram peppered his comments on Baltimore with a mixture of love and anger, while the magazine’s editor cited the piece as “a cry of offended passion.” Yet for Baltimoreans, the piece did not simply represent an insult, but an insult by one of their own. Baltimoreans wrote in to not only express pride in the Orioles, but to also condemn Kram. While Holton F. Brown described Baltimore as a city unglued when the
Orioles won the World Series, David P. Barrett took direct aim at Kram, noting how “he has done Baltimore a disservice by creating an inaccurate image of his former home town for the world to see.”

While Kram’s article highlighted the wounded civic pride that existed with himself and some members of his audience, “A Wink at a Homely Girl” symbolized the Orioles’ overlooked relationship with Baltimore. Kram rightly viewed Baltimore as a football town, but he also understated the Orioles importance to the city. To be sure, the Colts could pack Baltimore’s Memorial Stadium, turning the venue into “The World’s Largest Outdoor Insane Asylum.” The Orioles could not replicate this feat. However, the team represented a vital part of Baltimore. The Orioles arrived in 1954, at a time when municipal officials and business leaders looked for ways of reversing Baltimore’s economic and population decline. How did the Orioles influence Baltimore’s urban renewal projects? What did the Orioles reveal regarding the city’s racial climate? How did the organization’s success during the 1960s and 1970s affect Baltimore’s image? Newspaper accounts, government records, personal recollections, and private letters will show that Baltimore’s story of urban renewal cannot be completely understood without the Orioles.

C. Keith Harrison, University of Central Florida

Using the framework established by Jason Chambers in *Madison Avenue and the Color Line: African Americans in the Advertising Industry* (2009), this paper examines the content and cultural messages of *Black Sports Magazine*. Each magazine’s content during this period reveals unique messages, corporate ads, features, departments and non-stereotypical features of Black sport participation. *Black Sports* was published monthly in New York with advertising sales offices in Chicago, Detroit, and Atlanta. It cost 75 cents per issue. The Black athlete in the 1970s has received more public than scholarly attention. By analyzing *Black Sports*, this paper hopes to contribute new knowledge in the areas of Black sport journalism and Black institutional ownership of its own brand development. According to sociologist Harry Edwards, “the black sports reporter writes not only about developments on the field of play, but also of those influences that might affect athletes off the field.” *Black Sports* was unique in this way, depicting diverse representations of Black sport participation, on and off the field. This paper will examine some of the images, photos and content positioning of *Black Sports* during the 1970s and analyze how this period impacts contemporary cultural artifacts today by Black institutions in journalism, media and so forth.

Phil Hatlem, Saint Leo University
London’s Earls Court: A Fitting Farewell

The 2012 Olympic Volleyball competition was held in London’s Earls Court, a grand ol’ building that previously hosted numerous Olympic competitions 64 years earlier during the 1948 London Olympics. The use of this venue, along with other existing venues, fit with the LOCOG’s attempt to create a legacy of sustainability for the 2012 games (*The Sun* 2012).
For Earls Court, however, the 2012 Summer Games is its final act as an athletic venue. One of London’s most famous event spaces (Event 2012), and an integral part of the exhibition industry in London for the past 75 years, the building is slated for demolition and the 70 acre site will be used for a residential-led mixed-use site.

The author, who attended Olympic Volleyball matches at Earls Court during the 2012 Games, will examine the history of the venue, its value and meaning to London athletic events over the years, and the role it played in helping the LOCOG establish a “legacy effect” of the games (Tourism Report 2012). It is anticipated that the “lessons learned” from the inclusion of Earls Court during the 2012 London Olympic Games can be applied by future cities as they prepare bids to host upcoming mega events.

Guy M. Hays, Independent Scholar
Harry Wright’s 1874 Excursion to England

Reexamining Harry Wright’s role in the 1874 baseball tour of England may provide a deeper understanding and perhaps a different perspective on the possible purpose of the trip. In 1874 Harry was the manager of the Boston Red Stockings. He had gained fame when he led the Cincinnati Red Stocking on a historical tour of the United States in 1869. Then in 1872 he led his Boston Red Stocking on a tour in Canada’s Ontario Province. Crossing the Atlantic and taking 18-20 baseball players to England was a little more challenging. What motivated Wright to bring baseball teams to England? Did he really want to be a baseball missionary to his homeland and plant the game there?

This study will rely on primary sources. Albert G. Spalding’s book America’s National Game provided the first inside look of tour of Great Britain by American Professional Baseball teams. Although Spalding’s account of the trip is self-aggrandizing, it does yield a wealth of useful information. Harry Wright’s letters and logs in the Spalding Collection of the New York Public Library disclose much of what went on in the planning and background of the trip. They also shed light on his motives. Harry Chadwick’s columns in the New York Clipper contribute insights from the sports writer that Spalding claimed helped him arrange the tour. Other newspapers and periodicals of the time also add useful information.

Harry Wright may have had a strong desire to go to England and baseball gave him a way to go. He had been born there and still had relatives there. Having received an invitation from the Secretary of the Marylebone Cricket Club, he devised the means to go by taking two teams of baseball players to England.

Due to the demands of scheduling the 1874 season, Harry Wright had to send someone he trusted. Thus, he sent Spalding as his representative to scope out the territory and make arrangements. Far from being a surprise, playing cricket in England may have been expected. The instructions that Wright had given Spalding may have included an offer to play cricket to gain the support of the cricket clubs whose grounds the baseball teams hoped to use. Perhaps more important to Wright, however, may have been the lure of playing cricket against the best 11s in England and taking a wicket. After all, he had been a Cricket Professional and still loved to play the game.
Michael K. Heine, Western University
At Your Service: Incipient Narratives of the National and the Signifying Force of Recreation Practices in Post-British Garrison Canada

The formation of the Canadian state in its incipient phase during the time of the British North America Act and Confederation necessitated the emplacement of a narrative of national identity whose popular validity depended on its articulation to pre-existing provincial, regional, and local political practices and identities. The position of sports and recreational practices of the period, in the stabilization of this national narrative, has been examined at the broad level of international relations. More limited attention has been paid to the quotidian social practices that served to articulate the developing discourse of the national to discourses of regional and local identity; sports and recreational practices played an important mediating role in these processes at the regional and local levels.

Much as the national project was in its formative stage, so the space of sports stood at the beginning of its development as a distinct social practice. The underdetermination of dominant narratives thus evident in both discourses at the time, opened a space for the emergence of temporarily dominant discursive elements produced in the interdiscourse that conjoined valorizations of the national and of sporting practices. The signifying force of both discourses of sports, and of the national, then, relied on the production of mutual validations through the minutiae of mundane recreational activities at local and regional levels.

In this paper, we examine dominant elements of signification that emerge in the interdiscourse which conjoins understandings of the meaningfulness of recreational activities, to an emerging popular narrative of the national. We specifically focus on signifying practices characteristic of, and produced through one of the more publicly-visible activities of rifle shooting, and the tendential resignification of this practice in the interdiscourse which emerges in the sport’s engagement with the developing narrative of the national.

Matthew R. Hodler, University of Iowa
“I Run to Win”: Chariots of Fire and Multiculturalism Three Decades On

Films are cultural artifacts that often mark the time in which they were produced more so than the times that they purport to commemorate. As a result, it is often important for scholars to look at the contexts in which the film is released to determine and/or make meanings. However, the very nature of films as transportable across time and space necessitates that their meaning(s) constantly shift and, as a result, need to be (re)contextualized and (re)examined.

Released in 1981, the award-winning film Chariots of Fire depicts British Olympic athletes’ successes at the 1924 Olympic games. Like all cultural artifacts, films are polysemic and can be read in a variety of ways. At the time of its release, two popular readings of this film included seeing it as a champion of the values of the British aristocracy or viewing it as a celebration of sport (and by extension, Britain) as a site for individual success through hard work.
In this paper, through textual and contextual analyses, I do argue for seeing the film as a celebration of individual success, but within the late-1970s conservative reactions to multiculturalism and meanings of being British. Furthermore, and in light of the re-emergence of the film (and its immediately recognizable theme) in the lead up to and during the London 2012 Olympics, I argue that it is important to consider what messages this film may carry for contemporary viewers who are (still) trying to make sense of notions of multiculturalism and nationalism three decades later.

Annette Hofmann, Ludwigsburg University of Education
Turnen and Sports under the Swastika and the Star Spangled Banner: German-American Turners and their Involvement with Nazi Ideology

The German Turners and their Turnvereine, which were markedly chauvinistic in imperial Germany, continued to be very much involved in German nationalism during the Nazi era. They were among the first sports clubs to accept the new political system. As one result, all Jewish members were expelled from or forced to resign from their Turnvereine. In the U.S., nineteenth-century German immigrants had established a widespread Turner movement that goes back to the mid 19th century. When the Nazis seized power in 1933, German-American Turner had to come to terms with political developments in the “Fatherland.” National Socialist tendencies were widespread. A German-American Volksbund was founded to act as the Nazis’ American arm. Many German-American clubs joined the Bund. Although there is a lack of research on the German-American Turner’s involvement in the National Socialist movement, available sources show that many Turner participated in the German Turnfests in 1933 and in 1938 both of which were held under the swastika. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, a “Deutsche Turn- und Sporttag” was organized on New York Randall’s Island. The organizers of these festivals tried to combine symbols of the new Germany, such as the swastika, with American values. Other Turner societies rented out their gymnasiums to gatherings of the Bund. There is also evidence to lighten the dark picture. Not all American Turners and not all Turnvereine were susceptible to Nazi influences or tolerant of members of their societies who sympathized with the Bund or with Nazi ideology. Indeed, the Turners’ umbrella organization, the American Turner Union, suggested immediate expulsion of anyone in its societies who was involved in Nazi activities.

Richard P. Holt, George Mason University
Cycle Tours and Le Tour de France: Sporting Entrepreneurs and the Promotion of Modern Cycling in France and Australia in the Early Twentieth Century

By 1903 the new sport of cycling had arrived as a widely popular spectacle in Europe, North America and Australia. In that year, two promoters from different parts of the globe sought to cash in on the cycling fever before fans turned to new adventures. Both established a long-lasting impact on the sport of cycling and used cycling to build their reputations as sport promoters.
In Australia, Hugh “Huge Deal” McIntosh was elected Secretary of the New South Wales League of Wheelmen. He starts working on a plan to bring the world champion cyclist, Marshall “Major” Taylor, to Australia to race. In 1903 Major Taylor arrived in Australia and wowed thousands of spectators across the country with his amazing cycling skills. Huge Deal made a lot of money on the tour, created excitement as well as becoming embroiled in controversy along the way. Many accusations of cheating occur and the results of one of the races, the Sydney Thousand, actually headed to court for a final decision on the outcome.

In France, Henri Desgrange was appointed as editor of L’Auto. Desgrange was a journalist, had been a competitive cyclist and promoted sporting events. He was co-owner of the velodrome at the Parc des Princes in Paris and worked for Paris-Velo prior to taking the position at L’Auto. Desgrange’s L’Auto was in competition with Le Velo and sales were not going well for the former. In order to boost sales of L’Auto, Desgrange, with help from his staff, created the Tour de France road race. The race does not take place without drama. Controversy followed the initial tour as cheating was rife and fans of rival riders attacked riders they did not support. However, Desgrange’s race captured the imagination and passion of the French people and continues today.

In both the Australian and French cases, sports promotion altered the status of cycling as a sport, though not without negative consequences. We argue that while both marketers had ulterior motives in promoting cycling as spectacle, they unleashed the passion of athletes and spectators who viewed cyclists as super human celebrities to be admired or hated for their physical endurance and speed. Ultimately Desgrange proved to have the longer lasting approach and France became identified globally as the “home” of cycling while in Australia, cycling became one of several sports keenly followed, though long-distance road racing was less favored there. We examine the two men’s approaches to sports promotion, particularly cycling and compare and contrast the impact on the sport in the two countries and internationally in the early twentieth century and beyond.

Emanuel Hübner, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster

Olympics in Amateur Films: Unknown Images of the 1936 Olympic Games

The Olympic Games of 1936 play an exceptional role in the history of sports. Though 75 years ago, their significance is still an object of lively discussion. After all, they were the first Olympic Games to be staged in a country that was under a dictatorship. By means of generous financial and personal support, the national-socialistic regime utilized the event to increase the prestige of the Third Reich in the eyes of the world, as well as to demonstrate its ostensible goodwill. The modern contemporary visual memory of this, the most important sports event before the Second World War, is mainly influenced by the film that Leni Riefenstahl produced by appointment for the IOC.

However, next to this official film production and the broadcasts in the newsreels, there was a third group of recipients: the amateur filmmakers. They captured the events purely for their private use and often with very simple technical means. Most important: they were not submitted to any censorship. Many of these (usually only 8 mm wide) silent films were destroyed in the Second World War. Those that survived were, until now, neither collected nor archived. The historian Emanuel Hübner, member of the Institute for Sport Sciences at the University of Münster (Germany), has
collected over 30 amateur films, documents that have never before been shown in public, in this scientific project. The result is a unique documentation of the Olympic Games of 1936, complete with a spoken text compiled by Hübner himself, and contemporary background music of the Thirties. This film depicts the 1936 Olympic Games exclusively by means of private films and thus reflects the private perspective of the typical man-on-the-street on the events in Berlin (Summer Games), Kiel (maritime events), and Garmisch-Partenkirchen (Winter Games). On the whole, this paper will provide a substantial historical contribution towards a better understanding of the Olympic Games of 1936.

John Hughson, University of Central Lancashire

Cut From a Different Cloth: The Material Significance of Diego Maradona’s Shirt

Among the key items of interest in the National Football Museum of England, located in the Urbis Building, Manchester, UK, is the football shirt worn by Diego Maradona (b. 1960) in the 1986 FIFA World Cup quarterfinal match between Argentina and England, played in Mexico City. This paper reflects upon the significance of this material item with regard to its varying “value” as a museum object. This paper, via a discussion of the shirt’s provenance, from its design by Le Coq Sportif, Maradona’s wearing of it at the 1986 match, to its reappearance in the National Football Museum, traces the differing symbolic interpretations that may be applied to the shirt. That one former England player would regard the shirt as unworthy to use as carwash rag, while other observers associate it with the career highlight of one of football’s few god-like players indicates the on-going polysemantic status of this particular sporting garment. Related consideration leads to a discussion of the difficulty faced by “retro” football shirt manufacturers in attempting to capture “authenticity” within reproductions of the Maradona shirt. The paper is based within material cultural studies and museum studies and draws upon primary research pertaining to the material item in question.

Michael R. Hull, Laurentian University

(De)Constructing the American Sport Hero: A Textual Analysis of the 1959 Hiring of Vince Lombardi

This paper examines the various meanings of the taken for granted concept, the “American Hero,” in sport culture. Using historical sport media documents found in the Green Bay Press-Gazette and the theoretical framework of hegemonic masculinity, I will perform a textual analysis in order to examine narratives concerning the year (1959) of the hiring of iconic sports figure and former head coach and general manager of the Green Bay Packers, Vince Lombardi. Focusing on media representations of Vince Lombardi leading up to and during his inaugural season as head coach of the Packers will provide insight into how American sport is linked to political, social, gender and economic issues in American society. Despite Lombardi’s well-documented history as an iconic figure in American sports history, this study is a novel addition considering that he has never been critically examined with relationship to these links.
Thomas M. Hunt, The University of Texas at Austin
The Continuing Relevance of the Cold War in America’s Olympic Thinking: A Critical Assessment

Although the Cold War posed a very real threat to human existence, its bi-polar nature gave American decision-makers in office during the period—including those involved in sport—an assortment of bureaucratic, financial, and political advantages over their contemporary counterparts. In lobbying for resources, American sports officials were, for instance, given the ability to make a strong case by focusing their rhetoric on the need to beat athletic teams from the other side of the Iron Curtain. In 1978, the U.S. Congress even passed legislation specifically geared toward revamping the American amateur athletic system to make it more competitive with those of the former Soviet-bloc. In addition, the American media was able to employ the Cold War as a sort of advertising mechanism in “selling” international sport to the U.S. public.

Given these realities alongside the seemingly more complicated (and consequently more frustrating) nature of today’s international environment, it is not altogether surprising that considerable nostalgia exists regarding the Cold War in American thinking about the wider world—including that directed towards the Modern Olympic Movement. In fact, American sports officials as well as the U.S. media and foreign policy elite have in recent years demonstrated a growing willingness to depict the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in Cold War terms. A July 2012 online post by ABC News blogger Jeffrey Kofman serves as a representative example. “Is China the New Soviet Union at the Olympics,” he asked. Utilizing evidence gleaned primarily from the public record, this conference paper examines the myriad roots of this rhetoric in particular reference to the wider state of relations between the United States and the PRC. The paper concludes by arguing that the growing tendency of U.S. actors to portray the PRC as a Soviet-style threat runs the risk of self-fulfillment.

Scott R. Jedlicka, The University of Texas at Austin
Democracies, Autocracies, and the Purported Inclusiveness of the Olympic Movement

One of the Olympic movement’s fundamental tenets is that, unlike some other international arenas, it has welcomed all nations indiscriminately; regardless of a state’s size, demography, or political construction, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) strives to be as inclusive as possible. The popular corollary, of course, is that states have seen the Games as an easily-attained point of access to the broader international political system. In this sense, participation in the Olympics is seen as a stepping stone to membership in international organizations and military or economic alliances, as well as a more general declaration or affirmation of national sovereignty. However, despite its intuitive appeal and aside from some case-based evidence, this assumption remains largely unexamined by sport scholars.

This study provides a more robust test than is present in the existing literature of the notion that states have and continue to see the Olympics as an entry point into the international system. In
order to accomplish this, I treat the assumption that the Olympics are nondiscriminatory as analytically prior to any theory of state behavior. In other words, the suggestion that states view the Olympic Games as an easy way to assert themselves on the international stage rests on the belief that the Olympic movement is, in fact, readily accessible (or at least more so than other types of international engagement). It thus becomes necessary to verify the claim that the IOC is indeed nondiscriminatory when it comes to officially recognizing national Olympic committees (NOCs). Moreover, given the current stability of the international system relative to the first half of the twentieth century, it is equally important to test this assertion in different historical contexts.

Given the central role that values such as peace, tolerance, and respect play in the Olympic movement, it seems likely that, if the IOC were to discriminate against certain states, regime type would factor heavily into the organization’s decision. For this reason, the analysis presented in this conference paper focuses on regime type (whether a state is relatively democratic or autocratic) and attempts to answer two questions. First, and most fundamentally, does regime type matter to the IOC in recognizing NOCs of newly independent states? Second, does a change in regime type (i.e., from democratic to autocratic or vice versa) precipitate acceptance into the Olympic movement? These questions are considered over the entire span of the Olympic Games’ existence (beginning in 1896) as well as within the context of distinct periods within the Olympic movement. Drawing on Olympic membership and participation data from the IOC and the LA84 Foundation, and the publicly-available Polity IV data set, this study will comprehensively test the assumption that the Olympic Games are wholly inclusive, as well as whether this assumption is historically contingent.

Jarrod Jonsrud, Penn State University
Gonzo Journalism as the Methodological Precursor to Autoethnography and its Impact on Sport History

As we close in on a decade since the death of Hunter S. Thompson, the absurdity and vulgarity of his personal and professional tactics diminishes and the glow of his genius brightens. Like many other counter-cultural figures that came before him, Thompson’s sometimes offensive style and approach to his work often overshadowed his ingenuity and creativity. Thompson chose non-conformity, and because of this choice his work was often misunderstood or completely dismissed altogether. As time passes, the sharp edges that remain in our memories of Thompson’s abrasiveness have been worn smooth, and it is time for a critical reappraisal of his work. This paper examines Thompson’s methodological approach to journalism, which was coined in 1970 as “Gonzo Journalism,” through the postmodern lens of autoethnography. I will argue that Thompson’s Gonzo journalism provided the structural precursor for the contemporary methodology now known as autoethnography. Described as “writing one’s self into the story,” autoethnography takes seriously the socio-cultural aspects that influence qualitative research and researcher alike. Likewise, Thompson realized the importance of accounting for the reporter’s role in the stories he wrote; he understood that whether he tried to be or not, by virtue of being there he was part of the story.

A radical shift from traditional journalistic style that strives for objectivity, Gonzo journalism seemed to Thompson to offer a more honest version of the story. Following a look at emblematic examples of Thompson’s gonzo journalistic approach, such as Hell’s Angels: The Strange and Terrible Saga of
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the Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs (1967), “The Kentucky Derby is Decadent and Depraved,” and “American letters, Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail ‘72,” showing the similarities with autoethnography, I will then discuss some possible connections between a deliberately subjective method and the practice of doing sport history. What are the potential drawbacks with using an account of a sporting event done in gonzo fashion as a primary resource? When done reflectively and purposefully, does the subjective experience of the researcher belong in an account of sport history? In the foreword of Murray Phillips’ Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis, it says that “history is as much about the historian and the present and its own future as it is about the past itself.” Should sport history go gonzo? Does the historian’s experience provide anything useful to the retelling of past events?

As a counter-cultural hero, Hunter S. Thompson introduced a compelling new way to report on and write the news. Thompson’s unique perspective offended many people, but his innovations should be taken seriously as a valuable addition to the methodology that will provide a more honest and complete account of past events, and help us understand the significance of sport history research.

Brian Kennedy, Pasadena City College
Unintentional Epic: Ken Dryden’s Unvoiced Knowledge and the Myth of Team Canada

Ken Dryden lost games one and four of the 1972 Summit Series, and he ended up playing four games (one, four, six, and eight) and letting in nineteen goals for a 4.75 GAA. Pretty grim numbers indeed, though not so bad when one considers the average statistics shared by NHL goaltenders of the time. (Dryden’s NHL numbers, by the way, were far better, with a 2.24 GAA.) In game eight of the series, he allowed five goals by the end of the second period, putting his team down 5-3 and nearly costing them the ultimate victory. Or perhaps that should be said the opposite way: Dryden’s anti-heroics in the first two periods of game eight set up the situation where a come-from-behind win made the series the epic event it is often viewed as today.

Interesting is that in the shadow of the series, Dryden would write the first of his hockey books, Face-off at the Summit (1973), which gives a goalie’s-eye-view of the series which intended (or pretended) to explain the inner workings of Team Canada. What never comes out in the book is the simple truth that Dryden should have known how good the opposing team would be, because he was with the National team of Canada during 1969-70, and he played in the hockey World Championship in 1969. As such, he would have seen the Soviet team and understood both their skill and their strategy, and logically, he should have understood their conditioning advantage and their potential strategic superiority. For someone who paid as much attention to detail as the Ivy-league educated Dryden did, Dryden had no excuse not to realize that the Canadian team of 1972 was in trouble before game one, though the historical record offers no specific evidence that he had this realization, or that he spoke of any such ideas before the Summit Series. Because he did not, and because the NHL-based Team Canada believed, as did nearly everyone else in Canada, in the myth of Canadian hockey superiority, the series took on the look of an epic struggle when Canada had to come from behind to win.
Dryden’s book, released a year later, reinforces the myth, but is rife with internal contradiction and problematic in its positioning relative to his own experience in international hockey before 1972. To cite just one example, the book starts out talking about hockey having become a year-round sport and ends with the pronouncement that playing in September is ridiculous. What renders this doubly ironic is that *Face-off at the Summit* can be read both as allowing Dryden to divert attention from the question, “Why didn’t you say something?” as well as offering him the opportunity to build the myth of the Series, which might never have had the meaning it did but for his poor play. In turn, the mythic quality that the series took on allowed his weak goaltending to be eclipsed in many fans’ memories.

This paper performs the first scholarly reading of Dryden’s book as it argues that the epic of the Summit Series was less the product of Canadian hockey skill than of one player’s goaltending failures coupled with his silence and then reinforced by the way he cast the series from the point of view of 1973.

Seth A. Kessler, The University of Texas at Austin

“The High-Water Mark—That Place Where the Wave Finally Broke and Rolled Back”: Examining Hunter S. Thompson as a Sport Historian

Hunter S. Thompson, a self-proclaimed “outlaw,” defined an outlaw as “someone who lived outside the law, beyond the law and not necessarily against it.” This outlaw temperament allowed him to cast off the shackles of traditional journalism, and, primarily through sport, become one of the more popular and polarizing cultural figures of the last 50 years. It is still commonplace to see college students reading tattered, dog-eared Thompson paperbacks; another generation of young minds is being challenged to embrace the ‘weird’ and question normalcy. This effort accepts this challenge, embracing Thompson (i.e., the weird) and investigating his methodological and literary contributions to sport history. This paper examines whether Thompson was an outlaw sport historian, *superfictionalist,* or an exemplar of rugged individualism pursuing the American dream.

This paper, using both primary and secondary sources, introduces Thompson and presents pertinent biographical information chronicling his Louisville upbringing, military experience, early years in journalism, transition to counter culture icon through Gonzo journalism (including sport journalism), and suicide. This timeline also integrates important historical events to illustrate the social, cultural, and political backdrop fueling Thompson’s style and work. Next, the paper outlines reasons why Thompson could and could not be considered a sport historian, and considers whether applying Thompson’s unconventional methods, as opposed to strict objectivity, can be applied to other disciplines, such as sport history. Then the paper addresses his position in the counter culture via sport journalism (which was traditionally reserved for the mainstream) and how Gonzo sport journalism exposed the mainstream to subculture/counter culture ideals.

This paper concludes with a brief discussion regarding the relationship among authorship, context, and message, and the necessity to understand these as a function of sport history. While Thompson’s authorial authority is not disputed, the discourse surrounding his works can potentially pervert or misrepresent his message. However, his message, and work in general, cannot be divorced
from its context. This section reinforces the belief that context matters, and is entrenched in authors, their critics, and ultimately their messages. Thompson’s work is the ideal example to illustrate these imperative relationships, and examining these relationships can help advance sport history. Thompson once wrote referring to a Hell’s Angel: “It was obvious that he was a man who marched through life to the rhythms of some drum I would never hear”—eerily apropos for Thompson himself, this paper endeavors to discover whether this man and his rhythms should be included in sport history scholarship.

David Kilpatrick, Mercy College
Partisan Perspectivism: A Fragmented and Ludic Approach to Sports Historiography

This paper is an effort to cultivate and refine a fan-based methodology of critical historiography for a fragmented but localized sporting narrative. Identifying heroes and telling their stories to reconstruct legends and thereby forge and foster legacy is a means of communicating shared communal experiences in and through time and creating community.

The need for such a methodology emerges from the question of what should a history of professional soccer in New York be? Given the fragmented nature of failed franchises, how might a fan’s perspective—albeit fictive and reconstructive—structure and demarcate the scope of such a narrative?

The New York Field Club to Indiana Flooring to New York Nationals to New York Giants transitions in the American Soccer League from 1921-1932, or alternatively, the three teams to play as the New York Giants mark paths of identification more overtly for players but less clearly though arguably more significantly for supporters and the emergence of fan culture in pre-Depression era New York sports.

These shifts in team/club/franchise identity are eerily repeated decades later as the New York Cosmos of the North American Soccer League fostered the most significant surge in the game’s popularity from 1971-1985, with Major League Soccer’s New York market franchise, the New York/New Jersey MetroStars to New York Red Bulls struggling for relevance in the wake of the Cosmos since the inception of Major League Soccer in 1995. With the return of the Cosmos in 2013, many New York soccer fans are forced to choose between the team of their childhood and the team of their adulthood, with again, shared histories of players and staff complicating distinct patterns of shared club histories.

What are the semiotic consequences for partisan perspectives? How should sports historians engage a field as fragmented as that of New York pro soccer?
Richard Kimball, Brigham Young University
The Father, His Son, and a Holy Race: Dale Earnhardt and the Narratives of a NASCAR Death

Dale Earnhardt’s death may have been the most shocking and consequential American sports death ever. Never before had a sport’s premiere athlete been killed participating in the sport’s most important event in front of 150,000 people in the stands and 30 million more watching on TV. When the most popular NASCAR driver struck the wall on the final lap of the Daytona 500 in February 2001, the nation took a collective gasp. Almost immediately, Earnhardt’s death joined the handful of public memories that begin with “I remember where I was when I heard about the death of” and end with names like John F. Kennedy, Princess Diana, and John Lennon. By leaving mortality so abruptly, Earnhardt joined the list of celebrities struck down in the prime of their careers.

Immediately after Dale Earnhardt fatally struck the wall on the last turn of the Daytona 500 on February 18, 2001, journalists, race fans, and Americans of all stripes began to devise narrative storylines about the accident and Earnhardt’s life that helped them to understand the NASCAR legend’s untimely death. The narratives—and there are thousands written in poetic form alone—portray the deep grief of mourners (most of whom had never met Earnhardt) who unexpectedly lost their icon. Shocked, and in disbelief, fans constructed stories about Earnhardt’s last days that turned him from the bristly “Intimidator” in the black Chevy to a kind Christ-like figure who sacrificed himself to help others gain the victory in his final race. The public memory surrounding Earnhardt’s death provides an opening into the “lived religion” of contemporary American evangelicals and the connections between religion and sport.

George N. Kioussis, The University of Texas at Austin
Rethinking Style: English Perceptions of Germany at the 2010 World Cup

As the German national team prepared for its quarterfinal match at the 2010 World Cup, Matt Dickinson observed in The Times (London), “Joachim Löw’s side, with their youth and ethnic diversity, are far from ‘typical Germans.’” It was perhaps the latter that prompted a colleague to refer to Stefan Kießling as “the tall, blond German substitute striker”—almost as if the stereotyped German image was fading and, hence, needed reinforcement.

Of course, questions about national identity are not confined to the German team. As Giulianotti and Robertson (2009) aptly note, “Major international football tournaments provide lively cultural arenas for the (re)production and interplay of national-societal particularities.” Playing styles are, to be sure, central to these arenas, for they are believed to symbolize some type of national “essence” or “identity.”

This paper examines the reaction of the English print media to a less “homogenous” Germany at the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. Since the second half of the twentieth century, English journalists have typically equated three things with the German style of play—“strength, efficiency and self-belief.” However, recent changes in the cultural makeup of the squad have posed a challenge to traditional narratives. A survey of English print coverage at South Africa 2010 suggests that while the
aforementioned stereotypes persist in the media discourse, they are complemented by a newfound emphasis on aesthetics. In particular, this is evidenced in two atypical metaphors that come to the fore—those of illumination and artistry—and paint a German team that is vibrant and balletic.

While the shift itself warrants attention, it also prompts several questions as to why it took place. Was it the result of an increasingly cosmopolitan media less rooted in journalistic traditions? Had the German team’s diversity created an opportunity to rethink an oft-told story and, by extension, national identity? Or had Joachim Löw’s side simply fashioned a new style of play? In considering these questions, this paper explores the social, political, and cultural contexts that propped up earlier narratives. Naturally, as Germany is not the only country confronted with shifting circumstances (for example, in demographics), questions over style and identity are likely to crop up elsewhere. The implications for media are real and looming.

Rick Knott, The University of Pittsburgh at Bradford

Invasion of the South: The Forgotten Story of NASCAR’s Early Northern Heroes, Bill Rexford, Lloyd Moore, and Car-Owner Julie Buesink

In 1949, NASCAR’s inaugural year, a young entrepreneur Julian Buesink chose to take a car off his Ford showroom floor in Chautauqua County, New York and hire a local driver to compete in a NASCAR race in Langhorne, Pennsylvania. Julian, a.k.a. Julie Buesink, was only 27 years old at the time. Buesink had been part of the auto industry all of his adult life. He owned Ford, Lincoln, Mercury, and Oldsmobile dealerships in Clymer and Westfield, New York, and Corry and North East, Pennsylvania. For NASCAR’s “Strictly Stock Series” in 1949, a car could be on the showroom floor during the week, and racing on the track over the weekend. He sponsored cars in three events that first year, Langhorne (Pennsylvania), Hamburg (New York), and Heidelberg (Pennsylvania). That last competitive event of that season, Buesink hired two drivers from Western New York. In addition to Bill Rexford, from Conowango Valley, who had driven in the previous two races, he brought Lloyd Moore, from Frewsburg, to drive the second Ford.

Bill Rexford had been improving with each of those first three races. In his first race at Langhorne, a mile-oval north of Philadelphia, he finished 14th in a field of 45 drivers. At Hamburg, a half-mile oval near Buffalo, he finished fifth in a field of 16. Finally, at Heidelberg, a quarter-mile oval near Pittsburgh, he finished third in a field of 23, losing to Lee Petty, a future champion and hall of fame driver. Lloyd Moore, his teammate, finished a respectable 6th in his first event. That race gave Buesink a taste of success. The next two seasons, Buesink fielded two teams for the entire race schedule. As NASCAR grew, Bill France, Sr. expanded closer to home, adding races in the South and over time pulling races from the North. Buesink was forced to pick and choose events from that point forward.

After the 1950 season, Bill France, Sr. recognized Buesink as NASCAR’s National Champion Car Owner. Speed Age Magazine also honored him for “outstanding achievement as stock car racing’s Car Owner of the Year.” Buesink was ahead to the game, and a pioneer in the sport, as the first to make a regular practice of competing with multiple car teams. Driving for Buesink, Bill Rexford was NASCAR’s Grand National Champion driver in 1950. Rexford remains the only NASCAR
Champion from New York, as well as the youngest of all-time at age 23. Buesink's other regular driver, Lloyd Moore had some success as well, winning the race in Winchester, Indiana that year, and was the only "Yankee" to finish among NASCAR's top drivers in 1951. Buesink continued involvement in NASCAR well into the 1960s. He even sponsored teams for young upstart drivers such as Buddy Baker, and Carl Yarborough.

These pioneers of the sport represent something significant. They not only pioneered the multi-car teams, which has become the norm in the modern sport of stock car racing, but their invasion of a sport dominated by southerners certainly challenges many of presuppositions about a sport that was born from the wheels of moonshiners in the South. Artifacts and documents from the collections of the Chautauqua County Sports Hall of Fame, as well as the newspaper coverage of the day were used as primary evidence.

Robert S. Kossuth, The University of Lethbridge and David McMurray, Lethbridge College
Reclaiming Canada through its “Ancient” Sport?
Lacrosse and the Native Sons of Canada in late 1920s Alberta

Lacrosse has long been considered Canada’s national game. The history of lacrosse in Canada has been closely tied to the nationalist ambitions of men such as George Beers in Montreal who, in the late nineteenth century, sought to promote a national identity through the ‘creation’ of a uniquely Canadian sport. In the decades prior to the turn of the twentieth century, lacrosse enjoyed widespread popularity from coast to coast including in the newly appropriated lands that would become the province of Alberta by 1905. The sport migrated quickly from central Canada as young professional men sought their fortunes in the west. However, the popularity of the sport in this region began to decline prior to the First World War, becoming a minor sport played only in the province’s largest cities through the 1920s. Alan Metcalfe notes that lacrosse never did develop strong roots in Alberta whereas the sport thrived on the west coast, and in Ontario and Montreal. Yet, in Alberta, a brief and unexpected revival of lacrosse occurred in at least two communities, Edmonton and Lethbridge, in the late 1920s. The sport reemerged as a result of a nativist organization, the Native Sons of Canada (NSC), who viewed lacrosse as a potential means to promote a nationalist agenda, where young male Albertans could be exposed to their “Canada first” ideology.

The NSC was formed in Victoria, British Columbia in 1921 to promote a Canada first, nativist message that spread across the nation. By the mid 1920s, the NSC had established local chapters in communities from British Columbia to Quebec and actively sought ways to promote its nationalist agenda. This was accomplished through the establishment of a fraternal organization comprised of Canadian born white middle class men, who sought to end the British colonial influence and replace it with a national identity that promoted “Canada first” over regional/provincial interests. To these ends, a number of local NSC chapters employed sport, and specifically the ‘national’ game of lacrosse to promote their activities. In Edmonton, the NSC sponsored a senior men’s lacrosse team that garnered some local and regional attention by challenging for the Western Canadian championship in 1928. Less successful, were the efforts of the local Lethbridge NSC to promote youth lacrosse in 1927 and 1928, where equipment purchased to form a local lacrosse league went...
largely unused. Thus, despite the natural affinity between the promotion of Canadian nationalism and the sport of lacrosse, the efforts of these NSC chapters were short lived and generally ineffective in reviving an interest in the sport in Alberta. Ultimately, the “national” game could not provide Canadian nativists in Alberta the platform they sought to promote their Canadian nationalist agenda.

Lindsay Sarah Krasnoff, U.S. Department of State
Tracking the Revolution: How France Became the NBA’s Largest Source of Foreign Labor

This season, for the second year in a row, French players represent the largest contingent of foreign labor in the NBA. While the media has documented the NBA’s global impact, nobody has looked at the presence of French basketball players or how they came to play in the world’s most elite league. How did French players find themselves in such a position only twenty years after France’s basketball revolution?

Basketball was introduced in France in 1893, one year after its creation in Springfield, Massachusetts. While developing in both countries concurrently, the sport’s role in French society and culture has been very different than in the United States. Long considered an ugly stepchild to football, the most popular and populous sport in France, basketball was slow to take root. However, by the 1930s French teams competed at and took top honors in European tournaments. At the 1948 London Games, the men’s team won the silver medal, but the glow of victory did not last long. Beginning in the 1960s, basketball fell victim to the nation’s sports crisis and entered a period of decay characterized by failure to qualify for international tournaments and declining player enrollment. Basketball’s player retention issues by the early 1980s were based in the youth’s perception of it as a sport for older people, decidedly un-“cool.” The liberalization of television and sport after 1984 changed such associations as Canal + broadcasts of NBA games into French homes started to convince a new generation of fans and players that basketball was modern and hip. But it was the 1992 Barcelona Games appearance of the first U.S. Dream Team that was responsible for revitalizing and rejuvenating the sport in France.

What happened after 1992 to make France a nation that exports elite-level basketball players? How did the government, the French Federation of Basketball, and individual basketball clubs profit from the “Dream Team effect” of increased enthusiasm for and participation in the sport? Who did the new basketball appeal to, why did it seize their attention, and how did they parlay their newfound interest? In what ways did society, culture, and businesses adapt? How have these changes made basketball in France more similar to or different from that of the United States, in terms of the sport’s place in society, who plays it, and how elite players are formed? While the liberalization of television and the NBA’s globalization provided solid foundations for France’s basketball revolution, they were not the only components of the equation. This paper addresses these questions in analyzing how France became the NBA’s largest source of foreign labor only twenty years after 1992.
Michael Krüger, University of Münster
Sport in the Third Reich: The Impact of the 1936 Olympics

Outside of Germany, the image of the 1936 Olympics of Berlin has been formed mainly by the works of English-speaking historians such as Richard Mandell (The Nazi Olympics, 1971) and Duff Hart-Davis (Hitler’s Games, 1986). Contemporary research still focuses on the influence of Nazi politics on the games. This outstanding event of the international Olympic sports movement of that time, but the once widely accepted assertion that the 1936 Olympics were simply “Nazi-Olympics” or “Hitler’s Games” has to be stated more precisely, as newer publications – by Allen Guttmann and other researchers – demonstrate. As might be expected, German historians have continued to make the 1936 Olympics the focus of their research into developments in sport and physical education during and after the Nazi period. There is a general agreement that the postwar constitution, and significance of German sport and physical education in both East- and West Germany can be traced back to experiences and influences of the 1936 Olympics and the National Socialist system of physical education within which it was embedded. The presentation offers an overview of the current state of research into the “Nazi-Olympics” and its impact on the Olympic movement and the development of Turnen and Sport in Germany.

Robert J. Lake, Wilfrid Laurier University
The 1950s in Lawn Tennis History: Racism, Sexism and Hypocrisy in the Forgotten Decade

The 1950s has often been described as the “Golden Age” of sport, a label referring often to the Olympics in 1952 and ’56 around which an idealized image of the quintessential amateur sportsman was presented, as honest, sporting and in competition only for intrinsic rewards. Thus, the 1950s as a decade in sport is often presented as a time when the amateur ethos prevailed to oppose the professionalism that arose to take over elite-level sport in the 1960s and 70s, when athletes participated allegedly for newfound spoils of money and fame. Alongside this generalized and exaggerated view of sport is a sense that the amateur administration was also ethical in its dealings with amateurs and fighting against the challenges of corruption that the professional side of sport was seen to present.

The aim of this paper is to present an analysis of tennis in the 1950s as almost a complete contradiction to the idealized vision of what sport was supposed to have been at this time. In tennis historiography, the 1950s came after the major thrust of inter-war women’s emancipation and class reform, but preceded the major administrative turning points in the 60s and 70s, with the creation of open tennis and the emergence of separatist women’s tennis associations and competitions. Thus, as a decade in itself, it has not been given due attention in tennis historiography. Even the story of Althea Gibson, the first black US Open and Wimbledon champion in the late 50s has been shamefully ignored by academics.

An analysis of the problematic amateur-professional dichotomy in particular reveals widespread corruption and hypocrisy in the ways that the leading tennis administrators, namely the LTA, USLTA and ILTF, dealt with the associated issues. While amateurs continued to be idealized in the ways they played and approached the sport, evidence reveals hidden deals, secret payments and a
conspiratorial network of hypocrisy that undermined their moral platform and overall image of integrity. Professional tennis players, far from being corrupt, were the more honest party in the 1950s, earning their wages in the open. Their only challenge—and hence the reason for their continued stigmatization—was the fact that their very existence threatened the integrity of amateur competitions; they in effect stole the best players away from the major championships and Davis Cup and helped to lessen their quality and prestige.

The objective of this paper is to attempt a reanalysis of the 1950s period in tennis to bring these more critical issues into greater view; thus, to venture at least some way toward a more critical understanding of tennis in this decade. I will conclude by suggesting that the 1950s was anything but a “golden age” in tennis, replete as it was with corruption, male dominance and continued spatial and social segregation of the lower classes and non-whites.

Darryl Leeworthy, Independent Scholar

Passing By On the Other Side: Hockey, Political Crisis, and British Reactions to the 1972 Summit Series

The 1970s are typically regarded by historians of Britain as a ‘lost decade’. Economic crisis and political failure did a macabre dance through three-day working weeks, power cuts, and strikes that left corpses unburied and rubbish piled on the streets. In such a context, the 1972 Summit Series, which pitted the best of Canada’s professional hockey players against the Soviet Union’s national team, was certainly an event marginal to the British public. After all, hockey had been barely alive in Britain in the 1960s and was confined to a handful of clubs in Scotland and the north of England. It had no television presence—there were only three channels in any case—and sports coverage on radio tended towards the big three of soccer, rugby, and cricket. Even the few hockey journals and magazines that existed focused mainly on domestic issues and paid little attention to matters elsewhere, including in the NHL.

Yet, the Summit Series took place at a time of grassroots renewal in British hockey. By 1980, there were eighteen professional clubs operating across Britain. These drew players from North America and Europe and attracted increasingly large crowds and media coverage. British attention refocused on games in the NHL and, by the late-1980s and 1990s, accompanied by films and computer games, hockey had regained a sizeable presence within British sporting culture. At the same time, the political and economic crises of the period encouraged commentators to look elsewhere for parallels, and they found several in Canada. Rising nationalism in Quebec (not to mention paramilitary violence) mirrored similar waves of nationalism (and violence) in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Where Canada experimented with popular social democracy under Trudeau, Britain moved steadily towards rejection of its post-war consensus. Searching for unifying forces, journalists found hockey and subsequently the Summit Series wherein pan-Canadian nationalism found its most potent expression.

Drawing on contemporary reporting, particularly by the press, this paper sets the 1972 Summit Series against the revival of British hockey in the 1970s and early 1980s, arguing that, while the sporting event itself passed most Britons by, its legacy refocused interest in Canadian affairs, helping
to set the decline of British social democracy against the enthusiasm of Trudeauian politics. In doing so, it draws attention to what might be called the ‘silver age’ of British hockey when the sport regained some of the national prominence that it had had in its ‘golden age’ during the 1930s and provides insight into the origins of Britons’ rejuvenated passions for North American sports.

Richard Lehman, Dalhousie University

Do the Young People Still Believe? The Rise and Shift of Mythic Tradition

In order for something as seemingly trivial as a hockey game to survive it must be passed on to the next generation, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that the 1972 Summit Series has become a form of mythology to the younger generations in Canada. As such, it has been passed down through the oral tradition that has played a hand in creating so many other mythological stories we have heard. Through the oral tradition, men can become larger and more important than they actually were. They serve as a vessel for the greater story. They become giants. Phil Esposito becomes the military-like leader who rouses an entire country with one speech. Valery Kharlamov becomes the tragic hero, infallible and immortal but for a wobbly ankle.

Examining Joseph Campbell’s theory on defining mythology, along with other examples of myths passed down through the oral tradition, most notably the Iliad, it becomes evident that the 1972 Summit Series has become ingrained as a part of Canadian mythology. It carries with it a certain amount of nostalgia that is necessary in myth making. This is a nostalgia that seems to supersede history.

The question is, when does nostalgia fade into insignificance? Can people who weren’t there (in this case, born in 1972) inherit myth and themselves pass it on, or is the most it can stretch one generation? In my paper, I will examine this phenomenon and attempt to explain how this series, more than any other, came to become such a big part of Canadian mythology, and discuss whether its validity will hold as another forty years pass.

Rita Liberti, California State University, East Bay

Reading at the Intersections of Out: The Glenn Burke Story

In November 2010 the documentary Out: The Glenn Burke Story premiered in San Francisco’s Castro theatre, while simultaneously broadcast, in a very limited release, on the local cable network Comcast SportsNet Bay Area. Nearly a year later the documentary, about Major League Baseball’s first out gay player, aired on Comcast’s national sports channel, Versus. Following Osmond and Phillips’ (2012) lead, this presentation offers up a textual analysis of Out and an interrogation of the blogs, websites, YouTube video, and countless reader/viewer responses to and within these various sites. New media does indeed matter in our approach to analyzing historical film as technology affords producers and consumers an unprecedented and ongoing level of engagement with the work. New media venues and content thus, in part, form the foundation on which this analysis of Out rests.
Despite Ouf’s limited release, reception to the documentary was overwhelmingly positive. Glenn Burke’s experiences in professional baseball over the second half of the 1970s, while pushed to the margins of history, are nonetheless powerful to many consumers of the film as he unapologetically embraced his homosexuality. The sport’s homophobic culture shortened his playing career, according to the documentary, and AIDS then prematurely ended his life at 42. For producers and consumers, Burke’s identity as a gay man shapes and informs the documentary and the various new media materials, which surround the film. What remains absent, however, is Burke’s identity as an African American. Burke’s racial identity is invisible and thus the ways in which he (and others) understood his gendered and sexual self, as a black man, are left unattended. This omission is a missed opportunity as much as a criticism of the film. Neglected is an exploration of how masculinities, for black gay men, are constructed and lived at the intersectional axis of multiple marginalized subjectivities.

This remains in many ways a provocative and important film that documents gay men’s presence in sport despite homophobia’s ceaseless intensity. However, it is unfortunate this visibility comes at the expense of erasing race.

Andrew D. Linden, Penn State University

Rustbelt Renaissance and Civic Identity: Cleveland and the “Save Our Browns” Campaign

On November 6, 1995, National Football League (NFL) team owner Art Modell officially announced that he would move the Cleveland Browns to Baltimore at the conclusion of the season. Rumors of the relocation had been swirling the prior week. As the news became official, Cleveland’s community, politicians, and legal team began a movement that became known as the “Save Our Browns” campaign. In the ensuing months, fans and city supporters protested the team’s move through social activism and behind-the-scenes legal negotiations. By the middle of February, 1996, (the deal did not become official until early March) the city of Cleveland, Modell, and the NFL agreed to allow the team to move and the NFL simultaneously promised a new team to Cleveland. In an unprecedented arrangement, the new franchise would retain the team’s legacy, including the colors, logo, and history of the Browns.

The fate of the Browns ultimately rested on numerous closed-door NFL meetings, conference calls, and bureaucratic decisions. The “Save Our Browns” campaign, however, became the cultural emblem of the decision. It included a massive letter-writing movement, organized multiple game day protests at both home and away contests, and an appearance at Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. to protest the relocation. Cleveland Mayor Michael R. White led civic leaders and the city’s legal teams in a “no-holds barred” fight against Modell and became a figurehead of the grassroots movement.

The “Save Our Browns” campaign represents a multifaceted nexus between business sport, community, and politics. Often, storylines of franchise relocation focus on the social effects of a team leaving a city, the fiscal impact on a local community after the removal of a franchise, the legal negotiations involved, or the entrepreneurial decisions of team owners. The Browns’ relocation,
however, offers a unique context as the move coincided with a city enduring economic failure and fans facing a crisis of civic identity. Drawing on files of letters sent to the NFL, Modell, Mayor White, and other individuals involved with the relocation of the Browns found at the Pro Football Hall of Fame (Canton, OH) as well as press accounts from November, 1995, through March, 1996, this paper approaches the “Save Our Browns” campaign from multiple perspectives. Community and media reactions illustrate the connection between sport and the failing Rustbelt city in the postmodern American economy. Fan reactions illuminate identity, social class, and the gender dynamics of professional sports fandom. Narratives of Cleveland’s political leaders represent the delicate divide between politicians’ goals for the community and for their own political clout. These narratives suggest that the reactions of Cleveland to the removal of the Browns represent a city’s plea for industrial revival and a community’s desperate request for the retention of its civic identity.

Matthew P. Llewellyn and John T. Gleaves, California State University, Fullerton

A Universal Dilemma:

The British Sporting Life and the Complex, Contested, and Contradictory State of Amateurism

From its institutional seedbed in Britain, amateurism would become a “core and enduring ideal” that dominated sports throughout the world for over a century. Though advanced as an objective set of beliefs, values and practices, the amateur ethos proved highly subjective. In both theory and practice, amateurism varied widely across (and within) sports, as well as classifications such as social-class, gender, nationality, and even regional identity. It was a fluid and dynamic term open to numerous interpretations and broad applications, particularly amongst journalists, administrators, athletes and coaches. Amateurism was ubiquitous but elusive, broadly conceived and easily sensed but not explicitly understood and defiant of definition and firm categorization. There was never a clear-cut and homogenous definition or universal comprehension of amateurism; it meant different things to different people in various local, regional and national contexts.

Even within Britain, the progenitor of an amateur sports culture, amateurism proved a highly contested discourse. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the leading governing bodies of English sports boasted widely conflicting and contradictory amateur definitions. Since the British failed to even come close to a uniform agreement on what constituted an amateur, amateurism freely evolved into an organic and malleable construct. As it spread and diffused around the globe, amateurism modified and adapted itself to fit the needs of divergent national cultures and sporting practices. From British, or more specifically, elite English public school origins, amateurism diffused not as an act of cultural imperialism—enforced on foreign or indigenous peoples through coercion or domination—but through broader, multidirectional globalizing forces. In the age of global communications, transoceanic travel and the establishment of worldwide agencies and sporting bureaucracies, amateurism transformed into a by-product of “cultural interchange,” a fusion of British and foreign intellectual, social and cultural beliefs, values and practices. The high-minded, chivalrous and moralizing tenets of the British amateur ethos met with diverging social, political and class conditions to produce contrasting legislative amateur standards. By the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, amateurism was no longer an exclusively British construct but a multifaceted global sporting philosophy.
With diverging interpretations and broad applications came inevitable conflict. Ironically, in the age of increased codification and standardization in sport, in part through the establishment of national and international sports federations, amateurism proved resilient to consistency and strict universal regulation. In international sporting events like the Olympic Games, participating nations boasted their own unique (and often conflicting) amateur standards. Drawing upon archival materials from the British Olympic Foundation (BOF), the Olympic Studies Center (OSC) and public debates in the leading national and sporting newspapers and periodicals of the time, this paper will detail and analyze how the International Olympic Committee, in unison with the British Sporting Life, endeavored to create an all-encompassing amateur definition to govern future Olympic contests. The IOC’s renewed difficulties in establishing a universal consensus on amateurism in the years prior to the Great War left the Olympic movement vulnerable to both professional and commercial impulses, as well as continued controversy and international scandal.

Gabe Logan, Northern Michigan University
Playing for the People:
Labor Sport Union Athletic Clubs in the Lake Superior Region 1928-1935

From 1928 through 1935 the Labor Sport Union (LSU), united left wing politics and athletics in what historian William Baker called an “alternative vision of sport and society.” The LSU drew much of its membership from the urban enclaves of New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Gary, Indiana. These cities’ industry and immigrant populations often engendered a working class consciousness that sought health and recreation beyond the “bourgeoisie” Amateur Athletic Union, religious backed YMCA, YWCA, and Catholic Youth Organizations, or the company team.

Although the LSU received limited attention outside the urban labor movement it did find an appreciative audience in the rural iron ore region of Lake Superior. This area comprised of Michigan’s Upper Peninsula, northern Wisconsin, and northern Minnesota’s Iron Range, disproportionately, in terms of population, supported the Labor Sport Union. This paper explains why and how these communities used the LSU to promote athletic endeavors, select star athletes and teams to represent the region, and provided leadership to the LSU to promote the regions’ sporting vision on a national scale.

Although the history of the Labor Sport Union is sparse a few artifacts survive that show the area’s athletic involvement. The Young Worker, a youth paper of the American Communist Party included a sport section that frequently highlighted the region’s contributions to the LSU. This is especially true when in 1934, the LSU elected Richard Heikkinen as the National Secretary. Heikkinen the former Upper Peninsula District representative increased the coverage of the Lake Superior region and used the area’s LSU “instructor” schools as a national model. These schools taught organizers how to promote labor athletics in the factories while promoting direct action, such as stopping mortgage foreclosures in the communities.

Other sources are located in the Finnish American Archive in Hancock, Michigan and the University of Minnesota’s Immigrant History Research Center. The former retains meeting minutes
of the Northern States Co-Op Youth League, a later affiliate of the LSU, and secondary sources that
detail the extent of Finnish-American political radicalism in the Lake Superior region. These also
provide insight to the “gymnasium fights” and how the LSU successfully gained use of public
athletic space. The latter maintains the oral interviews and papers of former labor activist, LSU
member and school instructor Carl Ross. These sources contextualize how communist and socialist
politics of the region afforded a receptive audience to the Labor Sport Union’s athletic opportunities.

While the Labor Sport Union only marginally influenced athletics in the city, this work suggests that
the LSU was more significant in the rural Lake Superior region where active participation in left
wing politics and fewer athletic organizations allowed it to prosper. It further explains how this
region played during the Great Depression and how LSU leadership attempted to introduce an
athletic model of recreation and activism to the workers of the nation.

Stacy L. Lorenz, University of Alberta, Augustana
Telegraph Reconstructions and the Creation of a Canadian “Hockey World”: Experiencing the 1896
Winnipeg-Montreal Stanley Cup Hockey Challenges

This case study of media coverage of Canadian hockey examines telegraph reconstructions of two
Stanley Cup hockey challenges played by the Winnipeg Victorias and the Montreal Victorias in
February and December 1896. It examines media coverage of these important early Stanley Cup
matches, with a focus on the telegraph re-enactments that enabled fans to share a simultaneous
experience of distant games. Media accounts from newspapers based in Winnipeg and Montreal
form the basis of this study. The 1896 Winnipeg-Montreal hockey challenges helped to draw
Canadians into local and national communities of interest centred on sport. In particular, telegraph
reports of these games and other press coverage of the rival Victoria clubs contributed to the creation
of a mediated Canadian “hockey world” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The telegraph reconstructions that were so popular in hotels and arenas in Winnipeg and Montreal
during the two 1896 Stanley Cup challenges were one of the most significant aspects of the first
Winnipeg-Montreal championship hockey matches. The 1896 Stanley Cup contests were likely the
first two games in which the technology of telegraphy was applied to the sport of hockey in such a
way that large crowds in distant cities could experience matches as they were being played. In
particular, the scale of the December 1896 effort to bring “live” Stanley Cup results to people in
Montreal was something new in hockey. In addition, the 1896 Winnipeg and Montreal telegraph
reconstructions established a pattern and a precedent for similar projects in those cities, and
elsewhere, during subsequent Stanley Cup series.

The telegraph opened up the possibility of a completely new experience of hockey when someone
had the idea of bringing telegraphers right to the arena in order to create simultaneous coverage of
games. In this way, fans did not have to wait for their daily newspaper to follow games occurring in
other places; they could share immediately in the drama transpiring on the ice. In addition, the
shared experience of Stanley Cup games through telegraph reports was the clearest expression of a
broader process in which the media was starting to construct similar understandings of hockey in
Winnipeg and Montreal—and, to some extent, in other Canadian cities.
By assessing media coverage of early hockey, this research addresses important gaps in the study of Canadian sport history and the analysis of hockey and Canadian popular culture. Historians have made few attempts at considering either the role of the media in Canadian sport, or the place of sports coverage and sports programming within the Canadian media. In particular, this paper begins to answer the need for careful, focused case studies that examine the Canadian sports media, as well as North American hockey, in a historical context.

Cathryn Lucas-Carr, University of Iowa

“Popular over the whole wide world!”: Mobility and the Multiple Meanings of Motorcycling

As the motorcycle industry developed in the first several decades of the 20th century, multiple and conflicting meanings of motorcycling as an embodied practice developed. Motorcycles were simultaneously viewed as machines of utility & work, recreational vehicles, symbols of wealth, and modes of transportation. Each of these visions carries with it different meanings; these disparate acts of motorcycling, as well as the mobilities they create, are socially produced and structured activities which can only be understood in relation to the conventions and institutions that authorize meanings. Previously, I have discussed a form of mobility I call “flirtatious mobility” produced in the 1920s. My aim in this paper is to consider how flirtatious mobility, along with other motorcycling mobilities, are produced and deployed within the developing motorcycling industry. In the first decade of the 20th century, motorcycles were produced primarily by many small producers who built fewer than five motorcycles per year for local consumers. As mass consumption and buying on credit proliferated, the industry began to codify. A few large companies with designated production factories and national networks of franchise dealerships took over. Even as these companies gained market shares, they experienced decreasing profits. To increase profits, the companies attempted many different business and marketing strategies to increase sales. These strategies produced and deployed multiple forms of mobility which then defined who could access motorcycling as a practice and who could be considered a “motorcyclist.” In this paper, I analyze multiple primary sources – including advertisements from Harley-Davidson, Indian, Flying Merkel, and other motorcycle production companies – to trace the development and deployment of specific motorcycling mobilities. In doing so, I analyze the discursive construction of motorcycling as it is co-productive of individualism, meritocracy, and settler colonialism in the United States.

Malcolm MacLean, University of Gloucestershire

A Profound Gap – the Absence of Clubs from Sports History

Although sports organisations dominate and shape the provision of sport and provide the level and form of institutionalisation that is one of the defining characteristics of modern sport, and although the history of sports organisations influences both the current shape and provision of sport as well as our image and understanding of specific sports as cultural practice, we know very little about sports’ basic institutional unit, the sports club. Paradoxically, given the strength of social history in sports history and given the very low numbers of people actively involved in sports’ national bodies, our
field has developed an extensive body of knowledge about national bodies, centred mainly on their three key functions: to codify rules, to create organised tournaments and to encourage and facilitate international competition.

While there are many sociological and historical studies of individual clubs and national sports organisations/federations, these club histories tend to be descriptive not analytical and there is almost no exploration of sports clubs-as-clubs or what they do. We are limited to a very small number of social histories of sports clubs yet formally organised sports organisations predate national bodies, in many cases they were seldom only sports clubs and existed in a context of widespread informal and opportunistic sports activities. The clubs themselves however also provide for leisure and social sports opportunities and provide for social networks and communities of association.

This paper explores the possibilities of three analytical frames to study sports clubs. The first is associativity, including the tendency of individuals to create social networks and organisations outside of the family and the tendency of humans to form clubs, and the motives for forming clubs are as varied as the human imagination. Central to this frame is that a key characteristic of an association is the capacity to write its own rules and oblige members to abide by them. In the second frame, civil society as neither a state nor private realm but a form of public private life but “embodies . . . a whole range of social interactions apart from the private sphere of the household and the public sphere of the state.” Running through these two analytical frames, the paper draws on ideas of social capital to consider sports clubs in the context of societies, and voluntary organisations with rules, declared purpose, formal membership defined by the act of joining while remaining independent of family, household, neighbourhood, firm, work group (i.e., organisations based in none of these groups/institutions). The paper concludes by proposing a typology for the study of clubs qua clubs.

Charles H. Martin, University of Texas at El Paso
Eddie McAshan and the Integration of Georgia Tech Football

This paper will examine the racial policies and issues concerning the football program at the Georgia Institute of Technology (Georgia Tech) from its beginnings in 1892 through the 2012 season. The paper will consist of three sections. The first part will look at the first six decades of the Yellow Jacket program during which time the university refused to allow its football team to compete against any opponents whose squads contained African American members. The second and longest section will look at the process by which Georgia Tech began to compete against integrated teams and then to recruit black players for its own team. The final section will look at the post-integration years and how racial issues declined in saliency but did not totally disappear.

By World War I, Georgia Tech had developed a highly successful football program, claiming the mythical national championship in 1917. In order to establish a national reputation Tech regularly scheduled high-profile intersectional contests against northern teams. Eventually the school’s refusal to compete against integrated teams began to interfere with this pursuit of prestige and profits. As a result, political leaders and university administrators relaxed this color line and allowed the Yellow Jackets to compete against black players beginning in 1953.
From the early 1950s through the late 1970s the Georgia Tech football team regularly scheduled games against integrated teams despite a brief interruption because of the state’s “massive resistance” to the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling. In the late 1960s the football program recruited its first black athletes. Such actions by Tech and other southern white universities were hailed as examples of racial progress in a new and improved New South.

An examination of the career of Eddie McAshan at Georgia Tech, the featured segment of this paper, reveals that this process of integration did not proceed as smoothly as historical memory today suggests. McAshan was the first star black quarterback at a historically white major university in the Deep South. His suspension from the final game of the 1972 regular season (his senior year) and the subsequent Liberty Bowl game for deliberately missing practice resulted in charges of racial mistreatment of African American players against the football program and demonstrated the enormous pressures on prominent black athletes at this time of racial change. The McAshan controversy disrupted the emerging narrative of racial toleration and racial progress through athletic integration but did not significantly affect Georgia Tech’s continued recruitment of African American athletes.

Since the 1970s, African Americans have played prominent roles in Georgia Tech athletics. The 1990 football team, which one poll proclaimed to be the national champion, featured numerous black players including the starting quarterback and received much acclaim from GT and southern football fans. However, racial issues have not totally disappeared. Changes to academic requirements at the university have experienced some racial overtones, and a few white sports fans still demonstrate uneasiness or even hostility to the prominence of African Americans in football (and basketball) at Georgia Tech. In short, racial concerns have declined substantially since the mid-1960s at Georgia Tech, but they have not totally disappeared from southern and American college sports.

Scott G. Martyn, University of Windsor
An Essential Alliance: The IOC, ISL and the USOC

Four months after the 1982 World Cup in Madrid, a courier departed the newly created offices of ISL Marketing Aktiengesellschaft (ISL) in Lucerne, Switzerland with a package bound for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Secretariat Headquarters at Château de Vidy in Lausanne. Contained within was a letter from Klaus Jürgen Hempel, Managing Director and Director of the Board of ISL, addressed to Juan Antonio Samaranch, President of the IOC, along with a specially commissioned limited edition lithograph entitled *The Case Against the Bourgeoisie* by Franz Borghese, identified as Italy’s most creative modern satirical artist. Entrusted with the future development of ISL, Hempel intended to capitalize on the opportunity afforded him through his gift by expressing his company’s interest in the development of other sport marketing activities beyond the sphere of World Cup Soccer. Upon receipt, Samaranch, appreciative of the nice lithograph by Franz Borghese, graciously responded.

Supportive in his initial response to Hempel, Samaranch was aware of the IOC’s growing reliance on the revenues generated by the sale of television rights and the possible ramifications of its continued
dependency. Responding to this concern, Samaranch organized a new commission within the IOC’s structure responsible for identifying potential areas of opportunity for the generation of revenues, and for recommending a strategic direction to the Executive Board of the IOC for their acquisition. At only its second meeting in New Delhi, the commission discussed and approved the concept of a worldwide sponsorship program forwarded to the IOC by ISL’s team of experts.

Within a month of the decision in New Delhi, a closed-door meeting was convened with representatives of the IOC, ISL, the USOC, and the British Olympic Association (BOA). Its purpose was to convince each NOC of the benefits of a worldwide marketing programme, and to reassure them that they would not experience a decrease in revenues gained from their own marketing programs by agreeing to take part in the proposed TOP initiative. It was far from a pleasant encounter as both NOCs had already implemented strong marketing programmes within their respective countries. The USOC, in particular, saw the IOC/ISL effort as an attempt to encroach on its territory, as it correctly believed that most of the proposed multinational corporations to be approached were based in the United States. However, after lengthy discussion, each of the participants in the closed-door session was able to establish target dates and categories regarding the development of a worldwide sponsorship program. This outcome marked a significant compromise on the part of the USOC.

This paper explores and exposes the changing relationship between the aforementioned members of the Olympic Family and its’ impact on the potential revenue generation of “the most powerful and visible symbol in the world of sport.” An array of primary sources has been employed to pursue this examination. These sources include, but are not limited to, the minutes of the IOC Sessions and Executive Board Meetings, and correspondence with key historical actors.

Fred Mason and Cynthia Stacey, University of New Brunswick
At play with Sandy McTire:
Reading Canadian Sport and Leisure History from Canadian Tire Catalogue Covers

From the 1930s to 2007, the arrival of the Canadian Tire catalogue marked the coming change of seasons for many Canadian households. The Canadian Tire Corporation produced its iconic catalogue in Spring/Summer and Fall/Winter editions, highlighting its product lines in auto parts and accessories, tires and service, sport and leisure goods and home products, starting in the early 1930s. Despite the variety of products inside the catalogue, the covers normally featured images related to recreation, leisure and sport. The cover images on Canadian Tire catalogues offered an important vision of the perceptions and ideals of leisure, and leisure-related consumption, since they would be viewed over and over again as the catalogues lay in magazine racks, and on kitchen and workshop tables.

In 2007, the Canadian Tire Corporation deposited their corporate archives at the Western University of Canada, establishing the Canadian Tire Heritage Collection as part of the university’s archives. Cover images from catalogues from 1932 to 2007 (when the catalogue was discontinued) were accessed from this collection. Of 147 cover images collected, 125 involved sport and leisure in some way.
This group of images was analyzed with a method borrowed from content analysis and semiotic analysis, with particular attention paid to the primary figures, and the types of leisure activities in which they were engaged. The images break down fairly neatly into periods. From 1932 to 1940, the cover images mostly related to automobiles, and motoring as a form of leisure. From 1941 to 1970, the central figures in drawn images almost always were an older man (later identified as “Sandy McTire” on Canadian Tire money coupons), two younger adult men and a younger adult woman, who engaged in a number of sporting and leisure pursuits. Over the thirty years featuring this group, the construction of the characters and their relationships transformed, with Sandy McTire changing from a comical type early on, to a very proficient sportsman in later covers. In the midst of this transition, a period with a more sexualized portrayal of the woman appeared. From 1970 to 1989, the covers primarily featured photographs of products, with something like a hockey skate or fishing rod usually included. From 1989 to 2007, the covers presented photographs of families engaged in a variety of leisure activities—cross-country skiing, fishing, camping, backyard barbecues—facilitated of course with items purchased at Canadian Tire.

While primarily aimed at advertising, product sales and branding, the catalogue covers related to wider perceptions of leisure, who was involved and who organized it. Considered collectively, the change over time in the central figures of the covers, and the composition of images offers a unique source of historical information on leisure, sport, gender and other social differences in Canada.

Shunsuke Matsuo, The University of Tokyo
Sport and “Betterment of the Race”:
The Social Question, Science, and Physical Culture in early 20th Century Argentina

This paper analyzes the relationship between political and intellectual leaders and sporting activities at the beginning of the twentieth century in Argentina, focusing on the frustrated process of the institutional development of sport and physical education, and on the discourses of the “values” of physical culture articulated around this process. For some elite and middle-class intellectuals, sport, as a relatively new but burgeoning cultural practice among the country’s urban population, represented an occasion for the betterment of the physical and moral constitutions of the “Argentinean race.”

I will highlight the role of physiological and medical science in these discourses as a particularly privileged source of legitimacy in a society characterized by its faith in national progress that was firmly based on the positivist ideas blended with Lamarckian eugenics, which recognizes the inheritance of acquired characteristics. In this sense, the organization and promotion of physical activities, sometimes proposed from an excessively biological point of view, can be considered as being part of turn-of-the-century Argentine politicians and bureaucrats’ intentions regarding social reform in view of the so-called “social question.” The social question refers to a series of urban problems related to incipient capitalistic development that were nonetheless interpreted by the elite as a “pathology” or “degeneration” spreading among the popular sectors.
This national teleology of physical activities seemed to fade away during the latter half of the 1920s, when the leaders increasingly became inclined to view sport as a clientelistic and populistic instrument through which they could attempt to obtain political support, especially from the popular class.

This argument is principally based on an analysis of parliamentary discussion during the first three decades of the twentieth century. I consider congressional records to be a privileged historical source for my discussion, since that is where diverse discourses on physical activities, always presented from the viewpoint of national and political interests, are manifested. To complement the politicians’ views, I use materials from dailies and magazines as well as some scientific studies from the era.

This study will help us understand the process of the early development of sporting activities in Argentina, not from the “popular” viewpoint but from that of the governmental power.

Erin McCarthy, Columbia College Chicago
The Playing Field over the Pulpit: How Amos Alonzo Stagg Found and Lost Religion

Historically, the legacy of Amos Alonzo Stagg, “the Grand Old Man of Football,” has overshadowed the extraordinary record he left at Yale College in the 1880s as a premiere college pitcher, and as a student officer for Dwight Hall, the campus Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). In fact, the most critical years of Stagg’s life were spent at Yale, where as an undergraduate and graduate seminary student he was exposed to a variety of new ideas and experiences in the spiritual as well as the physical worlds. Through his involvement in both the sacred and the secular realms, Stagg realized what his life’s work would be. Without a family profession or business to pursue, he entered Yale in 1888 as a highly recruited baseball player and aspiring minister. Over the next fourteen years, he was able to satisfy both his theological ambitions and his love of athletics in a morally justifiable way through his studies and YMCA work at Yale and at the “School for Christian Workers” in Springfield, Massachusetts. Summers he traveled to the Chautauqua Institution in western New York where he led prayer groups and coached and played baseball.

The individuals Stagg met during these years had a profound influence upon him as he prepared to begin his full-time professional career at the age of 30. At Yale, Josiah Strong, Dwight Moody and Henry Drummond gave him the moral justification for varsity athletics, and Walter Camp gave him the “czar principle.” At Springfield, Luther Halsey Gulick gave him the chance to develop and manage his first football team and the opportunity to prove that he could compete with tradition and experience. But Gulick had made it clear that Springfield would not follow the varsity athletics model of sport for the elite, and, ultimately, Stagg could not reconcile his ambitions with the mission of Gulick’s training program—he wanted to coach football, not teach future Christian athletic educators. In the end, it was his bond to William Rainey Harper that led him to decide it was time to put his athletic aspirations ahead of his religious calling and head West to preach the gospel of football at the University of Chicago, using sport, not religion, to lead men.
In 2010, the NCAA began implementing a requirement that all Division I athletes be tested for sickle cell trait. At the 2012 NCAA convention, Division II athletic programs approved a similar measure while the Division III President’s Council will vote upon the measure again at the 2013 convention. The need for testing was justified by NCAA administrators and supportive member institutions as necessary to ensure the health and safety of student athletes given that the inherited condition can interfere with blood flow and oxygen uptake under extreme conditions such as during intense exercise. Once identified through the screening program, trainers and coaches will presumably monitor those athletes with sickle cell trait during physically demanding sporting activity to ensure their wellbeing.

However, the American Society of Hematology (ASH) has critiqued the decision to screen college athletes as overly broad and unnecessary. ASH instead prefers application of a preventative model similar to that developed by the U.S. Army, which shifts the focus to structural changes needed to protect the safety and wellbeing of all athletes regardless of sickle cell trait status. This protocol emphasizes that sporting environment allow for heat acclimatization, hydration and proper periods of rest during practices and games.

Because sickle cell disease or anemia was once commonly characterized as a “black disease,” this paper engages the history of biomedicine as a site for the production of racial and gender difference to help illuminate what is at stake in this recent controversy. That is, this paper makes explicit the commodified, racialized, and gender biopolitics surrounding sickle cell anemia both historically and within recent NCAA testing discourses. In doing so this analysis also interrogates the precarious use of genetic screening within sport spaces while helping to trouble commonsense notions of (dis)ability, health and risk.
aesthetic attitude embraces fragmentation, ambiguity, parody, pastiche and assemblage. Moreover, the postmodern aesthetic of the reconfigurationalist narrative coincides with the waning of traditional boundaries in the digital age between, for example, public and private, day and night, work and leisure and, of course, past and present time. Therefore, I argue that the Internet facilitates the processes of reconfiguration by way of confronting historians with an expanded, and expanding, fleeting and blurry collection of fragments. To this end I draw from, and present, several examples of my own reconfigured swimming narratives—arrangements of fluid fragments, facilitated by the Internet. In sum, I seize both reconfigurationism and the Internet as opportunities to re-ground the present in the past and to open new political possibilities for the future of historical representation.

Robert A. Mechikoff, San Diego Christian College

Alexandria Troas: Brief History and Archeological Survey of the Greco-Roman Stadium

The ancient city of Alexandria Troas (Alexandria of the Troad) is historically very significant. The city was established circa 306 BC by Antigonus I Monophthalmus (382 BC-301), a Macedonian General who fought for Alexandria the Great. Lysimachus (360 BC-281) was another one of Alexander the Great’s Generals and in the Battle of Ipsus (301 BC) defeated Antigonus I, claimed the city and renamed the city after Alexander the Great. The city became wealthy and prospered; especially during Roman rule, the city is noted in scripture as a place where Saint Paul spent some time. He sailed to Europe from its harbor and later returned to the city before leaving for Assos. The Greek philosopher and historian Strabo (64 BC-24 AD) wrote about the site and noted that the site was first known as Sigeia. The Emperor Constantine spent time in the city and seriously considered the site as the possible capital of the Roman Empire before settling on Byzantium. Julius Caesar (100 BC-44) bestowed colonia status to the city and Augustus (63BC-14AD) granted the city the right to mint coins.

In 2007 Dr. Robert Mechikoff and Dr. Athena Trakadis met in the British Museum to discuss the possibility of excavating the ancient stadium that they knew existed but had never seen. They agreed to meet in Istanbul a few months later with the express purpose of finding the stadium and evaluating the site. This was accomplished; however, there was confusion about who held the excavation permit. After more research it was discovered that an archeological team from the University of Munster in Germany held the permit and had been working at the site for a number of years. It gets even better. They are classical archeologists and did not include the ancient stadium in their plans. We asked for permission and permission was granted. Next step was to secure an archeological visa from the Turkish Ministry of Culture to work. Because of our previous archeological work at Ancient Nemea in Greece, the visa was granted and we began to plan. Several more trips to Alexandria Troas were made to conduct a photographic survey of the stadium before the actual physical survey could take place.

The German archeologists were certain the site was a Roman hippodrome, however, Drs. Mechikoff, Trakadis, and Riger were convinced it was originally a Greek stadium. The stadium is in the shape of a horseshoe and has both Greek and Roman construction. However, nothing would be conclusive until the stadium survey was completed. The survey would reveal whether the design and construction was Greek—our hypothesis or Roman, the German hypothesis. After eight days of
daily heatstroke, scorching heat, poisonous snakes, spider maulings and incurring the wrath of the locals the survey was finished. We had all the numbers and reference points that could be found. Was it Greek or Roman?

After a two-day automobile adventure where getting lost became routine, we were the first people in line when the archeological site of Aphrodisias opened. With survey tapes concealed in our packs (no permit to conduct research) we located the ancient Greek stadium and measured it. Our stadium is 100% Greek! Can’t wait to tell the Germans!

Andreja Milasincic, Brock University

An Application of Nationalist Theories to the Case of Croatia: The 1998 World Cup

For sociology, the past two centuries have raised the question of the history of nations and nationalism. As the wave of nation-states and nationalism gained strength in Europe and the Western world, so congruently did their roles in sporting culture. Also, it is widely recognized that media representation of sporting heroes and previous and current significant sporting events are recounted in such a way that they reflect positively upon and reinforce the cultural values embedded in national identities. Indeed, media representation—print culture in particular—is known to be fundamental to the history of the construction of nationhood. Sport, in short, is an important element of cultural production and the invention of national traditions.

The specific purpose of this research is to investigate the media representation of Croatian nationalism in the weeks leading up to, during, and following the country’s third place finish in the 1998 FIFA World Cup. The 1998 World Cup was an important historical “moment” because of the importance of soccer in the country’s history and, in particular, because the event took place just after the 1991-95 war of independence. This event, then, provides a unique case study for understanding the role of sport and media representation in helping to construct the identity of an emerging nation. Background sociological theories of nationalism, including those of ‘founding fathers’ Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx, alongside more contemporary theoretical accounts of the role of sport in nation construction, following in particular Eric Hobsbawm’s discussions of the ‘invention of tradition’, are first considered. This paper then specifically follows up Sack and Suster’s important study published in 2000 – Soccer and Croatian Nationalism: A Prelude to War – but with the important caveat that the current study looks at Croatian national identity and soccer in the war’s aftermath. Croatia’s five most widely read newspapers at the time of the Cup were assessed and analyzed for elements of national identity construction: Vecernji List (Evening Gazette), Jutarnji List (Morning Gazette), Slobodna Dalmacija (Free Dalmatia), Novi List (New Gazette), and Sportske Novosti (Sports News). Articles with specific vocabulary related to issues of identity, national symbols, the war of independence, derogatory language to the opponent, and invented traditions were accessed. Evidence thus far (newspapers are in translation and under review at the time of writing of this abstract) suggest that the games during the World Cup played roles significantly more than mere passive ‘sport phenomena’. Soccer matches continued—as Sack and Suster identified was the case in the prelude to war—to play an important role in terms of, first, presenting a positive image of Croatia to the outside world, especially allied liberal democratic states, and second, constructing and animating a strong internal sense of identity for the emerging nation. The study
concludes that the 1998 World Cup played an important role in Croatia’s on-going construction of nationhood and invention of nationalist traditions.

Dominic G. Morais, The University of Texas at Austin
Vanderbilt Vice: The 1985 Vanderbilt University Steroid Controversy

On October 6, 1985, twenty-three-year old world-class track athlete Augustinius (Stijn) Jaspers was found dead in his Clemson University dorm. While searching for clues, authorities found an unlabeled bottle of an anti-inflammatory called phenylbutazone, or “bute.” This small pill bottle sparked an investigation that uncovered an extensive drug-trafficking pipeline that supplied approximately one hundred thousand doses of “bute” and various kinds of steroids to athletes at Vanderbilt, Clemson and Colgate Universities between June 1982 and January 1985. Authorities eventually learned that E.J. “Doc” Kreis, the Vanderbilt strength and conditioning coach, and M. “Woody” Wilson, a Nashville pharmacist, were heads of the ring. Kreis was indicted on eight counts and Wilson on ninety-one. The charges consisted of conspiracy and illegal possession of steroids, and illegal dispensing of steroids. Each carried a maximum sentence of eleven years and twenty-nine days in prison, and a one thousand dollar fine. Despite the uproar and potential maximum sentences, Kreis and Wilson served only one year of unsupervised probation.

In Testosterone Dreams: Rejuvenation, Aphrodisia, Doping, historian John Hoberman contends that the issue of doping should not be defined only as an individual transgression. Rather, it should be studied “as a collective project resulting inevitably from an insistence on ever higher levels of performance.” Thus, the purpose of this paper is to treat the Vanderbilt University steroid controversy as a case study. Through a variety of historical sources, the responses of those involved—the suppliers, the athletes, the Vanderbilt administration, the court, and the outside community—elucidate difficulties and idiosyncrasies of adequately managing the doping issue. These include the motivations of the suppliers, and the ambivalent attitude of society toward doping. The paper also demonstrates the historical significance of this particular issue to the NCAA as well as to the strength and conditioning field.

Don Morrow, Western University
‘Da, Da Canada, Nyet, Nyet Soviet’:
From Hagiography to Reality in the Canada: Soviet 1972 Hockey Series

This paper forms part of a panel presentation and discussion that re-evaluates the Summit Series from a more critical perspective than the nostalgic rhetoric of the recent, 2012, 40th anniversary of the event. This part of the panel presentation will examine this question: What factors have served to enshrine the Series to the Mythic and Mono-mythic Levels? Evidence utilized includes game-films from the series; the collective rhetoric of secondary sources such as 27 Days in September, Face Off at the Summit, Hockey Night in Moscow, The Days Canada Stood Still, Hockey Showdown, and Shooting for Glory; film analysis such as the 2006 Canada:Russia, the ’72 CBC documentary, and Brett
Kashmere’s video essay/documentary *Valery’s Ankle*; and selected newspaper media reflections/renderings of the games in the Series.

The argument presented is that the series encapsulated a whorl of deeply hallowed elements that coagulated into making the series larger than myth. The paper explores issues such as the mythic process, archetypal patterns (Snow White and the 7 Canuck ‘Dwarfs’ and the evil-witch of Communism, for example), the graphic and the iconographic, narrative richness and meta-narrative (Esposito’s ‘rant’ compared to King Henry V’s St Crispin’s day exhortation to his troops preceding the Battle of Agincourt in Shakespeare’s *King Henry V*), and cultural context and texts such as the Cold War, movies like *Deliverance* and *The Godfather*, and the meaning of Foster Hewitt’s “Henderson Has Scored for Canada,” regarding the shot not-heard round the world. The significance of this paper to our understanding of sport history is that it will be rendered in a panel that looks critically at a watershed—or was it?—event in Canadian sport. This paper and those of the other panelists will provide a unique set of perspectives on the series beyond the realm of the endless rhetoric of nostalgia.

Murry Nelson, Penn State University

**The First 3-Point Shots: The American Basketball League, the American Basketball Association and the 3-Pointer**

The three-point shot is basketball’s version of the home run, whereby a player is credited with three points on any shot made beyond the arc, which varies in length from high school, college and pro basketball.

The three point shot was discussed as early as the 1930s and even experimented in some exhibition games (Fordham vs. Columbia in February, 1945 was one), but there was little interest in actually implementing it on a regular basis until 1961. At that point, two factors had changed since the 1930s. First, players had gotten stronger and taller and there was much more pushing and shoving in the lane, especially in professional games. Second was the fact that players had become better shooters from the outside and the likelihood of making and taking a deep outside shot had risen dramatically from earlier eras when a shooting percentage of 30% was considered average to good.

With that in mind, and seeking something that would set the league apart, the American Basketball League announced that it would use a three-point shot in its games when the league began in the fall of 1961. Measured from the backboard, the three-point shot would be 25 feet or beyond. The league was derided by its more established rival, the National Basketball Association (NBA) for a variety of reasons, including the three-point basket. The fans, however, found the new scoring rule exciting, even if they failed to warm to the league as a whole. At season’s end in the Spring of 1962, Tony Jackson of the Chicago Majors had the most three-pointers in the league, 141 in 72 games with an astounding 12 in one game. He shot 37% from long range, which, in terms of scoring would be like shooting 56% from two-point range. Only one other player, Bucky Bolyard, made more than 100 three-pointers that season. The league maintained the shot the next season, but the league folded at the end of December 1962 and the three-pointer died with the league.
This paper will describe the creation of the shot in the ABL, the first game in which it was used and the way the 3-point shot affected the ABL, in both attendance and game outcomes. Finally, the paper will briefly trace the path that the shot took to the NBA and the NCAA, following the collapse of the ABL in its second season.

Christine M. O’Bonsawin, University of Victoria
A Performance of Contentious Proportions:
The 2012 Olympic Light Heavyweight Contest and the Near Disqualification of Damien Hooper

On the evening of July 31, 2012, light heavyweight boxer and member of the Australian national team, Damien Hooper, made his Olympic debut when stepping into the ring to face a highly touted American opponent by the name of Marcus Browne. Following Hooper’s victory, Australians had cause for celebration as forecasters immediately declared Hooper, the world number two, to be a genuine gold medal favourite in the Olympic light heavyweight division. However, before this athlete could advance in the competition he was summoned before the Australian Olympic Committee (AOC) regarding personal misconduct. Hooper’s Olympic tournament was suddenly in jeopardy as he was forced to respond to accusations from national team officials that his actions immediately preceding the bout were in breach of Rule 50 of the Olympic Charter, which forbids any kind of political, religious, or racial demonstration inside an Olympic venue. His misdeed? Hooper, who is a proud Aboriginal athlete, elected to enter the ring wearing a shirt inscribed with the Aboriginal flag of Australia – a widely recognized and heralded symbol of unity and national identity for the Aboriginal peoples of Australia.

The Olympic Games are inherently politicized sites for individual and collective expressionism, and the Olympic stage affords its participants and interested parties a platform in which to exercise political interests. Despite the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) desire to sanction against political demonstrations, the Olympic forum has long served the interests of individual, collective, national, and transnational entities intent on declaring grievances to mass audiences. Within the social movement literature, such politicized protest actions have been classified as ‘contentious performances’, since the objectives of such acts are to demonstrate disproval, convince or coerce others to change behaviours, or to challenge principle governing covenants. The focus of this paper is twofold as it first contextualizes Hooper’s actions within the scope of Olympic principles and laws, and further conceptualizes the ‘contentious performance’ of this Aboriginal athlete within the politicized realm of contemporary colonialism, and as upheld by the IOC. The fact of the matter is that many indigenous peoples do not actually consider themselves citizens of a colonizing Settler society. A significant proportion of indigenous lands throughout the world have yet to be ceded to imperial interests, and where there are legally binding treaties, there are nation-to-nation relationships. Using the example of Hooper, this paper argues that IOC principles and laws, namely Rule 50, categorically sustain the illegal missions of colonizing Settler governments attempting to govern over indigenous peoples and their lands. In the Olympic domain, indigenous athletes have no choice but to assume and promote the identity of a colonizing Settler citizenry.
Elizabeth O’Connell, Stony Brook University
The Twenty-Sixth Man: MLB Broadcasters as Storytellers and King Makers, 1947-1963

Russ Hodges’s exclamation, “The Giants win the pennant!” during the final game of the three-game pennant playoff between the New York Giants and the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1951 has playfully been called “the shot heard ‘round the world.” Historian Jules Tygiel claimed that there is further truth in this expression given that American troops stationed in Europe and Asia were able to hear the broadcast of Bobby Thomson’s ninth-inning home run off of Dodgers’ reliever Ralph Branca via Armed Forces Radio. Hodges’s call has endured because a Brooklyn fan, believing the Dodgers were going to win, recorded the bottom of the ninth inning to lord the Giants’ loss over friends; when Thomson won the game with one swing, the fan had no need for the tape and sent his recording to Hodges. As a result, Hodges, Thomson and Branca were linked in baseball history.

This paper examines the role of the broadcaster in baseball during its second Golden Age, from 1947 to 1963. To do so, I will use available recordings of broadcasts (many of which were found through the Paley Center for Media in New York), broadcaster memoirs and biographies and newspaper accounts, which will be used in combination and comparison to analyze the creation of heroes through language. The purpose is to understand the relationship between the broadcaster and his subject as well as his audience. In an era in which Major League Baseball players were valued off the field as exemplifying American virtues (as evidenced by Goodwill Tours around the globe), journalists and broadcasters were significant to creating and disseminating the image of the ballplayer to the public.

Broadcasters, through the power of the airwaves, have the ability to transform their subjects, to turn ordinary players into immortals. Baseball is ultimately a series of one-on-one competitions: between pitcher and batter, batter and fielder, runner and fielder, etc. The broadcaster is responsible for conveying these interactions, particularly to a radio audience, who have no ability to see the plays themselves and are entirely reliant on the broadcaster for information. How he chooses to call a game becomes significant—as Hodges demonstrated, it can make a moment last forever.

James Odenkirk, Arizona State University
“Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave”;
The Columbus Mob Drives College Football Analyst Kirk Herbstreit from Ohio

This paper will present another chapter in the profane and abusive behavior of football fans at the collegiate level. This case study focuses on the fate of Kirk Herbstreit, college football analyst for ESPN and ABC. He is also one of four analysts on ESPN College Game Day.

The genesis for this study begins with the issues that led to the resignation of Ohio State University football coach Jim Tressel in March 2011. The highly successful Tressel was guilty of malfeasance as a result of OSU team members violating NCAA regulations. The penalty meted out by the NCAA included forfeiture of all games for 2011 and forfeiture of a bowl opportunity in 2012-13. In addition, the team is ineligible for a Big Ten Championship.
Herbstreit, an alumnus and former quarterback for the Buckeyes, spoke out attacking his alma mater for the tawdry way the university handled these violations. A great majority of OSU alums and Ohio citizens supported Herbstreit’s accusations or did not voice an opinion. A vocal minority literally took the Buckeye alumnus “to the cross.” The harassment became so ugly that Herbstreit took his family and moved to Nashville, Tennessee. His high-minded and objective analysis of collegiate football did not register with local zealots who adhere to the saying “winning is everything.” Herbstreit did not agree.

An effort will be made to untangle facts from fiction and determine if big-time collegiate football has again become the catalyst for destroying the right to free speech on America.

Gary Osmond and Murray G. Phillips, The University of Queensland
Re-Presenting The Black Power Salute: New Media and Sport History

As well as facilitating new multimedia representations of the past, the Internet allows the producers to adjust, adapt and recast those histories and to disseminate them in new ways. As a simple example, this can be seen via Wikipedia, where on-line entries can be readily updated and their circulation actively promoted via hyperlinks and other electronic means. At a more complex level, the Internet presents filmmakers, curators of virtual museums, and producers of other cultural and historical representations with opportunities to present, promote and ‘play’ with their histories with and for new, extended and varied audiences.

This paper examines the opportunities offered by the Internet to creators of filmic histories. To do this, we revisit Salute, the 2008 film documentary about the role played by the Australian silver-medalist, Peter Norman, in the Black Power Salute protest by athletes John Carlos and Tommie Smith on the medal dais during the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games. Previously, we considered how the filmmaker, Peter Norman’s nephew Matt Norman, used new media to promote his film, to influence its reception, and to emphasize key themes. Five years since the film’s release, and three years since our initial research, Internet developments, technologies and platforms have broadened, creating new representational possibilities. In the case of Salute, new social media platforms have allowed Matt Norman to recast his film in new ways for new audiences.

Tolga Ozyurtcu, The University of Texas at Austin
“Prepare For the Weirdness. Get Ready for Cannibalism”: Hunter S. Thompson at ESPN

On November 6, 2000, the Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN) launched the “Page 2” section of the ESPN.com website. Dedicated to the intersections of sports and popular culture, Page 2 would complement the traditional sport journalism, headlines, and box scores featured on the main ESPN site. Equal parts sports tabloid and literary journal, the early Page 2 featured a potpourri of voices and subjects; on the day of the site's launch, readers could find Major League Baseball trade rumors, an 800-word review of a football coffee table book, and a list of
“Favorite Dunks,” compiled by University of Tennessee basketball player Michelle Smith (who had recently become the third woman to slam dunk in competition).

Visitors to the site would also find the first installment of a column, entitled “Hey Rube,” by Hunter S. Thompson. Thompson had been recruited to the Page 2 project by ESPN’s John A. Walsh, as part of a strategic effort to legitimize the new site by hiring well-known sportswriters, like Ralph Wiley and David Halberstam, who joined Thompson as early contributors to the site. Consistent with his entire oeuvre, Thompson’s Page 2 work seemed only to be bound by his mood at the time of writing. Sports, politics, and mass culture would receive equal (and often simultaneous) attention in his digital work; his range of subjects often held together only by the passion and vitriol essential to his signature, “Gonzo” style. Running regularly over the next several years, the Page 2 column would be Thompson’s last journalistic outlet, with his final Page 2 work being published only 5 days before his suicide on February 20, 2005.

This presentation examines Thompson’s “Hey Rube” column as sport journalism and as cultural artifact in two related parts. In the first part, the content and context of Thompson’s work serves as a lens to analyze the discourses linking American sport, politics, and popular culture at the turn of 21st century. Eschewing a single, cohesive interpretation of Thompson’s late work, the presentation focuses instead on the multiplicity of readings and meanings produced by Thompson’s digital foray. This discursive method not only allows for a more nuanced analysis of Thompson’s writing at a specific moment in history, but also allows for “readings” of Thompson’s ESPN years as a historical subject. Furthermore, this approach reflects Thompson’s comfort in allowing for ambiguity, unease, and anxiety in his journalism, especially toward the end of his life. This first section will pay particular attention to Thompson’s post-9/11 work, wherein his prescient commentaries on the coming war on terror could be bookended—in classic Thompsonian style—with a critique of a college basketball team and the lamentation of a lost sports wager. In the second part, the presentation considers the digital form of Thompson’s Page 2 work and the implications of this form for the field of sport history. Specifically, this section will address the use of digital columns and blogs as an historical source, temporal challenges in using such sources, and the shift toward a digital archive.

Lindsay Parks Pieper, Lynchburg College
“A Flagrant Abuse”: Olympic Gender Verification Testing, 1992 to 2012

In 2009, South African runner Caster Semenya burst into the public consciousness. The previously unknown middle-distance competitor gained notoriety at the World Track and Field Championships for defeating her competitors by a margin of more than two seconds—considered a tremendous gap in the 800-meter race—as well as for her muscular stature and deep voice. Almost immediately, the International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF) forced Semenya to undergo a gender verification test, a procedure abandoned by most sport federations, including the IAAF and the International Olympic Committee (IOC), in the 1990s.

Influenced by Semenya’s international success and alarmed by the specter of unfair advantage in women’s competition, the IOC reintroduced gender verification measures for the 2012 London
Olympics. Protests quickly likened the check to the sex tests unveiled in 1968 and abandoned in 1999. This paper explores both the dissolution of sex testing in the 1990s and its re-articulation in 2012.

Although the IOC sought to scientifically differentiate women from men through gender verification measures, the methods employed repeatedly illustrated the difficulty in determining the exact composition of womanhood. Disregarding these well-documented problems, the IOC nevertheless required the test for three decades. Eventually, protests in the 1990s—coupled with increased concerns regarding the human rights of athletes—encouraged the IOC to discontinue the practice.

As a result of Semenya’s publicity, however, women’s participation in the 2012 Olympics again required a sex test. Although administered four decades later, the motivations of the most recent control clearly echoed those articulated for the antecedent exam of the 1960s. While the original test sought to preclude men, the new policy prohibited women who naturally produced high levels of testosterone from participating.

Utilizing Olympic reports, medical journals, popular accounts and oral histories from the leading protestors against sex testing, this project illustrates the ways in which beliefs in white, middle-class gender norms led the IOC to continue its practice of policing female athletes. This paper argues that although the Olympic authorities terminated the practice of sex testing, the IOC maintained control of appropriate womanhood without the aid of scientific verification, through anti-doping practices, uniform requirements and the Stockholm Consensus. Thus, when speculations regarding Semenya surfaced, the IOC merely heightened its surveillance.

Lindsay Pattison, University of New Brunswick Saint John
Acts of Ultimate Memory: Recording and Performing Community Histories?

The past decade has been marked by an intensified effort to document the history of Ultimate, identify and commemorate its heroes, and celebrate its achievements. What sparked this seemingly increased appetite for remembering Ultimate’s past? Drawing upon oral interviews, digital and online repositories, as well as magazine and press coverage, this paper examines recent efforts to commemorate the history of the sport of Ultimate in Canada. In the 2000s, there was a sense that Ultimate had come of age: that there was an adequate amount of history to tell; and a new generation to tell it to. Many Ultimate organizations attained what they considered to be significant milestones and the time seemed right to celebrate the sport’s history. Ultimate halls of fame, memorials, and accompanying celebrations are efforts to create a collective memory and to give that memory material, as opposed to ephemeral, foundations. Acts of memory are, therefore, imbricated within a project to recover, document, and communicate the sport’s history. They also, however, reflect a pervasive anxiety. Ultimate has irreversibly changed from its countercultural origins and is moving in new directions. In a climate where there are many new players, whom veterans believe to have an imperfect understanding of the sport’s values and traditions, the old means of communicating history and culture by word-of-mouth are seen as inadequate. In addition to their role in policing community boundaries, Ultimate halls of fame, celebrations, and memorials can also
be interpreted as part of the legitimizing project whereby Ultimate takes on the performative and commemorative trappings of mainstream sports. The recent appetite for and investment in introspection can be seen as a Janus-faced project that tells the story of how Ultimate got to this point and documents the way things used to be in order to better preserve the elements that it wants to carry forward.

Ben Pollack, The University of Texas at Austin
“The Old Lion is Awake at Last”: Physical Culture in Britain on the Home Front and Front Lines During the Second World War

In a 1942 editorial entitled, “What Physiculture Means,” *Health and Strength* magazine celebrated the revival of the “Old Lion,” an anthropomorphism for Britain’s strength and vitality. Both had been seriously threatened in the two previous years by the Nazis’ relentless bombing and the German blockade of British ports that cut off much of the country’s food supply. Despite these hardships, Great Britain and its citizens found new ways to negotiate fitness and proper nutrition during the war years through a nationalized campaign binding fitness to patriotism and instilling in Britain’s citizens the necessity of maintaining physical health on an individual level for the country as a whole to survive. Health education had become an issue of major government policy in the 1930s, but it was during the war years when physical culture—the practice of regular exercise for the sake of greater fitness and attention to healthful dietary practices—actually became more integral to daily life. These wartime developments not only influenced the fitness of Britain in the 1940s, but impacted concepts of exercise and nutrition in the succeeding decades through the growth of physical education programs in schools. During the war years, the campaign for national fitness was promoted through commercial physical culture (or “muscle magazines”), newspapers, radio shows, and, of course, through other forms of popular media.

Surprisingly, the story of the role assigned to physical culture during the war years has been largely ignored by recent scholarly treatises on British physical culture. Neither Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska in *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health, and Fitness in Britain, 1880-1939* nor Charlotte MacDonald in *Strong, Beautiful, and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, 1935-1960* devote more than cursory attention to the war years in Great Britain. Furthermore, Tony Mason and Eliza Riedi in their book *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880-1960*, devote only one chapter to World War II, and make no mention of physical culture at all.

As will be shown, however, the war awakened Britain to the benefits of purposive exercise and the need to think carefully about nutrition so that they could be ready to serve their country in times of emergency. This paper argues that wartime propaganda spread awareness about the importance of exercise and diet; that changes in military training methods elevated both the effectiveness and status of physical training; and that rationing surprisingly improved the nutritional standards of Britons during the war years. Part of a larger project, this paper focuses in particular on the role played by *Health and Strength* and *Superman*, the two leading physical culture magazines published in Britain. Reading remarkably like wartime propaganda, these two magazines—which were allowed to continue printing during the war despite paper shortages—wholeheartedly
embraced the war effort and published article after article extolling the benefits of fitness and the need for everyone “to see to themselves” so that they could help the nation. How this played out on a personal level can be seen in the more than 1000 pages of letters written between 1939 and 1945 by Staff Sergeant William J. Jones, an army physical training instructor, and his wife, Phyllis Blything, which initially inspired this project.

Isadore Channels was one of the most famous African American basketball and tennis stars during the 1920s and 1930s. Primarily making her home in Chicago, she was a member of the top women’s amateur basketball team in the city, the Roamers, and was a four-time national women’s champion in the African American tennis organization, American Tennis Association (ATA). Her legacy is that of one of the great African American athletes of the 1920s, which has been recognized in all the standard histories. This legacy can only be properly recognized with a biography of her life.

Yet heretofore nothing is known of her life, beyond the mentions in the press of her competitions, and after she completely disappeared from the public record in the late 1930s her life has been a blank slate. Her basic biographical facts, such as death and birth, have never been known, and the discussions of her career in both popular and professional history are meager and often incorrect. This paper uncovers her lost biography, adds to the recovered history of African American achievement in sports, and corrects the present historical record on her career. The paper will also present a bit of the large amount of misinformation that has been published on the Roamers and Isadore Channels.

This will be a transparent presentation, explaining the process by which the research was done. But the author recognizes that he has only provided the barest outlines of Channels’ life and career, and more needs to be done. It is to be hoped that future historians will work to uncover more of the remarkable life and career of this great African American star.

A few secondary sources were used for this paper, but it is mostly built on primary sources—contemporary newspapers and other publications, census records, city high school yearbooks, city and state records, and Chicago Board of Education records.

At a February 25, 2000 symposium titled “The Coloring of American Sport” held at William Paterson University in New Jersey, Milt Campbell spoke about the challenges he faced in the 1950s as an African American athlete. It was a very confusing time for the young Campbell, whose white coaches doted on their black athletes, yet also informed them that no matter how much they
achieved, they would never be on the same level as white men. “I had no choice but to be the best,” recalled Campbell. “And at that time a dream was built in my heart and in my mind.”

Born December 9, 1933 in Plainfield, New Jersey, Milton Gray Campbell found tremendous success as a high school and college athlete in swimming, track and field, and football. Most notably, Campbell won the silver medal in the decathlon at the 1952 Helsinki Games, and the gold at the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne, serving as the first African American to win the Olympic decathlon event. He played professional football for the Cleveland Browns in 1957, followed by seven seasons for Hamilton and Toronto in the Canadian Football League. In the late 1960s, Campbell founded a community center and the Chad School, an alternative school for underprivileged youth in the late 1960s. He briefly ran a meat trucking business and then turned to motivational speaking. Throughout his life, Campbell maintained a positive attitude and passion for life, serving as an unofficial mentor and an empowering figure for youth and adults alike wherever he traveled. After fighting the effects of diabetes and prostate cancer for over a decade, Campbell passed away on November 2, 2012.

Despite his numerous athletic achievements, Campbell remains virtually unknown as a pioneer in the integration of sport. This paper will present a short biography of Milton Gray Campbell, and attempt to answer a number of questions: What successes did Milt Campbell achieve in the sport? Why did Campbell not receive the accolades and endorsements of other Olympic champions? What struggles did Campbell face as an African American athlete in the 1950s and 1960s? How did Campbell positively affect young people, up and coming athletes, and the people of Plainfield, New Jersey beyond the pool, track, and football field? What is the legacy of Milton Gray Campbell?

James T. Reese Jr., Drexel University
Identifying Undated Pre-1960 New York Yankees Regular Season Tickets: An Attempt to Recapture Baseball History

Many professional baseball teams did not include dates on regular season tickets before 1960. Because no dates exist on these ticket stubs, significant personal and team accomplishments on the dates these tickets were used may be lost to history unless identified. Though fans are embracing the collection of ticket stubs, it is difficult to find information in the literature about the subject. According to Orlando, “The problem has been and continues to be a real lack of available information about them. How scarce are they? What are they worth? What collecting themes are popular? The questions are numerous, but there’s no doubt that tickets are gaining in popularity.”

This study attempts to begin to identify pre-1960 regular season grandstand and bleacher tickets issued by the New York Yankees. Many players of historical significance were listed on the Yankees roster during this era. A partial list of Hall of Fame players who participated in the era includes Babe Ruth (1920-1934), Lou Gehrig (1923-1939), Bill Dickey (1928-1943), Lefty Gomez (1930-1942), Red Ruffing (1930-1942), Joe DiMaggio (1936-1951), Phil Rizzuto (1941-1956), and Mickey Mantle (1951-1968). In addition, other Hall of Fame players from visiting teams played at Yankee Stadium during this era. For example, Ty Cobb (1905-1926), Walter Johnson (1907-1927), George
Sisler (1915-1922, 1924-1928), Tris Speaker (1916-1927), and Ted Williams (1939-1942) were all American League players who would have played against the Yankees in the regular season.

Though difficult, numerous unique details exist on ticket stubs to assist researchers in trying to identify the date each ticket was used. These unique details include, but are not limited to, printer logos and names, team logos, ticket back language, ticket prices, game numbers, name of general managers or team presidents, and ticket numbers and letters. Ticket samples will be presented as well as techniques to limit the range of dates each ticket sample was issued.

Samuel O. Regalado, California State University, Stanislaus
A Jap is a Jap: Challenges Towards a National Identity

With the completion of the Second World War in 1945, so, too, came an end to America’s “Concentration Camps” and the incarceration of some 110,000 Nikkei who had been held at ten remote sites since 1942. For the next decade, the second generation Nisei took the lead in the reestablishment of their communities in the hope that, within time, they could settle into a secure and constructive existence with their neighbors in the mainstream. To that end, they searched for avenues by which they could better connect with the larger society, which, like them, had continued to feel the effects of the war.

Sport was a part of that process. Leaders, like Kenichi Zenimura, who in the prewar period was among the founders of a vibrant baseball environment in the Nikkei community throughout the west and in the camps, employed his experience as a bridge to the Caucasian enclave by reestablishing multicultural leagues in his hometown of Fresno and encouraged his fellow Nikkei to do the same in other locales. But the response to this outreach was not always as positive as he and others had hoped.

By the 1950s, postwar attitudes towards people of Japanese heritage, reinforced by the cinema and television, were, in many circles, much the same as they were at the outset of the war. Athletics, in part, also contributed to the animosity and fed into the condescending attitudes towards the Nikkei. Wrestling, for instance, captivated television audiences of that era. Nisei wrestlers were among the roster of its stars. Divided into “good” and “bad” guy categories, grapplers like “Mr. Moto” encouraged and reinforced the negative connotations that hampered Nikkei quests for a peaceful coexistence in their respective locales.

My presentation is designed to observe three distinctive patterns: the Nikkei use of sport to connect with the larger Caucasian community in the immediate postwar years; mainstream resistance and response to the Nikkei efforts; and the struggle for a constructive national identity in the face of the larger entertainment industry’s propensity to seize upon the negative Japanese stereotype for marketing purposes.

Among the key questions to be explored are how monumental was sport in the recovery of the Nikkei image? Was it detrimental? Did the post-war period advance or tarnish the Nisei perspective on American ideals?
On 11 February 1847, in the depths of a New Brunswick winter, the teenage academy student Amos Purdy was nursing a headache from being hit by a high stick during a game of hurley. “I accidentally received a severe blow,” he informed his father, “from one of the boys who was in the act of striking the ball.” If anyone had told Purdy that he was participating in a process of sporting ethnogenesis, he would have been surprised. Nevertheless, this paper will argue that such a process was indeed taking place, and that it has both historical and historiographical importance.

The paper will use the term “ethnogenesis” not in its commonest sense, meaning the creation of a people—although of course sport can be a key element of ethnicity—but rather in its wider sense of the creation of a culturally recognizable identity. Sporting ethnogenesis is defined as the emergence of a distinct cultural tradition in sport, of which codification may be one important indicator but which also signifies a broader complex of cultural characteristics linked to such elements as ethnicity, social class, and gender.

The concept will be illustrated by the contrasting trajectories of two leading nineteenth-century sports in Canada’s Maritime Provinces: cricket and ice hockey. Cricket initially had deep roots as a people’s sport, both urban and rural. It was played professionally by the 1880s. Yet, as Colin Howell has shown, cricket then yielded its role to baseball. When a “revival” of cricket was planned in New Brunswick in 1909, it was as “the good old English game,” and with the exception of Howell’s work historians have treated it in this imperial context. What had taken place, however, the paper will argue, was a process of ethnogenesis by which a declining sport had taken on a new cultural form that had not always characterized it.

Ice hockey, by contrast, was not a declining sport. Indeed Vaughan (1996) and Jones (2002) have argued—though in different local contexts—that ice hockey originated in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia. The paper will not take a position on this possible “first,” but instead will argue that a process of sporting ethnogenesis took place in the Maritime Provinces, which was not necessarily unique to the region but which saw the evolution of a new and eventually codified sporting tradition from the existing informal complex of stick sports—of which hurley, as a winter ball game, was a principal element.

Using newspaper and other contemporary sources, the paper will trace these examples of sporting ethnogenesis. By means of historiographical analysis, it will also suggest that the concept has much to offer to sport historians both through facilitating discussion of the evolution of sport traditions and through enabling comparative discussion of families of sports (whether bat-and-ball sports, stick sports, or others) that have separated through ethnogenesis but retain characteristics that invite comparative analysis.
Marcel Reinold, University of Münster  
Nazis on Doping? Performance Enhancing Drugs in Nazi Germany

A number of recent scholars have investigated the connections between the totalitarian Nazi regime and the comparably totalitarian Eastern Bloc countries during the post-war period. One important focus of their research has been the systematic utilization of performance-enhancing drugs. Special attention has been given to the state-run doping program of East Germany and its connection to the Nazi era. In fact, it is widely known that several performance-enhancing drugs were developed in the context of work and war in Nazi Germany. However, some views tend to oversimplify matters by overemphasizing similarities and neglecting historical differences. From a range of primary and secondary sources, this paper examines what we really know about research on performance enhancing drugs and their use in sports during the Nazi era.

Roland Renson, KU Leuven  
From Pieter Bruegel to Hendrick Avercamp: Winter Sport Scenes as Genre Paintings in the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th century

Winter scenes made their appearance in European painting during the so-called Little Ice Age, which started off about 1550 and ended in the mid-19th century. The unusually harsh winter of 1565 inspired Flemish artist Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1520-1569) to paint his well known “Winter landscape with a bird trap” and “The hunters in the snow,” which show peasants playing *colf* (golf) and *kaluiten* (curling) on ice. He thus created a new popular genre in painting, which shows that the severe winters not only affected daily life but also started a boom of all kinds of winter sports and games. Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1564-1638) continued the tradition of his father and copied many of his designs. The winter scene theme appeared in the Northern Netherlands when the Dutch painter Hendrick Avercamp (1585-1634) painted “Winter landscape with ice skaters” in 1608. People, both peasants and citizens of both sexes and all age categories, are enjoying themselves skating on their own, in rows or pairs, practicing *colf* (golf) or playing with sleighs on the ice. Although Avercamp’s work was originally strongly influenced by Pieter Bruegel and his Flemish followers, he gradually developed his own style and became the uncontested master of the ice scene.

In this paper, an analysis is made of the different sports and games practiced on ice and of their practitioners and of how these elements of winter movement culture were linked with specific climatic and socio-cultural conditions in the 16th and 17th centuries.
This study presents an oral history of children’s play at Gyro playgrounds in Edmonton, Alberta. How did children and adults experience summer play time at Gyro playgrounds? Life stories of past playground participants and Gyro Club members foster new understandings of how play was structured and experienced.

By the end of the 19th century, international child-saving movements inspired urban reformers to design spaces for children’s play. Supervised playgrounds were an aspect of widespread social reform practices in Canada. They were seen as the ‘heart’ of the city, places for children to play in a safe designated outdoor space, and a wellspring of community values linked to gendered citizenship. The National Council of Women and local social reform advocates led playground movements in many cities across Canada in the early 1900s. In Edmonton, a men’s organization—the Gyro Club—emerged as a key civic club prominent in playground delivery. Its members committed to children’s welfare and community service work. Edmonton’s Gyro Club, founded in July 1921, built playgrounds and provided supervised play programs for the public. They hoped to enrich childhood and to instruct children as citizens with a view to build a better city.

Interviews augment archival data to enhance historical understanding of this case study in western Canada. Analysis suggests how individuals narrate their own lives and construct the meanings of play through memory. Edmonton had a distinctive local playground movement influenced by the Gyros through three decades. Written records tend to emphasize adult or institutional perspectives on children’s play, whereas oral history has potential to investigate other insights. Historiography has emphasized playgrounds as terrains of social control and surveillance. Oral history and life story methods add to understanding the lives of children at play and their active agency, along with adult reflections on playgrounds. Their stories suggest middle-class hegemony was prevalent but incomplete; children and others generated their own meanings and multivocality through practices of play and the body. Gender and the active roles of men in care giving for children, nurturing the young, and fostering play were also evident in the distinctive case of Edmonton’s Gyro Club playground movement.

Edmonton’s Gyro playgrounds produced holistic creative play for public community recreation. How were these activities experienced and understood by participants and can they be understood better today as an intergenerational narrative? Investigation of past participant experiences in this case study textures the social history of children’s outdoor play, public playgrounds, and civil society.

Toby C. Rider, Pennsylvania State University, Berks
Charles Douglas Jackson and the Art of Psychological Warfare

One of the great peculiarities of the Cold War was the way in which it was fought. Without ever breaking into a full scale “hot” war, much of the conflict was channeled into non-military modes of
combat and operations which fell under the guise of psychological warfare. Although psychological warfare became a somewhat flexible term, the U.S. government defined it as the “planned use by a nation of propaganda and activities other than combat which communicate ideas and information intended to influence the opinions, attitudes, emotions, and behavior of foreign groups in ways that will support the achievement of national aims.”

From World War II into the early Cold War years, Charles Douglas Jackson served as one of America’s most influential purveyors of psychological warfare. Jackson contributed to the massive Allied propaganda efforts to defeat Hitler’s Germany, and then worked in both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations as a high level advisor on the use of psychological warfare to “rollback” communism in Eastern Europe. At times he even served in an unofficial capacity, leading the U.S. government’s “front” organization, the National Committee for a Free Europe, and answering Eisenhower’s personal call for creative methods to combat the Kremlin. It was Jackson’s creativity that proved to be one of his prized assets in Washington. While some policy makers were unsure on the impact of psychological warfare, Jackson had no doubts. A career publicist and vice-president at Time Inc., Jackson was convinced of the power of propaganda to shape the minds of people around the world.

While many career diplomats were decidedly unenthusiastic about the virtues of deploying culture to wage the Cold War, Jackson was far from the average diplomat. This paper will explore Jackson’s psychological warfare philosophy and how it was applied in sport-related operations during the 1950s. For example, Jackson played a crucial role in the defection of over thirty Hungarian athletes following the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, and also played a considerable role in helping these athletes settle in America and to continue competing in sporting events. However, this paper will not tell a tale of success. Examining Jackson’s role in the U.S. government’s efforts to use sport as a weapon to defeat the Soviet Union will also expose the limits and restrictions which often blighted America’s psychological warfare strategy. Ultimately, the government’s long history of respecting the autonomy of private sports organizations in America, coupled with a reticence to invest fully in cultural diplomacy, could not be overcome by the loud voice of Jackson and many others who shared his opinions in Washington.

Ian Ritchie, Brock University
Justifications and Paradoxes:
Historical Examination of the World Anti-Doping Agency’s “Spirit of Sport” Argument

It is well known that the ban on performance-enhancing substances is premised on their use being in conflict with the ‘spirit of sport’, or the idea that there is an essential ideal and practice of competitive sport that the use of drugs contravenes. This justification, in fact, lies at the heart of the World Anti-Doping Agency’s ban (WADA, 2009). However, what exactly is the ‘spirit of sport’? This paper will attempt to address this important question through the lens of history. Summarizing a topic as broad as sport’s ‘spirit’ in one paper is clearly impossible; however, I will attempt to contextualize sport’s ‘spirit’ by considering the ideals and practices of sport across three separate time periods, to be described shortly. The study will concentrate on the Olympic Games because it is the most important organizational context in which drugs have both been and continue to be used for
performance purposes, and it was the International Olympic Committee that created the most important and influential (although not the first) drug ban. I will proceed through three interrelated steps, which correspond to the time periods previously mentioned. First, the ideals of Olympic founder Pierre de Coubertin are used as a comparative point upon which to study major changes to Olympic sport in the twentieth century. What was the ‘spirit’ of Olympic sport when Coubertin founded the Games in the late nineteenth century, and to what degree did the real practices of sport conform to those ideals or not? Second, the development of the systematic use of performance-enhancing drugs during the Cold War period is considered (e.g. Beamish and Ritchie 2006) alongside the creation and development of prohibition policies and procedures during that same period (e.g. Beamish 2011, Dimeo 2007, Hunt 2011). In what ways did the systematic use of performance-enhancing substances come into conflict with the ‘spirit’ of Olympic sport when the problem first emerged? Or, did it? Were drugs banned because of their incompatibility with the ‘spirit of sport’? Was a new ‘spirit’ of sport in fact emerging? Finally, the phrase the ‘spirit of sport’ has been popularized in recent times particularly because of its use in relation to WADA’s Code, since its first iteration in 2003. What does the ‘spirit’ of sport in fact mean today? What discussions led to the use of the term in the WADA Code? Is WADA’s ‘spirit’ based on other rules, norms, and values in sport, or is it a self-referential (perhaps self-evident) concept? The central thesis of this paper is that the recent prohibition against performance-enhancing substances based on the ideal of the ‘spirit of sport’ is in fact part of a much longer historical project to proffer an image of the Olympics as a ‘pure’ form of sport. WADA’s interpretation of sport’s ‘spirit’ is in some ways new; however, in other ways it is not historically unique. From its nascent early days and Coubertin’s vision for the Games, through the Cold War and the first development of the systematic drug use and drug rules in the 1960s, to the last decade-and-a-half since WADA’s creation, a version of Olympic sport as ‘pure’—that it has a certain ‘spirit’—has always been a central strength and requirement of the Olympic Games’ ‘brand’. The spirit of sport in fact lies at the heart of Olympic mythology, and power. Thus, in contrast to the intended meaning of the term, ‘sport’s spirit’, it will be shown, is an historically and socially contingent notion and practice. Throughout, primary sources will be used whenever possible (e.g. original letters, memoranda, speeches, etc. by Coubertin; WADA’s Code; minutes (if possible) or accounts of the ‘Lausanne conference’ (1999); alongside secondary accounts.

Troy Rondinone, Southern Connecticut State University
The Friday Night Fights: Boxing, Masculinity, and Violence in Postwar America

This paper will focus on the cultural meaning of the extremely popular TV show Gillette’s Cavalcade of Sports Friday Night Fights (1944-1964). This program, which featured regular bouts between top contenders, was a staple of American postwar entertainment. Gathering as much as 25% of the national television audience for the big fights, this show marked a watershed in sports entertainment. Friday Night Fighters received much media coverage and were well known to millions. For the most part, mainstream historians have completely ignored the phenomenon of postwar boxing. In this paper I will explain why it is imperative we understand the show’s popularity and why it went off the air. My thesis is that the popularity of the Friday Night Fights tells us much about Cold War masculinity. World War II veterans and their sons watched the fights together and used it to help communicate ideals of manhood through violence. The nature of TV boxing—clear rules,
combatants with closely watched back-stories, product placement—tells us much about the moment before the Boomers started to outgrow both TV boxing and the authority of their fathers. The downfall of the show, having to do with bad ratings buttressed by a sense that the mob controlled the fight game, coincided with deeper changes in American society. The historical amnesia that surrounds postwar boxing is itself a product of the upheavals of the 1960s. This paper will use contemporary periodicals, government documents (such as Senate Hearings on boxing), interviews with viewers, and interviews I have conducted with former Friday Night Fighters (such as Carmen Basilio, Gaspar Ortega, Tony DeMarco, and others).

Tom Rorke, Penn State University

Hometown Heroes: Transfer Regulations, Community Values, and Unstable Governance in Canadian Amateur Hockey, 1919-1948

The Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (CAHA) was established in 1914, but it was not until 1926 that the institution could claim sea-to-sea governance of hockey in the Dominion. After this consolidation, the CAHA spent much of the rest of the next decade dealing with what one official called their “most perplexing problem”: player transfers. Administrators feared that the substitution of hockey “mercenaries” for local players would threaten the “community spirit,” and that fans would lose interest in the game. Anxiety over player movement led to a series of regulations and increasingly stringent residency requirements designed to prevent players from switching teams.

Players seeking fame and fortune repeatedly ran afoul of the CAHA’s efforts to enforce a particular vision of place and belonging. This position was generally not reproduced in the national press, which often praised the creation of “true” Canadian teams that featured players from different regions, and local media, which excitedly reported on the new recruits. The efforts to stamp out player movement eventually spilled over from the domestic to the international arena, leading to a diplomatic imbroglio over player eligibility on the eve of the 1936 Olympic hockey tournament.

The interwar obsession with residency rules and community values highlights the fact that Canadian historians of amateurism have underappreciated the importance of discourses about civic representation. Alongside amateurism’s focus on money, class, and race, anxieties about place and belonging faced off in the contests over player mobility and eligibility. This work builds on John C. Walsh and Steven High’s rethinking of the concept of community, and uses the records of the CAHA housed at the Library and Archives Canada and a variety of contemporary local newspapers. This paper argues that the administrators of Canadian amateur hockey placed a high value on the sport’s potential to promote a sense of community spirit and local identity, and that during the interwar years they increasingly became obsessed with producing and maintaining “community” values.
Discrimination based on ethnicity and race has been extensively studied in professional sports team recruitment (Kahn 1991). In major league hockey, Lavoie (1989, 1997, 2003) and Longley (2003), found evidence of discrimination against French-Canadian players (the majority ethnic group in Quebec) by looking at entry and compensation factors, as well as the role of National Hockey League club and/or customer cultural. Most recently, Lavoie (2003) argued that French-Canadians had lower draft ranks despite higher point-per-game productivity, and specifically found that size (height and weight) did not provide a significant explanation for the discrimination. However, these studies use limited contemporary data sets that do not consider longer term historical developments, particularly the growth in physical size of players over the decades, and concurrent regional variations.

We re-test these conclusions by using a longitudinal historical database of anthropometric measures (height, weight and body mass index) of 3763 Canadian-born professional hockey players who played from 1909 to 2010. We observe that Quebec-born players in the sample are consistently smaller and lighter than those born in Ontario and the West over the century, even when controlling for other variables. We specifically show that Lavoie’s 2003 dataset was too small and specific to the 1993–94 season to have broad application, and our findings suggest are more congruent with the work of Walsh (1992), who argued that discrimination is not based on ethnicity but on size. Furthermore, by considering the size variation across Canada, we can situate the selection of Quebec players within a larger process of regional recruitment, one that favoured Western Canadian and Ontario players over Quebeckers and Atlantic Canadians.

In addition to revisiting an important debate in Canadian sport history, one that has informed Canadian government policy-making (Standing Committee 1998), our paper also shows how historical anthropometrics can be effectively used in sport history research.

MacIntosh Ross, Saint Francis Xavier University
“Shy Your Castors into the Ring and Approach the Scratch Bravely”:
Boxers and Boxing in the Union Army

During the American Civil War all forms of boxing became widespread in the Union Army, where a man’s violence and physicality were tantamount to his masculine worth and reputation as a soldier. Reports of boxing amongst soldiers arrived in the New York Clipper’s mailbox within two months of battle, including descriptions of prize fighting, sparring, and ‘rough and tumble’ fights. Yet, despite the well-documented presence of various types of pugilism in the Union Army, little research has been conducted regarding the social significance of these contests to soldiers. As Lawrence W. Fields aptly observed, “boredom was as much a reality of soldier life during the Civil War as were the battles, the gunshots, and the marching of armies.” To combat such conditions, soldiers sought out an assortment of distractions, compatible with the realities of war. By examining the numerous reports of military pugilism—sparring, prize fighting, and rough and tumble—in the New York
Clipper, New York Times, Knickerbocker, and other contemporary newspapers and magazines, this paper will demonstrate the various ways pugilism was adapted to life in the Union Army, serving to provide warmth and comfort, dispute resolution, entertainment, and exercise, while boosting morale and reinforcing prevailing notions of appropriate, wartime masculinity.

Jaime Schultz, Penn State University
Backhanded Compliments: Women, Tennis, and Fashion, 1884-1960

Since upper-class American women first took to the tennis courts in the late nineteenth century, their attire has inspired questions of decorum, social distinction, physicality, and femininity. Initially clad in the restrictive livery of their everyday lives, women adapted their clothing as the game transformed from a staid and stationary pastime to an aggressively athletic pursuit. This presentation addresses several high-profile moments in the early history of women’s tennis (1884 to 1960) when prominent athletes appeared in controversial fashions, exposing body parts previously shielded from public view—neck and décolletage, wrist and arm, ankle and calf, thigh and higher. According to costume historian Anne Hollander, “changes in dress are social changes” and I assert this is also the case in tennis. I argue that the public reactions to these sartorial scandals are indicative of larger historical shifts and offer significant insights into cultural attitudes regarding women’s bodies.

Amanda N. Schweinbenz, Laurentian University
Ruling the Athletic Female Body:
An Analysis of the “Law” of Sex Testing in International Sport

Between 1966 and 1999, female athletes competing at international competitions were systematically tested to ensure that they were in fact female. International sport regulations, specifically the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF), mandated that all female athletes underwent inspections to determine whether they were eligible to compete in women’s events. All were required to comply and those who objected were accused of being men masquerading as women and were prevented from competing. However, while this testing was obligatory, no domestic, national, or international courts regulated these sporting bodies or their rules. As such, the female athletic body was ruled by seemingly arbitrary decisions made by male sporting administrators; they were required to follow the laws of sport or were barred from competition. Their bodies were subject to testing that had the potential to define who they were. A positive test result meant that you were a “normal” or “natural” woman; a negative result meant that you were deviant. Using a post-structuralist feminist framework, this paper examines how the legal system was used by female athletes and sport governing bodies to deconstruct the definition of “female” and how the law did little to support a broader definition.
Prior to World War I, American women who were trained as physical educators often worked with the injured and disabled in therapeutic settings, applying similar techniques to modern-day physical therapists. The “scientific training” they received provided them with the knowledge to apply massage and corrective exercise to the so-called “sub-normal” population. With the onset of WWI, a number of these skilled technicians were called upon to assist in the reconstruction of disabled soldiers. The United States Surgeon General, having been informed about the urgent need for such workers, turned to several key orthopedic physicians for advice in assembling this new “female force” of “Reconstruction Aides”. These civilian members of the Army were categorized into two groups, based upon their respective duties: the “PT” Aides (drawn principally from normal school graduates of physical education colleges), who administered the physical, sometimes painful exercises, massage and electrotherapy, and the OTs, who taught crafts and diverted the men from dwelling on their traumatic experiences.

Despite their distinct functions in army hospitals both overseas and at home, “PT” and “OT” Aides in a number of respects were indistinguishable, having shared identical uniforms, as well as physical requirements and living quarters. Yet, argues historian Beth Linker, “the women themselves felt a deep divide”; physiotherapists saw themselves as “highly educated, “athletic” women who used their medical knowledge and womanly strength to manipulate men back to health, in contrast with OTs, “morale boosters,” whose work was “steeped in the womanly spheres of arts, crafts, and home economics.”

This paper examines how PT Aides, viewed as “women of large stature,” equipped with a “unique gender-based knowledge of physical fitness,” were portrayed in American military, voluntary and government campaigns. How did media such as Carry On: A Magazine for the Reconstruction of Disabled Soldiers and Come Back Journal reconcile the fact that they needed to promote the competence of these women workers to army physicians, the public and the soldiers themselves, while simultaneously navigating the boundaries of acceptable “womanly” behavior? How was a physical therapist identity (in contrast to the nurse or occupational therapist) constructed during a time when they were often perceived as ‘invaders” on the masculine terrain of military medicine, and when contemporary public attitudes towards female strength and athleticism were fraught with controversy?

Physiotherapists themselves gave voice to their own mediated construction as participants in the production of hospital magazines (for example, Marguerite Sanderson, Supervisor of Reconstruction Aides in the Office of the Surgeon General, was on the staff of Carry On). I am exploring evidence that PT Aides, as they applied their exercise expertise to the bodies of disabled men, began to envision the opportunity to gain status as physical therapy professionals and perhaps push aside cultural barriers that constrained their displays of physical competence.
New Jersey was once a hub of east coast motorsports. Two of the last board speedways existed in New Jersey, and AAA-sanctioned championship races took place on the wooden saucers. The state also hosted numerous AAA-sanctioned dirt-track events during the 1930s. In fact, Paterson was known as “Gasoline Alley of the East,” because many of the open-wheel, Indianapolis-style drivers maintained and worked on their racecars in shops and garages in that city.

The state also served as the eastern center of the first midget racing boom, which unfolded as the Depression persisted. Before World War II, the midget craze swept the nation and some of the most popular venues for the mighty midgets were found in the Garden State.

This paper will examine the critical role that New Jersey played in the development of American motorsports during the Depression. It will emphasize the environmental and geographic factors which contributed to auto racing’s popularity in the state during the 1930s. This study will also touch on how some of the factors that facilitated the sport’s success in the state eventually led to its decline in the decades following World War II. New Jersey has only a few speedways left.

Corey Slumkoski, Mount Saint Vincent University
The Sydney Post-Record and the Sydney Millionaires’ Quest for the 1941 Allan Cup: Print Media, Economic Underdevelopment, and the Construction of a Regional Sporting Identity

My paper seeks to understand the role that economic underdevelopment can have in shaping a local/regional sporting identity. It approaches this topic by examining sports media coverage in the economically marginalized community of Sydney, Nova Scotia. In 1941, as World War II raged in Europe, the Sydney Millionaires faced off against Saskatchewan’s Regina Rangers for hockey’s Allan Cup. Although heavily favoured, the Nova Scotia team lost in a sudden-death playoff game. By examining the Sydney Post-Record newspaper’s coverage of the Millionaires’ run to the Allan Cup finals, this paper assesses the paper’s role in constructing a local sporting identity that was largely rooted in the city’s economic underdevelopment. As a result, much of the sporting identity of underdeveloped Sydney was grounded in a strong sense of Maritime economic grievance and anti-central Canadian sentiment, for it was believed that the central-Canadian metropolis of Montreal had benefited during the war at the expense of the Maritimes. Although this sentiment was most readily apparent during the Allan Cup semi-finals, when Sydney played Montreal, it even persisted throughout the subsequent championship round. Moreover, through a careful reading of the Sydney Post-Record and the personal papers of reporter C.J. MacQuarrie, my paper shows how sport and underdevelopment can bridge local/regional and national identities. Although the Allan Cup was intended to crown a national champion, the Sydney Post-Record exploited a sense of Maritime economic grievance to entrench support for the local hockey club. In this fashion this paper contributes to Maritime Canadian sport history. Much of this literature has assumed the presence of a regional sporting culture, without examining the roots of that identity. In other words, regional identity is taken for granted with little understanding of the process by which it takes root. By linking Sydney’s sporting identity to the Maritime region’s economic difficulties, this paper
incorporates sport history into the well-established field of Maritime Canadian political and economic history.

Andrew R.M. Smith, Purdue University

America’s Magnifying Glass: Teaching a History of Conflict in the United States through Prize Fighting

Sport and other aspects of popular culture are often described as the “mirror” of a given society, consciously reflecting what are perceived to be common values in order to attract consumers. But prize fighting—a sport that rarely ever achieved greater than the level of “quasi” in terms of legality or acceptability—has a history outside of mainstream pop-culture. The first boxing editor of Sports Illustrated, Budd Schulberg, grew up around the film studios of Hollywood and achieved fame as a writer of novels and screenplays but he recognized that the sport he loved was vastly different than other elements of pop-culture in which he was steeped. Instead of a mirror Schulberg called the prize ring “America’s magnifying glass” for its tendency not to reflect but rather to amplify the most pressing social conflicts of the day and personify them between two representative combatants, localized in one ring. Tensions of region, race, religion, ethnicity, nationality or class marked the uneasy growth of the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and each of these social cleavages have been exploited in order to sell tickets or televised viewing rights to a prize fight in the U.S. Thus the history of boxing in America is an index of the most significant social conflicts at specific points in the nation’s history. In sum, analyzing how boxing matches were sold, how both supporters and antagonists reacted to them, how boxers acted in those contexts, how their actions were perceived, and how it all changed over time provides a different forum to study American history—one which focuses on a sport that was often times just as violent, contentious and scandalous as American society at large.

Maureen Smith, California State University, Sacramento

Remembering Terry Fox and “The Marathon of Hope”: Monuments and Memories of a Canadian National Hero

On April 12, 1980, Terry Fox began a run across Canada in an attempt to raise funds for cancer research. As a result of his own cancer, Fox had his right leg amputated above the knee, and images of Fox running across the country on his prosthetic limb inspired the nation. Fox’s Marathon of Hope, however, fell short of his goal when Fox was forced to quit running after 143 days and 3339 miles. Fox’s cancer had returned and he died ten months later. Before his death, and in the years following, Fox received a number of honors, including the Lou Marsh Award in 1980, awarded to the nation’s top sportsperson, Canada’s Newsmaker of the Year in 1980 and 1981, and the Companion of the Order of Canada in 1980.

This paper examines the material culture connected to Terry Fox, specifically several monuments of Fox located in sites along his running route. Such monuments stand as physical evidence of the efforts to remember Fox and his role in Canadian history. Considered one of the country’s national
heroes, these monuments of Fox serve as sites to remember Fox in the collective memories of Canadians. These historic sites are marked to remember Fox’s run across Canada, as well as his courage, with other monuments in prominent Canadian sites, including Parliament Hill in Ottawa, where his statue marks the start of *The Path of Heroes*, an effort by the federal government to honor its citizens who shaped their nation. Also of interest is the depiction of Fox as an athlete with a prosthetic leg, with the monuments representing Fox as a strong and able athlete, though one that explicitly represents an athlete with a disability, rarely represented in statue form. I contrast the Canadian celebration of Fox as a national hero, in the form of monuments, with the lack of a similar “collective” national hero (at least in sport) in the United States, where sport statues serve purposes that are often more touristic and diverse in determining or identifying a range of heroes. In addition, statues of Fox, as an athlete with a disability, are contrasted with the few statues of American athletes with disabilities, specifically Cara Dunn, Paralympic skier, Harold Connolly, Olympic hammer thrower, as well as President Franklin Roosevelt (not an athlete, but an American with a statue that depicts him in a wheelchair).

Ronald A. Smith, Penn State University
The Meaning of the Jerry Sandusky-Joe Paterno-Penn State Scandal

This paper will set the stage with a historical and inside view of the Jerry Sandusky scandal including Joe Paterno’s, President Graham Spanier’s, and others’ place in it. It is part of an ongoing study on 140 years of athletic control at Penn State and will explain how the control of athletics for a half century with coaches and the athletic administration under an academic dean, and situated with other faculty members, was changed when Paterno became athletic director. Did Paterno’s demand that athletics be removed from an academic dean and then placed in a business unit isolate athletics and contribute to the setting in which the Sandusky scandal might have taken place?

Donald Spivey, University of Miami
“To Canada with Love”: Satchel Paige and Baseball Diplomacy

In this paper the author contends that Canadian baseball is intrinsically linked to Negro leagues baseball and especially to its most heralded player, Leroy “Satchel” Paige. Paige was one of baseball’s all-time greatest roving ambassadors. He not only played a key role in spreading the game from coast to coast, but from nation to nation as a seminal star in ballparks all over the United States, and from Canada to the Caribbean. This paper draws heavily on primary sources, including player interviews, U.S. State Department documents, and newspaper accounts, in an exploration of Paige’s contribution to the birth and rise of baseball in Canada. He was consistently the biggest drawing card for our neighbors to the north in the 1930s, when the game began taking a serious foothold in the Maple Leaf states. The opening of new baseball stadiums and the kickoff to the season demanded the presence of the incomparable Satchel Paige, “the World’s Greatest Pitcher,” as Canadian promoters touted. Even inclement weather could not diminish Paige’s magic and fan adulation. Canadians seemingly could not get enough of the entertaining fireballer from the U.S., and owners insisted on giving them what they wanted, and they would buy tickets to enjoy.
This paper explores the economic, cultural, and even the political importance of Paige’s presence as he, by performance on the mound, helped to advance a more positive image of African Americans abroad, in addition to the enhancement of ties between the U.S. and Canada, and other parts of the world. Foreign policy decision makers took the presence of the “dusky star hurler” into consideration. Hence, this paper can contribute to our understanding of the importance of sport—black baseball in particular—to the history of international relations and diplomacy.

Geri Strecker, Ball State University
The Boys from Batangas:
Black Baseball and U.S. Diplomacy in the Philippines Prior to World War I

This presentation explores the role of segregated African American military teams in the Philippines prior to World War I. The research reveals how military baseball provided aspiring African American players opportunities to compete on strong teams against future minor and major leaguers serving in the white military. This adds a new chapter to the history of African Americans in professional baseball.

Current baseball history celebrates the first great black military team as the 25th Infantry “Wreckers” of Schofield Barracks in Hawaii, 1915-1917. The team featured Wilber “Bullet” Rogan and several others who became the core of the Kansas City Monarchs after World War I. In Hawaii, baseball was a diversion for black troops. However, for earlier soldiers serving in the Philippines, it had been much more.

When the U.S. gained possession of the Philippines in 1898, troops had to oust the Spanish but also gain the trust of ethnically diverse Filipinos. One strategy to achieve this goal was stationing segregated units in the islands, and all four of the Buffalo Soldier regiments served there at some point prior to WWI. Military leaders believed these soldiers were particularly well suited for the Philippines due to the stereotype that African Americans could better fend off tropical diseases. Also, the U.S. hoped black soldiers would interact more successfully with dark-skinned native Filipinos in remote areas.

Because Filipinos spoke diverse languages, soldiers used baseball as a nonverbal means to ease natives into accepting American ways: teamwork, following directions from a manager, obeying rules from an umpire, taking responsibility for individual success and failure. The new sport also lured Filipinos away from their old national pastime—cockfighting.

Transport ships carried thousands of soldiers, but also crates of baseball equipment. The Astor Battery (funded by John Jacob Astor) and another white army team played the first baseball game in the Philippines during early September 1898. Spalding quickly opened a store in downtown Manila, and the city debuted its first professional quality ballpark—Paco Field—in 1902. Initially, games featured teams of white U.S. soldiers and minor leaguers recruited by American businessmen in the Philippines. However, within a few years, the professional Manila League included a native nine: the All-Filipinos. African American military teams were relegated to playing only in local baseball leagues.
In 1913, preparing for a visit from McGraw and Comiskey’s World Tour, the Manila League built a new stadium—Nozaleda Park—which held over 12,000 spectators. After the Major Leaguers’ visit, the four-team Manila League faced a dilemma. The Marines were being pulled out of the Philippines and sent to the Atlantic, and without the All-Marines, the remaining teams—All-Army, All-Filipinos, and Manila—feared they could not sustain a sufficient fan base to fill and pay for the new ballpark. To remedy this, they invited the most popular team in the islands to join the league: the 24th Infantry. The stars of this African American team were two future Hall of Famers: 17-year-old pitcher Oscar Charleston and 19-year-old catcher Wilber Rogan. Their presence in the league immediately spread the popularity of baseball throughout the islands, bringing Caucasian, African American, and Filipino fans to the ballpark.

Trey Strecker, Ball State University
Along Came Ruth: Heywood Broun’s *The Sun Field*

Babe Ruth’s home-run-hitting prowess and his larger-than-life persona blasted onto the New York stage in the early twenties. Published the same year that Yankee Stadium—“The House That Ruth Built”—opened its turnstiles and the New York team won its first world championship, Heywood Broun’s *The Sun Field* (1923) explores the cultural and aesthetic appeal of the Ruth mythology.

Broun’s novel centers around “a self-consciously ‘modern’ love triangle,” comprised of the narrator, George Wallace, a sportswriter with a heart condition, Judith Winthrop, a smart-talking feminist intellectual, and Tiny Tyler, an affable yet dim-witted ballplayer. This fictional “love triangle” parallels the relationship between the real-life sportswriter, the slugger, and their wives: George (Heywood Broun), Judith (Ruth Hale/Claire Hodgson Ruth), and Tiny (Babe Ruth). When George drags Judith along to a baseball game, she complains that sports are “sillier than patriotism” and that “those men down there on the grass are living, and the thirty thousand are just watching.” The Yankee left fielder, Tiny Tyler, makes a spectacular catch to save the game, and Judith responds to the beauty of the catch and the ballplayer—"You know, Apollo or whatever his name is." She tells George, “the man who caught that ball created the most beautiful thing I ever saw in my life. No sculptor ever achieved anything like that arm and shoulder of his when he reached out for the ball.” George cautions that the superstar slugger “isn’t a romantic symbol or anything like that. He’s a person, a ball player and a good one. Not quite as good as he was a few seasons ago but still hanging on.” Nevertheless, as Judith and Tiny fall in love—or lust—she initially praises Tyler’s strikeouts because he is “trying every minute for something supreme.” A frustrated George protests that “the magnificence of splendid failure” isn’t strategic baseball, while Judith consults John McGraw’s “The Wives of Ball Players” for marital advice. Watching Tiny misplay a fly ball, George complains that the left fielder has been learning to play “the sun field” for two years, but Judith romanticizes this phrase and her image of the ballplayer: “All of us alive should be set to looking straight at the sun and getting our light first hand instead of having it reflected for us out of little cracked mirrors that we call novels and poems and paintings.”

Within the framework of Broun’s modernist comic novel, my essay unpacks historical parallels between the novel’s characters and their real-life counterparts, examining the interplay between
discourses of spectatorship, authenticity, and masculinity as Broun’s novel intersects with the biography and mythology of Babe Ruth and the transformation of American sports in the 1920s.

Chris Stride, University of Sheffield, and Ffion Thomas, University of Central Lancashire

Standing Out From the Crowd: Imaging Supporters Through Sculpture

Whilst the tradition of erecting figurative sculptures of athletes is both an ancient and modern phenomenon, the portrayal of sports fans in such monuments has only begun in the last 25 years, and despite numbering over 20 examples in U.S. baseball alone, is as yet unexplored. This paper investigates examples from Baseball and English Soccer, asking how fandom is portrayed, how the image itself and its sites of reception and seeing reflect the aims of statue organisers, and to what extent the foregrounded narratives bear resemblance to either the historical or modern reality of being a supporter.

English soccer’s first such statue is the Statue to the Fans, erected at Sunderland AFC in 2002. It features a celebratory, cross-generational, period-attired family group comprising a grandfather, mother, boy and girl. Sunderland referenced their tradition of passionate support when erecting the statue, claiming that it established fans as having ‘pride of place’ in the stadium. However the image does not reference the historical bedrock of their support, but instead heralds the club’s vision of a modern, family-oriented supporter base.

For baseball we focus upon two ‘fan’ statues that represent the two principal types in existence. The first, that of Brooks Robinson and two children seeking his autograph, is sited at York Revolution, Pennsylvania. It depicts fans as an adjunct to a specific heroic figure. As well as highlighting the club’s link to a successful player, the young fans evoke nostalgia for the innocence of childhood hero-worship and an era in which players were perceived as accessible, grounded and located. By doing so, it hopes to promote those attributes within the modern game. Yet conversely this statue reasserts the hierarchy of player and club, and the fan as an unchallenging subject of both.

Michael Snow’s The Audience, at the Toronto Blue Jays ballpark, represents the fan-only genre. Through the caricatured facial profiles and its location high up on the stadium walls, it mirrors the medieval gargoyles that adorn cathedrals. The Audience advertises baseball through human spectacle, positing the crowd as a theatre of the grotesque, with the collective fan body forming a carnival scene that is entertaining yet partisan, frightening yet alluring. The elevated position has the crowd looking down as masters and judges of the gladiators below, emphasising their collective power.

Brooks Robinson and the Statue to the Fans, though from different sports, have common threads. Each portrays fandom as a childlike behaviour within a wholesome family environment, accessible and gender diverse. Both plant the seed of the club’s preferred supporter profile into the concourse, acting as promotional tools for encouraging and reassuring a specific supporter demographic, yet ignore large segments of the fanbase, and critical elements of the supporter experience. They are both idealized caricatures of the individual fan; sentimental images diametrically opposed to the entity of the fans as a collective, as portrayed by The Audience. This representation of spectacle is both a more
effective advertisement for and tribute to the history of fandom, albeit one that makes the stadium appealing as a dark tourism destination.

Mila C. Su, SUNY Plattsburgh
What is the Current Condition of Women’s Intercollegiate Club Ice Hockey?
Has the Dream Been Achieved?

Women have participated in club level hockey for over fifty years. Flying under the radar during the transition of women’s intercollegiate sport in the 1960s, the work of Title IX proponents enabled a number of club teams to be elevated to varsity status a decade later. Varsity recognition started with the Eastern Collegiate Athletic Conference (ECAC) hosting its first championships in 1984. It was not until 2000, however, that enough teams existed for the NCAA to host the first national championships for Division I and, in 2003, for Division III respectively.

Hockey at the intercollegiate club levels encompasses a range of structures. Men’s clubs were formally recognized through the creation of the American Collegiate Hockey Association (ACHA) in 1991 for Divisions 1 and 2; Division 3 championships were established in 1999-2000. In 2000-2001, the ACHA established memberships for women’s teams and supported the first national championship. Prior, competition was through a variety of locally hosted tournaments in short-term leagues. In 2000, there were 15 registered teams in one division. In 2006, ACHA women’s division established a DII league. In 2012 there were 22 teams in DI and 16 teams in DII.

While there are a number of clubs that participate in the ACHA, there are quite a few clubs that are either members of leagues or have independent status; some teams still strive for varsity status while others do not. The practice of athletic departments using clubs to promote teams to varsity status or move from varsity status to club still exists.

Women’s intercollegiate club hockey is a research topic I recently returned to exploring. I had presented a snapshot of women’s clubs at NASSH in 2004. While I recently presented some of my discoveries, I have not been able to fully analyze information I have been able to gather through surfing the web and email correspondence with students and coaches as well as investigate additional questions that have arisen since the initial research.

1. What are some of the common and different policies of club teams?
2. How many teams have a varsity and club co-existence?
3. Who is responsible for management and conduct of the club; responsible for hiring coach?
4. What is the geographic distribution of teams?
5. Do women’s club teams recruit in a similar pattern to men’s club teams?
6. What is the role and relationship of USA Hockey to intercollegiate club hockey?

Contributing to the overlooked area of research on intercollegiate club level experience in the sport of women’s ice hockey, this paper will explore the multi-level issues at the club level. While many women’s club hockey teams were created by student interest with the goal to provide a venue to play
ice hockey provided the only commonality, there are still long standing teams that are committed in their struggle for varsity status, while others are committed to recreation and fun.

Ryan Swanson, George Mason University
Chasing After Best Practices:
An Analysis of Sport History Syllabi and Instructional “War Stories”

In my present position I teach two types of courses—History 100 level surveys and upper division sport history courses. Hypothetically, the two tasks are not all that dissimilar. In both cases the goal is to engage students in a debate about the past. I emphasize with both groups that history is not about trivia or memorizing dates. Rather the task of a historian is to find sources, analyze them, and use them to explain why and how things happened. Despite this common cause, however, there is one very significant difference between the two professional paths that I regularly navigate.

While there are books, websites, forums, conferences and journal articles (among other resources) devoted to the craft of teaching historical survey courses, the instructor of sport history is left largely to his or her own devices. Demonstrating this paucity, the NASSH Conference has rarely included pedagogical panels. The *Journal of Sport History* has published only a handful of pedagogically related articles during the past decade. In short, the big difference is one of available resources. Many questions about how sport history is currently taught (let alone how is might be most effectively taught) remain understudied. Questions such as: What course design (lecture, seminar, etc) is most commonly used for teaching sport? What learning objectives do most professors emphasize when teaching sport history? What sources and textbooks are most widely assigned? We, sport history instructors, need data and answers. This project, part of a larger grant-funded study, seeks to begin filling in this sport history pedagogical hole.

The teaching of sport history has unique challenges. Among them I have noticed, and other instructors have confirmed similar observations, that sport history courses draw students in for the “wrong reasons.” My students often enroll because they are sports fans. They want to regale me with their complete command of the statistical history of, say, the New York Mets Baseball Club. To be clear, I want these students in my classes. But determining how to effectively frame the course and communicate to students the expectations upon them is particularly important in such a situation.

Additionally, sport history courses often (but not always) draw a majority male enrollment. Sport history students also tend to direct discussions towards current teams and sporting events. Presentism, always a challenge for the history instructor, lurks around every corner. Additionally, only a handful of textbooks exist for courses covering the history of American sports, should an instructor desire such a tool.

These challenges are different, but not incomparable, to the challenges facing historians teaching outside the realm of sport history. The difference is sport historians have fewer resources available to address their particular trials.
This study focuses mostly on what is done in the “average” sport history course. By analyzing sport history syllabi and interviewing dozens of sport history instructors, I am able to offer a more comprehensive analysis of the way that sport history is taught in the United States. My intention for this study is to establish a firm understanding of what we (instructors of sport historian) do; then the discussion could shift to what we might want to change.

Roger R. Tamte, Independent Scholar
Needed: A New Look At Walter Camp

Current biographical sketches of Walter Camp contain an important error traceable to a biography published shortly after his death, which asserts that the American football scrimmage, “the greatest single difference between Rugby football and American football . . . was Walter Camp’s invention.”

The American football scrimmage was not the invention of Camp or any other individual. Camp himself explained that the American football scrimmage developed gradually on the playing field, a spontaneous effort as American collegians combined to evade unwelcome rugby playing procedures. Newspaper articles of the 1870s support Camp’s explanation.

The widespread error as to Camp’s role in the football scrimmage is one reason for a new biographical examination of Camp, but the many positive contributions Camp made to the game offer an even better reason. His contemporaries widely acclaimed him as the “father of American football.” The aim of this talk is to support and elaborate that designation with primary-source evidence documenting the following points:

• Camp conceived and got enacted over significant resistance the “downs for distance” rule, as fundamental and defining to American football as is the scrimmage, and as essential to the game’s appeal.
• During the game’s early development Camp was the one constant in a world of changing student populations; he took initiative in the writing and distribution of rules and in development of oversight organizations.
• Camp did the game’s first intensive coaching and was prominent in building and maintaining the Yale football program that dominated early American football.
• With pioneering texts in 1880, 1886 and 1891 (text section, booklet, and book, respectively), Camp introduced the game to the public and provided coaching and player instruction. He was the game’s first publicist and first historian. He originated the All-America team.
• He wrote letters, articles and additional books to defend football against attacks by faculty and others.
• Camp was a peacemaker who helped students, alumni and colleges hold together during the early decades of development; throughout that development process he continued year after year to be accepted and respected at rule-making and planning conventions.

No other single individual made such foundational contributions to football. Today’s sports and history communities need to be informed of Camp’s influence on what many consider America’s most popular team sport.
Sarah Teetzel, University of Manitoba

The Historical Inclusion of Support Personnel on Olympic Rosters

Since 1955, rules in the Olympic Charter have restricted the number of people that countries can bring to the Olympics to perform the administrative, managerial and technical roles that support the competing athletes. In early editions of the Olympic Charter, rules stipulated the exact number of support personnel that each country could include on its roster, and these rules were dependent on the specific number of athletes taking part in Olympic events. Today the responsibilities of the support personnel that accompany athletes to the Olympic Games extend beyond managing the team, coaching the athletes, caring for the athletes’ health, and maintaining the horses, boats, bicycles and other equipment that the athletes required to compete in their events. With the many changes that have been implemented since the 1950s, Olympic rosters now include people representing such diverse professions as psychologists, nutritionists, masseuses, exercise physiologists, and chiropractors, and an intricate system of support personnel accreditation takes place prior to each Olympic Games.

This paper chronicles the changes in support personnel quotas included in each revision to the Olympic Charter. In doing so, this paper examines the major changes in the rules regarding the number of support people each National Olympic Committee could include on its roster, and the privileges that these support personnel were granted in the Olympic Villages. Using documents housed in the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne, Switzerland, this paper attempts to decipher the rationales involved in establishing, modifying, and changing the quotas for the inclusion of support personnel on National Olympic Committees’ Olympic rosters. Reports, minutes of meetings, and personal correspondence exchanged between past members of the IOC Executive Board and the Juridical, Admissions, and Eligibility Commissions, provide information on the intent behind the changes in the quota rules appearing in the Olympic Charter. Through an analysis of these primary sources related to the inclusion and exclusion of support personnel at the Olympic Games, this paper interprets what the decision-makers at the time believed to be the optimal number of support personnel to allow on each country’s Olympic roster. In doing so, this paper argues that the fluidity in the resulting quotas stemmed from inconsistencies in IOC members’ views on the ideal size of the Olympic Games.

Dain TePoel, University of Iowa

“We Need to Get the Good Old USA on Board”:
A Comparison of the 2006 and 2009 World Baseball Classics

This paper is part of a larger work that examines the narratives and subsequent understandings of the World Baseball Classic (WBC) for baseball fans, players, and management. The first project analyzed a semi-regional and national U.S. media narrative of the Classic from Major League Baseball’s (MLB) announcement of the WBC in May 2005 to the completion of the initial tournament in March 2006. In this second phase of the research, I produce an analysis of the media.
narrative during the interlude between the Classics with an emphasis on the discourse surrounding baseball’s elimination from the 2008 Beijing Olympic Summer Games; and from the beginning of the 2009 tournament until opening day of the 2009 MLB regular season. I conduct a comparison of the 2006 and 2009 Classics and an original analysis of the latter. While newspapers and magazines mostly framed the 2006 event somewhat cynically in “American exceptionalist” rhetoric as meaningless for U.S. fans (though culturally and symbolically significant among international participants and spectators), the 2009 narrative presented an ambivalent and often contradictory set of assumptions regarding the status of baseball as America’s national pastime. In particular, I claim the media narrative of the 2009 World Baseball Classic served to sharpen the focus on the “loss” of baseball as the national pastime, but without dislodging the centrality of the United States in baseball worldwide. In doing so, the narrative conflated the commercial aspects of MLB with baseball fans’ personal experiences. In other words, MLB’s drive to increase profits from global flows of capitalism through the WBC accentuated a sagging domestic fan base’s romanticism with baseball as the national pastime. The WBC represents a perceived, if not actual, shift away from MLB’s conservative national insularity and an attempt to reassert and strengthen its global hegemony.

Jan Todd and Terry Todd, The University of Texas at Austin

Thomas L. DeLorme: Weightlifting Physician and Father of Progressive Resistance Exercise

In 1945, army physician Thomas Lanier DeLorme experimented with a new rehabilitation technique for the orthopedic patients he was seeing at Gardiner General Military Hospital in Chicago. Gardiner, like most military hospitals at the end of the Second World War, was filled to overflowing with wounded veterans, and the length of many of their hospital stays was largely determined by the type of rehabilitation protocols then recommended—protocols that often kept patients in hospital for up to six months for simple orthopedic injuries like torn knee ligaments.

As a teenager in Alabama, DeLorme had become a convert to weight training after reading Bob Hoffman’s Strength and Health magazines during a bout of rheumatic fever. Although his doctors told him he should never do anything that would strain his heart following that illness, DeLorme ignored their advice and took up heavy lifting. By 1939 when he entered the University of Alabama’s Medical School in Tuscaloosa, he was a serious competitive lifter and even gave a lifting demonstration during halftime at a ‘Bama football game in which he lifted the front end of a truck.

As a physician, DeLorme’s interest in weight training was considered unusual in this era and when he began experimenting with weighted exercise as a rehabilitation technique he initially met with resistance from his fellow military physicians. However, as the resistance methods clearly worked, and many servicemen were sent home in weeks rather than months, DeLorme’s work soon found wide acceptance. The Army, Navy, and Marines all adopted his methods within a year, and civilian doctors and physical therapists were quick to follow. He then joined the faculty at Harvard and applied the same resistance principles to polio patients with similarly spectacular results.
The other beneficiaries of DeLorme’s creative genius, however, were athletes who before DeLorme’s example, had been told to avoid weightlifting because of the fear that it would make them musclebound, or who—like the servicemen at Gardiner—often had to give up sport when injured because the rehabilitation protocols were so lengthy. However, from 1945 to 1955, DeLorme published a series of important research-based articles on the benefits of weight training; wrote a book outlining his methods; and coined the term “Progressive Resistance Exercise” to describe his system of rationally progressive resistance. His use of this new scientific title for weight training, along with his publications in the most prestigious academic journals of his era, placed weight training on a scientific footing and helped it gradually find acceptance in schools and colleges in the 1950s. In 1962, he also co-edited—a book entitled *Weight Training in Sports and Physical Education* for the American Alliance for Health Physical Education and Recreation, which became the main weight training textbook used by physical educators and coaches for the next decade.

Laura Troiano, Rutgers University-Newark

*Splitting the Diamond: Race, Space, and Remembrance in Newark’s Ruppert Stadium, 1926-1950*

Ruppert Stadium is gone. It has been replaced with large concrete and steel rectangles spanning over most of the block it occupies with signs that say Concrete Systems Inc., D’Artagnan Gourmet Food Distributor, New Generation Iron Inc., Leopard Framing, Premier Framing, and W.B. Law & Son. It’s gone now and the only trace of it left on Wilson Avenue between Avenue K and Avenue L is a plaque that was placed there by the Newark Preservation and Landmarks Committee in 2007.

Ruppert Stadium housed an alternate reality, a baseball-centered universe. To the residents of Newark, New Jersey it was a palace, a cathedral, a dream, a sanctuary, a memory, and a history of its own. At its foundation, in the era of Jim Crow, Ruppert Stadium was a minor league baseball stadium that from 1936 to 1948 was home of the Newark Bears, an all-white New York Yankee farm team and the Newark Eagles, a member of the Negro Leagues.

In a city with a complicated and tumultuous past, the ways in which Newark, NJ remembers Ruppert Stadium can be viewed as a microcosm of the ways in which the city both remembers and now defines itself as a city. This paper is about the many ways a baseball stadium is remembered in a city. How this stadium stands as both a testament to the European immigrant experience at the turn of the century, as a story of a stadium that gave roots to those traveling north to Newark during the Great Migration, and through its demise, as a national urban narrative of ethnic whites leaving old memories behind as they created new ones in suburbs.

A stadium is more than a place where a sport is played. Ruppert Stadium for Newark is a lens through which we can see the ways in which race, space, memory, and sports both intersect, but also, the ways in which that intersection informs our understanding of the past. This paper seeks to answer the question, how does the memory of the shared space that was Ruppert Stadium inform how we understand how a racial history is remembered through a stadium.
Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, most public facilities for recreation and sports in Washington, D.C., were racially segregated. Under Jim Crow policies, a system of “separate, but equal” sites ensured that white citizens could relax at well-equipped parks and playgrounds, while black families swam in polluted streams, played in dangerous streets and alleys, and made do with dilapidated athletic fields. A sharp color line ran throughout the nation’s capital, demarcating not only where white and black citizens could play, but also live, work, eat, shop, and attend school. Between the 1930s and 1960s, civil rights groups and ordinary citizens mobilized, with mixed success, against the city’s discriminatory regime.

This paper examines the mid-1940s to early 1950s—an especially critical period of protest and backlash. In 1945, for example, the D.C. Recreation Board explicitly approved segregation at municipal recreational sites. In 1949 and 1952, racial violence erupted at two popular neighborhood swimming pools. In 1952, black plaintiffs unsuccessfully sued the Recreation Board, the D.C. Commissioners, and the U.S. Secretary of the Interior over discriminatory policies and practices.

The paper describes the main participants in these important episodes. The study’s basic questions are: Who supported or opposed recreational segregation in Washington, D.C., at mid-century? What arguments and tactics did defenders and critics employ, and why? The study draws on archival collections, including the records of the District of Columbia branch of the NAACP, as well as published documents, such as newspaper accounts, municipal reports, court cases, and Congressional hearings.

A case study of Washington, D.C., is valuable in its own right. The city’s prominence as the nation’s capital and its unique status as a municipal and federal entity located just below the Mason-Dixon line complicated its record on race relations. More generally, the District’s story sheds new light on the interplay of physical activity, social justice, and scientific racism in twentieth-century America. Segregated recreation was commonplace in towns and cities across the country before mid-century. As African Americans demanded a “level playing field,” legal battles arose in New Orleans, Nashville, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, and communities in Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, and Florida. Riots and police brutality occurred in Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Buffalo. Recent historical scholarship has interpreted these episodes as expressions of white anxiety over race, gender, and sexuality amid political, economic, and social change. Few studies, though, have detailed how scientific discourse was enlisted to both justify and undercut white “anxiety.” The paper examines segregationists’ claims that blacks’ supposed depravity, hypersexuality, filth, and disease rendered interracial recreation abhorrent and unsanitary. By corollary, it demonstrates how activists challenged biological myth in order to support every citizen’s right of exercising freely in public spaces.
Throughout the 20th century, the American dairy industry relied on a general brand association with sport as well as specific endorsements with athletes in order to promote milk as a healthful beverage and boost milk sales and consumption. The milk mustache campaign of the 1990s/early 2000s is widely recognized; less well known are examples of athletes who championed milk in the first half of the 20th century. Most of these early milk endorsers were white men, which makes a 1935 photograph of the African American boxer Joe Louis that much more remarkable. The photo, taken at Louis’ training camp in Pompton Lakes, New Jersey as he prepared for his Yankee Stadium boxing debut against Primo Carnera on June 25, 1935, was ostensibly shot to promote the upcoming bout as a fundraiser for Millicent Hearst’s Milk Fund for Babies charity. In an era replete with racial prejudice and Jim Crow segregation, Louis is pictured pouring a glass of milk for a young white girl who is sitting on his lap. The two are positioned on a stool in the corner of a boxing ring—Louis in workout attire and the girl in a short dress and coat. At this time, Louis was celebrated in Black communities, yet still subjected to white media caricature and race-based social constraints on his public behavior. The purpose of this paper is to detail the provenance of the Milk Fund photograph in the context of Louis’ meteoric rise to boxing prominence and iconic cultural status, while considering this image against the racial backdrop of 1930s America and pre-World War II global politics.

My analysis of this photograph is informed by the theoretical perspective of materiality (Osmond, 2008; Phillips, O’Neill, & Osmond, 2007)—an approach which situates photographs in their broader cultural context as a way to better interrogate the multiple meanings of images and thus achieve a more comprehensive interpretation of historical processes, rather than simply to consider them as archival evidence of the past. This study draws on archival evidence, newspaper accounts, and photographs in both the white and black press, and published secondary source material in sport history. It is my hope that this study will illustrate how photographic analysis can contribute to our understanding of the racialized politics of sport in the 1930s and the various ways Joe Louis was promoted early in his career.

Movement across disciplinary boundaries is now an expectation for modernist studies and this is particularly the case with the study of physical culture, newly constituted as an academic sub-discipline called “Physical Cultural Studies.” David Kirk views physical culture as a specialized form of discourse concerned with meaning making centered on the bodily practices which constitute sport, physical recreation and exercise. This definition, he suggests, has the advantage of demonstrating its clear relationship to the concerns of workers in the fields of physical education, sport and exercise.
studies, recreation and leisure. Yet the obsession with physical culture apparent throughout the tense and formative modernist movement extended well beyond sport, games and purposive exercise, through gymnastics, body building and posture exercises, to a wide range of holistic health practices and a variety of dance and expressive activities which ranged throughout the globe. Furthermore, although critical discourses around modernism have tended to focus on the European and American scene, interest in and knowledge about physical culture practices were circulating globally by the turn of the 20th century through colonial struggles against imperial administrators and nationalist discourses as well as through the rise and expansion of new technologies and commodity culture.

I will discuss how the extraordinary modernist preoccupation with physical culture which developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries had global tentacles of commodification while its institutionalization in schools, gymnastic, dance and keep fit organizations, and an unparalleled interest in sport, recreation and the built body contributed to self-realization and new freedoms as well as fostering nationalist objectives and military preparedness. Among my examples I will show how the shifting map of colonial domination of the world’s spaces changed out of all recognition between 1850 and 1914 such that yoga could begin to develop into “India’s first global brand” of physical culture to be delivered to the West.

In my presentation I will also comment upon the dark side of modernist physicality in light of Walter Benjamin’s presentiment that “each epoch dreams the one to follow.” The worship of the body as well as unlimited creativity both had the potential to lend themselves to crackpot entrepreneurs, but more dangerously to facile exploitation by racist supremacy theories and fascist views. From this perspective, Harold Segel contends that the holocaust in its way can be understood as the last stage, the extreme fulfillment of the modernist obsession with physicality.

Finally, I will comment upon the appropriation of “Physical Cultural Studies” by sociologists of sport and discuss the dangers of losing a critical focus on context and historical method in light of their stated desire to address what they see as the debilitating blend of introspective and ineffectual parochialism that has plagued the Sociology of Sport by committing to a politically focused radicalism through active physicality.

Michel Vigneault, Université du Québec à Montréal / McGill University
and Olivier Naria, Université de la Réunion

Sport History From Another View: Take The Walking City Tour

How many of us have organized the tour of a sport facility for their students? But have you ever considered organizing a city tour to see the places of sport venues that are no more in place? This is what Michel Vigneault is doing with his students. He organizes a walking city tour (with the help of the bus and Métro) to visit as many as 40 sites of defunct and still in use sport facilities in the city of Montréal.

For some years, he tried to explain to his students the locations of forgotten sites of some sporting events. The only way he could do so was with original pictures and maps. Some of his students told him afterwards they should be going outside to see exactly where they were and what is left today of
those sites. For this year (2012-13), he has set up a walking city tour of some different places around
the city. The walking tour lasts around six hours.

Is he the only one to do so? Touring one old stadium, like Fenway Park in Boston, Wrigley Field in
Chicago, or even “Old Trafford” in Manchester, is not enough to see the city’s sport history richness.
Unfortunately, this seems to be the only way that many of us take.

In Europe, some Olympic cities have organized such tours, but of their facilities for their big event.
It is for them a way to generate some revenue and revitalize their Olympic heritage. On Wikipedia,
there is a similar city tour for the city of Pittsburgh.

Surprisingly, the city of Montréal seems to be well known about hockey history for a tour. For
examples, the International Ice Hockey Federation has an article dated from 2011 on its internet site
about Montréal and what to see from a hockey perspective. The Canadian Press has reached Michel
Vigneault also to see what can be seen in Montréal about hockey history, and it was published in the
Calgary Herald in 2012. But there is more than hockey in Montréal to see.

This paper will survey, in the first part, what is done in some cities, and by some professors locally;
the second part will be about the walking tour of Montréal done with Vigneault’s students this year.

Travis Vogan, University of Iowa
Mediating the Canon: Grantland.com and ESPN’s Branded Histories of Sports Writing

In 2010 ESPN teamed with the PEN American Center to establish the PEN/ESPN Award for
Literary Sports Writing. The award suggests ESPN supports the craft of sports writing in general,
and, more specifically, encourages the production of sports writing that aspires to “literary” standards.
Moreover, it indicates that ESPN—an organization traditionally known for its television coverage—
has the authority to decide precisely what constitutes “literary” sports writing and to judge which
works should be included in this rarefied category.

One year after the PEN/ESPN Award’s establishment, ESPN created Grantland.com—a boutique
division of ESPN.com edited by popular columnist Bill Simmons that specializes in long-form
journalism. Straddling the genres of sports writing and cultural criticism, the website claims to
provide a sophisticated alternative to typical sports writing. To establish this cachet and credibility
the website hired the well-known writers Dave Eggers, Malcolm Gladwell, and Chuck Klosterman to
serve on its editorial board. Moreover, the site took its name after Grantland Rice—”The Dean of
American Sports Writers” whose flowery prose composes a starting point from which histories and
anthologies of American sports writing are commonly constructed. Beyond its title, Grantland.com’s
banner initially featured a quote from Rice’s sentimental 1908 poem “Alumnus Football.”
Grantland.com unambiguously situates itself as a continuation of the celebrated tradition of sports
writing that Grantland Rice symbolizes.

Building upon the literary prestige its editorial board and title built, Grantland.com frequently
comments on the American sports writing tradition. For instance, in 2011 it began “The Sports
Book Hall of Fame,” a series wherein staff writers discuss their favorite sports books and explain their value. Also in 2011, it launched the “Director’s Cut” series, which repackages famous works of sports writing along with introductions that contextualize the featured pieces and argue for their merit. The works Grantland.com includes in “The Sports Book Hall of Fame” and “Director’s Cut,” however, are not particularly surprising. Most have already been anthologized and appeared in widely circulated “best ever” lists. The primary purpose informing these lists’ construction, then, is to situate Grantland.com—and, by extension, ESPN—as an institution that possesses the cultural power to decide what counts as America’s finest sports writing.

This presentation will consider how Grantland.com positions ESPN as an organization that grows out of, expands upon, and organizes a tradition of “literary” sports writing. In doing so, it will investigate and critique how ESPN—the self-proclaimed “Worldwide Leader in Sports”—engages, claims, and reconfigures the American sports writing canon in order to build cultural authority that increases its market share and expands its demographic reach.

Peter Wallenstein, Virginia Tech
Pioneer Black Athletes in Seaboard Upper and Border South Colleges, 1950s-1970s

Sports historian Charles H. Martin has written extensively about the historical patterns of race in intercollegiate athletics among (and breakthroughs on) historically white campuses in the U.S. South, particularly in basketball and football programs, and especially in the Deep South—that is, the sports, schools, and region most resistant to desegregation. Yet much remains to be explored about the role of athletics in the process of integration. My work depends on archival work, news stories, institutional histories, and interviews.

The presentation I propose focuses on a sample of colleges and universities from Delaware and Maryland in the Border South and from Virginia and North Carolina in the Upper South. The University of Maryland, the first institution in the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC) to play (in 1963) a black member of either a varsity basketball or football squad, supplies an entry point for an examination of other schools in those states, as well as sports with lesser visibility and at private as opposed to state-supported institutions.

Coming several years before those developments at the University of Maryland were pioneer black athletes at the University of Delaware, at a private college in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and at North Carolina State. After a state court in Delaware determined in 1950 that equal opportunity could be obtained only by ordering the University of Delaware to admit qualified in-state black undergraduates, one of the successful litigants, Roy Holland Jr., not only enrolled but also competed on the wrestling team. Bridgewater College, a church-related institution in Virginia, began admitting black students right after Brown v. Board of Education. From early on, black students represented their school in sports; Al Whitelow (1956–1960) played football his first two years at Bridgewater and ran track all four years.

After the state of North Carolina lost a higher education case in federal court, the first black undergraduates enrolled at North Carolina State College (later University) in 1956. From the
beginning, one black student, Irwin Holmes, played on the school’s tennis team (and in his senior year co-captained it). Another black student, Walter Holmes, played in the marching band during football contests, bringing to intra-regional contests the tensions that Charles Martin has associated with intersectional play well into the 1960s; in 1957 he performed along with his band mates when NCSC played a football game on the campus of Clemson College (later University) in neighboring South Carolina, a Deep South state. NC State’s first black football and basketball players came a decade later.

In Virginia, no public historically-white institution of higher education fielded a black student in any intercollegiate sport before 1965, when Arthur “Buttons” Speakes first played basketball for Old Dominion College. Reflecting the timeline that Charles Martin’s work might predict, Virginia Tech recruited its first black athlete, scholarship student Jerry Gaines, for track and field in 1967, followed by Charlie Lipscomb in basketball in 1968 and John Dobbins in football in 1969. The University of Virginia followed, as did the ACC’s Deep South schools.

Theresa Walton and Jennifer Fisette, Kent State University and Laura Chase, California State Polytechnic University
Captured on Film: Physical Education in the Movies over the last Century

Movies occupy a prominent place in societal storytelling. They may reflect cultural trends and norms, or push their boundaries. They may serve as simple escape, subtle propaganda, or sharp calls to action. They can be understood for their cinematic artistry, use of technological techniques and advancements, or compelling plots. In short, movies are complex cultural artifacts, which can be explored in a myriad of ways. In this paper we examine movie content of physical education in the last 100 years. We explore the trends of representations for what they tell us about the place of physical education in society, our understandings of what constitutes physical education and those who teach it. We provide a critical analysis of movies spanning from the “exercise instructress” of *The Women* (1939) to the physical education teacher turned sport professional in *Pat and Mike* (1952) and the disciplinarian “Governor” of *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* (1962). Movies run from horrors, such as *Carrie* (1976) and *Mirror, Mirror* (1990) to comedies including *Porky’s* (1982) and *Mr. Woodcock* (2007) to dramas like *Rudy* (1993) and *Mr. Holland’s Opus* (1995). All in all we consider about 50 films with physical education content. We look for trends over time and across genres, offering a systematic analysis of all scenes related to physical education. We find that ideas of physical education have changed over time from being depicted in romantic ways as a lighthearted space, to a space of discipline and fear, to an irrelevant and/or comedic space. We also find instances of physical educators being depicted as caring and competent within a plethora of less positive portrayals of physical educators as cruel, inept and/or inappropriate. We argue that these public stories of physical education over time reflect collective feelings and imaginings of physical education, which impact beliefs and attitudes about the profession.
John S. Watterson, Independent Scholar
Walter Camp’s “Last Hurrah”: Affordable Golf for Hackers and Duffers

In 1923, Walter Camp, “Father of American Football,” wrote several articles in Collier’s in which he addressed the monetary dilemma of municipal and country-club golfers. Already the country club was undergoing a period of growth and transformation. Camp, a low-handicap golfer, argued that private clubs were becoming too expensive for the ordinary golfer—and that cities and towns were shortchanging golfers and would-be golfers by failing to build course or misusing revenues from existing courses. New York with a mere four municipal courses was a prime example.

Camp made a number of suggestions for reducing the costs of existing clubs. Among the suggestions were: Resist the temptation to redesign portions of the course such as sand traps or lengthen the course; use a single green for two holes where the fairways run parallel; and allow talented caddies to give lessons instead of hiring high-priced professionals. His advice to municipal authorities was to give hackers and duffers (and potential future champions) the opportunity to play at a reasonable cost.

Why did Camp, whom many have regarded as a college sports elitist, show such interest in the ordinary golfer? Camp was a prolific writer, chiefly of articles and books on football, but on other topics as well. Always a mentor, he teamed up in 1899 with a young writer, Lillian Brooks, to collaborate on a book, Drives and Puts [sic], a Book of Golf Stories. Camp experimented with golf equipment such as dimpled ball and patented a device to help challenged golfers eliminate their slicing. He also worked on early training films featuring high-profile golfers such as Francis Ouimet. Above all, Camp was a golfing enthusiast. He valued golf precisely because it was not combative, a game instead of etiquette and sportsmanship. In short, golf displays a side of Camp’s career—and character—that is not widely known or appreciated. Yet, in one way, his passion for golf is not surprising. Camp recognized that golf had the potential to engage millions of Americans, not unlike college football in the 1880s and 1890s.

Camp died less than two years after he published his articles on golf. Alas, his crusade in the decade of lavish country clubs was doomed to failure. Clubs with more costly amenities proliferated from 1921 to 1929 until the Depression dealt a near-mortal blow to the high-flying clubs. Yet golf for the ordinary golfer survived the 1930s and 1940s, and afterwards golfers of ordinary means found a home on municipal courses (some of them former country clubs) and private clubs that competed more keenly for members.

Charlene Weaving, St. Francis Xavier University
The X-Path to Olympic Glory: Intercollegiate Sport, Masculinity and Religion

In this paper, I analyze three examples of athletes, two individuals and a team, whose path to the Olympic Games originated from a small Catholic Maritime University, St. Francis Xavier (St. FX) based in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada. Although the examples differ slightly in their time periods, sports, and specific details, there are important similarities and connections worthy of
exploring. The role of the institution in preparing the athletes for the Olympics, the spiritual inspirations, masculinity, Muscular Christianity and the socioeconomic context will be examined.

The first example analyzed is marathon runner Ronald John (RJ) MacDonald (1875-1947) who finished 6th at the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris and attended St. FX in 1901 and later graduated in 1907 from Tufts Medical College. Building on the work of Ludlow (2007) ‘Racing for Home: Culture, ethnicity, and sport in the athletic life of marathoner Ronald John MacDonald,’ the role of the institution, masculinity, and the small Catholic community will be outlined as well as the belief that participation in sport implies a better life. As MacDonald argued, ‘a marathon victory should be a great tonic to a boy, a tonic to urge him on to greater things in life.’

Dr. John ‘Tyke’ Tink (1925-1996) is the second athlete analyzed in the paper, and was named St FX’s Athlete-of-the-Half-Century. Originating from Trinidad Tobago, and suffering from a hearing loss birth defect, Tink attended St FX from 1943-1947. He took time away from his studies to join the Merchant Marines where he survived a torpedo attack. In 1948, he was an alternate on the Canadian Track and Field team. Tink exemplified the student-athlete ideal and his children and grandchildren also attended St FX and continued the tradition of excellence in academia and athletics.

The third and final example that will be analyzed involves a team. The 1950-51 St FX men’s ice hockey team was extremely successful and well-known across the country. In 1952, the team applied to represent Canada at the Winter Olympics. Despite not being selected, the team’s story is important to consider. According to Clarence Campbell, President of the NHL at the time, ‘The Xaverians loom as the greatest natural yarn since Barbara Ann Scott.’ The majority of the players hailed from Cape Breton Island, and from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Their lives were interconnected with religion and hockey. Similar to the two other examples, the hockey players also strived to do well in their academic pursuits.

Through an analysis of primary sources such as local newspapers, yearbook archives, and interviews, I will argue that all three cases involve themes of masculinity and Muscular Christianity. I will emphasize the historical significance of the successful student-athletes hailing from St. Francis Xavier University through an analysis of the role of a small Catholic institution, the socioeconomic context, and spiritual inspirations.

Stephen R. Wenn, Wilfrid Laurier University
Peter Ueberroth’s Los Angeles Olympic Legacy

I really hope the IOC can encourage future cities by making the requirements much simpler, by requiring less expenditure, and that the actual bid process is not so expensive. It doesn’t serve anybody in the present world economy to have these Games costing the amounts they do.

—Peter Ueberroth, August, 2012

In commenting on the current state of affairs in the Olympic world, Peter Ueberroth, President of the 1984 Los Angeles Organizing Committee (LAOOC) and a former Chairman of the United
States Olympic Committee (USOC [2004-2008]), anticipates a decline in the number of cities pursuing the right to host the Olympic Games in the short term. Cities might very well lack the appetite, offered Ueberroth, to deal with the increasing costs of bidding for, and staging, the Olympic Games. Ueberroth has measurable experience with such a dynamic.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC), and its showpiece event, the Olympic Games, had been badly bruised by the African-led boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympic festival, and the massive financial overrun associated with the same event, as well as the lingering effects of the Munich tragedy. Los Angeles, a bridesmaid in the campaigns to host the 1976 and 1980 Summer Olympics, offered the IOC its only viable site for the 1984 Olympics, but with a notable condition. Los Angelenos clearly indicated by plebiscite that no public money would be expended on staging the 1984 Olympics. The sentiment of the Los Angeles citizens was disconcerting to IOC officials. Yet they had little choice but to place the organization of the Games under the control of a private corporation as opposed to the city of Los Angeles.

Peter Ueberroth, who assumed control of the LAOOC in 1979 with the knowledge that Los Angelenos eliminated the use of public funds (a view that he shared), is properly credited with contributing to the revitalization of interest in municipal council chambers around the world in chasing host city status for Olympic festivals in the 1980s. Coincident with Ueberroth’s efforts, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch’s industry in opening a second revenue stream, TOP (The Olympic Program, now The Olympic Partners), maximizing television rights revenue, and elevating the media’s interest in Olympic competition by welcoming professional athletes (by the end of the decade) also enhanced the attractiveness of the hosting exercise. The private sector, courted through a new, innovative approach to sponsorship, and a decision to exploit pre-existing facilities to the greatest extent possible, powered LAOOC’s financial success. While unable to elude the shadow of Cold War politics resulting from the Soviet-led, Communist-bloc boycott, instituted in large measure in retaliation for the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, Ueberroth provided a critical blueprint for future Games’ organizers to enhance their opportunity to avoid crippling debt, and reduce their degree of reliance on government funds. Today’s troubled global economy, when combined with the financial demands placed on host cities, suggests Ueberroth, has returned the IOC to the prospect of the same soft bidding environment it witnessed in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

This paper will examine Peter Ueberroth’s leadership of LAOOC in the context of its legacy implications for the IOC and the Olympic Movement. This examination of legacy follows two tracks. First, the funding model Ueberroth devised will be examined and its contribution to the image and financial status of the Olympic Games in the 1980s will be assessed. At the time, Allen Guttmann concludes, reviews of Ueberroth’s vision were contested. “The organizers were able to crow about the glories of capitalism,” wrote Guttmann, “and the critics of the games were free to sermonize about the horrors of capitalism.” While the debate concerning the commodification of the Olympic rings in the post-Los Angeles era lingers, no such debate ensued amongst members of the Olympic bidding community at the time or in future years as the Ueberroth model was viewed as a useful template. Second, the stimulus Ueberroth provided, in conjunction with Samaranch’s own initiatives, in renewing interest in pursuing Olympic host city status around the world, merits analysis. An expanding pool of energized bid cities was a positive development that the IOC, one that it used to good effect in promoting the Olympic Movement and its buoyant recovery from the
troubles of the 1970s and early 1980s. Over the longer term, however, Samaranch managed this
element of Ueberroth’s (and his own) legacy poorly. He was complacent in his oversight of the
increasingly competitive bid process, the spiraling costs of bidding, and the encroachment of
unflattering, and in some cases, corrupt practices of bid committee members who pushed all of their
chips in by sidestepping existing IOC regulations in an effort to secure IOC member votes. The
conflagration otherwise referred to as the “Salt Lake City Scandal” was the end result of Samaranch’s
abrogation of his leadership duties.

Kevin Witherspoon, Lander University

During the Cold War, the American government often sent athletes abroad as part of a sweeping
campaign of cultural diplomacy, with the intention of both defeating their Communist rivals and
gaining influence in nations at the periphery of the Cold War. By the late 1960s, the State
Department had sent hundreds of athletes, coaches, and experts abroad, convinced of the diplomatic
significance of sport in the Cold War. Such experiments in athletic diplomacy began to unravel in the
early 1970s, as some of the “goodwill” tours produced less than encouraging results. This paper will
explore several such tours and will evaluate the effectiveness of athletes as diplomats in this era.

In 1970, the tennis great Arthur Ashe conducted a goodwill tour through Africa. Dating back to the
1950s, the State Department, whenever possible, employed African American athletes on these tours.
Not only could such athletes identify and connect with the Africans, it was thought, but they also
helped to dispel the troubling images of vicious racism that tarnished America’s international image
during the 1950’s and ’60s. Ashe could not have been a more effective ambassador. Articulate,
charismatic, and excellent on the court, Ashe impressed African statesmen and average citizens alike.
The realities of racism, violence, and war were rarely mentioned, and Ashe—while hardly a stooge
for the American government—was praised in diplomatic circles for his performance.

The following year, attempting to recreate the magic of the Ashe tour, the State Department
recruited two of the premier basketball stars of the era, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Oscar Robertson,
to conduct a similar tour. From the outset, things did not go as well. Lew Alcindor—as the early
State Department missives called him—had changed his name and his religion, leading to a
seemingly endless stream of demands regarding food, lodging, and scheduling. Robertson, unlike the
winsome Ashe, came across as an arrogant and petulant star, who operated according to his own
whims rather than the needs of the State Department. While African crowds were dazzled at their
performances on the court, organizers of the tour chafed at the growing list of demands, and the tour
fizzled to a close as both Robertson and Abdul-Jabbar abandoned the “party line” in favor of their
personal views. While Abdul-Jabbar meant it in a positive way when he told the press early in the
tour that it was “heart-warming to come back home” to Africa, State Department officials came to
interpret such words as nothing short of un-American.

In this paper I will explore the successes and failures of these tours. Why was Ashe so successful as an
athletic ambassador, while Abdul-Jabbar and Robertson were not? What international conditions
contributed to the success of the first tour and failure of the second? How were both delegations
received by the Africans, and how did they view their own role on these tours? This paper is part of a larger study of sport during the Cold War, especially U.S. relations with nations at the periphery.

John Wong, Washington State University
Boxer as Hockey Promoter: Benny Leonard and the Philadelphia Quakers, 1930-31

In the mid-1920s, professional hockey expanded from its base in Canada to the United States, riding a wave of public hunger for entertainment in what sport historians refer to as the Golden Age of Sport. Pittsburgh received a new franchise in this National Hockey League (NHL) expansion. Despite Pittsburgh’s vibrant hockey culture, professional hockey never took hold. Former lightweight boxing champion Benny Leonard, in 1929, became involved in the team but within a year he petitioned the league to move the failing Pittsburgh franchise to Philadelphia (renamed the Quakers), believing a different location and a bigger population might sustain the franchise or perhaps even make it grow. By the end of the 1930-31 season, however, the franchise was declared dormant.

In marketing, successful businesses are often those that attend to the customers’ needs and wants (Kotler, 1999). While Philadelphia had a strong market for spectator sports, its major league hockey franchise fared poorly. Why couldn’t the Quakers succeed in a strong sport market? This paper argues that fundamental to marketing a sport is an understanding of that sport’s culture and history. As a cultural institution, sport has to be marketed differently than common consumer goods (Mullin, Hardy, and Sutton, 2007). Whereas consumers of general products usually make rational decisions in their purchases, consumption of sport products involves psychological attachment and, often, motivation to consume can seem irrational. Using newspaper sources, league correspondence, and gate receipt reports, this paper seeks to analyze and explain the failure of the Philadelphia Quakers. It examines how Benny Leonard operated and marketed the team and also why the team failed to garner support from the local market.

Michael T. Wood, Texas Christian University
Georgia Southern University:
Athletic and Academic Success in Restarting a College Football Program

Like most rural colleges, Georgia Southern University (then known as Georgia Teachers College) suspended its participation in intercollegiate sports when the United States entered World War II. The school restarted all of its programs except football when the war ended. After a nearly forty-year hiatus, the school’s president and athletic department initiated efforts to restart the football program. In 1982, Georgia Southern resurrected its football program at the Division I-AA level. Over the next thirty years, the Georgia Southern Eagles experienced unprecedented success, achieving an overall record of 281-103-1, winning six national championships (national runners-up twice), and winning ten Southern Conference championships since 1990. Along with winning on the field, the school also grew into a mid-sized research university with the addition of graduate programs and increased its enrollment from 6,603 in 1981 to 20,212 in 2012.
My paper provides a case study of Georgia Southern University’s success in restarting its football program, the primary factors that contributed to its success, the relationship between football success and academic growth, and whether Georgia Southern’s experience could serve as a model for other schools with similar goals. To address these points, I will focus on three primary factors: strong leadership by then president Dale W. Lick and head coach Erskine “Erk” Russell, realistic growth strategies and goals in athletics and academics, and financial support from the athletic boosters and alumni. Research from the university’s archives, newspaper articles, and printed interviews of President Lick and Coach Russell will serve as a primary source foundation. Attention will also be paid to theoretical studies of leadership, studies of other schools of similar size and geographic location that attempted to start or restart football programs, and historical examples of using athletics as a means of university growth. Ultimately, this paper will add to our understanding of football programs at smaller colleges and universities and will provide an example of success.

Ying Wu Shanley, Millersville University

Linda Estes: A True Warrior for Gender Equality in American College Sports

Today, women and men are enjoying more opportunities to participate in intercollegiate athletics than ever before despite that true equality between the sexes has not been achieved. For decades, many people, men and women, have contributed toward the realization of gender equality in college sport; few however have worked as hard and are appreciated less than Linda Estes—a true warrior for gender equality in American college sports. Estes devoted much of her adult life to the University of New Mexico as student, teacher, coach, and athletics administrator for more than three decades from 1950s to 1980s. In 1972, after the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women became operational and the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments Act, Estes began to work tirelessly to bring Title IX compliance into reality at local, regional, and national levels. At the University of New Mexico, she successfully pushed for the expansion of women’s athletics in both programs and budget. Her activism and leadership skills led to her election as the regional representative at the AIAW. It was at the AIAW, Estes discovered, that resistance to gender equality in college sports could come from men as well as women, especially those who were charged to lead women into the realm of equality in college sport. For nearly the entire duration of the AIAW’s existence from 1972 to 1982, Estes continuously fought against many policies and actions of the AIAW, which she deemed sexist, archaic, or outright illegal. She was a co-founder of the Council of Collegiate Women Athletic Administrators who led women in the NCAA structure in the early 1980s. Ironically, Estes’ belief in true gender equality eventually led to her ouster from both the AIAW Executive Board and the NCAA Executive Committee.

This paper examines the legacy of Linda Estes as a true believer in gender equality who fought fearlessly for her conviction. The primary sources for this paper are found in the AIAW Papers located in the University of Maryland archives, in the Walter Byers Papers and other NCAA archival materials located in the NCAA headquarters, and in personal files of Linda Estes.
“Ti Yu” is the Chinese word that is usually used as an interchangeable translation of sport, athletics, physical activity and physical education. The word “Ti Yu” literally means physical education in the Chinese context. However, it did not exist in the ancient Chinese language until a little over 110 years ago when it was introduced by and adopted from the Japanese in 1898. It was first used to express the literal meaning of the word, physical education, and was combined frequently with the words of “De Yu,” moral education, and “Zhi Yu,” intellectual education. But since the introduction of the word, when combined with more than a hundred years of history in China, it is now used in different circumstances that have nothing to do with either physical or education. The multiple meanings of the word have also created confusion when it is used in certain circumstances but understood as different concepts. Sport historians such as Gillmeister and Han have critically assessed the etymology of sport in the Western world. But the conceptual evolution of the Chinese word “Ti Yu” has never been fully explored. A historical examination of when the word collected different meanings and in what circumstances will provide an understanding of sport in the last hundred years from a different perspective, as well as provide a better understanding of the contradictory nature of sport development in modern China.

The word of “Ti Yu,” since its introduction to China, has been used broadly in newspapers, textbooks, scholarly papers, and government regulations. By conducting a content analysis, the author examines these historical documents through both primary and secondary sources to explore the emergence of different meanings assigned to the word.

The author argues that the word “Ti Yu” collected diverse meanings through its utilization in different circumstances, where alternative words could be chosen to share the burden. As a result, the confusion over what the word represents was caused by the diverse meanings it collected. In order to reduce the confusion, different meanings should be allocated to other words that could lead to a more explicit understanding of “Ti Yu” and sports development in China.