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2139 JFSB
Provo, UT 84602

NEWSLETTER EDITOR

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

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Brett L. Abrams, National Archives
Three Cities Fans: An Initial Comparison of Washington, Philadelphia and Colorado
Sports Fans

The issue of drawing spectators has been a concern for many teams, including Washington, DC's baseball and basketball franchises. Teams and leagues have hired consulting firms to study the issue, but have rarely put their individual results into historical context or compared them extensively across time. Meanwhile a number of academics have looked at fans from the perspective of socialization, fan violence and whether factors like roster turnover influences attendance. These studies have discovered that several team quality characteristics—winning percentage, championships, playoff appearances, and all-star players—directly influence spectator turnout and the intensity of their support as well.

The majority of these studies have looked at aggregate groupings of fans, such as the number of fans who attended NBA games from 2000 through 2005. Works like Alan L. Morse and Stephen L. Shapiro's *The Effects of Roster Turnover on Demand in the NBA*, have noted that additional research needs to be done on fans across leagues and on other specific fan groupings.

Using interviews, fan websites and newspaper and magazine articles, this paper compares fan bases in three distinct geographical areas over the last decade. The areas studied are Philadelphia, which represents the Northeast, Washington, DC, which is part of the Mid-Atlantic, and Colorado in the Mountain region. This initial examination will look at each areas' sport fans demographic makeup before determining their support of specific teams in the Big Four sports in the United States. The expectation is that there will be significant differences regarding each fan bases' level of interest and intensity for certain sports and perhaps in which of the aforementioned characteristics are most important to them. By offering a comparison of fan bases, this paper will broaden sports history's understanding of fans for particular sports and in particular sections of the country.



Pedro Acuña, University of California-Irvine
“Snapshots of the Regime: Peronist Repertoires in the Argentine Sport Magazine *Mundo Deportivo*, 1949-1955”

This presentation analyzes a set of images that circulated in the Argentine sport magazine *Mundo Deportivo* from 1949 to 1955. As a state-controlled publication, *Mundo Deportivo* became an important visual platform for the government of Juan Perón, who had ruled the country since 1945. My research examines how photographers and journalists portrayed Peronism as a state project strongly concerned with the diffusion of sports in society. In the early 1950s, the Peronist government sponsored soccer clubs, funded massive sports infrastructure, published its own sports media, and enlarged the participation of youth in physical activity. Perón and his wife Eva Duarte actively encouraged soccer competitions as demonstrations of their alliances with the working classes. Both leaders appeared in several images inaugurating stadiums and giving the kickoff during national tournaments.

My work explores the aesthetic repertoires—visual and narrative gestures—of populism in Argentina through sports images. The importance of these sources lies in their central role of making sports a much more understandable cultural industry to mass audiences, many of whom

were illiterate. In that sense, sport photography and advertising are innovative windows to uncover political meanings for much larger audiences than those sitting in the stadium. By using these visual texts I discuss how print media workers of *Mundo Deportivo* represented sportsmen, particularly soccer players, as appropriate models of masculinity and citizenship. Historians of sports have extensively used government documents, newspapers, club balances, and attendance records. My project further expands the archive by including magazine covers, sport advertising, team portraits, and captures of soccer games. While scholars have too often used visual materials strictly for illustration, I analyze the politics of how sports images were produced and the meanings they generated. Notions of citizenship and political cultures were hotly contested topics that circulated through photographs among journalists and fans.



Carly Adams, University of Lethbridge

“If we would be happy and prosperous”: Sport and corporate welfarism at the Maritime Telegraph & Telephone Company, Halifax, Nova Scotia 1920-1955

The Maritime Telephone & Telegraph (MT&T) Company was established in 1910 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. MT&T was the largest telecommunications provider in Nova Scotia for over nine decades until 1998, when it merged with Island Telecom, NBTel and NewTel Communications to form Aliant (now Bell Aliant). As an act of corporate welfarism MT&T encouraged and sponsored industrial sport opportunities. Defined as “any service provided for the comfort or improvement of employees which was neither a necessity of the industry nor required by law,” corporate welfarism included many practical initiatives, from creating libraries within factories to sponsoring sport leagues, to medical facilities and comprehensive insurance in the event of disability or death (Brandes, 1976, p.5-6). Along side other initiatives such as an employees benefit fund, and an employees stock savings plan, sport and recreation activities were central to MT&T’s corporate and employee welfare strategy. Joan Sangster (1995) suggests that historians “have explored the way in which an employer, playing a visible role on the factory premises, tried to create the feeling of an ‘organic community,’ often by equating the factory with an actual or imagined family” (p.169).

By offering employees something more than a wage for their labor, employers hoped to create a sense of family, belonging, and community among workers as a way of encouraging loyalty and discouraging unionism and strife among employees. As I have argued previously, “[r]ecreation and providing opportunities for recreation outside of business hours as a means of better living and, by extension, better working conditions was an important part of a company’s corporate welfare philosophy” (Adams, 2011, 403). This paper offers an examination of MT&T’s monthly bulletin from 1920 until 1955, a publication that was distributed at no cost to all employees, to consider the place of sport and recreation in MT&T’s corporate welfare strategies.

The narratives within this publication suggest that MT&T senior management fostered and encouraged sport and recreation activities by way of developing a sense of cooperation, team spirit, and loyalty among employees, all necessary to maintain morale and encourage increased productivity during times of economic decline.



Iain Adams, University of Central Lancashire
A Game for Christmas: Football on the Western Front, December 1914?

Sports historians know that any mention of football and World War I will bring forth discussions of the Christmas Truce of 1914 and the mythical football match played between British and German troops in No Man's Land. At the time many British soldiers denied that a truce had occurred let alone a football match between the combatants.

However there is indisputable evidence that a truce did occur in places on the front line, but finding proof of football has been more elusive. This paper surveys the evidence for football being played and discusses the underlying reasons behind the truce and why combatants in the short break from trying to kill each other may have played football.

The paper utilises British Army War Diaries, individual soldier's diaries and newspapers from the time as well as secondary sources including British and German popular history texts such as Brown and Seaton's *Christmas Truce* (1984) and Jurgs' *Der Kleine Frieden im Grossen Krieg* (2003); *Westfront 1914*.

It is argued that the truce was a result of unique circumstances developing from the destruction of the professional British Army in the first months of the war, the weather, the development of trench warfare, and its associated living conditions, and the Christian faith of most of the soldiers. However, it is proposed that this was not an overwhelmingly inspirational moment for the vast majority of troops involved; they all returned to the fighting. Most participants in the truce probably regarded it as a short holiday and football was a ubiquitous leisure activity of the British working classes.

The Christmas Truce of 1914 is a unique event in history and football is an important part of the narrative; it demonstrated that football, at the beginning of the twentieth century had established an international fan base and provided a common bond between men. As we move towards the centenary of the start of World War I, there are many local, national and European projects to commemorate the event and a significant number are planning to incorporate football into their programmes. It is important to attempt to establish the *actualité* as well as the collective memory construct of this event.



Melvin L. Adelman, Skidmore College
Truth or Fiction: Selling Season Tickets and the Return of Pro Football to Baltimore in
1953

The Baltimore Colts entered the National Football League (NFL) in 1950 as the result of the agreement between the All-America Football Conference and the NFL that ended their four-year pro football war. However, after one disastrous season in which Baltimore was horrendous both on the field and at the box office—it won one game and averaged slightly more than 16,000 fans per game—the club folded, to the joy of NFL owners who never wanted the team in the first place.

After the 1952 season, events conspired to make possible a return of pro football to

Baltimore. But before Baltimore could regain a franchise, NFL Commissioner Bert Bell made several demands of the city and its officials, including that Baltimore prove that its club could be financially solvent by selling 15,000 season tickets at \$20 apiece. Even though the majority of the city's media, including two of Baltimore's three sports editors, viewed the task as daunting, especially since it had only seven weeks to accomplish the feat, Baltimore met the challenge with 755 to spare. This is the universally agreed upon story.

In this paper I raise challenges to this accepted wisdom. While I have no hard evidence to question the veracity of this narrative, I show that there is significant room to be highly skeptical of the conventional portrait on two grounds: (1) a look at season tickets sold to Colts' games both prior and subsequent to 1953 and its relationship to the club's overall attendance figures; and (2) I follow the advice of historian Stephen Hardy to "reconstruct the alternative" to show that Bert Bell and the NFL had little wiggle room if Baltimore had failed to obtain the necessary numbers.

To illuminate the limitations within the popular narrative regarding how Baltimore was resurrected as an NFL franchise in 1953, I travel briefly down three paths. First, I provide an overview of the Colts from its emergence as an AAFC club through its arrival into the NFL as the unwanted stepchild of the NFL-AAFC agreement and its collapse after its initial NFL season. Second, I examine how Baltimoreans responded to the loss of their dismantled franchise; their initiation of a lawsuit, which they had a good chance of winning, as even Bert Bell's brother, a Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice, acknowledged; and events in pro football in the two years Baltimore was absent from the NFL, most particularly the fiasco in Dallas in 1952 when the club, which had relocated from New York earlier that year, collapsed halfway through the season and had to be taken over by the league. Finally, I explain why Bell had limited options; that he likely had already struck a deal with Carroll Rosenbloom to become the team's majority owner; and that reasons for skepticism are heightened when the team's attendance, ticket sales, and financial numbers are carefully scrutinized. The study draws upon newspaper accounts; secondary sources; documents in the Pro Football Hall of Fame, and published Congressional Hearing Records.



Stephen Allen, Boise State University

A Celebration of All Things Masculine: Mexican Boxing Magazines, 1940s-1970s

This paper examines how Mexican boxing magazines served as forums to both celebrate and debate a wide variety of masculine behaviors from the 1940s to the 1970s and questions the role of the sporting media in constructing gender and national identities. Whereas the culture of the boxing gymnasium and the ring were predominantly homosocial, these periodicals often featured pugilists interacting with women in vignettes focusing on their heterosocial life outside the ring. These articles focused on a variety of behaviors from boxers: their sexual conquests, their obedience to their mothers, their faithfulness to their wives, or their ability to care for their children. In so doing, they promoted boxers as role models of Mexican masculinity and depicted Mexican femininity in a very passive manner. In addition, some of these magazines provided fans with opportunities to express their opinions about boxers' in-ring and out-of-ring behavior. As public figures, Mexican boxers had to strike a particular balance between virility, compassion, and self-discipline. Fighters who failed to do so were subject to intense criticism from both the

media and boxing fans. Over time, however, what was deemed acceptable behavior for boxers changed, as it did in general for men across Mexican society. The *apertura sexual* (sexual revolution) of the late 1960s and 1970s also allowed for an emotional opening where boxers more freely shared their opinions on topics like sex, marriage, conspicuous consumption, fatherhood, and yoga.

Most studies of boxing and masculinity focus on forms of ‘hard’ masculinity, such as toughness and discipline. But this paper highlights how these periodicals celebrated the more compassionate and tender sides of pugilists, and presented them as well-rounded and fully functioning members of Mexican society. It argues that, by defining, promoting, debating, and celebrating a wide variety of masculine behaviors and by defining femininity as static and passive, boxing magazines helped maintain patriarchy within Mexican society during this time.



Sheldon Anderson, Miami University
Searching for Stella Walsh

In 1951, the Helms Athletic Foundation named its greatest woman athlete of the first half of the twentieth century; it was not Babe Didrikson Zacharias, but Stella Walsh, who won the 100m at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics. Walsh took second in the 100m at the Berlin Games, and dominated the U.S national championships in the decade after World War II.

Grass is creeping over the slab that marks Stella Walsh’s remains in Cleveland’s Calgary Cemetery, threatening to obscure the inscription:

Stella Walsh
Walasiewiczowna
1911 1980

The overrun memorial is a sober reminder of Walsh’s forgotten place in American sports history. Her story is not easy to find, however, because her stage was the track and her medium was the individual sprints and jumps where few words were spoken and no teammates were needed. In those days media coverage of women’s sports was minimal, and Walsh left behind few personal accounts of her life.

In the emerging globalized world of intercontinental travel and international sports, the search for Stella Walsh is also complicated by her multiple national, class, and gender identities. Walsh lived in an ambiguous state between all of them. Stanisława Walasiewicz was born in 1911 to a Polish family in Russian Poland. As an infant she moved with her parents to the United States, but retained her Russian citizenship.

Walasiewicz made her fame on American tracks, adopting the name Stella Walsh to connect herself to Anglo-America. She planned to run for the U.S. team at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics, but lost her job at the New York Central Railroad. Offered work with the Polish Consulate, Walsh agreed to run for Poland at Los Angeles.

In 1956, Walsh married Harry Olson, a former professional boxer, and took on yet another name, Stella Walsh-Olson. It was a marriage of convenience. Although she was now forty-five years old, Walsh wanted to run for the United States at the 1956 Melbourne

Olympics. In early 1956, the IOC changed its rules to allow a spouse of a national to run for that country. Walsh tried out for the U.S. team, but did not make it.

The couple separated after two months. Olson later claimed that he had no idea what her sex was. Many of Walsh's opponents had commented on her manly features and her avoidance of the women's locker room. Some of Walsh's closest friends in the Polish community in Cleveland knew that she was hiding some genital abnormality, but at the time there was little public discussion of mosaicism or intersex. These were taboo subjects in the binary categorization of gender, and Walsh thought of herself as a woman throughout her life. In 1980, Stella Walsh was murdered in a botched robbery at a Cleveland strip mall. The autopsy revealed that Walsh had ambiguous genitalia.

This study seeks to unpack the various constructions of the Stella Walsh's story, relying on her files at the Western Historical Society in Cleveland, records of the 1932 and 1936 Olympics at the LA84 Foundation in Los Angeles, Cleveland newspapers archived at Cleveland State University, and Polish and German newspapers at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.



Nick Aplin, Nanyang Technological University
Lawn Tennis for the Incorporated Lady in Colonial Singapore 1880-1890

As one of the more distant British colonial settlements, Singapore was slower to benefit from the diffusion of ball games during the nineteenth century. The first European women to enjoy the introduction of competitive sport were the young wives and a small number of single girls who joined their menfolk for pairs' tennis.

To be included at tennis parties, initially private, 'at home' affairs, was a mark of status. To establish a club setting, where ladies were in charge, was a bold undertaking and a considerable landmark in the evolution of women's sport. The establishment of the Ladies Lawn Tennis Club in 1884 was heralded as an event before its time. The eminent organising committee relied heavily on male support and influence, but eventually they built a reputation as custodians of an exclusive institution, where male involvement was by subscription only and yet most highly sought after.

This paper examines the involvement of women, and their men, in creating an elite sporting and social setting during a period of rapid industrial growth and imperial expansion. Problems confronting the initiative to incorporate women into the male dominated social environment centred on imposed Victorian values. Upholding imperial status in the eyes of the Asian migrant population and maintaining the perception that the appropriate setting for women was a domestic one, provided the main hurdles to be crossed.

To what degree do the findings confirm issues relating to a woman's role in colonial society? While the importance of tennis as a suitable form of physical activity was deemed ideal for women, membership of the club was restricted to ladies from the highest levels of Singapore society. It is clear that not all European women were considered eligible for membership. As such the seeds of the ultimate decline of the club were sown from inception. The evidence presented is primarily based on newspaper reports and a limited number of texts written during the first two decades of the twentieth century. There are no remaining official records or minutes of the club's meetings.

As an increasing number of women accompanied and supported their husbands in their respective professions, the game of tennis became an ideal setting for socialising, relaxing and even competing. It is suggested that lawn tennis provided the first opportunity for European women in colonial Singapore to emulate the men in creating and running their own sporting club. This could only have been achieved through determined action from a small number of motivated women and the invaluable support and encouragement of their influential husbands.

The significance of this paper to our understanding of sport history is that it provides an additional reference point for examining the entry of colonial Victorian women into the world of competitive sport. It also reveals information about the women themselves, who were living within the context of colonial expansion and Victorian values.



David E. Barney, Albuquerque Academy
Something About Race and the River: Remembering Oneself and the Birmingham Black Barons of 1947

In this familiar essay, or oral history if you prefer, the writer/speaker merges his personal awareness of race in the American South in the 1940s with his reflections on black baseball in general and his memories of the 1947 Birmingham Black Barons in particular. Whereas black baseball may constitute the metaphorical cover of this baseball essay, it is the writer's recollections of Jim Crow that provide the stitching for his thoughts. The essay's opening sentence . . .

Most of the kids I grew up with in New England in the 1930's and '40's, learned about colored folks, as they were called back then, from books written by white men or white women, except for the few of us who actually lived down South for a time in that out-of-sorts place called Dixie, a laid-back land of Civil War angst, courtly manners marked by moonlight and magnolias . . . and a dark meanness of mind characterized by a minstrel song-and-dance man named Jim Crow.

. . . presents a prelude of sorts to a chronology of memories associated with coming of age in the 1940s in the racially-torn black and white world of the American South. In the sweep of those memories, the writer examines not only his personal recollections of the Birmingham Black Barons of the Negro American League as they appeared in a series of exhibitions against the New York Cubans in Biloxi, Mississippi in the spring of his sophomore year of high school in 1947, but a brief historical look at the Barons' beginnings in an Industrial Colored League in Birmingham, Alabama following World War I as well. Twenty-five years later the Barons would be considered by many as one of the true jewels in the crown of Negro League baseball. The writer's memory of the Barons' leading stars at that time, Jay Heard, Artie Wilson and Lorenzo "Piper" Davis, is clear-cut, despite the time gap that separates then from now. Davis, in particular, receives special mention, if for no other reason than the little-known fact that he, not "Pumpsie Green," became the very first negro player signed by the Boston Red Sox (1950). The essay also momentarily addresses what could have been the year before that: Jackie Robinson, Willie Mays, and Ted Williams playing side by side as early as 1949.

Finally, Barney's essay ends with a reflection on the N-Word, and his adolescent use of it, the aftermath of which has dwelt in his memory for more than sixty-six years.



Sandie Beaudouin, Université Paris-Est

From the French Union of Rowing Societies in 1882 to the French Federation of Rowing Societies (F.F.S.A) in 1890: a unification of codes and regional alliances

Since the beginning of the 19th century, river boating—imported into France by the British—inspired the creation of rowing societies and the organization of regattas. Long perceived as a leisure activity, rowing soon took a serious turn. A progressive sportification movement could be seen, and as underlined by Gloria and Raspaud, the process went through an institutional implementation of rules and competitions. Some regulations were issued, but no institution representative of the craze for rowing emerged during the 19th century. Between 1870 and 1880, the increasing number of nautical societies all over France led to the foundation of several regional alliances (the Union of Southwestern Societies in 1879, and the Union of Northern, Northwestern and Eastern Societies in 1882). As a consequence, every region established its own regulations. The heterogeneousness of the race codes (in terms of boats, rowers' classification and definitions) made the regatta procedure difficult, and at the same time slowed down any project toward the creation of a national federation. The point of this paper is to show how France managed to gradually develop a national institution favoring the emancipation of rowing. The creation of a union called “the French Union of rowing societies” in 1882, on the initiative of three Parisian societies, marked the beginning of a long process. The British influence does not seem to have affected this institutionalization. It looks as if the new Union planned to start with the setting up of a single race code, leaning on a system connecting many competitions together in order to make a coherent whole, but without excluding the participation of foreign rowers in international regattas. Besides, its internal organization was simply the replica of a well established French federation: the Union of gymnastics societies.

Soon this institution had to go through various difficulties and its sustainability was questioned. Apparently, individual societies preferred to strengthen their already established alliances. At first, the Union seemed to favor cooperation between all French rowing societies. It was only after almost a decade that a statutory but also unitary consecration materialized through the creation of the French Federation of Rowing Societies (F.F.S.A) in 1890. This was when the first outline of an international code was drafted through the shared organization of congresses including several countries.

Our research methodology is mainly focused on a study of all the articles related to this Union in the “Le Yacht” magazine between 1882 and 1890. They inform us about its organization, actions, functioning and difficulties. Our point is to highlight the history of the Union through these various criteria. In other words, the challenge consists in understanding how the Union managed to adjust to the circumstances in order to end up with the creation of the F.F.S.A. As such, rowing offers a concrete example of the difficulties sports activities have to face in their federalization process.



Kim Beckwith, The University of Texas at Austin
“The spark which lights the fire of women’s lifting”:
Judy Glenney, a pioneer of US Women’s Weightlifting

Organized sports competitions for women have historically lagged behind those of men’s competitive associations; American women’s weightlifting was no different. Although weightlifting has been contested on the Olympic platform since 1896, it was restricted to men until the year 2000. American women lifting weights in the late 1970s strove for acceptance at the national level; they finally gained it in 1981 by way of their inaugural national championships. They also gained international recognition six years later while the ultimate Olympic sporting experience came in 2000. The ability for young girls today to train with the intention and hope of making the Olympic weightlifting team didn’t happen without a lot of work by numerous individuals. One pivotal pioneer in the advancement of women’s weightlifting is Judy Glenney.

Judy Glenney began lifting with the encouragement of her husband, Gary Glenney, and won gold at the first four women’s national championships. Bitten by the iron game bug and not someone to sit in the wings and allow others to do the work, Glenney found ways to become involved in the new competitive strength sport for women. She helped Mabel Rader with the United States’ Weightlifting Federation’s Women’s Committee responsibilities in the early 1980s, eventually taking over the chairwoman position. Described as “the spark which lights the fire of women’s lifting,” Glenney urged women to become involved in all aspects of their sport to assure its continued success. She pressed them to lift, compete, and even referee by publishing a newsletter and completing a training book for women. Practicing what she preached, Glenney became the first female international referee and worked at the first Women’s World Championships in 1987 as well as the first women’s weightlifting event in the 2000 Olympic Games. Today, Glenney finds ways to give back to the sport which means so much to her by continuing to lift, coach, and conduct lifting seminars.

A true pioneer in women’s strength sport Judy Glenney has never been the topic of scholarly research. I presented a general overview of the history of American women’s weightlifting last year at NASSH’s annual meeting, but mentioned Glenney only briefly. 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 integrally involved in the sport, as this paper attempts to do starting with Judy Glenney.



William C. Bishop, University of Kansas
Yankees v. Dodgers: Conflicting Iconic Fandoms

My presentation examines the Brooklyn Dodgers fans’ culture in the postwar era and how they used the New York Yankees, as symbols of wealth and elitism to craft and celebrate their identity as working-class underdogs. Drawing on Lawrence Grossberg’s concept of “mattering maps” within fandom, I argue that Dodgers fans advocated an alternate set of values by embracing a perspective on the Yankees that ran counter to the way the “Bronx Bombers” had

been presented in media texts. In cultural texts such as the MGM hit film, *The Pride of the Yankees*, and the appearance of Joe DiMaggio in Earnest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, the Yankees had largely been portrayed as the very essence of a handful of related mid-century cultural values: heroic masculinity and the overall pursuit of success. But as the once-laughingstock Brooklyn Dodgers faced and lost to the Yankees numerous times in the World Series during the 1940s and '50s, Dodger's fans own self-portrayal as scruffy, working-class underdogs, and their interpretation of the iconic Yankees as the privileged tyrants of baseball was increasingly disseminated throughout the national popular culture at large.

Complicating matters further was the issue of race. Compared to the Dodgers, leaders of integration, the Yankees were slow to desegregate, challenging their status as icons of the American dream for many. In my presentation I hope to examine oral histories and memoirs from the period as well as the famed Willard Mullin "Brooklyn Bum" cartoon caricature of the Dodgers and their fans to better understand Dodger fans' characterization their own team and the rival Yankees and the socio-cultural dimensions of that imagined relationship. Class-conscious and racially heterogeneous, I will argue that in the postwar period the Dodgers and their fans challenged the Yankee's cultural icon and the national values it represented, and promoted an alternate national identity of the scrappy, perennial-bridesmaid underdog fighting against a hegemonic enemy, something of a contrast to the main thrust of postwar American culture when celebrating economic plenty, the good life achieved through national military victory was a major part of the mainstream cultural consensus.



Nancy B. Bouchier, Dept. of History, McMaster University

'The city needs a good fight once in a while':

Hamilton Ontario's past and present meet in the struggle over a civic stadium

In May 2010 *Hamilton Spectator* newspaper reporter Jeff Mahoney focused his gaze on the latest uproar occupying people in Hamilton, Ontario when he wrote a piece bearing the headline, "The city needs a good fight once in a while." The issue of the day, what to do about a city stadium for the upcoming Greater Toronto Area 2015 Pan American Games soccer competitions, so occupied Hamilton city councilors, the local CFL franchise owner, civic leaders and environmental activists, sports fans, and tax-harried citizens that Mahoney noted with some delight that, "The city once again has an issue over which we can all come together, so that we're close enough to rip each other apart." What contributed to such tension in the Steel City? Part of the answer lies in Hamilton's legacy of past Games hosting, its involvement in the CFL, its ongoing pursuit of mega-events aimed to support new infrastructure, and concerns about waterfront regeneration and downtown revitalization in a post industrial age. This paper unravels the various pieces of the puzzle to add to our understanding of what prompts cities to get involved in mega-events, and issues arising when interests in sport and urban development clash.

In the late 1920s, when M.M. (Bobby) Robinson, publisher of *Spectator*, and others conceived of and hosted the first-ever British Empire Games (now Commonwealth Games) in 1930 they aimed to create "large- picture, community-minded economic leadership" for Hamilton. At the time few opposed the city's construction of the Municipal Stadium for the Games, despite its location set in the heart of a working-class residential neighbourhood. BEG organizers envisioned that their event would pay for itself (which it didn't), that it would put

Hamilton on the world map (which it sort of did), and that it would leave the city with an infrastructure legacy (which it did). Like all state-of-the-art facilities, however, the new stadium would eventually become outdated and problem-ridden. Remodeled in 1971 and renamed Ivor Wynne Stadium, it has been home to Hamilton's Tiger Cats franchise since 1950. Between 1987 and 2005, Hamilton bid three times to again host the Commonwealth Games; with each unsuccessful bid it built upon the theme of bringing the Games back to their birthplace, and it proposed to use the old stadium once again. Typically there was little or no public outcry. Yet when Hamilton became part of the winning bid to host the 2015 Pan American Games, local debates flared over the stadium. Questions arose about whether to renovate it yet again or to build anew there or elsewhere, setting the opinions of city councilors, Hamilton's most influential business leaders, environmental activists, sports fans, and the public-at-large against each other.

The "good fight" that ensued helped to defeat the reelection of an incumbent Mayor who favoured a new location on revitalized industrial waterfront land. It also raised not-so-unfounded popular fears that Hamilton might lose its beloved Tiger Cat franchise, whose owner wanted a stadium anywhere but on the waterfront or the old venue. Amidst deadline pressures from Pan Am organizers and many last minute deals, city leaders eventually brokered a compromise that used the existing Ivor Wynne stadium site, but involved a brand new stadium facing a different direction; this created what Pan Am promoters are currently hailing "a flexible 'neighbourhood stadium.'"

Informed by a secondary source literature on sport stadiums, mega-events, urban regimes, and Hamilton history, this paper provides a case study of how the past informed one municipality's quest for "large- picture, community-minded economic leadership" through sport. It chronicles and analyzes the fiery municipal and public debate over Hamilton's new stadium for the Pan Am Games of 2015, a stadium also to be used by the Tiger Cat franchise. This analysis is based upon a variety of sources drawn from the 1920s to the present day, including newspaper and municipal reports, planning documents, the online documents and articles of Hamilton-based citizen action groups such as CATCH (Citizens at City Hall) and Raise the Hammer, as well as the comments of people voicing their opinions on the *Hamilton Spectator* online site.



Ron Briley, Sandia Preparatory School
Challenging the Hegemony of Football Culture in the 1970s: The Anti-establishment
Memoirs of Dave Meggyesy and Gary Shaw

During the late 1960s and early 1970s football, according to public opinion polls and sportswriters, replaced baseball as the number one sport in the United States. Football, at both the collegiate and professional levels, appeared to reflect the power, speed, and violence of American society as the nation struggled with the Vietnam War, political assassinations, campus unrest, and racial urban uprisings. But the hegemony of football did not go unchallenged.

Jim Brown, running back for the Cleveland Browns, denounced the level of racism in the National Football League (NFL) and left the game to pursue an acting career in Hollywood. More systematic critiques of football's violent and racist subculture were provided in the books by white football players Dave Meggyesy and Gary Shaw. Meggyesy's *Out of Their League* (1970) and Shaw's *Meat on the Hoof* (1972) were both best sellers and reflective of a countercultural

response to the hegemony of football in the American sporting culture of the early 1970s.

Meggyesy played college football at Syracuse University before joining the NFL from 1963 to 1969 as a linebacker with the St. Louis Cardinals. After leaving the game, Meggyesy spent time at Jack Scott's Institute for the Study of Sport and Society where he composed his memoir which was published by the left wing Ramparts Press. Meggyesy's expose of the sport's dehumanizing culture was denounced by the NFL and many former teammates. After a teaching career, however, Meggyesy did return to football as a representative for the National Football League's Players Association.

On the other hand, Gary Shaw's story is far more tragic. After four years at the University of Texas and numerous injuries, Shaw quit the football team. In his memoir, Shaw challenged the primacy of football in Texas culture and questioned the practices of its high priest, University of Texas football coach Darrell Royal. Although he was given a generous advance from St. Martin's Press, by 1980 Shaw was homeless and diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic. Reunited with his parents and securing disability benefits, Shaw died at the family home in 1999.

This paper will examine the memoirs of Meggyesy and Shaw within the historical and cultural context of America in the early 1970s. In addition to a close reading of the memoirs, reviews and reactions to the books will be examined and analyzed. While the Meggyesy and Shaw memoirs were unable to fundamentally alter the hegemonic order of football in American culture, the growing attention paid to violence and concussions in football suggests that dehumanization and a gladiator mentality continue to influence America's sport.



Peterson Brink, University of Nebraska-Lincoln
In Their Own Words: Building an Athletics Program at the University of Nebraska

In the mid-1970's George Round, of the University of Nebraska, conducted a series of oral history interviews with many campus leaders and individuals who had an impact on the history and development of the University of Nebraska. Those interviews are now held in the UNL Libraries Archives and Special Collections department. This paper is a study of a portion of those interviews that deal with the creation, construction, and development of Nebraska's Athletics Program.

The interviewees included coaches, administrators, former athletes, and politicians. Their stories and recollections give a unique insight into the development of a successful Athletics program and also a look behind the curtain at what it takes to make it all happen.

Several themes emerged from the interviews. The business side of athletics is a topic that is particularly rich. Interviews covered such business topics as financing the construction of Memorial Stadium and the Bob Devaney Sports Center, the art of managing the ticket office. The politics of building the Devaney Center are fascinating and could have been taken right from a Hollywood movie script.

Several of Nebraska's football coaches are discussed and interviewees provide a glimpse of the men behind the clipboard. There are multiple discussions of the hiring and firing of coaches, a topic relevant in today's environment. The college athlete is represented in the interviews with interesting looks at recruiting and scholarships in the 1920s up through the 1970s. The struggles of African American athletes are discussed as well as Title IX legislation and the creation of

Women's athletics programs.

This is the story of the creation and development of the University of Nebraska athletics program, as told by those people who actually did the creating and developing.



Douglas A. Brown, University of Calgary
Performing ethnic identity through sport: Dutch-Canadians and Transplanted Traditions

This paper examines one “imagined” ethnic population, one sport, and a two-part question: 1) Have identities of Dutch-Canadians been negotiated, preserved and asserted through the sport of speed skating? 2) What does this tell us about Canadian multiculturalism and immigrant experiences? As nation states, Canada and the Netherlands share a dynamic political and diplomatic history. For the most part, this history describes an amicable and supportive relationship that inspired several large migrations of Dutch citizens to different parts of Canada over the past 125 years. In this paper, I outline the significant impact of Dutch immigrants in Canadian society. I also posit that the Dutch-Canadian experiences (and those of other northern European immigrants) do not typically garner much critical inquiry from social historians or sociologists. This has not deterred immigrants of the Netherlands from reflecting upon and writing about their personal experiences. Published memoirs and diaries provide a background context for this paper. But they establish a tone that belies the playfulness and exuberance that one might associate with sporting experiences. These memoirs and diaries of Dutch-Canadians convey notions of “the bittersweet,” “disillusionment,” “lost dreams” and “invisibility” in their immigrant experience. Primary research focuses on three speed skating venues/events in central Alberta (Canada) where the presence of Dutch-Canadians is undeniable. Participant observation, life history and targeted interviews provide data from the Olympic Speed Skating Oval in Calgary, the Silver Skates Winter Festival in Edmonton, and the Ice Marathon in Sylvan Lake. I argue that these playing fields of sport reveal negotiated Dutch diasporas on Canada’s winter landscape. These diasporic performances are, in fact, negotiations around ideas of landscape, other non-Dutch sporting traditions, and experiences of community. I argue further that sport provides a uniquely visceral way of retaining one’s sense of homeland while enriching the cultural landscape of one’s adopted homeland. Each of these events reveals a different facet of this negotiation. In general, this examination of speed skating among Dutch-Canadians probes larger questions about ethnicity, multiculturalism in Canadian society and the emergence of transnational identities in the 21st century.



Florence Carpentier, University of Rouen (France)
The making of Olympic Rules: from the first Charters to the Code of Ethics

The Olympic charter is the unique and historical reference document of the International Olympic Committee, presenting the Olympic values, the organizational arrangements of the Games and the distribution of powers between the different sport institutions. Amended over and over again, the original text published for the first time in 1908, after the Olympics in

London, has considerably evolved in style and substance. Presented as a 12-page directory of the committee before World War I, the current charter consists of more than a hundred pages of a legal nature. Since 1999, a code of ethics has been created in a context of serious moral crisis for the IOC.

The aim of this presentation is to show, thanks to the *Olympic review* and to the archives of the Olympic Studies Center in Lausanne, how the Olympic rules were being gradually built to respond to a changing context and how the IOC members could promote values in such a legal and technical document.

Firstly, the success of the Olympics and also the liberties taken by the organizers encouraged Pierre de Coubertin to publish an official document in 1908. However, a real legal document is adopted later, between the two world wars. The disqualification of Jim Thorpe for professionalism in 1912, and especially the delicate negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles (1919) make the IOC members set the conditions of admission to the Games. The definition of amateurism/professionalism and the choice of the participating countries will remain the two main points of the debates after World War II and throughout the Cold War. Moreover, after 1918, the young International Sport Federations are eager to occupy their place in the world of sport. That is why the following versions of the charter in the 1920s and the 1930s define precisely the status and role of each stakeholder of the Games: IOC members, OCOG, IFs and NOCs.

IOC sees a turning point in its history in the 1980s: the end of its ideology based on amateurism. However, in order to offset the financialization and marketing of the Games and its abuses, IOC worries to rehabilitate its image with new values, inspired by the universal declaration of Human rights, but without ever copying it. This subtlety allows the Olympic movement to remain independent from the UN and its organizations. Eventually, the Salt Lake City corruption scandal at the end of the 1990s entails the redaction of a new official document, next to the Olympic charter: the code of ethics, strongly suggested by the US Congress.



Pascal Charitas, Univ. Paris Ouest

Sport Aid in Africa Between Franco-American Influences: A Cooperation or New Means of Imperialism in the Cold War (1958-63)

After the Second World War, a New International Order (San Francisco, 1945) is outlined by the balance of the Cold War (1947) and the appearance of the Third-World movement (Bandoung, 1955). France's position as an intermediate nation which tries to protect its influences in Africa against the hegemony of the United States, the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) who push former Empires throughout the United Nations (UN) to accelerate the emancipation of the colonies. 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 and established new political relations in the transformation from bilateral to multilateral cooperation in a geopolitical world made of new imperialism influences (1958-1963).

Beginning in the 1950s Africa became a "new frontier" for Americans. The emergence of the Third World as a third possible way pushed the governing Republican majority to become aware of an "African issue" in the Cold War. In 1953, Richard Nixon sounded an alarm

concerning the under-representation of the US on the continent. He spoke out in favor of independence and echoed the proposals of the US anti-colonial tradition as a new weapon in the Cold War by supporting liberation movements without proposing a break with the European colonial powers. When the young Democrat John F. Kennedy took the presidential office in 1961, he created a technical-assistance body called the *Peace Corps* to boost the representation of Americans in Africa and also to contain Soviet influence. The US thus supported African liberation under a process of “gradual independence.”

We built on a corpus of French, American and African archives resulting from postcolonial sources : diplomatic, the contemporary tracks of the postcoloniality, foreigners and finally Olympic, completed by African archives. Thus, our comment sustains the idea that the birth of these new French-African partnerships (“*Volontaire du progrès*”) in an unstable geopolitical environment under the register of “soft power” (Nye, 2004) has to take into account the crossing of new ways of imperialism like the American “Cultural Diplomacy” (Frank, 2003) (*Peace Corps*) in the establishment of these new structures for the African elites.

Our focus is to take sport like an analyzer of the new definition in the French-African and in the French-American relations: how could relations emerge between French-speaking Africa and the USA? The goal is to find answers at four principal preoccupations : on one hand, to stop the Soviet tentative of influence managed to Third-World and progressive countries inside a competitive international world; then for the French to counter vague desires and greed of other neo-imperialists countries like US, USSR and Great Britain; to build new political structures, by the way of new “cooperations” in order to control the French pre-square in Africa and to preserve the continuation of the occidental civilisation mission by a new American imperialism; finally a way for Africa to pursue the sport internationalization process in a tactical game with the influences of the superpowers.



Laura Frances Chase, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona
Avon Meets Team in Training: Women’s Participation in Distance Running

Historical work on women in distance running, including that of Cooper (1992), Jutel (2003), and Plymire (1997) details the emergence of women’s distance running in the 1960s and 1970s. These authors also explore the role of increasing commercialization within the sport of distance running and the impact this had on women’s involvement in the sport. For example, Cooper (1992, 1995) highlights the important role of Avon Products, Inc. in facilitating significant opportunities for women in distance running in the early years. Outside of these works there remains little written that specifically addresses women’s experiences in distance running. This paper will continue to explore and examine the historical experiences of women in distance running post-1960s, focusing primarily on the United States. Specific historical events that had a significant impact on women’s participation in distance running in the United States will also be examined, including women’s entrance into the Olympic marathon competition in 1984.

In addition to exploring the growth and development of women’s running, this paper will explore the democratization of running more broadly and the impact of this on female runners and the running community. In the 1970s, large numbers of participants began to enter races, particularly the marathon, simply to participate and to be physically active. This shift to

participatory running generally contributed to the gradual inclusion of a much more diverse group of women in distance running. In addition, distance running has become a site for charity fundraising, including the Avon Breast Cancer Walk, which has further diversified the sport. The Leukemia and Lymphoma Society's Team in Training program just celebrated the 25th anniversary of its first event, the 1988 New York City Marathon. Even the Boston Marathon, considered one of the most prestigious distance running events, accepts participants who are running for various charity organizations. These runners and walkers, who appear to be much more often women than men, have become a large presence at many distance races. Many of these runners participate in training programs and communities specific to their fundraising efforts. I will argue in this paper, that the integration of these charity runners into the running community has fundamentally changed the running landscape.



Langston Clark & Albert Y. Bimper Jr., The University of Texas at Austin
The Integration of LSU Athletics

As a national powerhouse in a range of sports, LSU student-athletes serve as the primary ambassadors for the university. It is common to see 92,000 fans cheering in Tiger Stadium, 15,000 fans going crazy in the Pete Maravich Assembly Center, and thousands in the stands at the Bernie Moore Track Facility rooting for their beloved Tigers. While the fans are overwhelmingly White, the vast majority of the athletes in revenue-generating sports are African American.

Although south Louisiana is arguably the most diverse region in America with its mixture of African, Anglo, French, and Cajun cultures, and African Americans make up more than 30% of the state's population, LSU still managed to keep African American athletes out of competition until the late 1960s and early 1970s. This investigation discusses the integration of LSU athletics in the 1970s through interviews with the first African American basketball player in the university's history and his sons, also former LSU basketball players. These former athletes were interviewed regarding their experiences at LSU in the academic and athletic realms to provide an intergenerational view of this institution's integration from the perspective of these athletes.

All interviews were audio taped, transcribed verbatim and analyzed. Member checks were performed by having transcriptions reviewed and verified by interviewers and interviewees for accuracy and preservation of meaning. An inductive data analysis was conducted to identify categories and themes emerging from the data collected. All the data were reduced and organized by using constant cross-comparison of differences and similarities of the data collected (Patton, 1990).

The data suggest that, although not as "intense," a racial climate still exists in the academic and athletic realms in the contemporary era. Therefore, more steps should be taken to eliminate the victimization of black athletes in collegiate sports. Also, the historical significance of these findings are critical because although a lack of overt racism exists, the subtle existence can be just as problematic through a perception of non-existence.



Patrick Clastres, Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne University (France)
Courtesy, Moral, Ethics: the Sport's Three Ages

Modern sport appears in a changing time of European society, between the Renaissance and the Age of Enlightenment. The definition of rules and the emergence of competitions make sport another way of participating in the “civilizing process”, as described by Norbert Elias. While sport has been called “ethical” since the 1990s, we can affirm that it was always felt to be virtuous. The discourses and values related to sport have changed with the evolution of the social context of the leaders and the sportsmen. Thus we can define three ages of virtuous sport. Until the middle of the 19th century, courtesy seems to be the main value, inherited from the chivalric tournaments of the Middle Ages. This first period is characterized by the desire to regulate or prohibit gambling and betting activities linked to sports like horse racing, combat sports or foot races. In the Victorian Era, *Muscular Christians* invented an athletic Puritanism which is integrated by cosmopolitan elites all over the world. Opposed to the rise of professionalism, amateurism ensures morality in sport. That is why a unique definition is adopted during an international congress in La Sorbonne University, in June 1894. Then the anti-plutocratic values of the nobility, the Christian ideal of poverty and the anti-capitalistic attitude of the workers converged in the second age of moral sport. The ethical age of sport begins at the end of the 20th century when the economic and cultural globalization of sport creates new values influenced by the business world. The increasing domination of money in the entertainment sport industry leads the international sport organizations to adopt codes of ethics to fight against corruption and cheating.

However, these three ages of virtuous sport do not follow strictly, but they overlap in time when one considers the national, social, racial and gender criteria. The different values persist within the elites who produced them, far beyond the period of their social domination. Through conservatism but also through the ownership of the value system of the dominant classes by the lower classes, the courtesy reappeared as *fair play* in the Victorian Era, amateurism became the reference for the “weekend warriors” and ethics is about to move down to national level and local associations.



Samuel Clevenger, University of Maryland, College Park
American Basketball, the Mesoamerican Ball Game, and the Modernity Dichotomy: A
Historical “Fanciful Comparison”

Prominent American sport historians have long argued the historical uniqueness of American basketball’s development and significance, with one proclaiming the suggested link between basketball and the Early Modern Mesoamerican ball game “fanciful.” Such works rely on a distinct theorization of modernity which presuppose the unique or new nature of “modern” contexts in relation to their “premodern” or “traditional” predecessors. But, what if “premodern” historical sporting contexts entail characteristics which extend into supposedly “modern” contexts, and vice versa? What would such historical “continuities and discontinuities” reveal in the historiographical function and purpose of the modernity dichotomy?

This paper attempts to answer such questions, building off the critiques of modernity by the scholars Gurminder Bhambra and Bruno Latour, as well as the work of postcolonial historian

Dipesh Chakrabarty, in order to trace the historical harmonizations, reconfigurations, and articulations between the advent of American basketball at the turn of the twentieth century and the ball games of Early Modern, or “premodern,” Mesoamerica. Notions of class, power, and the use and display of the gendered body are argued to be prevalent and pervasive throughout both contexts, and in light of historian Charles Parker’s revelations of the global linkages emanating from the Early Modern Period, the paper argues for a more expansive, nuanced deconstruction of modernization theory in sport historiography. Through the examining of key American sport historiographical works, Mesoamerican source materials, and the papers of the Luther Gulick, who was the superintendent of the Physical Education Department of the Springfield, Massachusetts Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) when basketball was implemented into the curriculum, the paper argues for the dissolving of the premodernity/modernity dichotomy by exposing the historical relationship between the specific historical context of American basketball and the preceding cultural practices and meanings associated with “premodern” Mesoamerica. Resuscitating historically reconfigured harmonizations between disparate contexts crossing the modernity dichotomy suggests a more nuanced understanding of American sports relationship to historical networks of power and encounter, and aids in the exhuming of the condescended cultural practices of “Othered” historical societies.



Noah Cohan, Washington University in St. Louis
Voicing the Fan Narrative: Bill Simmons, Twitter, and the Blog Revolution

In 2001, when ESPN.com hired him after five years of writing in relative anonymity on his own and for AOL, Bill Simmons became the United States’ first prominent sports “fan columnist.” Dropping the “Boston” from his self-applied title, if not much of his subject matter, “the Sports Guy” quickly garnered a large internet audience. By the mid-2000s he was the focal point of ESPN’s online presence. Since then, having written two best-selling books and masterminded ESPN television’s award-winning “30 for 30” series of sports documentaries, Simmons has become one of the most prominent faces on the network and the focal point of its coverage of the National Basketball Association. How did someone “just like you or me,” as Malcolm Gladwell describes him in the foreword to Simmons’s 2009 tome, *The Book of Basketball*, “a fan—an obsessive fan in the best sense of the word,” rise to prominence without a journalist’s credentials?

This paper aims to answer that question by providing a brief history of fan writing in the internet age. In accounting for Simmons’s rise as well as that of similarly-oriented “fan” web presences like Deadspin, Free Darko, and Fire Joe Morgan, I will consider the role of the fan as an interpreter of sports narratives. Using the methods of literary study to position sporting events as narratives and fans as readers and re-articulators of their meanings, I will ask: How do we contextualize the explosion of fan expression on the web? Does it represent something new in sports fandom as well as in communication technology? The answer, I argue, is yes and no; the internet-based sports fan-authors’ innovation lies not in their expression of an alternate understanding of sporting events themselves, but in their expanded capacity to build onto the metanarratives constructed by, and in conjunction with, other fans. I will also consider what it means that someone like Simmons can earn not merely recognition from a sports media giant

like ESPN, but prominence in it. If, as Gladwell puts it, “a fan is always an outsider,” then what does it mean when he becomes an insider?

Multidisciplinary by nature as well as necessity, this paper contributes to our understanding of sport history in part by analyzing what amounts to a kind of popular historiography— fan writers must account for their understanding of sporting pasts as they re-narrativize its present. In other words, in re-interpreting and re-presenting the sporting narratives produced by “mainstream” media outlets and accredited journalists, these fan authors demonstrate their capacity to not merely contribute to our larger understanding of sport’s present and future, but its past as well. It is up to their fellow fan readers to determine the extent to which they carry out this historical commentary in responsible and productive ways.



Brad J. Congelio, Western University
More Than a Retaliatory Story: Reagan’s Foreign Policy at the 1984 Olympics

Shortly after their 8 May 1984 meeting, United States President Ronald Reagan penned International Olympic Committee President Juan Antonio Samaranch to further express the American government’s desire to uphold the Olympic Charter and to suppress any political purposes behind the upcoming 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Summer Games. This paper argues the opposite: that the Reagan administration inarguably maintained a political agenda associated with the 1984 Olympics. To do so, this paper will first contend that Reagan used the 1984 Los Angeles Games to initiate his desire for reconciliation with the Soviets following several disturbing incidents in East-West relations, and his policy-shifting speech on 16 January 1984. Additionally, it will argue that Reagan—despite his oft-stated respect for it—utilized the Olympic Charter as a scapegoat to quell public outrage over the President’s appeasement of the Kremlin in its multiple demands for attendance. To further illustrate Reagan’s general apathy towards the Olympic Charter, this paper will discuss the Reagan administration’s foray into both Romania and Africa to persuade those countries under the Soviet sphere of influence to disregard the Kremlin boycott and attend the Games regardless. In return for their attendance, the Reagan administration assured the countries promising trade negotiations, favorable import/export regulations, and, in some cases, the necessary resources to fend off Communist rebels. The majority of evidence for this paper comes from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, as well as previously classified material from the U.S. State Department. The completed research will provide a unique understanding of an Olympic boycott that is generally overlooked as nothing more than a retaliatory effort.



Adam J. Criblez, Southeast Missouri State University
White Men Playing a Black Man’s Game: Basketball’s “Great White Hopes” of the 1970s

In 1970, the National Basketball Association (NBA) consisted of 14 teams composed of roughly equal numbers of white and black players who made a salary, on average, of \$35,000 per year. Ten years later, the league had expanded to 22 teams, now 75 percent black, with annual

salaries five hundred percent higher. Over that span, fan interest and television contract revenue (the lifeblood of the NBA) dwindled as the league gained an often well-deserved public reputation for violence, illicit drug use, and a proliferation of young, outspoken, wealthy (and mostly black) players.

Numerous scholars have cogently explained how Larry Bird, a rookie for the Boston Celtics in 1979, symbolized a “Great White Hope” for a predominantly white media and fan base as the NBA emerged from this “lost decade” and became a global phenomenon behind superstar players like Bird, Earvin “Magic” Johnson, and Michael Jordan in the succeeding decades. What this paper focuses on, however, is the racialized nature of the NBA in the decade preceding Bird’s arrival and the search by white media and fans for a “Great White Hope” in the 1970s.

Using contemporary magazine articles, biographies, and monographs written about the era, I argue that a generation of white professional basketball players emerging in this decade (including the likes of Bill Walton, Bill Bradley, and “Pistol” Pete Maravich) struggled in various ways to perform to the standards demanded by media and fan expectations for a white-skinned basketball savior. The efforts of these “Great White Hopes” are contextualized through the relationship between professional basketball and the politics of cultural nationalism and racial integrationism which dominated race relations in the 1970s. Underpinning this notion is the realization that fans and the media hailed white players like Dave Cowens and Jerry Sloan for their scrappy and cerebral play while vilifying black players like Charlie Scott and Marvin Barnes for failing to reach their immense talents in large part due to the racial dynamics of the era.



William N. Dahlberg, Dartmouth College
Democratization, Re-Education, and Japanese Physical Culture: The Use of Sport by the
American Occupiers of Japan, 1945-1952

With the ceremonial surrender of Japan on the U.S.S. *Missouri* on August 15, 1945, the Second World War officially came to a close and a new relationship between the United States and Japan began. From isolationist nation to occupying power in a span of five years, the United States methodically planned the occupation and democratic rebuilding of Japan. Led by the “Old Soldier,” General Douglas MacArthur, the American Occupation would help set the course guiding Japan to a prosperous rebirth under democratic ideals and practices.

The road for the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), however, was not easy as it faced significant challenges in rebuilding Japan’s infrastructure while trying to establish democratic ideals and give a new sense of identity to the Japanese. Among the reforms was a replacement of the traditional educational system, one that was steeped in military principles; the reformation also focused on the pervasive physical and athletic culture of Japan’s rigorous traditional practice of budō sports. While overhauling the educational system, the SCAP administration realized the need to institute “new” democratic sports to replace the highly militaristic budō sports.

SCAP believed that “sport,” particularly some more than others, would appeal not only to the “oriental mind,” as General Douglas MacArthur described it, but would help to advance the basic goals of the occupation: demilitarization and democratization. The occupiers made significant efforts to use sports as a tool toward that end under the advisement of the Economic

and Scientific Section of SCAP, headed by Major General William Marquat, a symbol and shaper of the Occupation agenda.

Yet, following the end of the American Occupation in 1952, how successful was this use of “sport”? Had it functioned as General MacArthur envisioned? Did it serve as a sufficient tool for education, assimilation and replacement of militaristic cultures with “healthy” competition? Had some particular sports worked better than others? To what extent did it help in accomplishing the goals of: fostering democracy, raising the consciousness of the Japanese people, creating unity, and dissolving boundaries between individuals and groups of Japanese and members of the Occupation?

With little area for recreation and few athletic supplies, SCAP was successful in organizing meets, tournaments and leagues that involved millions of Japanese of all ages and genders. Additionally, SCAP and the Japanese Police Department used sports to help deter crime rates among youth. Consequently, after the departure of the occupying forces from Japan, the culture of sport remained and has continued to thrive in Japan in the nearly sixty years since the end of the occupation. While occupying, physically rebuilding, and institutionalizing democracy in Japan, these efforts proved to be more successful than others in accomplishing the goals set forth in the occupation while also involving and appealing to a morally defeated Japanese populace.

While this brief seven-year period in United States and Japanese history has resulted in a number of scholarly publications in recent years there are still many unanswered questions regarding the effectiveness of SCAP’s policies, procedures and methods. Given the culturally pervasive love for baseball and professional sports for which the Japanese have gained worldwide attention in recent decades, there is surprisingly little scholarship on this topic, something which this paper attempts to do.



Judy Davidson, University of Alberta
The Early Gay Games: The Bay Area Years

While the international gay and lesbian sport movement (most visibly and popularly manifested through events such as the Gay Games and the OutGames) has become a global sport tourism spectacle success in the 21st century, the humble beginnings of this phenomena are found in the early- to mid-1980s in San Francisco, California. Originally called the Gay Olympics, Gay Games I were first held in 1982, and were followed four years later by Gay Games II. Developed as a grassroots movement led by Dr. Thomas Waddell, the early Games were touted as a celebration of socially progressive inclusion, where participation (rather than excessive competition) in sporting activities and/or the associated cultural festival was stressed. The express invitation of these early Games was to all of humanity to attend—not just individuals who were gay or lesbian.

Drawing extensively on primary archival sources and some secondary literatures, this paper will address the question of how an identity based sporting event contributed to and was influenced by an emerging social movement for lesbian and gay acceptance and sexual emancipation. Concomitantly, this would also set the stage for how the Gay Games reiterated social norms and political practices of what was to become a new kind of sporting homonormativity at the turn of the 21st century. But in the early years of the Gay Games,

concerted attention was paid to how to rethink sporting formations that might change how people could be involved, and local investment in debates about what was appropriate for such an event were played out in community gay presses and meeting rooms. Local resistances and North American wide protests involving alleged pro-Nazi film screenings, gender equity, Visa credit cards, and a Rainbow Roll to end AIDS all shaped the struggle for how the early Gay Games contributed to what is now recognized as the contemporary global LGBT sport movement. It is a sport history not just of the celebration of increased participation and visibility of gay and lesbian athletes, but a history of LGBT sport that narrates some of the difficulties of unseating sedimented privileges.



Christopher R. Davis, University of Oklahoma
“The Greatest Team Nobody Saw”: Masculinity and Oklahoma Football in the Mid-1970s

In the early 1970s, the football program at the University of Oklahoma embraced expanding definitions of masculinity and racial inclusion to build powerful teams and achieve college football glory for the school and state. The elevation of Barry Switzer to head coach in 1973 symbolized Oklahoma’s embrace of a new style of masculine leadership at odds with the hegemonic, corporate masculinity dominant in football and the larger American culture during the post-World War II era. Switzer’s anti-authoritarian, individualistic, hedonistic, and racially inclusive coaching style drew on new forms of masculine expression gaining currency in the late 1960s and early 1970s and helped introduce them to college football. The Oklahoma coaching staff’s cultural embrace of African American athletes and their acceptance of black masculine expression allowed the team to access large, and previously underutilized, pools of black athletic talent in Oklahoma and, especially, Texas. The Sooners successfully tapped these pools to win more games than any other college football program in the 1970s. Beginning in 1973, Switzer’s teams won twenty-eight straight games on their way to back-to-back national championships in 1974 and 1975. Utilizing black athletes earlier—and to a greater degree—than other schools from states with long histories of segregation, the Oklahoma coaches also proved accepting of their young athletes’ new styles of masculine expression. Silver football shoes, red bandanas, and long, natural, “Afro” hairstyles symbolized the Sooners as much as their flashy, high-speed offense and frequently dominant victories. This paper draws on archival research, newspaper accounts, biographical studies, as well as secondary literature regarding race and masculinity to analyze these developments.

The team’s successes produced vocal critics who often adopted a more traditional view of masculinity when criticizing the Sooner football program and leveling accusations of impropriety. Just before Switzer’s first season as head coach, the NCAA imposed stiff sanctions, including a ban on bowl game and television appearances, after the coaching staff—who in their willingness to break rules and in their win-at-all-costs mentality reflected deeply traditional tropes of American masculinity—was found guilty of altering the high school transcripts of two star black recruits. The championship teams of 1974 and 1975, and their flashy, individualistic, black-influenced style of football, did not appear on live television and soon earned the nickname “The Greatest Team Nobody Saw.”



Paul deLoca, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Dutch Influences on North American Winter Sport, 1600s-1800s

In the harsh winter of 1634, Dutchman Harmen Myndersz van den Bogaert explored the Mohawk River valley wilderness of northwest New Netherland through perilous Iroquois Indian territory. By 1825, industrial age politicians finally re-discovered what Dutch pioneer Bogaert had known two centuries earlier: that promise and expansion lay westward along the Mohawk River valley, causing New York State officials to build the Erie Canal within it. The Erie Canal opened the interior of the U.S. continent, increased population, shifted it from rural to urban and created astonishing industrial power in cities from New York City to Albany to Chicago.

For over eight centuries, Dutch canal-life developed what many sports-minded Dutch knew to be artificially-constructed-waterways that fostered not only commerce, but also outdoor sports like ice-yachting, *colf/kolven/hockey* and speed-skating. While ice-yachting is still practiced on frozen U.S. lakes and rivers such as the Hudson River today, *colf/kolven* moved onto the grass-green pastures of private & public golf-clubs throughout the Hudson River and Mohawk River valleys. Although court records show that *colf* was played on the ice of 1650s New Amsterdam and an 1659 ordinance was issued against playing *colf* in the streets due to window damage and bodily injury, *colf* was not a significant Dutch influence in North America.

Canal-skating and river-skating (long-distance speed skating) would however become the most significant contribution made to North American winter sport by the Dutch. Dutch sport administrators Pim Mulier, Baron de Salis, and Th. A. van den Broek regularly communicated their modernization concepts via letters with four key U.S. speed-skating officials. These four American men were known as the “Four Fools” for their dangerous river-skating ventures made on the frozen canals and rivers of the Northeast United States, wildly encouraged by tales of glorious canal-skating in north Holland.

Although 19th century Dutch sporting officials credited 12th c. Scandinavian-Germans with introducing the art of skating into the Netherlands and England under the form of gliding with pole and bone-skate, Dutch administrators like Mulier were responsible for pushing the 19th c. modernization of U.S. speed-skating practices (with a little help from the Norwegians). Norwegian Axel Paulsen’s multiple tours of Canada and America in the mid 1880’s set new standards for not only speed skating, but also figure skating. Although the Dutch can claim little influence on North American figure skating, they clearly had a significant influence on perpetuating an “*Elfstedentocht* mentality” throughout American speed skating during the mid to late 19th century. The *Elfstedentocht* is widely known to be the *Super Bowl* of Dutch sporting events, whose 16th and 17th century long-distance tradition caused Pim Mulier to decide to develop the early-modern 11 city race of *Elfstedentocht* in 1890. Klasina Seinstra was the women’s winner in 1997, the last year ice was good enough to conduct the race.

Although this paper mainly concerns influences by 19th century men, the names of Dutch women who won races in the 1600s were proudly passed down by these same men to North Americans in the mid-19th century. When 17th c. Hudson Valley and Mohawk Valley Dutch-American residents heard about the famous 17th c. Dutch women speed-skaters such as Cornelis de Fleur, Marie Scholtus and Judith Johannes, it was one more reason to explain why ice-skating would become the first sport North American Victorian women were openly encouraged *en masse*

to take part in during the late 1850s. By the mid 1870s North American men and women had already returned to Europe to re-introduce their own variations on the original Dutch ice-skating traditions.



George M. De Marco, Jr., University of Dayton
Arete and Agon in the Life and Times of Major League Umpire Bill Kinnamon: The
Man for Whom the Game Always Mattered Most

Viewed via an interpretive perspective provided by the ancient Greek virtues, *Arete and Agon* (Mechikoff, 2014), the purpose of this study is to describe and interpret the life and times of the late William “Bill” Kinnamon, an American League Umpire from 1960-1969 and a teacher of umpires, whose influence on baseball continues to resound into the 21st century. From the time a crippling injury ended his on-field career in June 1969, until his death in 2011, Kinnamon was known not only as the man behind the plate at Yankee Stadium on October 1st, 1961, when Roger Maris hit his 61st home run to break Babe Ruth’s historic record, but also as an extraordinarily talented and dedicated teacher of umpires. As an instructor at the *Al Somers Umpire School* in Daytona Beach in the 1960s, Chief Instructor for baseball’s original *Umpire Development Program*, and subsequently as the owner-operator of his own schools in St. Petersburg, FL and San Bernardino, CA (1970s-1980s), Bill Kinnamon influenced baseball—and the men and women who officiate it—at all levels in ways that continue to redound into the 21st century.

The modern day embodiment of ancient Greek virtues *Arete* (valor, humility, excellence) and *Agon* (competition, struggle, agony), Bill’s deep and abiding modesty, unassailable integrity, unique athleticism, perseverance through physical and psychological pain, as well as his expansive knowledge of the rules, love and respect for game, and folksy sense of humor impacted the lives of many a young umpire, including the author, who worked under his direction during one memorable minor league season in 1974. Successfully maintaining order and earning the respect of players and peers alike with neither affectation nor arrogance, Bill believed that the best umpired games were those after which he could walk off the field completely unnoticed. Indeed, his ejection rate of 1.9 per season over the span of a 10-year career is among the lowest on record. Exemplifying Bill’s belief that the game—and not individuals—“mattered most,” this record made manifest modern-day *Arete* in his daily work as an arbiter on baseball’s grandest stage. Standing in stark contrast to the notoriety gained by some of his own students over the course of their high profile and often controversial Major League careers, Bill’s traditional unobtrusive approach to umpiring, it shall be argued, is no less needed in today’s game than it was more than 50 years ago, when he made his American League debut on September 8, 1960 at Kanas City’s Municipal Stadium.

This study will contribute important new content and context to the historical record of America’s original favorite pastime (Barzun, 1959; Barzun & Graff, 1985). Research for this investigation utilizes an array of primary sources, including personal narratives based on in-person and telephone interviews with Mr. Kinnamon prior to his death in 2011; living family members; former students and former and current major- and minor-league umpires; retired players; original newspaper and magazine articles, game programs, personal papers (e.g., Kinnamon Family Collection, and De Marco et al., Collections); photographs and video; all of

which are intended to bring Bill, for whom—in the spirit of the Greek virtue of Arete—the game always mattered most, back to life to learn anew from his legacy of integrity, vitality, and longevity.



Ari de Wilde, Eastern Connecticut State University
Jockeying for Position: The Preakness Stakes, Pimlico, and Baltimore

The Preakness Stakes at the Pimlico racetrack was first held in 1873. Since that time, there have been 138 Preakness Stakes, although promoters did not hold all of the events at the Maryland track. It is the second race of the famed “Triple Crown,” one that attracts the sports world’s attention each May. Other than games played by Baltimore’s “bird” teams—the Orioles and Ravens—the Preakness is the most prestigious and popular sporting event in the city and the one with by far the longest tradition.

The race continues to be a symbol of Baltimore’s quest for status as one of the most important trading ports and largest cities on the East Coast, a challenge that the city has struggled with over the years. The race, the track—Pimlico—and the culture are largely outgrowths of the Maryland Jockey Club. The club was formed in 1743, well before the American Revolution, and its members have included George Washington and other politically prominent figures. As historians such as Kenneth Cohen have shown, the racing and political posturing around horse racing was an important forum in which many of the power-driven networks that defined the United States were set up. Though the popularity and importance of horse racing has ebbed and flowed, it continues to be a site of power, status and prestige of and for Baltimore.

This paper, then, examines the Preakness Stakes, Pimlico, and horse racing. It shows how horse racing became culturally and economically important, and it examines its meanings across time in Baltimore. To accomplish this, I take an inside view of the entrepreneurs who created the Preakness Stakes and briefly explore how and what the Preakness Stakes has meant in terms of race, gender, and class.



Heather Dichter, Ithaca College
“Wha’ Happened?”: News Coverage of Lake Placid’s Failed 1968 Olympic Bid

While Lake Placid is known for hosting the first Winter Olympics held in the United States in 1932 as well as the thrilling 1980 Winter Games during a politically-charged time, this Adirondack town’s efforts to host the Winter Olympics for a second time were not met with the same excitement at the international level. 1968 marked the fourth unsuccessful campaign to return the Olympics to Lake Placid before the town finally secured the 1980 Games. When the International Olympic Committee voted at its January 1964 meeting in Innsbruck, Austria, Lake Placid received the fewest votes (3) out of the five cities vying to host the 1968 Winter Games. These results came as a shock to the Lake Placid community, as demonstrated with the headline “Wha’ happened?” in the *Lake Placid News*, the local weekly newspaper.

The *Lake Placid News* had covered the town's efforts to win the 1968 Winter Olympic Games with articles in almost every issue once the town announced its bid in the summer of 1962. Both local and national newspapers have typically covered in detail any domestic bid for the Olympic Games. Over the past two decades the media and the general public have taken a greater interest each time the IOC selects a new Olympic host, which in turn has prompted scholars to examine many of the past bids, particularly in light of the recent bribery scandals. The money needed to host an Olympic Games today often results in huge public relations campaigns both for and against hosting the Games and referenda to gauge support for the bid at the local, regional, and national levels. Unlike the anti-Olympic sentiment easily found in the media today, in the 1960s newspapers typically only published stories which demonstrated broad support for local bids to host international sporting events.

This paper will examine the media coverage of Lake Placid's 1968 bid from the local *Lake Placid News*, the *Syracuse Post Standard*, and the *New York Times*. This comparison demonstrates a significant disconnect between the local media and the national media. The internal politics within the IOC, as well as the politics of the Cold War, greatly influenced the IOC and the decisions it made, particularly during the turbulent decade of the 1960s. Yet the local media around Lake Placid discounted these influences and instead focused on how great of a chance Lake Placid had to win the Games. In contrast to the local coverage in the *Lake Placid News*, the *New York Times* provided a more balanced coverage of the realities surrounding the bid. By studying the newspaper coverage of Lake Placid's unsuccessful bid for the 1968 Olympic Games and the attitudes expressed in the press, this paper will seek to understand the role of local media within the Olympic Games candidature process during the politically charged Cold War era.



Sean Dinces, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Re-Invention of the Revanchist Stadium: Spectatorship and Stratification in Late Twentieth-Century American Sport

While U.S. sports historians have written extensively on the class stratification—or lack thereof—of live sports spectatorship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they have paid less attention to the issue in the context of the postwar era. Popular and academic dialogue assumes that the advent and proliferation of luxury boxes and other premium seating has coincided with a qualitative shift in the socioeconomic status of those sitting in the stands. It's true that the work of sports economists has confirmed that, at least since the 1970s, those attending live sporting events have tended to have higher incomes and more education than those who do not attend. However, the methodological details of the relevant survey data make it difficult to determine whether or not this stratification has intensified over time.

This paper addresses this challenge by offering a summation and preliminary analysis of data assembled on the size and seating arrangements of MLB, NBA, and NFL stadia/arenas currently in use in comparison to their predecessor facilities. Using data culled from the Association of Luxury Suite Directors, architectural and construction records, municipal documents, and popular press reports, I develop a quantitative index which measures changes (by franchise and facility) in the amount of square footage devoted to premium seating (defined as suite and “club” areas) and non-premium seating. While the dataset is still in the process of being assembled (currently 50-60% complete), initial review suggests that, in line with the

aforementioned assumptions, the gross square footage devoted to premium seating has increased markedly in recent decades, while the trend has either been flat or in the opposite direction with respect to non-premium seating. If these findings hold for the dataset as a whole, it will provide some of the first systematic evidence in support of the hypothesis that premium seating has proliferated *at the expense of* the “regular” fan.



Mark Dyreson, Pennsylvania State University
“Race Troubles” and the Battle of New Orleans, 1927

In 1927 the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) awarded New Orleans the men’s national championships in track and field. AAU national meets represented major events in that era, drawing tens of thousands of fans to stadiums and generating positive publicity for cities. Urban areas across the United States regularly bid for AAU championships in order to boost their city’s national profiles. New Orleans business and political leaders successfully lobbied for 1927 AAU spectacular.

The AAU, like the YMCA, the Methodist Church, and a variety of other American national institutions in the first half of the twentieth century proclaimed that it was an “integrated” entity while allowing regional branches to practice racial segregation. The Southern AAU, headquartered in New Orleans, during the 1920s did not permit black athletes to compete in its events, while many Northern and Western branches did not draw color lines. Historically, AAU championship meets had featured black performers even when held in the “Jim Crow” South. Indeed, African American runner John B. Taylor of Philadelphia won the 440-yard sprint crown at the 1907 Amateur Athletic Union national championship held in Virginia as a part of the Jamestown Exposition celebrating the three hundredth anniversary of European colonization.

In 1927, shortly after garnering the AAU meet, New Orleans civic leaders indicated that they would not permit black athletes to compete against whites. A coalition of black leaders demanded that the AAU confront New Orleans officials over the rumored ban that would force the defending Olympic champion and national and world record holder in the long jump, DeHart Hubbard, to skip the most prestigious U.S. track meet of the season. The AAU issued an ultimatum to New Orleans leaders to allow Hubbard and other black stars to compete, indicating that they would strip the meet from the city if it would not allow black stars to compete. When New Orleans leadership refused to concede and lower the color line the AAU moved the 1927 championship to Lincoln, Nebraska. Hubbard won the long jump there while the black and some of the white press cheered the AAU’s decision as a victory for fair play and improved race relations. AAU national championships would not return to Southern venues for nearly two decades.

Using extensive media coverage from the African American press and the white press, this study examines the particular dynamics that shaped the 1927 failure of New Orleans to keep the AAU national championships. The study will explore why white leaders in New Orleans decided to enforce segregation in spite of AAU traditions, how black leaders saw the event as an opportunity to challenge racial discrimination both within and outside of track and field, and assess why the AAU leadership in 1927 sided with those who supported

integrated competition at the national level—even while the organization failed to challenge segregation in some of its regional branches. The failure of New Orleans and Southern AAU officials to keep the event and their enforcement of racial exclusion set a precedent for future national meets and forced Southern cities that wanted to stage such events to confront integration—at least on the track and in the field—if they wanted to garner national prestige as hosts. The New Orleans fiasco kept the AAU nationals away from the South for nearly two decades and insured that when urban boosters in a Southern city made renewed proposals to garner the event that they would have to present their city as racially progressive and tolerant.



Jodella K. Dyreson
“Race Troubles” and the Battle of Alamo Stadium, 1946

In 1946 the AAU national championships returned for the first time since 1927 in New Orleans to a location in the segregated South. The AAU awarded the men’s track and field finals to San Antonio, a Texas city that had grown substantially as a military center during World War II. Texas AAU leaders had seceded in the 1930s from the Southern branch of the organization and created an “integrated” Southwestern AAU in an effort to win national meets and even garner an Olympic trial for their region. Though Texas failed to garner the Olympic tryouts in track and field, Dallas did stage two of the first integrated track meets in Southern history in 1936 and 1937, organizing integrated contests in a deeply segregated city.

San Antonio, like Dallas, sought to portray itself as racially progressive in spite of state and local laws and customs. The white leadership of the city went after the AAU championships in order to bring national attention to their “enlightened” stance. Unlike 1927, when black athletes and leaders demanded merely the opportunity to compete in New Orleans, in 1946 several prominent African Americans protested the choice of San Antonio because of the segregation that existed outside of the stadium, not within it. Leading black athletes complained that they did not want to go to the South even if they were allowed the freedom to compete inside Alamo Stadium. The tenor and focus of African American protests over color lines had moved from a focus on leveling the playing field to leveling racial policies in hotels, restaurants, and other public accommodations. San Antonio’s white leadership reacted critically to boycott efforts. In this case, unlike in 1927, the AAU sided with the white power structure and kept the meet in the city. Promises of racial tolerance within athletic competition trumped concerns of racial exclusion in other social venues.

Using extensive media coverage from the African American press and the white press, this study examines the particular dynamics that shaped the success of San Antonio in staging the 1946 AAU national championships. The study will explore why white leaders in San Antonio decided to portray themselves as supporters of racial integration, how black leaders saw the event as an opportunity to challenge white professions of racial tolerance, and why the AAU leadership in 1946 ignored major black protests and sided with those who supported integrated competition but would not (or could not) guarantee broader social inclusion. The contrast between the 1927 New Orleans meet and the 1946 San Antonio

meet reveals that the dynamics of civil rights struggles in American track and field had changed markedly in just two decades.



Sarah Jane Eikleberry, Saint Ambrose University
The “Right Kind” of Competition for the Wrong Kind of Women: Providing Recreation
for Business Girls in the 1920s

By 1926, women physical educators like Helen Coops of the University of Cincinnati rallied to transfer the platforms of the Women’s Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation and the Athletic Conference of American College Women into broad, democratic play programs. Though physical educators employed in urban schools had a vested interest in developing the skills to lead such programs, few had the available resources to extend beyond their own gymnasiums. This essay seeks to examine the way that urban recreation specialists negotiated the promotion of “sport for sport’s sake” in their own communities during the 1920s. Working out of YMCAs, athletic clubs, park districts, and settlement homes, sport reformers ultimately invested most of their energy to provide mass athletics to white, business girls.

Unlike physical educators in public schools or colleges, urban recreation specialists also attempted to experiment with new competitive structures and mass activities for a population whose leisure time was extraordinarily minimal and highly valued. Urban working women’s differences in age, occupation, location of employment, and neighborhood made them a much more variable group. This paper will elucidate some of the strategies employed by various organizations in an attempt to draw women away from their homes, dance halls, and movie houses. Specifically, this paper will examine the use of city-wide play days, group lessons, sports clinics, and camping activities designed for working-class women in Chicago and Peoria, Illinois, as well as Davenport and Des Moines, Iowa.

Three research questions guide this project. First, how did intersections of nationality, race, class, marital status, and accessibility contribute to the popularity of certain programs and utter disdain of others? Second, what type of resources, organizations, and alliances did recreation specialists access in order to provide programming to business women? Third, what prototypes did recreation specialists come to rely on in the creation of mass play events and opportunities for urban women?

In addition to the secondary works that address working-class leisure, I examine newspaper coverage, professional books, articles, and manuals. I also draw from professional correspondence, oral histories, and institutional papers from the Greater Area Des Moines YWCA and the Women’s Division of the NAAF.



Colleen English, Pennsylvania State University
Skating through the Great Depression: The Transcontinental Roller Derby, Escapism,
and the Sportscape of the 1930s

In 1935, the promoter Leo Seltzer, in an effort to capitalize on the space of the Chicago Coliseum, invented the roller derby. With pairs of competitors skating thousands of laps to win

an imaginary cross-country race, the Transcontinental Roller Derby resembled its fellow endurance crazes of the 1920s and 1930s more than its current incarnation. How did roller derby fit into the sportscape of the 1930s? What role did it play as a form of escape and entertainment for those suffering the financial hardships of the Great Depression? This paper examines the place of the Transcontinental Roller Derby as both a sport and form of entertainment. Additionally, it focuses on its popularity as a spectator sport during the Great Depression and what this meant to audiences attempting to escape their financial situations.

Drawing from his experiences as a walk-a-thon promoter, Seltzer created a sport that echoed the crazes of the early 20th century, such as marathon dance competitions and six-day bicycle races, while integrating a popular pastime, roller skating. He sought to create something that would draw crowds to arenas in the Midwest, especially the Chicago Coliseum. However, he did not picture roller derby on the same trajectory as walk-a-thons—Seltzer dreamed that it would become a legitimate sport with Olympic hopes. Therefore, roller derby occupied a unique position—while exhibiting similarities with other popular endurance crazes, it was also able to prove itself a legitimate sport.

Furthermore, using his skills as a promoter, Seltzer created an inexpensive entertainment option for working class people that eventually gained in popularity. The low ticket prices (usually ten cents per person) compared favorably to the more expensive professional sports such as football, baseball, and ice hockey. Even circuses, plays, and some movies could not compare to the cheap prices commanded by roller derby. Because Seltzer charged such low prices, he began to solidify roller derby as a part of Depression era entertainment and sport.

This paper adds to scholarship in sport history by contextualizing the origins of roller derby in the 1930s and how it fit as both a sport and as an escape from economic hardship. It argues that roller derby occupied a unique position in the American sportscape, drawing similarities to spectacles such as walk-a-thons and bunion derbies, while still managing to transform over time to become a modern sport.

This paper will use standard secondary sources and primary sources from newspapers and magazines, advertisements, and a telephone interview with Jerry Seltzer (son of Leo Seltzer).



Chris Elzey, George Mason University
Researching Sport History in the Nation's Capital

For most researchers of sport history, a visit to Washington, D.C., is a must. It is easy to understand why: within the city there are no fewer than fifteen archives that house primary source material pertaining to sports. While a handful of archives contain documents that focus mostly on local or regional sport history, the vast majority have records that are both national and international in scope. Several facilities also contain extensive secondary source material, and maintain useful databases. Some of the most valuable feature digitized collections of African American and Jewish newspapers. Many, however, can be accessed only on-site.

The purpose of this paper is primarily two-fold: to provide an overview of sports-related material in the archival collections in Washington, D.C., and to offer basic research strategies so historians are able to access the material more readily. As most researchers know, not all archives are structured the same. Finding aids are often organized differently; the process used to obtain documents can involve multiple steps, or it can be as simple as submitting a single request slip.

Locating documents within the same collection may even require different methods. Record Group 59 (RG 59) at the National Archives II in College Park, Maryland, is a good example. Containing records from the US Department of State, many of which relate to matters of sport, RG 59 has a different classification system—and, thus, a different process for locating documents—for records generated between 1910 and 1963, and for those generated between 1963 and 1973.

The National Archives, particularly National Archives II, and the Library of Congress' Manuscript Division are two main attractions for researchers of sport history. Both house a wide range of records relevant to sport. There are, for instance, records about free agency in professional sports; racial discrimination in boxing and recreation; patents for baseball equipment; sport journalism; and famous sports figures, such as Jackie Robinson, Branch Rickey and Byron "Whizzer" White, who, after a storied football career, went on to become a United States Supreme Court Justice. The Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress includes radio broadcasts of old baseball games and sports shows.

Other archives in the city are also invaluable to researchers of sport history. The Art Carter Papers in the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University contain a myriad of sources relating to African American sport history. The Smithsonian's National Museum of American History includes a large collection of baseball and hockey cards, as well as oral histories of athletic shoe executives. Documents on the 1936 Berlin Olympics can be found at the United States Holocaust Museum, and the National Security Archives at George Washington University has records relating to the 1968 Games in Mexico City. The MLK Library in downtown Washington houses the *Washington Star* Collection, a vast collection of photographs—including photos of athletes, teams and sporting events—that were reproduced in the *Washington Star*. Information on athletic clubs is located at the Washington Historical Society. The goal of the paper is to make sport researchers more aware of what historical records exist in the nation's capital, and to help researchers navigate the various collections.



Kara Fagan, University of Iowa
Pavlova on Ice: Sonja Henie's Twentieth Century-Fox Musicals and the Feminization of
Figure Skating

Discussions of women in cinema and women in sport have been central to feminist criticism, particularly to understandings of how gendered identities are reconstituted, but the body of literature that merges these debates and considers female athleticism in film remains fairly small. While there are notable exceptions such as *Personal Best*, the existing scholarship on women's sport films has predominantly focused on movies made from 1990 onwards, with post-2000 films garnering the most scholarly attention. Though the recent increase in films has stimulated insightful scholarship, authors typically refer to the overall terrain of the women's sports film as sparse, and treat the period prior to Title IX (1972) as a wasteland. Focusing specifically on classic Hollywood, I argue that the dearth of scholarship on athletic female protagonists during the period has much to do with how scholars are defining their object of study. Overly narrow concepts of both "sport" and "sport(s) film" have contributed to the scholarly neglect of key texts and characters. Just as a wider analysis of the history of women's athletic participation has troubled and expanded definitions of "sport," scholars need to consider

examples that complicate and expand conventional understandings of sports films. For this paper, I focus on Sonja Henie's Twentieth Century-Fox skating musicals made in the late 1930s and early 40s.

In a pre-television era, Sonja Henie's immensely popular touring ice shows and spectacular movies made figure skating visible to the American public on an unprecedented level. Mary Louise Adams asserts that Henie was a major influence in the gradual transformation of figure skating from a gender-neutral sport into a feminine, "girls sports" in the 1930s and 1940s. This paper engages with recent scholarship on the musical, particularly work that focuses on the contrasting cinematic values of story and spectacle. I focus on the gaps created between Henie's performances in the production numbers and her characters in the various narratives, and pay particular attention to how the vaudeville structure of Henie's musicals complicates her gender discourse. While Henie's ingénue persona carries over to the ice (perhaps best personified in her Alice in Wonderland routine in *My Lucky Star* (1938), there is a huge discrepancy between Henie's mobility and physicality while skating and her immobility and meekness within the narrative. To address this disparity, I argue that Henie's utterly passive narrative body is often normalized by surrounding it with excessively physical female bodies that escape the gender binary in a variety of troubling ways.



John D. Fair, University of Texas-Austin
The British Physical Culture Tradition

On October 9, 1948, Winston Churchill famously declared in his three circles speech at Llandudno, Wales, that Great Britain occupied a strategic position in world affairs between three great power blocs—the United States of America, Europe, and the Empire/Commonwealth. British interests, argued Churchill, would best be served by remaining at the intersection of world affairs and not by integrating with any of them. This notion of intergovernmental cooperation without relinquishing state sovereignty was an extension of the mid-nineteenth century British doctrine of "splendid isolation."

Notwithstanding the political intent of Churchill's remarks, they coincided with a physical culture tradition that was also rooted in the mid-nineteenth century. While other countries took up exercise routines and sporting activities for nationalistic and commercial reasons, British physical culturists maintained a posture of equipoise by adhering largely to amateur ideals. This presentation examines some of the most prominent sport and fitness icons who contributed to this British tradition. The most striking feature among this assortment of physical culture notables is their eclectic origins. Of the 25 human images displayed in this presentation, seven are natives of England, four are from the Celtic fringe, five from the Empire, and nine from various foreign countries. So prevalent is their non-uniformity that one must ask whether British physical culture is a non-British or at least non-English phenomenon. Indeed its international provenance can be traced along a circuitous route from the ancient Greeks to Germany and hence through Scotland to England where it displayed more of a class than a nationalistic flavor. Nevertheless these outside influences tended to make the British version less culturally confining than other emerging national traditions, making it less vulnerable to commercialism or ideological entrapments. British sympathies tended to be open-ended and worldwide. According to historian Derek Birley, "Britain sought a middle way between the

American-capitalistic and the European state-controlled approaches, extremes exemplified by the successive Olympic Games at Los Angeles [1932] and Berlin [1936].” The extent to which the British concept of “playing the game” permeated the national psyche, however, is most evident in Modris Ekstein’s classic portrayal of “Flanders Fields” in his *Rites of Spring* (Houghton Mifflin, 1989).

This study draws from a variety of largely printed sources, including such standard works as David Webster’s surveys of physical culture, Allen Guttmann’s *The Olympics*, and articles from *Iron Game History* as well as up-to-date renderings from such studies as Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska’s *Managing the Body, Beauty, Health, and Fitness in Britain, 1880–1939* (Oxford, 2010). Additional information as well as many of the images will be drawn from the internet.



Victoria Felkar, The University of British Columbia
The Iron Bar: The Modern History of Prison Physical Culture, Body Typing & the Ban
on Correctional Weightlifting

From representations of prison physical culture in movies and television shows, mainstream workout regimes, exercise programs, even exercise names such as the “prisoner squat”—muscles and strength building exercises have become associated with the prisoner’s body in various, and often negative, ways. Rarely mentioned are discussions about appropriate or health promoting sport and daily recreation programs for prisoners or inmate involvement in prison organized and self-guided bodyweight exercise programs or calisthenics routines. Popular culture tends to highlight prisoner’s bodybuilding with heavy barbells and dumbbells though in fact there has been a federal ban on such weightlifting activities in the United States since the early 1990s. Although it is not known exactly when and where the practice of weightlifting was tolerated in American corrections, other forms of physical practice can be traced to the beginning of the modern penal movement.

My presentation will trace the modern history of prison physical culture since the 18th century, with a focus on correctional weightlifting. To better understand the past and present status of prison weightlifting, I will provide early accounts of correctional weight training and an overview of the prison weightlifting ban that occurred throughout American prisons in the 1990s. In particular I will focus upon one potentially critical influencing factor for prison physical culture, and highlight the “production of criminological knowledge” (Rafter, 2007) by providing an overview of key constitutional theories and literature on biocriminality, body typing and somatotyping theory. My interdisciplinary approach will utilize historical documents and resources from kinesiology, criminology, anthropometry, penology, history and sociology. Texts have been collected concerning specific prison’s histories, the development of penology and criminology, anthropometry and somatotyping in addition to the available, albeit limited, literature on prison physical activity.

Working from a critical socio-historical perspective my paper intends to add to the limited knowledge of prison physical culture, research on physical activity in correctional facilities and the corporeal experience of those confined to prisons. Although there have been significant changes in penal ideology throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in North America, we still know relatively little about the history, development and present-day prison physical culture. Additionally, despite the fact that prisoners have been central to the development of prisons,

indeed the *raison d'être* of these institutions, there remains a limited understanding of the embodied experiences of incarceration. A review of the literature on physical activity in prisons has revealed a notable disconnect in exploring particularly important influencing factors including criminological research and theories, and the impact of these on penology, prison body culture and the inmate experience.



Russell Field, University of Manitoba, and Simon Darnell, Durham University
“International Aid Commission does not mean anything”: Jean Beaumont and the
International Olympic Aid Commission, 1962-63

At the 58th IOC Session in Athens in 1961, both French IOC member, Jean Count de Beaumont, and the IOC’s two Soviet members introduced motions encouraging the Olympic Movement to develop sport in the newly decolonizing countries of Asia and Africa. A year later, at the IOC’s 1962 Session in Moscow, Beaumont’s International Olympic Aid Commission (CAIO) was born. For the French businessman, the CAIO would supply both technical (coaching, training) and financial (to build sporting infrastructure) assistance to former colonies. The impact would be two-fold: sport would be promoted and developed in these countries, which in turn would become members of the Olympic family. The project began with great enthusiasm. Beaumont raised money (not unproblematically) from more than 20 NOCs and sent a survey to 30 African nations (plus Vietnam), essentially as a sporting needs assessment. Little more than a year later, the project was essentially dead.

The CAIO was conceived as a sport development project that, in Beaumont’s vision, was to be paid for by the developed world, where “rich cities” would “sponsor the sport activity of the African cities in need.” In early 1963, IOC President Avery Brundage had spoken glowingly of the CAIO, noting that it pursued its aims “according to the spirit of the founder of the modern Olympic Games.” Indeed, Brundage cited a 1924 letter written by Pierre de Coubertin, which argued, “The time has come for sport to advance to the conquest of Africa, that vast continent which it has as yet hardly touched and to bring to its people the enjoyment of ordered and disciplined muscular effort, with all the benefits which flow from it.”

Other analyses have considered the CAIO in terms of Beaumont’s interests in former French African colonies (Charitas and Drouet, 2008) and the Soviet Union’s interests in promoting aid of this nature (Caritas, 2009). This paper examines the ideological foundations of the CAIO, which can be understood within the context of what Nederveen Pieterse (2009) suggests can be labelled “modern development,” as Beaumont sought to mobilize the IOC’s moral obligation to promote Olympic “values” and build sporting infrastructure to deliver “modern” sport to the Third World. One critique would focus upon the IOC’s role as a First World institution whose sport development policies would sustain the dependency of the world’s poor through the sporting order they were helping to build, what Nederveen Pieterse calls the “development of underdevelopment.” But Beaumont’s CAIO did not last long enough to face this criticism. In the current climate of the promotion of sport for development, and using material from the IOC archives, this paper focuses on a moment in time when members of the IOC contemplated being the steward of sport in the Third World, only to face resistance within the First World, in the existing IOC family, to sport developed in this way.



Sarah K. Fields, University of Colorado Denver
The History of the Rhetoric of Race and Title IX

Title IX is a civil rights law prohibiting gender discrimination in federally funded educational settings. The language of the law says nothing about race, and on its face appears to be racially neutral. Despite this apparent neutrality, however, racial issues have been entwined with the law from its earliest conception, and forty years after its passage in 1972 issues of race still remain.

The idea behind what would become Title IX was that the federal government should prohibit gender discrimination just as it prohibited racial discrimination. According to Bernice Sandler, the “godmother” of Title IX, Representative Edith Green (D-OR) had originally intended to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 so that the word sex appeared in each title. Only Title VII of the law, which prohibited employment discrimination, specifically included the word sex—the other titles did not. Green, though, was asked by various civil rights leaders not to attempt to amend the Civil Rights Act for fear such a move would somehow diminish the power of the law. Green and other legislators then attempted to get a more narrow gender discrimination language included in what would become the Omnibus Education Act of 1972. In June of 1972 when a compromise version of that bill, including the language of Title IX, came before the House and the Senate, Green and many other Democrats, including most congressional members of color, voted against the bill. Why? Because part of the bill prohibited using federal dollars to pay for school busing intended to remedy racial segregation. Race and gender were placed in opposition from the earliest days of the law.

In 2012, the fortieth anniversary of the law received far more media attention than the original passage did, yet one theme remained consistent: a concern that Title IX had failed female athletes and coaches of color. A number of media accounts applauded the anniversary of the law and the positive effect the law had on women’s educational and sporting experiences, but many noted that the expansion of opportunities for female athletes seemed to benefit white females more than females of color and that relatively few women of color coach at the college level. One dramatic column by Bill Rhoden of the *New York Times* discussed an argument that the disparate impact was intentional racial discrimination rather than an inadvertent byproduct.

I rely on Congressional records, public discourse, the language of law, and secondary scholarship to trace the rhetoric of race throughout the forty-year history of Title IX and argue that the persistent opposition of race and gender with regards to the law undermines the law by creating a false dichotomy.



Al Figone, Humboldt State University
The Norby Walters and Lloyd Bloom Trial of 1985: Exposing Organized Crime’s
Gambling Connection To Commercialized College Football

The primary purpose of this presentation will be to demonstrate how two sports agents signed African American college football players and employed threats of physical and economic

harm to retain them as clients. Such an analysis will reveal that a prominent Mafia member had invested money in the agent's business with the understanding the players would be in debt and on the payroll of the Colombo family.

1. How did the mass media payments to professional franchises and college athletic programs create a need for legal representation by college football players and basketball players?
2. How did the entry of agents into college sports create additional gambling corruption in football and basketball?
3. How did the incarceration of a leading Mafia member reveal that mob money could end up in the hands of college athletes?
4. What did the two-year investigation by the FBI reveal about the nature of college corruption in the 1980s?
5. How did the legal system and mass media shield the corruptive aspects of college football and basketball during the trial of the two agents?

The reluctance of college sport historians to address the gambling scandals in college sports can be explained by examining the following interrelated factors. First, those in power positions (i.e. Boards of Trustees, Media, and Legislators) tend to discourage and even block exposes about the inconsistencies, internal contradictions, and commonly believed ideological aspects of college football and basketball; second, to study the most corrupt aspects of college sports that serve the interests of powerful people risks the alienation of powerful university administrators and influential benefactors that can be a *kiss of career death*; three, athletic staffs have developed an inherent suspicion of outsiders collecting data and conduct their internal investigations that usually remain in-house; and four, the most commercialized and susceptible sports to corruption are the most resistant to critical scrutiny by reform groups, legislators, and the NCAA.

In this paper and presentation, the underbelly of the sports agents' profession illustrates that it can be associated with organized crime. This can render college athletes vulnerable to fixing games and playing for gamblers associated with organized crime.



Gerald R. Gems, North Central College

Football and the Conservative Clash with Modernity: Notre Dame vs. the Ku Klux Klan

The decade of the 1920s brought drastic cultural transitions to American society as conservative forces confronted the impulses of modernity. The end of World War I resulted in an isolationist political stance and the Red Scare that chased any suspected radical elements from the United States. The imposition of Prohibition marked a conservative triumph, while more liberal factions succeeded in achieving female suffrage. The Sacco and Vanzetti trial throughout the decade featured the ongoing battle between nativist forces that imposed immigration quota laws and the ethnic immigrant hordes that sought a better life in America and largely filled the labor force that built its infrastructure. A resurrected Ku Klux Klan spearheaded the nativist assault on Catholics, Jews, and Blacks who did not meet its standards of WASP Americanism.

This study examines and analyzes a particularly significant clash in 1924 between such oppositional forces that symbolized the cultural power struggle. The battle occurred in the

Midwest heartland, involving a Catholic college, its football team, and the reactionary KKK with political, social, and cultural repercussions that echoed throughout the remainder of the decade and beyond. The resultant damage to nativist forces and the enhanced assimilation of American Catholics further propelled their integration into the dominant Protestant mainstream culture, largely through the success of the Notre Dame football team and its charismatic coach in the historic process of cultural evolution.

This study is based on archival, primary, and secondary sources.



Jason Genovese, Bloomsburg University of PA
Babe Ruth's 1925 suspension: Media coverage of the first coach v. superstar conflict

In 1925, New York Yankees manager Miller Huggins suspended Babe Ruth for “general misconduct.” While suspensions and friction between athletes and their coaches are fairly commonplace in the contemporary world of sport, Ruth’s ban was the first major clash between a superstar professional athlete and his coach and it played out spectacularly in the sports-crazed press of the day. Through the retracing of the events leading up to the suspension until its resolution, this paper will provide an anatomy of this Ruthian drama and the media’s coverage of and reaction to it.

This paper will address questions revolving around media coverage then compared to now including: How different was the approach of the press to coverage of such player-coach conflict? What issues were raised by the commentators and sports journalists of that time? What, if any, bias is evident in the press coverage? Evidence will include major print media of the day and various national magazines as well as select Babe Ruth biographies for more contextual purposes. This paper does not aim to improve our understanding of Babe Ruth or the ups and downs of his well-documented career but rather to shine a light on aspects of the sports media’s coverage of the first team sports hero/superstar/celebrity in professional sport history. Similarities and differences between Ruth’s situation and conflicts between players and coaches in present-day scenarios will be revealed. I will ultimately argue that despite some changes in journalistic style, the actual content and perspective of the media illustrates just how little the mindset toward and coverage of professional athletes in conflict with management has changed. While the sporting press during the “golden age of sport” is renowned for its creation of myth and heroes, they were also quite capable of tearing down those creations. The hope of the author is to increase awareness to such bias in these important primary sources as well as to serve as a reminder of the similarities that exist between contemporary sports media coverage and that of yesteryear.



John Gleaves, California State University, Fullerton
Manufactured Dope: How the 1984 U.S. Cycling Team
Rewrote the Rules on Drugs in Sports

At the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, the United States cycling team not only won its first Olympic cycling medal since 1912 but added eight more, marking a triumph for the team and its Polish born coach, Eddie Borsewicz. Soon, however, news leaked that the seven members

of the U.S. cycling team, four of whom won medals, had employed controversial blood transfusions. Though not prohibited by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the news caused a firestorm within the press and led to a revision of the IOC Medical Commission's anti-doping rules.

Previous historical scholarship has ignored this event, focusing instead on early doping scandals such as Knud Enemark Jensen (Møller 2006; Dimeo 2007) or more recent controversies such as Ben Johnson (Beamish and Ritchie 2006), the creation of the World Anti-doping Agency (Park 2005), or Lance Armstrong (Dimeo and Hunt 2013). However, this event caused a significant shift within the IOC Medical Commission's attitude towards doping. Most notably with anabolic steroids, the IOC Medical Commission had hesitated to prohibit any substance which could not be tested for. The willingness of the U.S. team to experiment with new medical procedures to improve performance galvanized the Medical Commission and set in motion new anti-doping policies that remain in place today.

Using archival sources, oral histories, scientific journals, and media sources, this article examines how blood transfusions came to be banned by the IOC Medical Commission. This article first explores the historical context for blood transfusions and illustrates the unique challenges the situation posed to the IOC Medical Commission. It next examines how the U.S. cycling team set about employing the blood transfusions and their rationale for doing so. Last the presentation looks at the IOC Medical Commission's response to the events including a series of policy reforms. By examining these changes, a clearer picture of the ongoing forces that shaped later anti-doping actions emerges.



Jordan Goldstein, Western University
Stanley's Scaffold—The creation of the Dominion Challenge Cup and notions of
Canadian patriotism 1888-1909

This paper explores the political motivations, specifically the fostering of Canadian patriotism, behind the creation of the Dominion Hockey Challenge Cup (later renamed the Stanley Cup) in 1892. The title of the paper is the working title of my dissertation, which I hope to finish by December 2015. The central question of this study asks: what, if any, political motivations lay behind the creation of the Stanley Cup and its administration as a Challenge Cup, specifically to foster Canadian national identity. In order to tease out an appropriate answer, I rely heavily on primary sources from the Cup's two biggest personalities at this time, Lord Stanley and Philip Ross. Furthermore, I employ primary sources regarding the intellectual debates over the definition of Canadian identity and the threats faced from within (societal transformation wrought through economic expansion and technological innovation) and from without (America and Britain) preceding and during this period.

I am interested in the 'Stanley' Cup as a vehicle upon which the highest levels of the Federal Government (Head of State) conceived of Canadian national identity in a top down approach. Particularly, I am looking at the political beliefs of Lord Stanley, Canada's Governor General, and Philip Ross, the Cup's first trustee (overseer of the administrative duties of awarding the cup). The particular emphasis of Canadian national identity from the top level of government at this time posited Canada as both distinctly Canadian and quintessentially British. Additionally, technological improvements wrought through the industrial revolution

transformed Canada into a geographically connected nation during this period. Common interests in sports, in particular a national sporting challenge, brought the nation together and helped impart a sense of *Canadianess*. Furthermore, the emergence of political progressivism in the second half of the 19th Century and beginning decades of the 20th Century posited a belief in the beneficial powers of an interventionist central government to affect positive changes in the lives of citizens. Under this philosophical transition, nation building became the legitimate purview of the central government. Both Stanley and Ross attuned themselves and accepted aspects of this political philosophy.

There is a direct convergence between sport and politics in this time manifested through several avenues. This is especially true respecting national identity. As a newly formed nation, but one without full political autonomy from the world's largest Empire and in the spectre of the burgeoning United States, this anxiety necessitated imparting national identity as a means of survival for the Dominion. Sport became an important vehicle in this quest to carve an identity. The Stanley Cup represented the first national hockey endeavour during these first decades of the Canadian nation. Hence, investigating political motivations in the context of national discussions on identity and sport and the beliefs of the Cup's most important individual builders unveils how some attempted to ingrain a Canadian national identity through sport in the country's first decades of nationhood. Furthermore, the study helps sport historians understand the convergence between politics, sport, and national identity from top-down nation-building efforts.



Craig Greenham, The University of Calgary
Snowed: Major League Baseball and the Mishandling of the Cocaine Problem

The current reputation of Major League Baseball (MLB) has been tarnished by the performance-enhancing drug (PED) scandal that sullied individual feats and called the integrity of the sport into question. Commissioner Bud Selig's stewardship has been widely criticized—first, for being the inattentive watchman whose blind eye and lack of vigilance caused the sport and its most hallowed records to be corrupted by pharmaceutically enhanced players; and second, for the witch hunts conducted under his watch once he recognized that future baseball historians might sum up his legacy and contributions as simply the “Steroid-Era Commissioner.”

With each passing season, new allegations have scandalized some of the game's biggest stars. Writers, vested with the holy responsibility of Hall of Fame inductions, have assumed the moral duty of keeping the baseball shrine steroid-free, or at least as free from PEDs as possible. This recent controversy has cast a pall over the sport, but it is not the only illicit drug in baseball's past. In the 1980s, many players, some of whom were high-profile stars, were embroiled in cocaine usage. The purpose of this paper is to explore MLB's cocaine problem and to argue that then-Commissioner Peter Ueberroth's lax handling of the issue instituted a complacent drug policy that allowed the rise of the modern-day PED crisis. Ueberroth's denial that baseball had a drug problem was eerily similar to the refrain of Selig during the early days of the steroid era. Instead of addressing the problem with purpose, Ueberroth instituted a series of half-measures that failed to right baseball's direction. Of further significance, this paper will demonstrate points of similarity and divergence when the cocaine scandal is contrasted against today's convicted and suspected PED users. This comparative context is important because it

demonstrates evolving attitudes towards drug use but also how public attitudes vary when the substances are performance-enhancing (e.g. steroids) compared to recreational but dangerous (e.g. cocaine).

Finally, did any cocaine stigma prevent Hall of Fame entry? Clearly, steroid use, suspected and proven, has kept the likes of Barry Bonds, Roger Clemens, Mark McGwire, and Rafael Palmeiro from induction. Did Hall of Fame voters seek to preserve the sanctity of the baseball shrine for cocaine users? At least two players linked to cocaine (Paul Molitor and Ferguson Jenkins) received admittance but several other worthy candidates (Tim Lincecum, Dave Parker, Keith Hernandez) who were maligned more publicly due to a high-profile cocaine court case in 1985 have been overlooked by Hall voters, despite numbers (and numbers, of course, mean much in baseball as a platform for comparative analysis) that measure favourably with others who received the honours.

In terms of sources, I have pored over the noteworthy periodicals and newspapers (*Time*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Sports Illustrated*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Wall Street Journal* and *Washington Post*) and have found an abundance of material that will assist my investigation.



Allen Guttman, Amherst College
Sports in Marcel Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*

Using a phrase taken from a Shakespeare sonnet, the English translation of Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* (1923) was originally entitled *Remembrance of Things Past*. Now better known in English as *In Search of Lost Time*, this 3,000-page novel is probably the last place a sports historian would go for the thematization of sports. The conventional image of the quintessential Modernist author has him propped in a many-pillowed bed in a cork-lined room whose bookshelves are packed with volumes of Symbolist poetry. The image is true to the facts of Proust's life, but sports are, nonetheless, an important part of the novel. Young Marcel plays children's games with Gilberte and the outdoors sports played by Albertine and her "little band" of athletic friends characterize them as modern women. In addition, Proust resorts surprisingly often to a variety of sports metaphors. This paper, which contains no untranslated quotations, carefully considers the role of sports in Proust's masterpiece. The historian Russel Nye noted correctly that Proust "was not a historian, obviously, nor was his reconstruction of his vanished Paris one that the historian can fully accept as reality," but this paper demonstrates that traditional and modern sports have an important place in Proust's remarkably inclusive imaginative recovery of the past. *In Search of Lost Time* is a fascinating exploration of the meaning—to the French—of nineteenth-century sports.



Aaron L. Haberman, University of Northern Colorado
Running Toward Authenticity: America's Running Boom and the Transformation of the
Counterculture in the 1970s

During the 1970s, America experienced a boom in popular participation and fascination in long distance running. American competitive runners like Steve Prefontaine, Frank Shorter, and Bill Rodgers became household names while at the same time ushering in the larger move of long distance running from amateur to professional athletics. Scholarly explanation for the causes of the 1970s running boom have moved from reducing it to a symptom of what historian and 1970s public intellectual Christopher Lasch deemed "The Culture of Narcissism," to more recent assessments that see the boom as Americans' reaction to the uncertainty and anxiety of the wrenching socio-cultural changes of the era.

Regarding the professionalization of runners, Joseph Turrini has found that long distance runners (and track and field athletes in general) developed an underground labor system to unify collectively before challenging the sham of amateur athletics in the 1970s. In sum scholars have tended to take either a socio-cultural or political-economic approach to the running boom, rather than seeing the intimate connections between these different contexts. This paper will seek to complicate the story of the 1970s running boom through a close examination of the words, actions, and cultural representations of high profile runners like Prefontaine, Shorter, and Rogers. Such an approach provides a useful vantage point to see the interaction of culture, society, and politics in the 1970s, offering more insights on the appeal of long distance running to the masses and where the movement toward running professionalization stands within the larger context of social change of that decade.

A close review of the activities, public pronouncements, and cultural representations of key 1970s runners through sporting and running publications like *Sports Illustrated* and *Runner's World Magazine*, as well as testimony by prominent runners for the President's Commission on Olympic Sports in 1975, reveals that 1970s runners intersected with two larger socio-cultural and political-economic developments of the decade. On the one hand, many sought out running as part of a larger quest for authenticity, to find greater certainty in an uncertain world through a vocation in which everyone's place and how they stacked up were easily discernible because of stopwatches and finishing positions in a race. At the same time, with the emergence of sneaker companies and their high priced endorsements, as well as race appearance fees, running in the 1970s, for the first time, could be a way to make a living, leading to a broader drive for runner professionalization, while still retaining Olympic eligibility. In seeking to unseat the power of the Amateur Athletic Union to regulate such affairs, the movement for professionalization of runners fits squarely within what other scholars have seen as the transformation of the American counterculture, away from the blanket anti-capitalist mindset of the 1960s, to the Do It Yourself individualism of the 1970s, where everyone from punk rockers to skateboarders to computer developers like Steve Jobs, challenged authority while making money.



Mark E. Havitz, University of Waterloo
“You Remember Every Step of Every Race”: The Improbable Story of
Tasmania’s Olympian David Lean

This paper, part of a larger SSHRC-funded project, is based on a 21-page survey designed to retrospectively track intercollegiate runners’ competitive experiences and the role of running in their adult lives. As well, it draws from a 35-page transcript of a subsequent 2-hour unstructured interview. David Lean’s rise to international stardom was both mercurial and improbable. He graduated high school in 1953, a talented athlete who excelled in cricket and football, Lean won state championships in multiple track events including the 880-yard run, long jump and [perhaps] 120-yard high hurdles. This impressive range is tempered by the fact that Tasmania, with a total population approximating 300,000 people in the mid-50s, had just six high schools. Lean was encouraged to try out for what became a four-man Tasmanian team at the 1954 Australian Championships. Training by himself, after work, often in the dark, on a grass field using workout instructions mailed by his former high school coach who had since moved to Adelaide, Lean was entered into multiple events including the technically demanding 440-yard hurdles, which he had never run. He won his preliminary heat in that event, rested for an hour then bested veteran favorite Geoff Goodacre in the finals, tying the Australian record in the process. “This one race,” he recalled, “changed my life forever!”

Unbeknownst to Lean, the Australian Championships were proving grounds for the British Empire Games and he suddenly found himself member of a six-man squad, including sub 4-minute miler John Landy, flying to Vancouver, BC for that competition. Lean won the 440 hurdles and ran on relay teams that won bronze medals in the 440 and mile relay. He also caught the eye of iconic American track coach Karl Schlademan, co-founder of the Kansas Relays and then mentor at Michigan State. Schlademan successfully recruited Lean, then trained and nurtured him through an injury plagued 1955 year. Michigan State’s athletic trainers used an innovative electric impulse treatment which got Lean sufficiently healthy to compete. Back in Australia for the Melbourne Olympics, though just rounding into shape, Lean did Australia proud with a silver medal in the 4 by 400 relay and taking fifth in the 400 meter hurdles. He was one of just 10 Tasmanian Olympians to that point, and the first to reach the medal podium. Returning to Michigan State, Lean won Big Ten titles in the 440-, 600- and 880-yard runs, was a member of a world-record setting two-mile relay team, and ran on two NCAA champion cross country squads. The jazz piano composer pursued a doctorate in economics forgoing, in deference to academic and financial pressures, the opportunity to represent Australia in Rome for a distinguished career with the U.S. Federal Trade Commission. His story sheds light on an era when true amateurism, for better and worse, dominated international sport.



Andrew Harrington, Pepperdine University
Racing and Realism: NASCAR’s Use of Television to Establish Integrity

On September 7, 2013, with seven laps remaining in the NASCAR Sprint Cup Series race at Richmond, Virginia, Clint Bowyer’s car spun out, allowing his teammate Martin Truex Jr. to earn enough position points to qualify for The Chase, NASCAR’s playoffs. In the days following the race NASCAR officials determined that Bowyer’s spin-out was intentional,

making it an act of cheating that called into question the validity of the sport. NASCAR levied unprecedented penalties on the drivers involved and their teams, including removing Truex from The Chase and adding a thirteenth driver to the championship field, Jeff Gordon. NASCAR chairman Brian France said at the time, “We’re going to protect the integrity of the sport, no matter what it takes, and make sure that it is never in question.” This paper will examine how NASCAR, and particularly its broadcast partners ESPN and FOX handled the aftermath of “Spin-Gate,” and their efforts to clarify NASCAR’s “integrity” over the course of the ten-week Chase playoffs. The efforts NASCAR & ESPN made to use the technology of television to prove its authenticity will be dissected using media studies theories of realism ranging from Bazin to Baudry. This event will also be contextualized historically among other debates of sporting realism ranging from wrestling’s theatrics to baseball’s performance enhancing drug scandals.



Phil Hatlem, Saint Leo University
We hardly knew ya: Trending toward “disposable” stadiums

In just the last 14 years, 12 National Football League (NFL) cities have opened new stadiums. And the 13th new NFL stadium, Levi’s Stadium in Santa Clara, California, will open this fall as the 49ers’ new home (Craig). While we as sport historians (and fans) may speak glowingly of the virtues of the historic and memorable stadiums such as Fenway Park in Boston, Wrigley Field in Chicago, or Lambeau Field in Green Bay, it is obvious that most professional leagues and owners have a different view.

For owners, the idea of a new, state-of-the-art stadium brings visions of previously unrealized revenue streams. In the NFL, most of the league’s revenue comes from broadcast deals and is shared evenly among 32 teams. Ticket sales also are split, with 60 percent going to home teams and 40 percent to the visitors. What’s *not* shared is revenue from the sale of luxury suites and stadium concessions. Hence the perceived need by NFL owners for new stadiums that produce, through high-end suites and club seating areas, more revenue and higher profits (Craig).

But has this pursuit of new revenue-producing stadiums created a generation of “disposable” buildings? Is 30 years now deemed too long for a venue to serve its professional team tenants? A historic case study of two cities—Minneapolis and Atlanta—will hope to answer this question.

In Minneapolis, the Major League Baseball (MLB) franchise Minnesota Twins moved into a new \$522 million stadium in 2010, leaving the Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome after only 28 years (Johnson). And the NFL has also had enough. With the Metrodome being the sixth-oldest NFL venue that wasn’t renovated (and ninth oldest overall), it was only a matter of time before tax-payers had to pony up or say goodbye to the NFL’s Minnesota Vikings (Craig). So the Vikings played their 32nd and final season in the HHH Metrodome in 2013. The franchise will now spend two years on campus at the University of Minnesota’s TCF Bank Stadium while their new \$975 million revenue producer is constructed on the same downtown site where the Metrodome once stood (Craig).

Also replacing both their professional football and baseball stadiums is Atlanta. The

NFL's Falcons first played in the Georgia Dome in 1992; MLB's Braves began playing in Turner Field in 1997. Now *both* venues have been declared by their team's owners to be insufficient, and close to \$2 billion will be spent building two new stadiums in the next few years (Tucker).

By looking at the stadium histories of these two American cities, the author will examine the past and current state of professional sport venues, and attempt to determine if, in fact, stadiums have truly become "disposable."



Susanne Hedenborg, Malmö University
Liz Hartel—a horse back rider with a disability

The Danish horse rider Liz Hartel made the Olympic Games several times and won many medals in the dressage event in the mid-20th century. Her career as a sports woman is interesting as she was partly paralysed as a consequence of polio. In addition, it seems she was celebrated and very much welcomed as a sports woman in distinction from many other women in sports during that time. In this paper, Hartel's life will be analyzed against the background of the contemporary sports world. Questions like did the Equestrian sport offer a specific gender context, as women and men competed against each other, making it possible for women to identify themselves as sports women? In that case, in what way? And how did the gender construction intersect with social class, the function of the body and ethnicity?

The reconstruction of the life of this rider will be based on newspaper articles and magazines as well as interviews.



Florian Hemme, University of Texas-Austin
After Mat: The post-competitive career of wrestler and philosopher George Hackenschmidt

Gifted with extraordinary physical abilities that seemed to far exceed those of the average man of his time, George Karl Julius Hackenschmidt was one of the most successful and revered wrestlers at the beginning of the twentieth century. Rising to stardom in the early 1900s, the "Russian Lion" used his popularity and public celebrity to promote the benefits of strength training, exercise, and proper diet. While Hackenschmidt, like many of his contemporaries, capitalized on his fame by publishing books and strength training manuals detailing his unique training system, he also always maintained a very different perspective on training and nutrition from that of other famous fitness entrepreneurs.

After retiring from wrestling, Hackenschmidt's ideas on physicality underwent a dramatic transformation. Drawing from socio-political theory, economics, biology, physiology, and psychology, he became increasingly interested in the systematic interactions and relationships between the mind, the soul, and the body. In his later works, he profoundly reevaluated his stance on weight training and physical activity, going so far as to denounce the benefits of regular exercise and to argue that guided movements would deter human beings from following their

harmonious, idiosyncratic physical balance.

George Hackenschmidt's change in perspective regarding weight training and exercise is symptomatic of a life unsettled by two wars, with much of his later works showing great dislike for anything that resembled drill, coercion, and external determination. While his active years have been extensively researched, little is yet known about the wrestler's life after he retired from the mat. This presentation seeks to fill this gap and tell the second part of the life story of one of the greatest wrestlers, maybe one of the greatest athletes, in sport history. Specifically, this presentation traces the events in Hackenschmidt's life after 1908 and analyzes their impact on the development of the wrestler's later ideas and philosophies.

This study draws from a variety of sources, including personal papers, diary entries, published works, correspondence, newspaper and magazine articles, and personal notes of friends, acquaintances, and family members.



April D. Henning, The Graduate Center of the City University of New York
Fixing Jim Fixx: Presentations of Running, Health, and Performance Enhancement
From the First Running Boom to the Current Era of Non-Elite Running

This paper explores an under-examined aspect of the changing relationship between amateur running and doping. In a neoliberal context, running assumes a particular meaning in which morality and citizenship are bound up with health and fitness. Beginning in the late 1970s running was perceived as a healthy, if difficult, leisure pursuit requiring little more than shoes for participation. Runners were individuals who used running as a way to enhance their health. Currently, running is still understood as a healthy but also risky endeavor requiring constant monitoring of one's physical health in order to avoid injury and illness, and is often accompanied by the use of a variety of performance enhancing substances (PES) and methods. Running media continues to present doping as an unhealthy and unethical practice often thought to exist at the elite level of the sport. With the rise in popularity of organized road races of all sizes and distances and more individuals taking up running for health promotion purposes, the market for products to prevent injury and improve performances has expanded. Products such as nutritional supplements and other over the counter drugs are presented to runners as safe and legal ways to treat running-induced injury, illness, or overall fatigue from training. Accordingly, the recommendations for and use of nutritional supplements has become more common at the same time revelations of banned substances in such products is becoming more frequent. By examining running-specific media from the first running boom to the current resurgence of amateur road racing, I show how runners' claims of social citizenship have come to rest on their position as healthy consumer-runners. I argue that this further blurs the lines between doping, enhancement, supplements, and training. To be healthy and moral citizens, runners must now consume products of questionable content and quality to make them faster and healthier. While runners from the previous boom era would have had to go out of their way to procure banned substances, current runners must go out of their way to avoid them in their efforts to become and remain healthy citizens.



Rob Hess, Victoria University
'Playing Stiff': Match-Fixing, Bribery and Corruption in Australian Sport

One of the greatest challenges confronting the integrity and management of contemporary sport is the spectre of 'match-fixing', an insidious form of corruption with the potential to erode the confidence of spectators, sponsors, the media and participants alike. However, scandals associated with gambling and sport are not a recent phenomenon, as attested by past controversies in a range of sports across the world, including athletics, boxing, cricket, cycling, horse-racing, soccer, and tennis, as well as high profile examples from baseball and basketball. One nation with a relatively 'clean' reputation in terms of match-fixing is Australia, where it appears that, apart from recent revelations of so-called 'tanking', only a handful of instances of match-fixing have received prominence at the elite level. This paper explores the evidence for match-fixing in one particular sport, namely Australian Rules football, where a significant number of seemingly forgotten case studies from the period between 1858 and 1958 indicate that bribery and corruption have been surprisingly prevalent in the code. Common issues from several of these incidents are traced, and the reactions of the print media, football administrators, and the public are analysed, demonstrating that fines, life-time disqualifications and censure by the press have rarely been sufficient to deter players from accepting bribes to 'play dead', 'go easy', or 'throw games'. The paper concludes by suggesting that the historical evidence for match-fixing in Australian Rules football offers a cautionary tale for managers of contemporary sporting organizations, as well as historians of sport.



Amanda L. Higgins, University of Kentucky
Ain't Got No Quarrel: Muhammad Ali, Vietnam antiwar protest, and the Changing
Definition of Manhood in post-war African American Society

On February 17, 1966, Muhammad Ali was notified that he had been reclassified 1-A. This reclassification promoted him to the top of the draft roll. Unaware that he had been deemed fit to serve, Ali was confronted by reporters in Miami while training for an upcoming fight. When asked how it felt to be drafted, Ali responded: "Well for two years the Army labeled me a 'nut.' . . . Now, without even testing me to see if I've gotten wiser or worsen, they tell me I'm all right. It's as if in the two years they left me alone I became one of the thirty smartest men in Louisville." An off the cuff remark to a reporter over the telephone, after being bombarded by questions about his draft status, "I ain't got no quarrel with the Vietcong," was the opening punch of the fight that would define Ali's character in the minds of thousands of black and white Americans.

This paper seeks to interrogate the responses of African Americans to Ali's draft decision. Was Ali seen as a coward or hero? How did African American males see Ali? What were the gender dynamics of the arguments for and against Ali? How did his status as a boxer influence the way men and women understood Ali's religious and social consciousness? Was Ali's personal protest radical and did it influence the way other black men chose to speak out against the war? To answer these questions, I rely on editorials, feature articles, letters to the editor, oral histories, and advertisements. I argue that Muhammad Ali projected a new definition of black manhood which empowered younger, poorer black men to express opinions which deviated from the

prescribed norm. Moreover, in 1967, black Americans were sharply divided about the war and Ali's refusal to serve. They questioned Ali's religious convictions, his manhood, and his race pride. The divisiveness of Ali is why his story is so important to understanding the Vietnam War. Because sport influences society, the reaction to Ali expressly illuminates the racial and class distinctions blacks faced in 1967, and the changes in the articulation of African American male identity.



Matthew R. Hodler, University of Iowa
Swimming Race: A Critical History of the Construction of
American Elite-level Swimming

The sport of swimming has unique tensions because it is a sport, a physical activity, and a survival skill. However the activity is defined (whether as a sport, physical activity, or survival skill), it is a rational and modern bodily practice. Humans master one of the fundamental “elements” of the world (water) through rational means of maneuvering across measured space in measured time, and many of these “rational” means are/were explained and (re)created through the sport sciences. As such, the sport of swimming has had a long history of relations with sport science, “in the first half of the 20th century three of the leading so-called sports scientists in the country were swimming coaches” (Barney & Barney 2006, 72).

Unlike many other American sports at the elite performance level, the sport of swimming is (and has been) grossly overrepresented by white athletes. At various times, scholars and critics have argued that the underrepresentation of black and non-white swimmers results from reasons such as lack of access to aquatic facilities, racist ideologies, and/or legacies of Jim Crow segregation. Thus far, the role of early swimming experts and elite practitioners has been underexplored as a possible explanation.

In this paper, I intend to examine the role of sport scientists in the “sporting racial project” (Carrington 2010) that is American swimming. My paper will focus on early to mid-twentieth century texts produced by swimming coaches, physical educators, and sports scientists. These texts acted to rationalize and standardize swimming techniques and practices within the racialized (and gendered) discourses of sport science. I will use these texts to construct a narrative of how early elite practitioners shaped the sport and its meanings, which then trickled out into our everyday understandings of the sport, and are told and retold over time, thus consolidating ideologies of race—as well as those of gender, nationalism, modernity, etc.



Annette R. Hofmann, Ludwigsburg University of Education
“Tumbled, Tussled, Triumphed”: Christl Cranz, Germany's Ski Icon of the 1930s

In 1991 the International Women's Sports Hall of Fame admitted the German skier Christl Cranz (1914-2004). According to its homepage, selections are “made worldwide and are based on achievements, breakthroughs, innovative style and ongoing commitment to the development of women's sports.” What are Christl Cranz's special achievements that qualify her

as the only German athlete on this long list of women athletes?

Until today Christl Cranz is the world's most successful downhill skier. She competed during the Nazi period: Between 1934–1939 she won 12 World Championships and the Olympic downhill skiing competition in 1936. After World War II Cranz became Germany's first female ski instructor with an official certificate and the first woman to open a ski school. She also served on the Council of the German Ski Federation as a representative for women's issues for some years.

So far no research has been done on Cranz's life. Cranz herself left an unpublished autobiography in which she mainly focused on her career as a skier. She completely left out the political circumstances of her active time. It is known that she received many honors from the Nazis and there are photos of her together with the German Reichskanzler, Hitler. This neglect raises such questions as to what extent she was a show-piece athlete and used for Nazi propaganda. Did she—like other public figures of her time (e.g. Leni Riefenstahl)—use her fame for her own ideological goals?

Using in particular archive material, this paper seeks to shed light on the biography of this extraordinary skier of her time, but also to uncover her role as an athlete during the Nazi period. Finally, the question of whether or not Cranz deserves a place in the International Women's Sports Hall of Fame will be considered.



Peter M. Hopsicker, The Pennsylvania State University—Altoona College
Recreation Finally Wins! The Case of Amendment #4 and the
Approval of the Whiteface Mountain Ski Resort in the Adirondack Forest Preserve

Since the establishment of the New York State Forest Preserve and the Adirondack Park in the late 19th century, the relationship between recreation and conservation within the Adirondack Mountains has been regularly examined—often contentiously. While not the primary reasons for the inception and creation of this arboreal haven, arguments of health, recreation, and a “general advantage to the people of the state” quickly became cornerstones in the debate to define the purpose of this wilderness area in the first half of the 20th century. Such argumentation became a recurring portion of the dialog between those who desired the opening of the wilderness for a variety of recreational developments and those who viewed such access as detrimental to the wilderness appeal of the region ironically necessary for the marketing of the sought after recreational activities.

Attempts to repurpose the Adirondack wilderness often resulted in challenges by those seeking to develop the area for recreational reasons, and ultimately for economic gain, to the “Forever Wild” provision of the state constitution, which forbids (even today) the leasing, selling, or destroying of timber within the State Forest Preserve. Three distinct attempts to undermine the conservancy nature of this provision occurred in the first half of the 20th century. First, the 1932 Lake Placid Winter Olympic Games organizing committee (LPOC) challenged the durability of “Forever Wild” in late 1929 into 1930 by attempting to pass a law that allowed for the building of a bobsled run on protected Forest Preserve land. This challenge was ultimately defeated in the state court of appeals, but spurred the second notable challenge known as Recreation Amendment 1, a referendum before the people of the state on the November 1932 ballot, which, if ratified, would effectively open the Forest Preserve to a variety of recreation

development possibilities. This effort also failed by a people's vote of two to one.

Only the third challenge would find success. In November 1941, the ratification of Amendment #4 to Article VII, Section 7 and the "Forever Wild" provision of the New York State constitution approved the development of a ski resort on Forest Preserve land and authorized the state to construct and maintain twenty miles of ski trails on the slopes of Whiteface Mountain. How did this Amendment to the state constitution pass where the previous two had failed? How did proponents of the Amendment, such as Henry Wade Hicks, Chairman of the Whiteface Area Ski Council, overcome the highly charged environmental and political obstacles nested within the "recreation versus conservation" debate? Furthermore, while the LPOC and the Recreation Amendment failed to overcome challenges derived from the economic hardships of the Great Depression, how did Hicks and others overcome the opponents to Amendment #4 who adamantly believed that in a World War II period of national defense spending, no money should be spent on a recreational project of only statewide importance?

An examination of these questions will provide another exposition of the development of recreational opportunities within stingy environmental conservation cultures, will continue the story of recreation development in the Adirondack wilderness essentially started in 1928 when Lake Placid was awarded the Third Winter Olympic Games, and will set the precedent for the only other existing recreation amendments to the "Forever Wild" provision: one in 1947 that authorized ski trails on Belleayre, Gore, South and Pete Gay mountains, and one forty years later that increased the scope of the ski trails on Whiteface Mountain as well as these other mountains.

This paper uses a variety of archival materials, special collections, and newspaper sources. These include the Adirondack Research Library of the Association for the Protection of the Adirondacks, the Adirondack Mountain Club Records located at the New York State Library Manuscripts and Special Collections, the Russell Mack Little Carson Papers and the Henry Wade Hicks Papers located at the Adirondack Museum Library, the Godfrey Dewey Papers located at the 1932 & 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympic Museum, the New York State Archives Records of the Governor of the State of New York, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, the New York State Library and the *New York Times*, the *Lake Placid News*, and other New York papers.



Brian M. Ingrassia, Middle Tennessee State University
The 1909 Indianapolis Balloon Contests:
Sport, Space, and Distance in America's Progressive Era

On June 5, 1909, thousands of spectators watched as nine hot-air balloons lifted off from the grounds of the recently constructed Indianapolis Motor Speedway. These balloons were competing in distance races sponsored by the Aero Club of America and the Indiana Aero Club; at least one entrant was hoping to break a distance record by flying as far as Nova Scotia. None of the balloons got quite as far as Canada, but within two days several had touched down in Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee. By June 9, the final balloon landed at Lookout Mountain on the Tennessee-Georgia border. While in flight over Indiana and Alabama, two of the balloons even endured potshots from irate rural dwellers—who perhaps did not appreciate the promises of modern aerial transportation or spectator sports.

This paper is a component of a larger study (in progress) on the Indianapolis Motor Speedway and early automotive racing. I start with this question: Why did such a famous and historically significant race track open with a balloon event rather than an automotive race? I argue that Carl G. Fisher and other sponsors of courses like the Indianapolis Motor Speedway were not just interested in cars; rather, they desired to promote technologies that eliminated or minimized the restricting tyranny of distance and time. Of course, these sporting technologies included speedy automobiles, but they also included hot air balloons that traveled slowly yet promised to cover great distances with relative ease. This paper will demonstrate the connections between early automotive sports and ballooning—and show how both activities reinforced and made visible dramatic changes that were permeating modern American life in the Progressive Era. Many Americans embraced spectator sports that helped them come to grips with the increasing interconnectedness of areas that had once existed as virtually isolated “island communities.” This paper is significant to sport historians because it explores the history of heretofore understudied sports in order to make a larger argument about the prominent role of sport in modern life. Ultimately, I contend that sport helped Americans grapple with shifting temporal and spatial realities in an increasingly industrialized and interconnected era.

The paper engages secondary literature such as Tom D. Crouch, *The Eagle Aloft: Two Centuries of the Balloon in America*; Mark S. Foster, *Castles in the Sand: The Life and Times of Carl Graham Fisher*; and Robert H. Wiebe’s classic study of progressivism, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920*. Primary source evidence will include accounts drawn from the *Atlanta Constitution*, *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Times*, and other major turn-of-the-century periodicals.



Justine Kaempfer, Penn State University
Mythologizing Who “We Are”: Narrative Disruption and the
Penn State All Sports Museum

The Pennsylvania State University, better known as Penn State, is an institution both figuratively and literally built on tradition. In many ways this institution always has one eye on its past. This is apparent particularly in regard to the athletic program. Specifically dedicated to the mission of preserving the university’s sporting history, the Penn State All Sports Museum records and reflects Penn State’s sense of identity. However, this institution also typifies what Murray Phillips (2012) termed as a “corporate sports museum.” Located within the confines of the legendary Beaver Stadium, the All Sports Museum functions within and is funded by Penn State’s Athletic Department. Working as a hybrid of academic research and marketing strategy, the museum perpetuates messages, often celebratory, about Penn State’s sporting heritage. Taking advantage of nostalgia, the museum mythologizes many of the events and people who are significant to the university’s beliefs about athletic excellence. In this instance, the term mythology refers not necessarily to untruths, but as Jeffery Hill (2012) describes it, “represent[ing] a particular vision of an individual or group and their place in an evolving historical process.” These ideologies are more concerned with representations of the community’s beliefs about itself, rather than recounting historical events with complete accuracy. As figures of authority, it can be taken for granted that the information displayed accurately represents the past. Unfortunately, while celebrating the institution’s many

achievements the museum often marginalizes and/or completely omits difficult and controversial issues.

This paper addresses narratives that have the potential to disrupt the dominant narrative which the All Sports museum has carefully constructed. Specifically, this paper examines three storylines that complicate the ideologies Penn State has about itself, and the messages it projects to others through the museum's exhibits and programming. The first portion of the research addresses the inaccuracies concerning the ever popular "We are...Penn State" chant. The second narrative focuses on the controversy surrounding long-time women's basketball coach Rene Portland. The final portion of the paper examines how the museum has dealt with the unfortunate events of the recent past regarding Jerry Sandusky, the football program, and the legacy of Joe Paterno. Using archival material, newspaper articles, other media-related materials, and an interpretive understanding of the museum itself, this research ultimately strives to provide a more accurate representation of Penn State's sporting heritage, and an understanding of the limitations and challenges faced by a museum tied so intimately to the athletic department and the image and ideologies they wish to portray. This paper integrates academic and popular historical research.



Seth A. Kessler, University of Texas-Austin
Priests, Gang Bangers, Immigrants and Social Workers: The Founding Fathers of St. Louis Soccer

Recently St. Louisans' soccer successes have received some much needed attention. This attention has primarily focused on the United States' 1950 World Cup team, which included five St. Louisans, and the success of St. Louis University's men's soccer. Yet these texts and others have failed to describe how St. Louis, a city that lacked and often disliked "exhibitions of sport" prior to 1880, became a world class soccer epicenter. The November 13, 1887 edition of the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* accurately captured this phenomenon:

The wonderful growth of outdoor sports throughout the United States has been felt more perceptibly in St. Louis perhaps than in any other place. Particularly in athletics—St. Louis bids fair to become one of the great athletic centers of the United States. A few years ago, aside from a few "picnic" games, athletics were unknown in St. Louis, and an athletic contest could not have drawn a corporal's guard. Now the meeting of clubs draws thousands and performers rank with the best of the East.

Using a variety of primary and secondary sources and drawing from race, immigration, modernity and sport diffusion theories and literature, this paper intends to demonstrate how Irish, English and Italian immigrants helped introduce and spread organized soccer throughout St. Louis starting with the first organized St. Louis soccer game on Thanksgiving Day in 1881. These immigrant groups formed athletic club based soccer teams (e.g., Shamrocks, St. Louis Screws, Missouri Athletic Association, Kensingtons and Pastimes) to play each other and teams from other cities. The Catholic Youth Council and YMCA also sponsored several soccer teams during this period. These clubs, which often included former street gang members, served several societal functions, which include but are not limited to strengthening individual immigrant

communities, exposing immigrant groups to each other, weakening ethnic stereotypes and persuading juveniles to abandon delinquent behavior. Further, the formation of these teams helped pave the way for organized, competitive St. Louis soccer leagues, as well as teams from St. Louis to travel and play games in other cities. In addition to documenting the formation of teams, this paper intertwines the contributions of several St. Louisans, such as Father Anthony Palumbo, Father Peter Barbino, historian Elmer Shorb Wood, Sergeant Nick O'Hanlon and "Uncle" Joseph Causino. St. Louis native and baseball Hall of Famer, Joe Garagiola, called Causino "the Hill's Guardian, Godfather, and Overseer." While it is beyond the scope of this paper to identify every contributor to St. Louis soccer's accent, it intends to capture the historical processes, the social phenomena and the individuals that helped bring soccer to St. Louis and St. Louis soccer to the world, culminating with the "Miracle on Grass."



Bruce Kidd, University of Toronto
The Workers' Sport International at 100

On October 18, 2014, socialist, communist and trade union sports leaders from 36 organizations in 26 countries met in Ghent, Belgium to celebrate the centennial of la Confederation Sportive Internationale Travailleuse et Amateur (CSIT), the workers' and amateurs' international sports confederation, and plan for its second century.

Originally established as the Socialist Physical Education International in the very same workers' hall in Ghent in 1913 where its anniversary was commemorated. In the years after World War One, as the Socialist Workers' Sports International (SWSI), it enjoyed the allegiance of more than 2 million members and conducted the largest multi-sports events ever held, the Workers' Olympics, with Winter and Summer Games in 1925, 1931, and 1937. 80,000 competitors took part in the Workers' Olympics of Vienna in 1931, 25,000 of whom were women. By comparison, only 1,400 competitors, only 107 of whom were women, participated in the International Olympic Committee's Olympics in Los Angeles the following year.

The SWSI was decimated by fascism, World War Two, and the politics of the Cold War and today the CSIT is remembered as a historical curiosity, if at all.

Yet there is much more to the story of the workers' sports movement. In the 1950s and 1960s, in step with the European socialist and communist parties with which it was associated, the CSIT contributed to the welfare state in western Europe, helped bring about widely accessible sport and recreation in those countries and enjoyed great popularity. At its height, it had 53 million affiliated members. Then in the 1980s and 1990s, the realization of the welfare state and the decline of the class-based politics that long gave it purpose and financial support undermined its position as a distinct movement and membership fell. Then in another twist, as neo-liberal attacks on the welfare state in recent years began to take their toll upon publicly accessible recreation, and new organizations from South America, Africa and China have joined to participate in their World Sport Games, the movement has enjoyed resurgence. Delegates in Ghent even considered a revival of the Workers' Olympics.

This paper will examine the long trajectory of the workers' sports international, with particular focus on the lesser known decades since World War Two. Drawing upon institutional histories, organizational documents and interviews with leaders, it will attempt to account for the remarkable persistence of the workers' sports movement and its international confederation

during the turbulent political, economic, social and ideological transformations of the last century, and document its achievements and shortcomings. The paper will help broaden our understanding of international sport, by updating one important counterpoint to the IOC-led international sport movement.



Richard Ian Kimball, Brigham Young University
“Manly Sports Make Manly Boys”:
Sports and Deaf Masculinity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Deaf men were not immune from the “crisis in masculinity” that (real or otherwise) afflicted men in the post-bellum United States. Around the turn of the twentieth century, deaf men were just as concerned with embodying and displaying ideal notions of masculinity. But while deaf men’s definitions of masculinity often mirrored those of hearing men, they also reflected the unique struggle deaf men faced from their classification as “disabled.” To combat this situation, deaf men turned to sports, especially football, to define themselves as separate from women and as equal to hearing men. Deaf men aggressively used their participation in athletics to prove their masculinity and sports, in turn, helped to define deaf men’s masculine ideals.

One deaf man wrote to the popular deaf magazine, the *Silent Worker*, that, “In industrial life and social periods we deaf people are reminded consciously or otherwise of our handicap and we are different from others, but in sports—well, that is another matter. There we are all right” (B. Yorkstone Hogg, “Deafness does not close the doors of opportunity,” *Silent Worker*, December 1920, 95). Such expressions were typical of deaf male athletes who maintained that the meritocracy of the playing field provided an unequalled opportunity to assert their equality.

While other historians have examined the history of deaf athletes, the work tends to focus on sporting accomplishments [see Jack R. Gannon, *Deaf Heritage: A Narrative History of Deaf America* (Silver Spring, MD: National Association for the Deaf, 1981), esp. Chapter 13, “Sports”; and David A. Stewart, *Deaf Sport: The Impact of Sports Within the Deaf Community* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2002)]. By drawing on sports coverage from several Deaf newspapers (most notably the *Silent Worker*), this paper will shed light on how deaf men used sports to define their masculinity and call for equality.



George N. Kioussis, The University of Texas at Austin
Soviet-bloc Visions of the Cold War-era Western Athlete: An Interpretive Analysis

Few would counter the notion that there is often a dissonance between the manner in which a country projects itself and how its image is perceived abroad. In recognition of this idea, this conference paper will deal with how Western athletes were viewed by their rivals on the other side of the Iron Curtain during the Cold War, placing particular—though not exclusive—emphasis on East Germany. This subject warrants attention because Soviet-bloc conceptions of the United States were intimately linked to the broader East-West struggle to win hearts and minds.

Though much Cold War historiography has centered around traditional foreign policy concerns—be it American-Soviet nuclear jockeying or the “hot” wars of the Third World—the last two decades have seen something of a cultural turn. Indeed, a chorus of scholars has focused on the use of culture as a diplomatic tool, as evidenced in what one author has referred to as “the world of arts and letters.” Sport was a part of this process, too, though its place in the annals of history was typically marginalized until recent years. Perhaps more worryingly, perceptions of foreign audiences have tended to receive less attention than the bureaucratic dialogue of American cultural exporters and exponents, rendering a picture that is still incomplete.

Using the Dr. Steven Ungerleider GDR Collection at The University of Texas at Austin in combination with other relevant records, I will examine the types of narratives about the United States that prevailed behind the Iron Curtain, with a specific focus on the athletic arena. In so doing, I will consider how those narratives compared and contrasted to opinions of other nations, both within and without the Eastern bloc. The result of these efforts should help shed light on a set of intra- and inter-bloc complexities that have for too long been neglected in the scholarly literature on Cold War sport.



George B. Kirsch, Manhattan College
The Revival of Cricket in the United States Since 1990

This paper will begin with a brief review of recent interpretations of the decline of cricket in the United States after the Civil War after its very promising start in the mid-nineteenth century as the nation’s first modern team sport. The remainder of my paper will cover (a) the revival of cricket in the United States since 1990 by immigrants from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the West Indies, Australia, and other countries that were once part of the British Empire, plus a few diehard Philadelphians and expatriates from the British Isles; (b) their efforts to popularize cricket and once again make it a serious rival to baseball; (c) an evaluation of the status and future prospects of cricket in the United States with comparisons to cricket’s status in the nineteenth century. My main sources are newspapers and magazines, cricket publications, and a few interviews.

During the past three decades immigrants from South Asian, West Indian, and other countries used have used cricket to preserve their ethnic identity. However, many of them were not content with gaining respect for cricket as a niche sport patronized by foreigners (like bocce for Italian-Americans, curling for Scottish-Americans, or hurling for Irish-Americans). They wanted their game to once again be a serious rival to baseball. But as was the case in the mid-1800s, during the late 1900s and early 2000s a lack of suitable grounds plagued cricketers, especially as they competed with softball and baseball leagues for access to grass fields in public parks. Even when they managed to secure precious space to pitch their wickets, proper maintenance required herculean efforts by club officials.

Over the past few decades America’s upper class has shown very little interest in cricket, with the exception of a few diehards in the Philadelphia region who support the Christopher C. Morris Cricket Library and Collection at Haverford College. One major exception is Allen Stanford, a wealth-management billionaire from Mexia, Texas. Stanford’s dream of converting American sportsmen and audiences to cricket fans had little chance of success even before he was arrested for stock fraud and his financial empire collapsed.

Much more promising is the surge in the founding of cricket clubs at American colleges and schools and in community youth athletic programs. As of 1990 there were about 50 colleges that sponsored cricket teams or clubs. Typically, these squads enrolled a mix of undergraduates, graduate students, plus a few professors. While Haverford College's roster included a majority of players who were born in the United States, the others recruited players from a variety of nationalities—Englishmen, Australians, Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, New Zealanders, and West Indians, among others. In 2009 Lloyd Jodah, an immigrant from Guyana and a salesman for health club memberships, founded American College Cricket. He hoped that it would encourage the formation of cricket clubs by college affiliation, rather than by ethnic identity.

As was the case a century and a half ago, structural aspects of the game are critical in determining the fate of cricket in the United States. Experiments with short versions demonstrated that both contestants and spectators preferred that matches reach a conclusion within a few hours. Hence, the Twenty20 rules gained favor. But even with this major change in rules, cricket's fortunes hardly skyrocketed in the United States.

So what lessons might we learn from cricket's history in the U.S. both in the mid-1800s and also in the last few decades? It appears that the same factors that inhibited the growth of the sport in the U.S. one hundred and fifty years ago remain powerful forces today. In the final analysis, baseball became more popular than cricket in the U.S. not because Americans viewed it as an indigenous national sport, or because some of the native born upper classes chose to monopolize cricket to strengthen their own social class standing, or because working class English immigrants played cricket to preserve their ethnic pride. Cricket remains marginal in America because the large majority of American sports fans do not believe that it is more entertaining than baseball.



Matthew Klugman, Victoria University
Cranks, Fans and Barrackers Through a Digital Lens—Using Digitized Sources to
Trace the Emergence of Modern Spectator Sport Cultures

Modern spectator sports emerged as powerful social, cultural and increasingly economic institutions in the English-speaking world in the mid-to-late 1800s. Yet while the social history of sports like Association football, baseball and Australian Rules football has been covered in some detail, the cultures of passionate spectatorship which quickly grew around these sports remain understudied. Yet it was the strange and often disturbing zeal of supporters which drove the development of these sports into such powerful institutions—a strangeness implied by the development of new terms to describe sports supporters such as 'barrackers', 'cranks' and 'fans'.

This paper will explore the way the digitization of newspapers and other sources can help, as well at times possibly hinder, historians as we try to get a better sense of the fervent emotional culture that developed around modern spectator sports. At issue are questions of breadth, depth, audiences, multi-vocal narratives, pictures as well as words, and of what might get lost as we increasingly turn to search engines over more traditional historical sources. A further question concerns how research might be shaped by the particular resources and technological trajectories of different countries, regions and institutions. This paper will delve into some of these elements of digitization by way of a comparison of the emergence of spectator sport cultures in three major urban centres—Melbourne, Manchester and Boston.



Robert S. Kossuth, The University of Lethbridge
Playing on the Prairie: Sport and inter- and intra-community relations in turn of the
twentieth century Southern Alberta

In the late nineteenth century, settlers from eastern Canada, the United States, and Europe migrated to the southern prairie region of Alberta to raise livestock, farm, and exploit natural resources such as coal. New frontier communities were rapidly established in the final two decades of the nineteenth century to service a growing population linked to agriculture and resource industries. Young, middle-class professional men, farmers, miners, and entrepreneurs and their families were some of the groups of migrants that populated these new villages and towns. Some of the first organizations to be formed in these communities were social sport clubs which served not only as sites for constructing social hierarchies within the communities, but were also important in the establishment and fostering of inter and intra-community relationships. In relatively more established communities such as Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, and Macleod, Alberta, sport provided a motivation for men and occasionally women to travel between communities. Competition between towns provided an important impetus to promote and cement relations that extended beyond recreation and leisure to include economic and political interactions. Smaller frontier communities such as Vulcan, McGrath, and Taber utilized sport to assert their relevance within the region. Therefore, sport and physical recreation fostered the formation of social relationships between communities, although interactions were often focused on ends that favoured groups with social, economic and political ambitions. Only in rare instances were marginalized groups and individuals able to assert their presence through sport and physical recreation.

This study seeks to address several issues concerned with the intersections of race, class and gender, and the impact of leisure and sport practices in the formation of inter and intra-community relations. As a site of common interest, sport and physical recreation were primary in the display and reinforcement of social distinctions in frontier settlements. Individuals and groups and the communities they represented utilized forms of physical activity and sport to demonstrate their abilities publicly as a means to further their collective social and economic fortunes. In Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, and Fort Macleod, baseball, hockey, cycling, and curling organizations and facilities were established concurrently with key political, business and social institutions. Smaller communities similarly established sport organizations to raise their profiles through competition against established towns. First Nations peoples were also on occasion able to challenge representatives of the new Euro-Canadian settlements through less formal activities such as horse racing. The extent to which these sporting interactions shaped social, economic, and political relations in pioneer southern Alberta is not as readily discernable when compared to political and commercial standards of measure. Yet, as one of the primary sites where members of these communities interacted, it is reasonable to suggest that sport and physical recreation played more than a passing role in shaping the lives of the men and women who lived in turn of the twentieth century southern Alberta.



Rita Liberti, California State University, East Bay &
Maria J. Veri, San Francisco State University
“Fan Fare”: 1970s Era Tailgate Cookbook Constructions of Gender and Ethnicity

Our aim in this presentation is to offer a close textual analysis of a relatively early generation of tailgate cookbooks published between the late 1960s and the mid-1980s. We analyze the following: *The Tailgate Cookbook* (Fleischmann, 1967); *The Tailgate Cookbook* (Herbert, 1970); *Cooking for Kicks: The Sport of Tailgating* (Dekko, 1978); *Souper Bowl of Recipes* (Perry et al, 1980); *The Complete NFL Cookbook* (O'Connor, 1981); *Picnics and Tailgate Parties* (Fogle, 1982); and *Tailgate Parties* (Wyler, 1984). Our work draws upon an abundance of scholarship, namely in culinary and women's history, which positions the cookbook as an important cultural text. Cookbooks, as well as much of the larger culinary landscape, have long been trivialized as the purview of women. However, in taking cookbooks seriously, scholars have noted the importance of these publications as rich cultural sites in which gendered and ethnic norms, for example, are reproduced and contested.

Tailgating, the spectacle on the blacktop before athletic contests, has been a central aspect of sport culture, namely football, in the United States for decades. Food is a central ingredient around which tailgating coalesces. Thus, we see tailgate cookbooks as an important, yet overlooked, piece of material culture connected to, and an extension of, the study of sport.

Central to our analysis are the ways in which gendered and ethnic identities are narrated throughout the cookbooks. In terms of gender, the early books are more prescriptive in nature, written by women, largely for women not only in terms of cooking but also hosting tailgate festivities. In this way, the cookbooks reify both traditional gender norms and the notion that cooking is a feminine project. Our analysis of cookbook constructions of ethnicity rests with the work of Liora Gvion (2009) and Reddinger (2010), who argue that cookbook writers in their naming and cooptation of ethnic cuisine, simplify and homogenize recipes to make them more palatable to white middle-class Americans.



Andrew D. Linden, Pennsylvania State University
Social Politics on the American Gridiron: Gender, Contested Space, and Women's Football in
the 1970s

In the 1970s, American women staked myriad claims on the larger body politic. Scholarship on the “women's movement,” what some might call feminism's “second wave,” has grown in recent years. This area, however, has yet to fully incorporate women's athletic experiences. In this paper, I bring together these two areas of scholarship through an analysis of women's experiences playing professional football in 1970s America.

Women athletes, and women footballers in particular, articulated little connection between taking the field and the larger feminist campaign for corporeal autonomy and equality. Some went so far as to pronounce a distinctly anti-feminist identity. My intent is not to force the feminist mantle on these women or to contest their own self-descriptions. Rather, I seek to locate their experiences within the larger women's movement using historian Anne Enke's (*Finding the Movement*, 2007) idea of “contested space.” This entails women who “did not

necessarily identify themselves as political activists or feminists,” but who nonetheless challenged “social hierarchies.” By “passing through public space, fighting for legitimacy within spaces closed to them, and creating new spaces of their own,” women in the 1970s created “alternative communities” and challenged the “day-to-day barriers that told them to ‘stay in their place.’” This concept of “contested space” shows how “apolitical actors” can engage “political processes.”

Drawing on interviews with twelve women on three different teams during the 1970s, I argue that while women football players did not explicitly align with the feminist movement, they were a part of the larger revolution in women’s social rank. Some players did connect their careers to the broader movement. But many vehemently denied any articulations between feminism and their participation in sport. Others saw themselves as simply playing a game they loved. Yet, for all, their actions were political. Women who played football made radical statements about the social world in which they lived. They challenged conventional ideas about gender. And their actions are no less important than what other women fought for during feminism’s second wave. Football players were fighting for the freedom to be physically active in public, and to gain all of the positive attributes that sport, and specifically team sport, can offer. It is therefore imperative that we take seriously women’s sporting participation and locate it within the broader social context of the 1970s.



Stacy L. Lorenz, University of Alberta, Augustana
“Home Brews” and “Imported Material”:
Community Representation, Professional Hockey, and the 1907 Kenora Thistles

This paper examines newspaper coverage of the Kenora Thistles hockey club as it moved from an amateur team represented by players with roots in their home community to a professional aggregation that included paid imports from outside the town. Prior to 1912, the Kenora Thistles were the only team from outside the large urban centres of Montreal, Winnipeg, and Ottawa to win Canadian hockey’s championship trophy, the Stanley Cup. After unsuccessful challenges against the Ottawa Hockey Club in March 1903 and March 1905, the Thistles defeated the Montreal Wanderers in January 1907. Kenora held the Stanley Cup for only two months, however, as the Wanderers recaptured the trophy in March 1907.

As one of Canada’s leading hockey teams, Kenora faced the pressures and problems associated with the rise of professional hockey. This paper focuses on the Thistles club that travelled to Montreal in January 1907, since it was the first Kenora team acknowledged as a professional squad. The Thistles also added two players from Brandon—cover point Art Ross and forward Joe Hall—to the group that would represent the town in the January 1907 Stanley Cup challenge.

This study explores the relationship between sport and civic identity during a key time of change in top-level hockey. In particular, this paper assesses competing narratives of community identification constructed through the media as the Kenora Thistles moved from a team of “home brews” to one that also embraced “imported material.” It analyzes media accounts of the Thistles hockey team in relation to such issues as community identity, the “representative” nature of sports teams, and the movement from amateur to professional hockey in the first decade of the twentieth century. Stanley Cup matches involving the Kenora Thistles serve as a useful case study for exploring some of the meanings of hockey to Canadian communities in this period.

Reporting on the Thistles from newspapers published in Winnipeg, Kenora, Ottawa, Montreal, and Toronto form the basis of this study.

The dominant narrative surrounding the Thistles portrayed players as true “members” of the town of Kenora. Even after the turn to professionalism, narratives of small-town, amateur purity and close connections to the community characterized coverage of the Thistles as they pursued the Stanley Cup. At the same time, however, a growing emphasis on securing the personnel that could ensure victory led to praise for the club’s efforts to please its supporters, or “customers.” As a result, this study of notions of civic representation in early hockey provides insight into the process by which sports teams came to be viewed as symbolic representatives of their communities. By assessing media narratives of community identification in early hockey, this research addresses important gaps in the study of Canadian sport history and the analysis of hockey and Canadian popular culture.



Benjamin D. Lisle, Colby College
No More Rowdies and Semi-Delinquents:
Postwar Prologues to 21st Century Stadium Gentrification

Architectural historian and stadium expert Benjamin Flowers argued in a recent interview on National Public Radio, “We’re seeing an overall gentrification of sporting life and sporting culture in the United States, where the idea of baseball...as a working-class and middle-class pastime to observe, is being transformed into a culture where the teams...care the most about the high-spenders, the high-rollers, the big-ticket buyers, the luxury box owners than they do about the \$5, the \$10 seat ticket holder.” Flowers engages a familiar discourse among sports businessmen, politicians, reporters, designers, and even historians: that the stadium of today—as a playground for the affluent—is unprecedented, registering a break with old stadium forms and cultures. This paper takes a historical view of stadium gentrification, arguing that it is deeply rooted in old practices. In fact, gentrification is intrinsic to the very form of a stadium—a place designed to include those who pay and exclude those who don’t.

This paper focuses particularly on the post-World War II era, where so much of contemporary American entertainment and consumer culture is rooted. I examine the “schemes” of famed futurist and theater designer Norman Bel Geddes for a new Ebbets Field to keep the Dodgers in Brooklyn in the late 1940s and early 1950s—plans that would turn the stadium into a shopping mall and community center. The paper analyzes the Houston Astrodome, the vision of politician and dealmaker Roy Hofheinz—its imaginatively themed luxury suites, private and public restaurants, and adjacent amusement park shifted emphasis from games on the field to, using today’s terminology, the “fan experience.” Both Geddes and Hofheinz participate in a tradition stretching back into the nineteenth century and A.G. Spalding’s attempts to mark baseball as cultured entertainment for the affluent.

By fixating on what *seems* to be new about stadium design, contemporary stadium discourse obscures what has remained constant. Attention to cosmetic changes deflects attention from structural continuities—such as the monopolistic nature of sports leagues—that enable club owners and politicians to profit from public resources. In short, this paper uses the historical record to point out that the new boss is very much like the old boss; if we acknowledge this, we

might better resist arguments (and even critiques, like Flowers's) that normalize an accelerated shelf-life for these enormous and enormously expensive structures.

The paper draws from the Norman Bel Geddes collection at the Harry Ransom Center, the Minchew Astrodome papers at the Center for American History at the University of Texas, stadium marketing materials, and newspaper and magazine reporting.



Michael E. Lomax, University of Iowa
Black Baseball's Pioneers: The Philadelphia Pythians

The Philadelphia Pythians emerged as one of the most prominent African American baseball clubs in the 1860s. The club was composed of notable mulattoes who were members of Philadelphia's black citizenry and who became the foundation of the city's black middle class in the late nineteenth century. Baseball became an event through which the mulatto elite could socialize with other members of their "distinguished" group and maintain a similar lifestyle by staging weeklong galas that generated enthusiasm in the black community. Although the ball club's organizational structure, social life, and match play mirrored contemporary white baseball clubs, the Pythians symbolized black Philadelphia's pursuit of self-determination and race elevation.

From 1867 to 1871, internal and external forces impacted black amateur baseball and shaped the direction of the black game for the next seventy-five years. The Philadelphia Pythians' exclusion from the Pennsylvania Association of Amateur Base Ball Players (PAABBP), and the formal ban of all black clubs from the National Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP), embodied America's racial attitudes. This setback marred the Pythians' aspirations of achieving a symbolic victory in race relations and establishing a true championship between black and white clubs. Although the evidence is limited, black clubs appear to have been evolving along the same lines as their white counterparts toward commercialization. They charged admission for games, established their own championship series, and, despite their exclusion from the NABBP, competed occasionally against white clubs. This essay examines the rise of the Philadelphia Pythians and their attempt to join the PAABBP, leading to the drawing of the color line by the NABBP.



Rich Loosbrock, Adams State University
Pioneer of the Net: Mary Jo Pepler and the Rise of American Volleyball

Mary Jo Pepler was a key figure in the rise of American volleyball in the 1960s and 1970s. Rated the third most important figure in the sport in *Volleyball Magazine's* 1995 survey, she was a member of the first U.S. women's Olympic team in 1964. As both a player and a coach she was on the leading edge of the sport in several key ways. She was the most talented U.S. player of her era, and yet she resisted what she perceived as male domination of the women's game. As a player coach, she led tiny Sul Ross State to back-to-back national collegiate titles in the pre-NCAA period, and she later helped coach Utah State to its first national title in any

sport. The national title brought about the firing of Pepler and her coaching partner, Marilyn McGreavy, and the reasons for their firing reveal the attitudes of the pre-Title IX era: the university did not want a national competitive women's program. She also became one of the most recognized names among women's athletes when she won the first of ABC's Superstars competitions for women in 1976. Fed by the women's movement, her career represents the struggles of female athletes against the patriarchy of sports. Pepler also produced a key protégé in Karolyn Kirby, who many recognize as the most dominant beach player of all time.

The research for this paper is based on media coverage, the archives of USA Volleyball in Colorado Springs, and extensive interviews with Pepler and Kirby.



Shelley Lucas, Boise State University
Spinning Wheels or Shifting Gears? Marking Time in Women's Cycling History

On the cusp of the 30th anniversary of the women's Olympic Road race in 2014, two major initiatives occurred in the latter half of 2013 to promote the growth and development of elite women's cycling: the formation of the Women's Cycling Association (WCA) and the unprecedented, purposeful, and widespread inclusion of women in leadership positions within the Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI). Despite the passage of nearly three decades since women were awarded the opportunity to compete on the Olympic stage, women cyclists struggle to find recognition, opportunities, and equitable experiences in the sport. The launching of the WCA was framed within a historical context in a recent *ROAD Magazine* article, primarily in comparison to the much longer history of men's elite cycling. In this article, WCA President Robin Farina noted, "the women's side of the sport is so short on history," and stated that the association desired to "tell the stories and write the history" in order to make connections with fans and sponsors and, ultimately, promote the sport.

Spurred by the upcoming 30th anniversary, the steps taken by new UCI leadership, and the creation of the WCA and Farina's comments, this presentation explores the efforts of groups, individuals, and movements to champion women's cycling. While acknowledging the benchmark of Olympic competition (and IOC recognition) in women's cycling history, I highlight what has come before and since, and complicate the notion of linear progress toward equitable and meaningful opportunities and experiences in the sport. To draw upon a cycling metaphor, women's cycling has had to shift gears as the road travels up and down; sometimes rolling along quickly and effortlessly; other times, slowly grinding up an ever-steepening pitch in a struggle to keep moving. I present a roadmap, of sorts, based upon print and media coverage of the sport (e.g., general mass media, cycling-specific), archival records associated with key cycling events, and organizational records from governing bodies (e.g., IOC, UCI, USA Cycling). Although a current view of women's cycling is that it is "short on history," a significant goal of this presentation is to give voice to un(der)acknowledged histories that have been overlooked within the larger world of cycling.



Cathryn Lucas-Carr, University of Iowa
Cross-Country Women: A Historiographical Investigation of
Women Motorcycle Riders

Contemporary long distance motorcycle rides, such as the Iron Butt Rally, have deep roots. Shortly after the bicycle craze of the 1880s and just before Ford's assembly line revolution, the motorcycle grew in popularity. Producers of the machines, including William S. Harley and Arthur Davidson, envisioned a working world transformed by the motorcycle, arguing that the machines were light and nimble, thus easier to maneuver through city streets than horses. However, the machine did not gain immense popularity as a utility vehicle. Instead, it grew popular as a recreational machine. Races of various distances both on road and off proliferated throughout the United States. In addition to these races, the machine was used by many people to tour the countryside. So called "rallies" grew longer and longer, and eventually riders challenged themselves and others to ride across the country. In the first third of the 20th century, women rode motorcycles alongside men. And a small group of these women participated in the cross-country adventures. Bessie Stringfield, Avis and Effie Hotchkiss, and Dorothy Robinson are the most visible of these women, yet strong communities of women participated in the events. In this paper, I contextualize the emergence of women who participated in these long distance trips across the United States in the early 20th century by conducting a historiographical investigation of the growth of motorcycling as a recreational or leisurely pursuit, women's recreational and leisurely pursuits, and the changing cultural norms for men and women during this period. Therefore, this paper provides a unique investigation into women's recreation and provides the groundwork for further historical research on the role of women in motorcycling.



David Lunt, Southern Utah University
Remembering an Athletic Hero: The Afterlife of Alma Richards

Alma Richards was born in the small town of Parowan, Utah in 1890. When he died in southern California in 1963, Richards had been celebrated as one of the greatest athletes produced by the state of Utah, as an exemplar of Mormon piety, and as an emblem of American patriotism and determination.

Richards was an accomplished track-and-field athlete, but it was his victory in the High Jump at the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm that brought him so much posthumous acclaim. In the late 20th century, Richards acquired new fame as his story resurfaced in conjunction with Utah's preparations to host the 2002 Olympic Winter Games. Several communities recognized Richards' achievements and claimed him as one of their own. Richards' hometown in Parowan, Utah; his high school, college, law school; and members of his religious community, the LDS or Mormon Church, have all capitalized on Richards' memory in associating themselves with his athletic achievements, most notably Olympic gold. These various communities emphasized their own connections to the athlete in constructing the narrative—and mythology—of the great Alma Richards.

In *The Collective Memory*, French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs suggested that there is no "universal memory" of the past, but rather a variety of collective memories supported by

groups “delimited in space and time” (145). The collective memories of these groups act as self-portraits intended to emphasize the groups’ defining features and to emphasize the permanence of these features. Richards’ life is well documented, and the various communities that claim Richards focus on different aspects of his life. Depending on the community, Richards is remembered as a devout Mormon, an accomplished collegian, and a hometown hero.

This paper relies on a variety of primary and secondary sources to investigate the ways that Richards has been remembered since his death in 1963. In addition to written materials, Richards’ hometown erected a monument to him at the local high school in 2001. Finally, during the 2002 Olympic Winter Games, the LDS Church produced an elaborate musical event at its Salt Lake City Conference Center called *The Light of the World*. This musical production dramatized the story of Richards and his journey to Olympic gold by connecting him to his immigrant and Mormon pioneer heritage. While there are various historiographical themes in this research, the overall inquiry centers upon Halbwach’s notion of remembering as community self-portrait, and the way communities selected certain aspects of Richards’ life and achievements to construct their own identities.



Malcolm MacLean, University of Gloucestershire, England
Boycotts beyond the IOC: sports boycotts, international federations and the limitations
of Olympic observation

For the first time in nearly 30 years, 2013 saw increasing public awareness of the revival of calls for a comprehensive boycott of and sanctions on a state based on questions of an “entrenched system of racial discrimination”. The call to boycott South African sport emerged in the mid-1950s as the apartheid state was developing and refining its comprehensive and systematic legal form amid growing international pressure for decolonisation. This is a different social and political context than the call 50 years later by a wide group of organisations in Palestinian civil society for boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel.

As with the call for sanctions against South Africa, the Palestinian call had limited impact in the ‘west’ outside a small number of social areas until pressure was put on sports and cultural organisations to boycott competition; in the case of South Africa, there was increasing pressure on the IOC, the Imperial Cricket Conference and International Rugby Board to prevent sporting contact, while in the case of Israel the boycott call reached public consciousness in 2013 through the withdrawal of the physicist Stephen Hawking from an international academic conference and pressure on UEFA to halt its under-21 international football championship due to be held in Israel.

Analyses of sports boycotts to date have focused on Olympic Games, especially 1980 and 1984. This paper argues that analyses have failed to understand the role of international federations or account for the distinctiveness of Olympic-focused sports boycotts with the result that political relations centred on the IOC have framed the understanding of international sports boycotts. Drawing on secondary literature and considering the cases of the anti-apartheid and BDS campaigns, the paper argues for a renewed focus on coercive instruments in international sports politics, a more nuanced approach to understanding the role of international sports bodies and recognition of the atypicality of the IOC in international sports relations. It will conclude by

calling for recognition of sports boycotts as an example of a more general form of cultural boycott and as a tactical and strategic campaign tool.



Cheryl Madliger, University of Western Ontario
The CrossFitting Body as a Site of Control: An Analysis of Representations
of the Female Form in *SweatRX*

CrossFit, which calls itself “the sport of fitness,” has grown from a single website to a fitness empire with over 4500 gyms around the world. With international competitions, certifications, workshops, social media, magazines, books, televised coverage on major networks like ESPN, corporate athlete sponsorship, a major branding partnership with Reebok, apparel, equipment, and a growing sports and fitness subculture, CrossFit has leveraged specific narratives appealing to ideologies promoting individual responsibility for health to establish itself quickly even in a crowded consumer fitness industry.

What are the narratives CrossFit uses to promote itself and to establish itself as a leader in the crowded consumer fitness industry? How do these fit in with the dominant discourses in contemporary neoliberal society?

These questions are explored using a Critical Discourse Analysis of a Canadian CrossFit magazine, *SweatRX*. Drawing on discourses of feminist empowerment and emphasizing a focus on performance over aesthetics, the representations of the feminine body in *SweatRX* promote an alternative form of bodily control that is paradoxically oppressive. By constructing the CrossFitting female body as a site of control and offering up identities based on consumption, a potentially empowering and emancipatory practice is commodified into a method for self management and participation in the fitness marketplace. In the context of contemporary neoliberal society, these narratives can remain unquestioned and reproduce dominant cultural ideologies concerning the moral significance of taking individual responsibility for one’s health, diverting attention away from broader social and cultural factors that constrain health. This is an important extension on research demonstrating the shift towards health as an individual’s responsibility and contributes to a growing body of work examining this shift.



Michella M. Marino, University of Massachusetts-Amherst
“For Girls They Are Good”: Examining the Standardization of Media Coverage through the
Dick, Kerr Ladies 1922 Transnational Soccer Tour

Towards the end of World War I a group of talented British women elevated the sport of soccer to a new level. In 1917, the Dick, Kerr ammunition factory in Preston, England, sponsored a team of exceptional women soccer players that played matches all over the country to raise money for wartime charities. After the war, the team extended their play in several directions, traveling to France, Canada, and the United States. The Dick, Kerr Ladies not only crossed geographical boundaries, but they simultaneously traversed gender boundaries as they suited up against male professional and semi-professional soccer teams in the U.S. during a

seven-week soccer tour on the eastern seaboard of the United States. The 1922 Dick, Kerr soccer tour provides one of the earliest examples of women playing a traditionally male sport in public while also providing a snapshot of how the media, and ultimately society, would deal with women athletes in competitive male sports throughout the entire 20th century. The Dick, Kerr tour occurred at a particular moment in time when shifts in society and sport coalesced to establish a new standard of discourse concerning women athletes. The British women soccer players highlight the changing attitudes towards women athletes by the different responses and receptions they received during their transatlantic journey. The media tropes used in the local newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Toronto Telegram*, *Fall River Globe*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *Boston Daily Globe*, to describe the Dick, Kerr Ladies become standard throughout the rest of the century.

While the women's skills were admired, they were not taken seriously on an equal basis in the male-dominated sports arena, and the Dick, Kerr Ladies were ultimately feminized, sexualized, and commercialized to be allowed to compete in the U.S. sporting culture. American society, the media, and soccer officials accepted the Dick, Kerr Ladies on positive terms but regarded the women as inferior to male athletes, i.e. the true athlete. As one newspaper stated, "For girls they are good." The discourse first seen with the Dick, Kerr tour set the media paradigm for college and professional women's sports that in many ways is still in place today as exemplified by the coverage of athletes like Maria Sharapova, Candace Parker, and Brandi Chastain. Women athletes might be good, but they are still ultimately women and cannot be compared to men on an equal playing field.



Steve Marston, University of Kansas
"I'm Something A Little Bit Special": Muhammad Ali's performance
as interpreted by *Sports Illustrated*, 1964-1967

As reflected by his image on the NASSH website, Muhammad Ali has received no scarcity of attention from historians of sport. However, Ali's sheer cultural impact merits such coverage, and my paper addresses a particular element within his cultural identity: the evolving politicized media narrative around Clay/Ali during the mid-1960s.

In particular, I address how the premiere sports magazine of the period, *Sports Illustrated*, offers insight into this narrative shift: after presenting the affable loudmouth Cassius Clay in the early 1960s, *Sports Illustrated* writers increasingly portrayed a dangerous man as the decade progressed. Writers from Jack Olsen to Tex Maule focused on Ali's association with the Nation of Islam and his anti-war stance, framing Ali as an embodiment of vitriol. However, upon Ali's banishment from boxing in 1967, the magazine betrayed a striking turn toward empathy, including a general editorial expressing "respect for Ali's sincerity in his religion—which we have never had reason to doubt—and his refusal on religious grounds to serve in the Army." The very acknowledgment of his chosen name, Ali—given *SI* writers' stubborn insistence on addressing him as "Clay"—is significant.

As a theoretical framework, I turn to philosopher Louis Althusser's notions of power and hegemony. In the same year as Ali's return to the ring (1970), Althusser theorized the *Repressive State Apparatus* (RSA) as comprised of the State itself (police, military, etc.), while *Ideological*

State Apparatuses (ISAs) are those structures that are not directly affiliated with the government, but nonetheless tend to reproduce the ideology of the ruling class. Prominent examples of ISAs include education, church and family, as well as the media. Thus I apply and test Althusser's theory of ideology to the media ISA: how did *Sports Illustrated*, led by its writers, represent a reproduction of dominant ideology (especially in terms of race, religion and imperialism) through its antagonistic portrayals of Ali during the 1964-1967 period? On the other hand, how did *SI* allow Ali to actually amplify his political messages, thus enabling challenges to such ideology? Ultimately, my research reveals a very mixed story: while writers frequently represented Ali in dismissive terms, his compelling personality demanded ongoing attention, thus allowing the fighter to spread his gospel (even through mediated channels).

In terms of evidence, I focus on discourse in *Sports Illustrated* during the 1964-67 period, particularly article rhetoric. I contextualize this primary source material within scholarly work on Ali, as well as Althusser's theoretical work on the State Apparatus.



Fred Mason, University of New Brunswick
Death Race 2000 ca. 1975 and 2008—The past and present of
science fiction criticisms of sport

The levels of violence in sports such as football and hockey in the late 1960s and early 1970s, interlaced with wider political and social contexts, attracted the attention of contemporary science fiction writers and filmmakers. Across forms, such as Norman Sprinrad's 1973 short story "The National Pastime," Gary K. Wolf's 1975 novel *Killerbowl*, and the 1975 film *Rollerball*, a wave of "critical SF sports stories" envisioned that the sports of near-future societies would be excessively violent, and that death would become an accepted, even necessary part of the spectacle (Mason, 2007). This paper focuses on one film from this vein and period, *Death Race 2000* (1975), considering how it used sarcasm, parody and excess to offer a critique of sport and society, and how its critiques later changed and diffused across other mediums, ultimately coming back in the late 2000s in a series of action films.

The plot of *Death Race 2000* involved a six-car race across America, where competitors win by a combination of time and points, points being given for running over pedestrians. This film sat firmly within the B-movie realm, with Roger Corman as producer indicating its low budget, exploitative style. The film's main characters demonstrated its satirical excesses – the masked driver "Frankenstein" (David Carradine) who survived so many crashes that he was supposedly made up mostly of other people's body parts, and other drivers including Nero the Hero, Matilda the Hun, and Machine Gun Joe Perterbo (Sylvester Stallone), a parody Chicago gangster.

This film's future society is run by a god-like figure with absolute control. The action turns on a resistance movement's measures to upset the race, primarily by killing off the drivers, thereby hoping to end the distraction of the spectacle. Many critics argue that this film made points about violence in society and sport as the opiate of the masses more effectively than the better-known *Rollerball*. There is gratuitous violence that serves as spectacle, but this was mitigated by the film's refusal to take itself seriously.

The concept of "vehicular combat" (certainly not exclusive to *Death Race 2000*) spread across mediums in the ensuing decades, including a *Car Warriors* series of novels in the

1990s, and video game franchises such as “Carmageddon” (3 games starting in 1997) and “Twisted Metal” (9 games starting in 1995). By the late 2000s, it came back to theatres in the 2008 film *Death Race*, starring action hero Jason Statham. Set in the present, this film revolved around car races where prison inmates must battle each other to the death in the hopes of ultimately being released. This film lacks the criticisms implied in 1970s science fiction sports texts, and visibly spectacularizes the violence. However, its popularity spawned two straight-to-video sequels. While critical science-fiction sports stories still occasionally appear, this is but one of a number of examples where dystopian visions from 40 years ago have essentially become what was once criticized.



Mary G. McDonald, Georgia Institute of Technology
Mobilizing for a Cause: Historical Memory, Activisms, and the Sochi Olympics

As the start of the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi, Russia drew near, several activists living in the United States, Canada and other spaces across the globe called for a boycott of the games. These activists saw an Olympic boycott as a way to challenge and potentially change the implementation of draconian laws in Russia, which targeted and further demonized those suspected of embodying “non-traditional” or LGBTQ sexualities. In contrast to this strategy, other advocates suggested that boycotting the Sochi games would mostly disadvantage athletes who spent years training and sacrificing in order to compete in the pinnacle of winter sporting competitions. These advocates instead suggested that athletes and fans attend the games, and organize protests and acts of resistance against anti-gay Russian regimes in Sochi. While appearing to support divergent positions, the “pro-boycott” and “pro-protest” sides both mobilized particular visions of Olympic history to justify their positions. Drawing upon popular media representations, this paper engages both the Sochi “pro-boycott” and “pro-protest” discourses to better contextualize and make explicit the content of each. The analysis also draws upon scholarship on historical memory to engage the ways each mobilize particular historical images and narratives about previous Olympic Games’ boycotts and protests as a way to justify each stance. The paper concludes with suggestions about the possibilities and limits of these Olympic representations and historical imaginings for global activisms more broadly and in relationship to LGBTQ movements in particular.



Douglas McLaughlin, California State University Northridge
Emphasis on More?: Olympic Legacy from Coubertin’s “More than Games” to Gigantism

With each passing Olympiad, legacy considerations seem to be increasingly important. The size and scope of legacy commitments has increased to the point that the International Olympic Committee is attempting to clarify what they can and should expect from bid cities that are not selected to host the Olympic Games. When Pierre de Coubertin argued that the Olympic Games are “more than Games,” did he ever envision the “more” to refer to the construction of public works to the degree associated with hosting recent Games? This paper will

address the historical development of Olympic legacy since the founding of the modern Olympic Games.

Despite the absence of explicit legacy discourse at the outset, the writing of Pierre de Coubertin and the early Olympic Congresses suggest an interest in bequeathing something significant in and through the Olympic Games. The rise of explicit legacy discourse starting in the mid-1900s in bid documents and Official Olympic Reports marks a shift from the earlier period. But a seismic shift occurs in later Olympiads when legacy management becomes a major focus of the bid process and the Evaluation Commission.

The meaning of legacy has changed over the course of the Modern Olympic Games. From implicit considerations to explicit expectations, legacy discourse has shaped the Olympic Games in important ways. A shift in the values that inform legacy considerations mark a shift in the Olympic Movement itself. The changes in how the IOC has framed and managed legacy discourse and legacy planning has impacted how bid cities prepare their bids to secure the Games. The changing emphasis on legacy management and legacy vision has changed the character of the bids and the promises made by cities even in the event of an unsuccessful bid. Increasing legacy expectations parallel the concerns of gigantism associated with the Olympic Games. In the end, the rise and expansion of Olympic legacy discourse marks a move away from rather than a preserving of the internal values of the Olympic Movement.



David McMurray, Lethbridge College and Robert Kossuth, University of Lethbridge
“In the woods of Canada, equality with our brothers and husbands awaits us...”: Gender and Class Constructions in the Sport of Angling on the Frontier Canadian west

By the turn of the twentieth century, white middle- and upper-class women were participating in the sport of angling across North America. Indeed, women have a long history of acceptable participation in angling as opposed to other field sports such as hunting which engendered greater controversy. In turn-of-the-century western Canada, two groups of white women, settlers and tourists, engaged in angling as an outdoor pursuit. The former integrated this activity into their new frontier lives for both recreation and survival, while the latter, seeking adventure and a cure for ills of urban life, found the southwestern Rocky Mountains an ideal playground for their angling pursuits. Though both groups of women participated in the sport of angling, how they chose to convey this experience differed. For the privileged tourists from the east, angling represented an all-encompassing adventure that was carefully and publicly documented within the pages of travel narratives and outdoor magazines such as *Rod and Gun in Canada*. These narratives became the literary vehicles through which white fisherwomen could appropriately challenge traditional constructions of gender while maintaining their respectability. For white women who settled on the frontier west, however, angling existed as a less dramatic affair, one that was woven into the fabric of everyday life—providing not only recreation, but also sustenance for their families. Hence, the angling experience for these women was seldom documented in literary sources, but instead, is evidenced through numerous photographs. It is from these images depicting angling culture that a common experience emerges demonstrating the universality of this outdoor pastime.



Jeff McMahon, Western University
“High Hopes” and “Near Misses”: The Long Road to Copps Coliseum
and Hamilton’s Pursuit of a National Hockey League Franchise (1925-1990)

The relationship between professional hockey and the city of Hamilton, Ontario has long been one of “high hopes” and “near misses.” Between 1925 and 1990 a combination of civic investment and local entrepreneurial spirit sought to put Hamilton on the proverbial “map” by bringing a major professional hockey team to town. While the Hamilton Tigers (1920-1925) enjoyed a brief tenure in the National Hockey League during the organization’s formative years, emerging trends in the sports and entertainment industries, coupled with a 1925 players’ strike led to the demise of the city’s first professional team. In the wake of the Tigers’ departure, public officials and local business interests alike acknowledged that any hope of luring a professional team to the city hinged upon the construction of a newer, larger and more modern arena. Subsequent debates yielded much discussion but few results and until 1985 the single biggest obstacle which prevented the city from attaining “major-league” success was the absence of an adequate professional-grade arena.

Drawing on a range of sources including newspaper reports, municipal government documents, marketing reports and promotional items, this paper chronicles efforts to attract a major league hockey team to Hamilton, Ontario with an emphasis on the years between the construction of Copps Coliseum in 1985—an arena built with the expressed intent of attracting an NHL team to Hamilton—and the submission of the city’s bid for an NHL franchise in December 1990. While those responsible for the city’s bid aimed to impress NHL executives with Hamilton’s new high capacity arena and the region’s hockey-loyal fan base, concerns over territorial rights and the city’s apparent lack of visibility in U.S. markets led to questions about the viability of the group’s proposal.

I suggest that the failure of Hamilton’s bid is perhaps best understood in relation to broader changes in the world of professional sports. During this period league officials made a concerted effort to move away from the organization’s heavy reliance on gate revenues by pursuing a major (U.S.) network television contract—a feat that was perhaps best accomplished by expanding the organization’s presence into previously untapped markets in America’s south and west. Under the organization’s new vision, cities like Miami, San Jose, Houston and Tampa Bay were considered desirable candidates for NHL expansion based on the allure of their population, the cities’ “major league” statuses and not on their status as established hockey communities. I argue that Hamilton’s appeal was based on a dated blueprint for success in professional sport as the city’s bid revolved around the assumption that traditional modes of spectatorship were enough to draw the NHL to Hamilton.



Andreja Milasincic, Western University
Remembering: American Football Pre-Game Rituals - 10 Years Later

Sporting terrains, particularly in the United States, have recently become strongly influenced by militaristic American virtues. Through the use of reporting vocabulary, the American game of football has become quite relatable to war, military, and politics. The National Football League's "Salute to Service" campaign to help war veterans and their families adjust to life during and after military service is one example. Similarly, football is a common past-time in American history and has become a site for the display of strong patriotic values.

This study examines media representations of American sporting rituals in the NFL on the 10th anniversary of the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Centre in 2001. The hope is to provide some insight about the impact that 9/11 had on America as well as their commemoration of the attacks 10 years later. Through photographs, newspaper articles, and transcribed statements made at various memorial services and during the pre-game American football rituals, we can investigate the way that American patriotism manifested itself in the sporting world. The opening Sunday of the NFL 2011 season landed precisely on the 10th anniversary of 9/11 where the New York Giants, the New York Jets, and the Washington Redskins NFL teams played and represented the cities directly affected by the tragedies. In addition, the New York Jets game (played against the Dallas Cowboys) was given a prime-time slot on North American sport stations. The purpose of the study is to reflect on the pregame rituals of the Dallas Cowboys versus New York Jets and the Washington Redskins versus New York Giants games and to examine how they pay tribute to war veterans, citizens of New York and Washington, the Twin Towers, charities that were set up in response to the tragedies, as well as to the United States of America itself, i.e., American patriotism. The intention is to examine the surges of national pride that played out over the course of the day on September 11, 2011, taking special note of the emotions of reporters, as they reflect on the reaction of football players, coaches, fans, and other individuals present at the games. Since the 9/11 attacks had such a strong impact on America, it will be interesting to note how patriotism and nationalism, awoken in the aftermath of the attacks, have influenced American sporting rituals and to hopefully examine the link between the military and American sport culture.



Louis Moore, Grand Valley State
Big Bill Tate: The Prizefighter and the Proletariat

At 6'6" and weighing nearly 250 pounds, the towering William "Big Bill" Tate was one of the top black heavyweights in the 1910s and 1920s. In 1911, the successful black doctor Frank C. Caffey of Montgomery, Alabama discovered Tate working at the railroad and convinced him to enter the ring fulltime. Caffey trained his new pupil for a year before sending him to New York for his new job as a prizefighter. The Montgomery native spent most of his career fighting the best black fighters including George Godfrey, Joe Jeannette, Sam Langford, Kid Norfolk, and Harry Wills, but like other black men he never got a chance to fight for the heavyweight championship because white champions Jess Willard and Jack Dempsey drew the color line. Despite being one of the top heavyweights, Tate is best remembered for being the sparring partner of Jack Dempsey. Although Dempsey trained with Tate and lived in close quarters with

him, he refused to give Tate a chance to fight for the championship. The color line that Dempsey and other white fighters employed forced Tate to fight other tough black foes multiple times for less money than he would have earned fighting white men. After a fifteen-year career of fighting some of the top fighters, Tate hung up his gloves.

“Big Bill,” who graduated from the Alabama State Normal School in 1905, was more than a prizefighter. As a fighter from the South who traveled across the country, Tate was part of the great migration of African Americans who moved north to escape Jim Crow, violence, and to find better jobs in the North. When Tate traveled the urban North he discovered what other black men had known; most black men could only find drudge labor and struggled to make a living in the urban north. To defeat Jim Crow in the marketplace, “Big Bill” believed black workers had to organize. After his career, Tate settled in Chicago and was at the forefront of a political movement of African Americans leaning left and linking civil rights with economic rights. Teaming up with the radical black newspaper the *Chicago Whip*, Tate helped lead the successful “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work” campaign in Chicago in the late 1920s. After this victory, Tate fought fulltime for the black proletariat and helped them battle for fair treatment, better wages, and form unions in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin until his death in 1953.

Despite his successful ring career and Tate’s contributions to the labor movement, there is not a lot of information about his life. My paper will use Tate to move beyond the Jack Johnson-Joe Louis narrative and will seek to answer why Tate transitioned from battling in the ring to fighting for worker’s rights and connect how the economics of racial discrimination and prizefighting, impacted Tate’s life outside the ring. The paper uses primary sources to document his career as a fighter in the ring and his participation in the labor movement and uses Tate as a way to explore the black athlete and the black working class in the Interwar period.



Dominic G. Morais, University of Texas at Austin
Handling History: Using Material Culture in the Classroom

Grant Wiggins, President of Authentic Education, co-author of *Understanding by Design*, and the author of *Educative Assessment*, avers in his blog, “suppose knowledge is not the goal of education. Rather, suppose today’s content knowledge is an *offshoot* of successful *ongoing* learning in a changing world—in which ‘learning’ means ‘learning to perform in the world.’” Although Wiggins’ ideas occupy the more extreme end of the spectrum regarding education, his argument for learning by doing accords with education scholars such as James Paul Gee, a pioneer in the interdisciplinary field of New Literacy Studies and author of *What Video Games Have to Teach Us About Learning and Literacy*, and Katie Salen, Professor of Game Development and Education and Executive Director of the non-profit called the Institute of Play.

One method of learning through doing in the field of history is analyzing material culture, or artifacts. Steven Lubar and material scientist W. David Kingery argue in their introduction to the book *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, “Historians traditionally use documents rather than artifacts in their effort to understand the past. But the artifact-document dichotomy is to a great extent artificial; documents are a species of artifact...By neglecting all but a narrow class of artifacts, those with writing on them, historians have missed opportunities.” Although the field of sport history is rich with objects to analyze, a brief Internet

search for syllabi for these types of undergraduate classes demonstrates that many instructors generally rely on student presentations, discussion, lecture, film, and primary and secondary sources in teaching sport history.

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to argue for the supplementation of material culture in the sport history undergraduate classroom. A brief description of material culture will be provided as well as how it differs from primary sources. Then a narrative account of its use in a class activity is detailed. A pair of Sandow's Spring Grip Dumbbells was examined during the activity using a slightly modified model of object analysis offered by art historian Jules David Prown in his piece *Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method*.

The paper will demonstrate that utilizing material culture is a versatile activity that can employ a number of learning principles set forth by Gee and Salen. A number of benefits of using material culture will also be discussed including improving critical thinking skills, understanding the process of "doing history," the concept of history having multiple meanings, and the ability of material culture to serve a number of purposes for the instructor in different classroom settings.

This essay is interdisciplinary in nature as it pulls from the fields of history, education, and museum studies, among others.



Don Morrow, Western University
Pomerania: Fiction and History Reflected in Roy MacGregor's *The Last Season*

The top of the 1985 jacket of *The Last Season* proclaims that Roy MacGregor's novel is "The Canadian Hockey Classic." At the bottom of the same cover is the epithetic, "A compelling fable about violence, superstition, love and the shallowness of modern life." Arguably one of the four best hockey novels ever written, the story concerns itself with the Polish Batterinski family in the fictional northern Ontario town of Pomerania; in fact, the centrifugal force of the novel is Felix Batterinski and his seemingly unlucky battering in life and in hockey. The story, dark in its undertones of despair and disillusionment, is a well told tale—or fable, as the jacket asserts—of a hockey family, its struggles, bizarre occurrences, religion juxtaposed with the occult, allusions to and representations of The Black Madonna and the Prodigal Son . . . and ice hockey. The aforementioned words on the cover of the book are a perfect representation of what this piece of literature, ostensibly about hockey, might be in terms of its meaning and importance as a cultural mirror. While not a true story, it is a story of truth and as historians we seek truth as the basis of our craft. In what ways might we use literary works like *The Last Season* to investigate, interrogate, and interpret the past? Novelists like MacGregor metaphorically stick their literary fingers inside some aspect or aspects of human nature in order to reflect back to readers some meaning/s about our storied selves. And MacGregor is no stranger to using hockey as his lens for writing about arenas of meaning beyond those encompassing the sport itself; his acclaimed "children's" series, the 22-volume Screech Owl narratives along with his national bestselling work, *The Home Team: Fathers, Sons, and Hockey* are cases in point. This paper argues that literature, like *The Last Season*, can and should be used more readily by historians as one more source for giving meaning to the past.



Eileen Narcotta-Welp, University of Iowa
“A Black Fly in White Milk”: Briana Scurry, Neoliberal Racialized Gender,
and the 1999 Women’s World Cup

On July 10th, 1999, the US women’s national soccer team ended the final match of the Women’s World Cup tied, zero to zero. Penalty kicks would decide the winner. The first two rounds ended in a tense two-to-two deadlock. It was the third penalty kick that determined the outcome. As the third Chinese kick was struck, US women’s national team goalkeeper, Briana Scurry’s feet were set on the ground as she powered herself to the left and propelled her body into the air. Parallel to the ground, Scurry extended both arms as long as she could make them, and parried the ball with her gloved hands around the post and out of bounds. Pure emotion and intensity exuded from Scurry’s body as she jumped to her feet pumped her arms up and down screaming to her teammates, “I’m a big badass. Make your kick, I set it up for you.” (Longman, 1999). Tied four to four, Brandi Chastain, the final shooter, jogged to the penalty marker. Without even a glance at the Chinese goalkeeper, Chastain calmly strode to the ball and struck it with her left foot. As the ball hit the back of the net, Chastain fell to her knees, ripped off her jersey baring her now infamous black Nike sports bra and chiseled stomach to the crowd, a field of photographers, and the world.

Scurry’s world class save constructed an opportunity for the US women’s national team to win the Women’s World Cup. However, Scurry’s exceptional and most opportune athletic triumph was scarcely marked as media outlets were more inclined to select images of Brandi Chastain’s emotional celebration. I use Birrell and McDonald’s (2000) methodology of “Reading Sport” to articulate the race and gender of US women’s national team goalkeeper, Brianna Scurry, during the their road to winning the 1999 Women’s World Cup. I perform a critical and oppositional reading of major US sport magazines and daily US national newspapers in order to uncover and foreground decentered and obscured narratives. Scurry must be situated in the racial context of new millennium America, in which critical attention will be given to the particular ways Scurry was racialized, recognizing this racialization as an instrument and an effect of what Henry Giroux (2004) calls “neoliberal racism.” I argue that Briana Scurry’s race is sanitized in media accounts to make her an “acceptable” player on the “all-white, little-girl-down-the-street, not-too-tough-(US women’s national team)” (Longman, 2000). Also, I contend that media representations of Scurry’s race and gender combined with her on-field performance not only adds to the racialization of black women’s athletes as natural and masculine athletes, but also continues to marginalize black female athletes from the game of soccer, and the center of sport (Messner, 2002). This analysis will reveal the selective and strategic ways Scurry’s blackness and femininity (or lack thereof) is made to matter (and not matter) in order for a neoliberal (white) America to appear as an open, inclusive and color-blind society while limiting Scurry to a precarious and restricted space within this American imaginary.



Daniel A. Nathan, Skidmore College
Pulp Fiction, History, and Troy Soos's *Hanging Curve*

Not likely to become part of the sport literature canon any time soon, Troy Soos's *Hanging Curve* (1999) is nonetheless a first-rate baseball murder mystery, the sixth and final installment of the Mickey Rawlings series.

In *Hanging Curve*, Rawlings, a much-traveled, thirty-year-old utility infielder and accidental detective, warms the bench for the St. Louis Browns. It is 1922, a time of acute racial segregation and strife, just five years removed from a deadly race riot in East St. Louis, Illinois. Looking to get off the Browns' bench, Rawlings plays (under a false name) in an interracial semipro contest against a local Negro League club. "I'd wished for years that I could get in a game with Negro players," Mickey explains, justifying his risky decision. "Since it didn't appear that such a game would ever be played on a major-league diamond, this might be my best chance." Soon after the game, which the Negro team won, the black team's star pitcher Sherman "Slip" Crawford is lynched in the East St. Louis ballpark. Troubled by the murder, Rawlings works with a black attorney to find Crawford's killers. According to Marilyn Stasio of the *New York Times*, "Mickey's trips to the black neighborhoods and ball fields of East St. Louis are easy and full of life, and we can only envy him his encounters with legendary players like James (Cool Papa) Bell and Oscar Charleston."

Putting aside the unfolding drama of who killed Slip Crawford and why, the novel's creative melding of fiction and history deserves attention and appreciation. Much like E. L. Doctorow's acclaimed *Ragtime* (1975), which "deliberately and without apology blurs the lines between historical fact, logical conjecture, and artistic license," Soos's *Hanging Curve* introduces readers to a vivid historical world in a compelling, useful manner. In the process it exemplifies C. Vann Woodward's reminder that "historians have no monopoly on the past and no franchise as its privileged interpreters to the public." Taking seriously Woodward's injunction that "whatever gives shape to popular conceptions of the past is of concern to historians," this paper critiques and contextualizes *Hanging Curve*. It carefully appraises the book's strengths and weaknesses, examines its comingling of fact and fiction, and discusses its representation of baseball history, on both sides of the color line. Further, I argue that pulp fiction can be fine pulp history and—building upon the work of Jeffrey Hill, Beverley C. Southgate, Murray Phillips, and others—that historians should give representations of the sporting past in literature and popular culture more attention.



Thomas P. Oates, University of Iowa
Sport Television and Neoliberal Subjectivity: Reconsidering "Jimmy the Greek"

This paper considers CBS football analyst James "Jimmy the Greek" Snyder's influence on contemporary sport media and examines how he has been remembered. I argue that understanding the contemporary media coverage of the NFL demands a consideration of how Jimmy the Greek has been positioned and repositioned in media culture. He innovated a perspective on football that adopts the view of the speculative, analytical investor, a viewpoint that is ubiquitous and widely celebrated in contemporary sport media.

How did Snyder's role on *The NFL Today* help to popularize and sanitize this formerly

taboo mode of engagement with football? How has he been remembered in sport media? To answer these questions, this paper considers previous research on the cultural history of gambling in sport, popular press accounts of Snyder from the 1960s to the present, and the 2009 ESPN documentary about his life and career, *The Legend of Jimmy the Greek*. The paper explains how Snyder is positioned to articulate complex and shifting relations of race and gender during the neoliberal period.

Snyder joined the NFL Today in 1976, after decades as a mythic figure of the gambling underground. He once famously won \$150,000 on the outcome of the 1948 presidential election. After a felony conviction for inter-state gambling, Snyder re-invented himself and gained recognition for his nationally syndicated odds-making column focused on professional football.

On *The NFL Today*, Snyder was highlighted in a segment called “The Greek’s Board” (later “The Greek’s Corner”), in which he predicted the outcome of the day’s games. The Greek’s Corner sought to avoid direct association with gambling by carefully avoiding explicit point spreads. But the appeal of the segment, whether or not it resulted in a bet, was to frame the action as a calculated investment. Snyder’s fame grew with the program’s increasing popularity, until a January day in 1988, when he was summarily fired for racially charged comments he made to a Washington, D.C. television reporter.

Jimmy the Greek helped to usher in an important, yet subtle shift in media coverage. The language of financial speculation that he pioneered on sports television is now a common and powerful framework. As Richard O. Davies and Richard G. Adams observe, Jimmy the Greek emphasized “the intellectual process” involved in this perspective, “extensive research, critical analysis of a mass of data, intuitive judgment, prudent money management” involved in identifying and managing risk. In the broader context of a shrinking welfare state, sports and other forms of reality programming have offered up narratives of personal responsibility for U.S. consumers, composing ideal subjects who must function in the absence of state assistance as self-disciplined, risk-aware, and self-reliant. This version of subjectivity, promoting views endorsed by corporate interests is now replete in contemporary sport media culture. This paper begins the process of tracing its genealogy.



Christine M. O’Bonsawin, University of Victoria
‘The Crying Totem’: The 2010 Olympic Opening Ceremony and the
‘Great Revival’ of Indigenous Cultures

Following the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games opening ceremony, media sources immediately conveyed particularly favourable reviews of the second segment of the cultural display, ‘The Sacred Grove’. Included within this segment were magnificent artistic impressions of killer whales, spawning salmon, old growth Douglas-fir forests, and Northwest Coast totem poles. It should be noted that the inclusion of the highly popularized Pacific Northwest totem pole appeared to be of central significance to not only this segment of the cultural display, but to the opening ceremony performance, on the whole. Within this second segment, significant attention was paid to the incorporation of bold and rhythmic forms of two-dimensional Northwest Indigenous arts, including (but not limited to) the traditions of Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Kwakwaka’wakw, Nuuchah-Nulth, and Salish peoples. Furthermore, the inclusion of

creative works by renowned Canadian artist, Emily Carr, appeared to be of noteworthy significance as she was greatly inspired by the artistic traditions of the Indigenous Northwest.

Through the incorporation of highly popular depictions of Northwest Coast totem poles, and associated Aboriginal artistic practices, 2010 Olympic organizers sought to demonstrate the ‘great revival’ of Indigenous cultures in the latter part of the twentieth century. As is maintained in this paper, beyond the forthright incorporation of spectacular artistic designs of Northwest Coast Indigenous art and the inclusion of the artistic works of an iconic national figure, heavily politicized messages of colonial oppression and cultural appropriation were deeply embedded within The Sacred Grove segment of the cultural display of the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games opening ceremony performance. Accordingly, this paper draws attention to the inclusion of Emily Carr’s famed ‘The Crying Totem’ (1928) oil painting into the second segment of the cultural display with the purpose of demarcating two distinct, yet interconnected processes at play—colonial oppression and cultural appropriation. The inclusion of this iconic and decidedly nationalized image carries with it expressive meaning(s) and speaks to the oppressive strictures of colonial Canada, notably those that impeded on the prosperity of Northwest coast Indigenous cultures. Furthermore, the artist’s misapprehensions concerning the original totem pole depicted in this painting may be analogous to Settler misunderstandings, and thus historic misrepresentations of Indigenous cultures, more generally. Such cultural appropriations are, arguably, projected into the twenty-first century through heavily viewed and highly popularized Olympic opening ceremony performances.



Lauren Osmer, The University of Texas at Austin
Cuba in the Cold War Olympic Movement:
A Case Study on the Politics of Communist-bloc Eligibility

Following the Cuban Revolution, the Castro government established the Instituto Nacional de Deportes, Educación física y Recreación Nacional (hereafter referred to as INDER) as the overseeing governing body for sport in Cuba. The formation of this entity led to considerable debate within the International Olympic Committee (IOC) regarding the status of Cuba’s National Olympic Committee (NOC). According to the Olympic Charter, NOCs must be recognized and approved by the IOC in order for their national teams to be eligible for Olympic participation. Rule 24 of the 1962 Charter asserts that “National Olympic Committees must not associate themselves with matters of a political or commercial nature,” while Rule 25 states that “National Olympic Committees must be completely independent and autonomous and in a position to resist all political, religious, or commercial pressure.” In light of these directives, the fact that the INDER supervised the efforts of every amateur sporting body in Cuba called into question the amateur status of Cuba’s athletes.

In order for the IOC to approve Cuba’s NOC, the links between the Cuban government and the country’s governance structure for amateur sport needed to be severed. However, in Cuba, as in many communist countries, political thought and sport were deeply intertwined. In the words of historian James Riordan, sport in the communist world was often seen as a tool for “the all-around development of the individual, and, ultimately, for the health of society.” With the tension between these ideas and the official Olympic position on Cuba as its central focus,

this conference paper should help to shed light on the complexity of Cold War-era Olympic affairs.

This paper will draw primarily from documents in the Avery Brundage Collection. Additional sources will include public newspaper archives available through the University of Texas library, foreign affairs journal articles, and other internet-based sources.



Tolga Ozyurtcu, University of Texas at Austin
California Dreams, California Schemes: Joe Weider's Muscle Beach Myth

Beginning with the publication of a single magazine (1940's *Your Physique*), Joe Weider would eventually oversee a business empire dedicated to health and fitness for over half a century. In a tribute following Weider's death in March 2013, Terry Todd describes Weider as the "patron saint" of physical culture. Todd, a historian of sports and physical culture, suggests that, "To say that Joe was a giant in the world of physical culture would be an understatement, and a case could be made that his reach and influence in North America during the 20th century in that broad field exceeded that of any person living or dead."

Print media provided the key source of Weider's influence, as well the cornerstone of his business interests. In titles like *Muscle Builder*, *Muscle Power*, and *Muscle & Fitness*, the self-styled "Trainer of Champions" taught generations of men and women how to build muscle, shed fat, and gain strength. Of course, these magazines also provided the perfect platform for Weider to sell his nutritional supplements, fitness equipment, and other related goods. But Weider sold more than training routines, protein pills, and chest expanders; he also sold an idealized dream of modernity and masculinity, a mythologized good life for the space age. Like so many American dreams of the mid-20th century, the epicenter of Weider's good life was in California. Specifically, it was to be found at Muscle Beach, the popular oceanfront gymnasium on the sand, in sunny Santa Monica. From its opening in 1934 to its ignominious closure in 1959, Muscle Beach was the totemic home of physical fitness in the United States. Through Joe Weider and his magazines, Muscle Beach would live on, long after the site had been shuttered.

Drawing on articles, columns, and advertisements from the pages of his magazines, as well as Weider's autobiography, this paper examines how Weider appropriated and commodified Muscle Beach, not just in the years of its actual existence, but also in the decades following its closure. In short, the paper details how a place becomes socially constructed and culturally significant, even after it physically ceases to exist. Based on the work of the late French theorist and critic Roland Barthes, I argue that Weider's deployment of Muscle Beach was a type of mythic representation. Per Barthes, myth serves to essentialize and naturalize language and ideas, evoking existing cultural connotations and knowledge to obscure the underlying intent of communication. In Weider's pages, Muscle Beach served a mythic function: a place that was both real and imagined, familiar enough from popular culture at large, but still malleable to serve the commercial ends of the mythmaker.



Victoria Paraschak, University of Windsor
“We still like to decide our own destiny”: Strengths and Hope
Through the Native Sport and Recreation Program, 1972-1981

The Native Sport and Recreation Program was created by and funded through the federal Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate from 1972 to 1981. The intention of the program was to assist Aboriginal participants eventually assimilate into the mainstream sport system. Concerns were raised about the cultural focus of some of the activities in a 1977 review by the Directorate. A federal policy shift occurred in 1981, as outlined in *A Challenge to the Nation: Fitness and Amateur Sport in the 80s* and “funding for the Native Sport and Recreation Program was discontinued as a result of the shift in policy directions.” (*Sport Canada’s Policy on Aboriginal Peoples’ Participation in Sport*, 2005, Appendix C).

While a history has been written of the difference between federal and Aboriginal perspectives on this program (Paraschak, 1995), the strengths realized by Aboriginal peoples through their engagement in this program, which could be useful in current efforts to create effective programs for Aboriginal peoples in sport and recreation, have never been documented. A strengths and hope analysis provides some insight into this question. Adopting a strengths and hope perspective requires that 1) the focus of a historical analysis begins with existing strengths, 2) resources that were drawn upon in the environment are identified, and 3) individuals working together to further those strengths are documented.

For this paper I examined federal government documents related to the creation, review and eventual cancellation of this program. I also examined various program documents from the Aboriginal organizations involved, and the variety of letters submitted by Aboriginal organizers to challenge the cancellation of the program. From these documents, I drew out perceived strengths that are tied to Aboriginal involvement in sport and recreation. I documented the resources that were drawn upon by Aboriginal organizers, and the types of strengths that those resources could enhance. Finally I documented the involvement of various individuals and organizations in this program, to explore the ways that these human resources were able to further the identified strengths. In keeping with the practices of hope, I also documented any examples where joint efforts were taken by Aboriginal organizers and the Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate staff to enhance the strengths possible through this program.

This research points to the different kinds of information that can be used to build an organizational analysis of a program. Existing strengths included the formalizing of a national Aboriginal sport system, the development of Aboriginal recreation directors, and the creation of strategies for connecting to the mainstream sport system. Resources included government financial contributions, and an Aboriginal network of expertise. There were few joint efforts taken to build towards a government-Aboriginal envisioned Aboriginal sport system, but there was an acknowledgment by federal employees at the end of the program that they were unable to adequately service the needs of Aboriginal sport. This analysis complements and extends previous research on this program, and provides a first exploration of a strengths and hope analysis within sport history.



Lindsay Pattison, University of New Brunswick Saint John
'A real sport played by real athletes?': Community discourses
and the arrival of 'professional' Ultimate

Since its 'invention' in 1968 Ultimate has grown into a popular recreational game and highly competitive amateur sport played worldwide by men, women and youth. Now it can claim to have also ventured into the realm of professional sport. In North America two semi-professional leagues, the American Ultimate Disc League (AUDL) and Major League Ultimate (MLU) are attempting to turn this player-centred game into a profit-generating spectator sport.

How do various stakeholders talk about the (long-anticipated in some circles) introduction of the professional leagues? And how does this play into existing community discourses? Some boosters are very optimistic, claiming that professional Ultimate will be good for the entire sport by raising the profile and the popularity of both recreational and amateur Ultimate. Some are less sanguine, doubtful that professional Ultimate will prove either profitable or beneficial in the long run. Will, for instance, the introduction of referees and rule changes designed to make Ultimate more 'spectator-friendly' succeed in producing a critical mass of people willing to pay to watch the games? Will recreational players embrace their newly ascribed roles as fans and consumers? Some players worry that bringing Ultimate more in line with mainstream sports culture and consumerism will compromise the game's underlying tenets of sportsmanship and player-centredness. Will the commercial model further water down the application of the 'Spirit of the Game'? Will revenues ever be enough to attract the game's elite players away from the amateur game? Or might amateur and professional Ultimate merge in some way? Will the pro leagues create even more division within the larger community over legitimacy, authority, and status between professional, amateur, and recreational players? More importantly, will the professional leagues be the panacea that finally provides Ultimate with its long-sought-after legitimacy? Or could the entire experiment backfire and further undermine the image of Ultimate as 'a real sport'?

How successful professional Ultimate will prove remains to be seen. The leagues are young, in competition with one another (and other versions of the game), and their future is far from certain. Drawing upon oral interviews, digital and online repositories, as well as magazine and press coverage this paper will explore how this new form of the game and the injection of 'professional' Ultimate informs the longstanding community discourses in a sport that has always wanted to be accepted as 'real' but divided over how best to accomplish that goal.



Lorenz Peiffer, Leibniz Universität Hannover
The Jewish high jumper Gretel Bergmann—a typical Jewish sports career in Nazi-Germany

She was the big Jewish hope! In June of 1936—a few weeks before the Olympic Games in 1936 in Berlin, Gretel Bergmann tied the German record in high jump with 1,60m at a regional track meet. It was only a small regional track meet with no competition for her. Her last competitor struck out at 1,40m! But Gretel Bergmann was not only jumping against herself. The source of her motivation was the absurd race theory of the Nazi Party, which said that Jews were

degenerated, physically weak, not able to compete for any athletic achievements and athletically far inferior to the Aryan race.

Gretel Bergmann could have turned this theory upside down in front of all the Nazi leaders and 100,000 spectators, if she would have been allowed to compete at the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936. But this chance was taken away from her by the Nazi 'Reichssportführung'. A Jew who was competing for Germany on the podium at the Olympics in Berlin—that would have never fit into the Nazi world view.

Jews were banned from the German gymnastics and sports clubs immediately after the Nazi's rise to power and therefore organized themselves in Jewish sports clubs. Gretel Bergmann received a letter from her club FV Ulm on her 19th birthday stating that she was no longer welcome there. But she and many other Jewish athletes were allowed to take part in training camps for the Olympics in Berlin. The Nazis had to make this concession in order to pretend to the outside world that they would be a tolerant nation.

On July 16th, 1936—two weeks before the Olympic Games in Berlin—Gretel Bergmann received a letter from the 'Reichssportführer' stating that her performances were not consistent enough and adding that she would not have thought to be nominated anyways. The Hungarian Ibolya Csak won the gold medal in high jump with the height of 1,60m.

On May 8th, 1937 Gretel Bergman emigrated to the United States. Shortly after that Bruno Lambert, whom she met at a track meet, followed her to the States and married her. In the fall of 1937 she competed at the US Trials and became national champion in the high jump and shot put. While she repeated her success in high jump in 1938, Germany had already forgotten all about her.

The fate of the Jewish high jumper Gretel Bergmann stands for the fate of many more Jewish athletes in Nazi Germany.

Margaret and Bruno Bergmann-Lambert live in Queens, New York. On April 12th Gretel Bergmann turned 99 years old. In 2012 Margaret 'Gretel' Bergmann was inducted into the German Sports Hall of Fame.



Gertrud Pfister, University of Copenhagen

Everything a man can do—Violette can do. A her-story about a French lesbian and all-around athlete

Violette Morris (1893–1944) was the world's best all-round athlete at the beginning of the 20th century. The daughter of a French aristocrat won numerous French championships in various sports from athletics to swimming, water polo and soccer. In addition, she was good in boxing and claims to have boxed successfully against men. Violette left no doubt that she was lesbian although she seems to have also had relationships with men. She wore men's clothes, smoked heavily, and had a mastectomy to fit better in her racing car. At the end of the 1920s, she opened a car part shop in Paris.

Her aim was to participate (and win) in several sports at the Olympic Games in 1928 but the French Women's Athletic Federation (FFSF) refused to renew her license, because her lack of morals and her habit of dressing like a man. Car racers did not ask for morals, so Violette became a successful car racer with many victories in prestigious courses. Allegedly, she became at the end of the 1930s a spy for the German National Socialists. She was killed in 1944 by the

French resistance. Violette's biography raises numerous questions, not only about her sporting achievements and her political involvement, but also about her "doing gender" and transgressing boundaries in a world which was based on gender duality and the compliance with gendered norms and rules. These and other issues will be discussed in the paper which draws on various sources, among them pictures and newspaper articles.



Murray G. Phillips and Gary Osmond, The University of Queensland
'Taking a Walk on the Wild Side': Distant and Close Reading in Sport History

'Distant reading' is foreign to sport historians; historians, like many in the Humanities, have traditionally been close readers. Distant reading is a term coined by Franco Moretti in the first decade of the new millennium and was initially applied to the study of literature. It is gathering momentum in history because there is literally a deluge of sources created by digitization programs in many of the large national institutions such as the Library of Congress, The British Library and the National Library of Australia. The British Library, for instance, has over 7 million pages in its newspaper collection, and it is growing at 10,000 pages a day. This is a new economy of knowledge: a world of abundance, not scarcity. This is the world of the 'new infinite archive' (Weller, 2013). Distant reading of the digitized sources, which involves the processes of data mining and visualizations, is one way of accessing and making sense of the infinite archive.

This presentation utilizes both distant reading and close reading by focusing on a case study of women's surfing in Australia during the early decades of the 20th century. Several dimensions of distant reading will be engaged in this paper: the ability to identify broad historical trends, specifically the emergence of surfing in Australia; the capacity to drill down through historical trends to identify specific issues which, in this case, is the emergence of female surfers and surfing; and finally, the capacity of distant reading for discovery—to find people, events and material that could have literally taken a lifetime using traditional research methods. We argue that while distant reading is not the 'silver bullet' for historians, it has the potential to change research approaches and patterns. Finally, we contend that distant reading is most revealing, informative and valuable, not as a free standing methodology, but when used in tandem with traditional close reading practices employed by historians. In this sense, being able to change the research lenses—switching from afar, to up close, and back again—is central to history making in the digital age.



Ben Pollack, The University of Texas at Austin
Joe Dube and the 1968 Olympic Games: The Role of
Training Systems in Olympic Weightlifting

Many remember the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City for the cultural, political, and technological events surrounding those Games. For some involved with weightlifting, however, they are better remembered for the United States team's disappointing performance. Despite

high expectations, only one athlete—Joe Dube of Florida—managed to earn a medal. Afterward, Johnny Terpak, the team’s manager, remarked: “What can I say? We had the strongest team we have ever had in international competition, even stronger than our 1967 team, which came so close to winning the world title last year. But this year we were never in contention.”

Sports scholars have given significant attention to new technologies introduced at the 1968 Games and the forms they took—innovations in equipment, like the new “Tartan” track; changes in technique, best seen in Dick Fosbury’s dramatic high jump; and controversial firsts, especially the then-uncertain effect of altitude on athletes and the introduction of drug and gender testing. It is surprising that more academic attention has not been given to another technology that came into play at the 1968 Olympics—that of training systems. Though the Soviet Union, Japan, and numerous other weightlifting teams employed national coaches and regimented training methods, the “American System” could be called “amateur hour” in comparison. “Since America does not have a national coaching system it has not as yet developed a uniform system of training,” wrote Tommy Suggs, one of the most dominant weightlifters of the early 1960s, in an article for the magazine *Strength & Health*. “As a result, most American lifters have devised their own training systems.”

Why did the United States not follow the same regimented approach to weightlifting as other countries? Was it a question of supply and demand, part of an attempt to adhere to the ideal of amateurism, or simply cultural pride? How much of the team’s outcome can even be attributed to the lack of a national training system? These are difficult questions to answer, given everything that can affect a lifter’s performance on the platform. But they are important when considered in light of the “displacement” of Olympic lifting by powerlifting and bodybuilding that followed in the next decade. Few are better positioned to speak to these issues than the athletes involved themselves.

This study explores the training experience of the 1968 U.S. Olympic weightlifting team using qualitative and archival research. Through interviews with members of the team and current figures in the sport, and articles from “muscle magazines” of the time, it attempts to reconstruct the context of the Olympic experience of one athlete—Joe Dube, one of the last American men to win an Olympic medal in the sport of weightlifting. In doing so, it looks to elucidate the influence of training systems in United States’ position in international weightlifting. And it will explore some possibilities to the question posed by weightlifters across the country over four decades ago: why did the American team not triumph at the 1968 Olympic Games or thereafter?



Robert Pruter, Lewis University
Not Playing Like an “Animated Checker:” The Rise of Men’s Rule Basketball for
Women in Chicago’s Roaring Twenties

Before the 1960s, when American women adopted the standard five-player rules that prevailed in men’s basketball, women’s basketball was the line game that predominated in the schools and the American Athletic Union (AAU). The line game, which was played on a divided court with three offensive players and three defensive players each confined to their part of the court, prevailed as the standard game across America, both in the schools and the amateur ranks.

What is not appreciated in most sport histories is that during the 1920s, men's rules basketball was played by the women of Chicago. With allies in the media and the local AAU, they built a flourishing amateur basketball culture that found allied men's rules basketball scenes in a small number of other cities throughout the Midwest and in Canada.

The Chicago version of women's basketball was played in such spots as Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; London, Ontario; and Edmonton, Alberta. Teams from these areas would travel to their competitor's city and regularly compete for the national championship (as between Cleveland and Chicago) or the international championship (as between Edmonton and Chicago). Chicago for some twenty years was in the forefront of men's rules basketball for women, and some of its teams barnstormed across the nation, taking on all comers. Such notable teams as the Taylor Trunks, Uptown Brownies, Jewish People's Institute Girls, May & Malone Girls, helped make Chicago the center for men's rules basketball to the rest of the country.

This paper will try to shed light on how and why men's rules basketball emerged in Chicago, and how it helped shape the perceptions of the people of Chicago and nationwide to women playing athletic sports. To sport history in general this is an underreported facet of women's sports and needs to be better understood and appreciated.

Only a handful of secondary sources have been used for this paper—so meager is the historical record. Rather it has been built on primary materials from the Jewish People's Institute, contemporary newspapers, and a personal scrapbook.



Susan J. Rayl, SUNY-Cortland
In Their Honor: The John Henry "Pop" Lloyd Humanitarian & Youth Awards
and Robert "Bob" Douglas Hall of Fame Luncheon

On Saturday, October 13, 2012, the John Henry "Pop" Lloyd Committee held their Twentieth Annual John Henry "Pop" Lloyd Humanitarian and Youth Awards in Atlantic City, NJ. Four individuals, including Donna de Varona, Kathy Kusner, Ralph Peterson Sr., and Cicely Tyson received awards for "distinguished service to the youth of America." Several area high school students were also recognized for their academic and civic achievements. Eight months later, on Sunday, June 2, 2013, the John Hunter Memorial Camp Fund, Inc. hosted its 41st Annual Robert "Bob" Douglas Hall of Fame Luncheon in Harlem, NY. At the luncheon, Wali Jones, Steve Burt, Ed Grezinasky and Fred Thompson joined the ranks of the Robert "Bob" Douglas Hall of Fame and four other individuals received recognition for their positive contributions to youth.

The John Henry "Pop" Lloyd Humanitarian and Youth Awards and Robert "Bob" Douglas Hall of Fame Luncheon are held annually in honor of three individuals: John Henry "Pop" Lloyd, Robert "Bob" Douglas, and John Hunter. "Pop" Lloyd played baseball from 1906 to 1932 in the Negro Leagues, mainly for the Atlantic City Bacharach Giants. Bob Douglas owned and coached the New York Renaissance professional black basketball team in Harlem, NY between 1923 and 1949. Hunter, known as "Twenty Grand," gained fame as an avid sport enthusiast and civic-minded individual in the 1950s and 1960s. The similarity of these individuals came in their dedication and concern for young people in their respective hometowns of Atlantic City and New York City.

While researching and writing about the significance of various individuals and events in sport history remains of utmost importance, how the memory of these individuals is perpetuated is also worthy of research. This paper will present a short history of the John Henry “Pop” Lloyd Humanitarian and Youth Awards and Robert “Bob” Douglas Hall of Fame Luncheon. It will address several questions. How did each event become established? What was the impetus for initiating an annual event in honor of Lloyd, Douglas, and Hunter, respectively? Who has been honored at these events and how have those honored been selected? What types of people make up the membership of the respective committees? Have the events been viewed as successful by the committees and consistent attendees? What does the future hold for these two organizations and events?

Primary sources used for this paper include annual programs from the events; interviews with committee members, recipients of awards and consistent attendees; photographs; and local newspapers (the *New York Amsterdam News* and *Atlantic City Press*). Secondary sources include internet sites (www.popsballyard.org).

From an initial review of the sources, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- Both events recognize individuals who also have spent much of their lives dedicated to the well-being of young people and, or, sport in the community.
- The committees of each organization are dedicated to perpetuating the memory of Lloyd, Douglas and Hunter.
- Both events draw dozens of regular and new attendees each year and raise money for scholarships for youth.



Samuel O. Regalado, California State University, Stanislaus
Frank Fukuda: Unsung Visionary

Frank Fukuda was a first generation Issei who came to the United States from Japan in 1906 and settled in Seattle. Taking on several jobs to make ends meet, Fukuda, after work, was a teacher in the Japanese language schools whose life's vocation, he felt, was to help second generation Nisei better understand their ethnic roots. But, so, too, was he a baseball aficionado and convinced of the game's usefulness as a tool in the cultural training of the Nisei. From that point on, the Issei teacher, then a young man and an amateur ball player himself, prodded Issei parents to channel their sons into recreation through the establishment of social athletic clubs as a means to strengthen community ties and embrace their cultural affinity to their heritage.

Through his leadership, Japanese American baseball in the Pacific Northwest expanded into locales beyond Seattle. As Fukuda himself moved to Portland, Oregon and, in his final years, to Wapato, in eastern Washington State, Nisei ball clubs sprang up and, with the simultaneous development and support of the Nikkei press, leagues and tournaments emerged. As well, in 1910, Fukuda organized baseball trips to Japan, which served as a blueprint for exchanges by Nisei teams in locales outside of the Pacific Northwest. In the annals of Nikkei baseball history in that region, players and journalists of that era referred to Fukuda as “The Father of Pacific Northwest Japanese American Baseball.”

My paper will discuss Frank Fukuda's life and the significance of his actions that lay the groundwork for the larger Nikkei transnational activities designed to strengthen cultural connections between the United States and Japan. In addition, I will explore how his vision

provided the framework for United States professional baseball's relationship to its Japanese counterparts and, later, the World Baseball Classic.

To that end, I will draw upon the Frank Fukuda Papers, housed at the University of Washington Special Collections archives; S. Frank Miyamoto's classic 1938 observations of the Seattle Nikkei community; Shibasaki, Ryoichi, "Seattle and the Japanese-United States Baseball Connection, 1905-1926" (M.S. thesis, University of Washington, 1981); dailies such as the *Japanese American Courier*, and secondary source materials to support my argument.

Some of the key questions I plan to raise and answer revolve around the social and racial climate in pre-Depression-era Seattle, why it was the the-then Nikkei community rallied around Fukuda's approach, and if his model for community and cultural bonding resonated beyond that of the Nikkei world.



Toby C. Rider, Pennsylvania State University, Berks
Making Contact with the Captive Peoples: The Free Europe Committee and Secret U.S.
Operations at the Olympic Games, 1960-1964

Since the first modern Olympic festival in 1896, the Games have provided a powerful and compelling stage for the promulgation of political propaganda. Many nations, some more than others, have equated their Olympic performance with national strength and virility. Moreover, the Games have served as a medium for countries to advertise or promote their way of life by linking political ideology with the lofty rhetoric of Olympism. As the festival has grown into a globalized mega-event, the hosting Olympic city has also become an ideal setting for propagandists to reach a wide array of people from different countries and cultures. This was undoubtedly the case in the early Cold War years, when some state-directed efforts to influence the "hearts and minds" of Olympic tourists were organized in a covert manner. At the 1952 Helsinki Olympics, to take one example, Soviet front groups attempted to promote communist doctrine by providing cheap camping accommodations and showing free communist movies to tourists visiting Finland. The western media was quick to denounce these Soviet maneuvers at the Olympic city, just as it was quick to condemn the Soviets for exploiting sport for propaganda purposes. But these reports only revealed one part of the story. Throughout the 1950s, the U.S. government was also looking to manipulate the wide array of sports fans which gathered to watch the Olympic Games in real time.

This paper will examine how and why a U.S.-funded front group known as the Free Europe Committee (FEC) launched covert operations at the 1960 Summer Olympics in Rome and the 1964 Winter Games in Innsbruck. The Free Europe Committee, just one of a plethora of clandestine state-private initiatives directed by the intelligence community in Washington, was supplied with millions of government dollars to secretly support Eastern European exiles in a range of propaganda activities which, the exiles hoped, would lead to the collapse of Soviet control in Eastern Europe. The FEC looked upon the Olympic festivals in Rome and Innsbruck, both of which were well attended by tourists from the Iron Curtain countries, as ideal venues to make "contact" with the "captive peoples" of the Soviet bloc. This paper will show how Eastern European émigré groups, with financial and logistical support from the FEC, carefully communicated with Iron Curtain tourists in Rome and Innsbruck, provided them with a range of anti-communist propaganda materials, and even advised them on how to defect to the West.

These operations thus shed further light on the complicated role of the Olympic Movement in the Cold War era and the often unique capacity of Olympic host cities to be exploited for political advantage.



Ian Ritchie, Brock University
Myth and Power: Historical Antecedents to the World Anti-Doping Code's
'Spirit of Sport' Clause

The 'spirit of sport' clause is the central ethical justification for the World Anti-Doping Agency's anti-doping *Code*. It states, in essence, that the prohibition of certain substances and methods is warranted because they are contrary to the nature of sport—its 'spirit'. A lively debate has emerged regarding the clause's legitimacy since its inclusion in the first *Code* in 2003. However, the debate has largely treated the clause in the abstract, or, in other words, divorced from the real social and political forces that shaped the creation of the clause in the first place.

This paper presents a summary of the real historical events that led to the creation of the spirit of sport clause. Based on archival documents, secondary sources, and, most importantly, interviews with people who played important roles in the creation of the clause, the specific historical events from 1988 to 2003 that led to the creation of the spirit of sport clause are traced. Unfolding from Ben Johnson's famous 1988 victory in the Summer Olympic Games and the ensuing 'Dubin Inquiry' into the state of Canadian sport tabled in the Canadian House of Commons in 1990, policies in Canada to 'rectify' what Charles Dubin referred to in his Inquiry as the 'demoralizing' effects of drugs on the entire Canadian sport community led to the creation of the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport (CCES). As part of its mandate to bring Canadian sport back to its 'essential values', the CCES created the 'Spirit of Sport' campaign, which lasted through the mid-1990s. While the campaign itself had a relatively short life, the language from it was transferred over to WADA's *Code* as the organization's 'Code Project Team' prepared the first iteration of the *Code* during the years 2001-02. Grappling with certain problems and inconsistencies in existing international drug policies, the 'spirit of sport' language provided a way of dealing with those problems and inconsistencies while simultaneously promoting a positive, 'values-based' image of Olympic sport. This paper recounts the spirit of sport's real history as a policy, the specific people who created it and the issues they faced, and the greater historical context of attempts in the Olympic movement to proffer an image of sport as 'timeless' and 'pure'.



Thomas Rorke, Pennsylvania State University
The Rise and Fall of Lacrosse as a National Pastime in Canada, 1864-1913

In 1867, Montreal sports enthusiast George Beers proclaimed lacrosse to be the national game of Canada. In the afterglow of Confederation, the claim that the sport was to be the national pastime of the new Dominion inspired many Ontario towns to form teams and take up the game. For a time, lacrosse was pre-eminent in Canadian sporting culture, and represented

Canada and Canadian-ness in the famous tours of Britain in 1876 and 1883. However, despite this strong start, the game began to lose its place on the Canadian sports scene after 1885. Historians paid little attention to the question of lacrosse's decline, largely accepting Alan Metcalfe's 1987 arguments that amateur administrators crushed the sport by over-regulating it, and that lacrosse was a pre-modern sport not well-suited to modern life in an industrializing nation. Hockey soon seized lacrosse's place in the Canadian imagination as the widely accepted national pastime. While the two sports were potentially complementary, as summer and winter sports, they failed to co-exist.

This paper contends that S.F. Wise was right to argue that the evolution of sport was part and parcel of Canada's social and political development. Using sport historian and literary theorist Michael Oriard's concept of reading sports as cultural texts in themselves, this paper suggests that interest in lacrosse rose and fell with changes in attitudes towards native peoples and willingness to engage with aboriginal culture. The fall of lacrosse and the rise of hockey as the national pastime aligns smoothly with changes in artistic, political and literary national imaginings after 1885. The decline began at the peak of the crisis of the Northwest Rebellion, and its slide continued as promoters of Canadian nationalism, including George Beers, began to emphasize nordicity and look to winter sports for a whiter conception of Canadian-ness. Hockey offered a way to 'think the nation' that did not challenge discourses that aboriginals were a dying race destined to fade away in the face of settlement. Sporadic claims that lacrosse might not 'really' be of aboriginal origins began in 1885 further suggesting that the sport's 'problem' might have been that it placed an aboriginal cultural formation in too central a role to co-exist with claims of Canada's British-ness and white-ness.

This paper uses period newspapers and magazines, nineteenth-century national histories, and images from museum collections to highlight the place of sporting pastimes in the imagined 'national' landscapes of Canada.



MacIntosh Ross, University of Western Ontario
"Burned-Over" Boxing: Charlie Perkins and the Struggle for Organized Boxing
in Rochester, New York

This paper will examine the early roots of boxing in Rochester, New York, in the context of the Second Great Awakening of evangelical American Protestantism and prevailing ethno-political rivalries in the antebellum city. I will focus on the career of Charley Perkins, Rochester's earliest boxing aficionado, discussing his efforts in his hometown, throughout Western New York State, and across the country. During the Second Great Awakening, the westernmost counties of New York State were touched by the intense evangelical revivals led by Charles Grandison Finney. Although Finney's influence extended east into New York City and Brooklyn, developing manufacturing towns along the Erie Canal were particularly receptive to his powerful preaching on personal salvation. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, however, also facilitated the spread of German and Irish Catholics throughout New York State, producing thriving enclaves of immigrant culture—including sport, music, theatre, religion, and politics—in many communities.

In antebellum Rochester, Finney's preaching during the 1830s helped produce a diverse, reform-minded middle class supportive of temperance, sabbatarianism, and abolitionism. At the

same time, however, Rochester's booming manufacturing industry attracted a large, heavily immigrant working class, with little interest in American, Protestant reform. Instead, Rochester's Irish and German newcomers pursued traditional tavern-based activities, despite their incompatibility with prevailing Protestant norms. As was the case in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and New York City, debates over the definition of 'respectable' leisure sparked significant ethno-political tension in Rochester. By the 1850s, a large number native-born Rochestarians backed the nativist American Party in municipal elections, giving increased political power to Protestant ideals. After widespread electoral violence in 1856, the American Party fell from power, defeated by local Democrats, backed by the immigrant vote.

Amidst these ethno-political tensions, pugilist Charley Perkins tried to establish boxing in Rochester and the surrounding area. This paper will explain Perkins' trials and tribulations in the context of the contemporary religious and political climate, beginning with a discussion of his popular sparring tours of western New York. After explaining Perkins' struggles locally, I will discuss his broader boxing experiences, focusing on his 1861 sparring tour across the nation with American heavyweight champion John C. Heenan. By examining a fighter from outside the more active sporting scenes of antebellum America, I argue, we can gain important insight into the social and cultural hurdles facing boxing, and other working-class sports, in smaller, less studied communities, providing a more thorough understanding of sport and class during these years.



Jennifer Schaefer, Emory University

Soccer Campaign: Argentina's Gran Acuerdo Nacional and Political Sportsmanship

During Argentina's transition to democracy in 1972, de facto president General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse proposed a political alliance that would allow the military to maintain a measure of power through democratic means. Under the proposed "*Gran Acuerdo Nacional*," or "Great National Accord," military officials negotiated with political parties and elicited support from the electorate through print advertisements. Over the course of 1972 and 1973, newspapers and magazines featured full-page advertisements for the Gran Acuerdo Nacional; this campaign mobilized the idea of the "national team" to promote unity and create a sense of responsibility among the electorate. The Gran Acuerdo Nacional lost, in part as a result of the repression the military had enacted over the previous half-decade and in part because of the powerful populist drive that supported Peronist candidates and brought General Juan Domingo Perón back to Argentina after nearly two decades in exile. What its athletic rhetoric foreshadowed, however, was the developing relationship between politics and soccer; the unifying impact of the sport would be most evident several years later during the 1978 World Cup held in Argentina.

Relying on a conflation between the electorate and soccer fans and players, the campaign for the Gran Acuerdo Nacional presented soccer culture in a gendered way that differentiated between men and women's participation on and around the soccer field. This presentation contextualizes the advertisements within the newspapers and magazines in which they appeared, examines how the campaign images specifically addressed distinct groups of the electorate, and illustrates how representations of voters as soccer fans and players included or excluded women. It argues that the metaphor of voters as soccer players and fans combined with pervasive (if

unfounded) perceptions of soccer culture—particularly the notion that the stadium was exclusively masculine—to produce a campaign that coded political debate and democratic participation as men’s arenas.

Historiography on sport and nationalism has focused on how soccer is made political; for example, scholarship on the 1978 World Cup demonstrates how the event promoted nationalistic support for the next iteration of military dictatorship that led the country during the tournament. Exploring the relationship between the Gran Acuerdo Nacional and soccer illustrates the inversion of this relationship; politics is made into a beloved game governed by the same expectations of sportsmanship, unity, and support. Feminist scholarship on sport explores how women are presented on and around the field and offers a theoretical framework to understand how women’s strategic inclusion and exclusion in the Gran Acuerdo Nacional print campaign reflected broader ideas around gendered propriety, occupation of public space, and political participation.



Jaime Schultz, Pennsylvania State University
Rebellious Runners: American Women and the Road to Marathon Sanction, 1959-1972

“It’s sort of funny,” mused the editors of *Runner’s World* magazine in 1972. “While AAU [Amateur Athletic Union] officials sit around conference tables thinking up reasons why women shouldn’t be running long races, the women themselves are out on the roads proving most of those theories wrong.” At the time, the AAU, which then governed U.S. track and field, had yet to authorize race distances of more than ten miles for women, yet distaff harriers competed in nearly every American marathon that took place in 1971. In fact, that year there were at least 112 women who completed such events. The press called them “suffragettes,” “gatecrashers” and “phantom runners.” I call them *physical activists*, for by combining physical activity with political activism, they made important statements about women’s capabilities, their right to participate in ostensibly sacrosanct male preserves and, by extension, their potential to contribute to society at large.

Before American women began to champion for a spot on the Olympic program, they first had to battle the AAU for official sanction. One tactic was to join in the male-only races by jumping or blending in with the crowd, or by entering in disguise or through other types of subterfuge. This demonstrated to race organizers that women were interested in the marathon, that they were a permanent fixture on the racing circuit, and that they could effectively could go the distance. Beginning at least as early as 1959, a cadre of women infiltrated the ranks of all-male events, risking ridicule, penalty, and even violence in their quests to complete the 26.2-mile race. Drawing from media coverage, organizational records, and oral histories with early women marathoners, I situate this project within the context of the burgeoning women’s movement to connect physical activism with contemporary campaigns for equality and corporeal autonomy.



Pierre-Olaf Schut, Université Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée
Mountaineering and Tourism in the French Dauphiné Region

During the second half of the 19th century, the growth of mountaineering in Europe entailed a development of the high mountains through the implementation of refuges and other tourist amenities intended for the comfort of visiting climbers. Soon Switzerland won fame because of its capacity to build up significant economic activity, leaning on the tourist and sports attraction of its mountains. On the other side of the border, in France, the town of Chamonix quickly structured its resources in response to the ever-growing activity around the Mont Blanc and the Ice Sea.

However, further south of the French Alps, the Dauphiné area lagged behind, still mainly functioning on the basis of a traditional, rural economy. The municipality of Saint-Christophe-en-Oisans, in the heart of the massif, made revenues from renting its pastures to shepherds from Provence. The point of this paper is to analyze the economic transformation of this municipality which, between 1875 and 1914, evolved from managing agricultural and pastoral activities to dealing with tourist activities related to mountaineering. As opposed to Switzerland—where the realization of the tourist importance of the territory immediately turned into substantial private investments—the municipality we are concerned with was overcautious and, for many years, had to be pressed by alpine and tourist societies before fully embarking on its new vocation.

For this presentation we shall lean on the local, public archives of the town, but also on the publications of the French Alpine Club and the French Touring-Club, the societies which specifically supported tourist development in this area.

Through these archives, we shall first apprehend the initiatives taken to make the practice of mountaineering possible: the building of refuges, the improvement of access paths and the creation of a corporation of guides. Then we shall take a wider look at the development of the infrastructure which made the municipality more accessible—the telegraph, the extension of the road network—all of these resulting from the initiatives of tourist societies in order to open this rural land to tourism. Besides, we shall analyze the progressive driving effect this dynamic had on local companies. Eventually, the economic mutation of the municipality ended up with the exclusion of all pastoral activities now perceived as a threat to the environmental preservation of the high valleys which have become the sole territory of tourists and mountaineers.



Amanda N. Schweinbenz, Laurentian University
Feminization of Medicine

Over the past 50 years, the medical profession has seen an increase in the number of women entering medical school and practicing medicine. In 1970, only 8% of practicing physicians and 13% of medical students were women, yet by 2010, nearly one third of all practicing physicians were women. Women were largely regulated to a support role or that of a patient as medicine was largely considered a masculine domain. However, more recently medicine has undergone what some refer to as a “feminization.” While the increasing number of women in the medical field has changed the ways in which medicine is practiced and administered and arguably brought a humanization to the profession and the care provided, this

“feminization” is often seen as having a negative impact on the profession and the term is utilized in a derogatory context. Some have argued that female physicians are less professional than their male counterparts because they work fewer hours in clinics and on-call, and see fewer patients in their daily practice. Yet, has this actually had a negative impact on patient care or has there been more attention paid to patients’ needs and issues because more time and focus is paid to each individual? As Vertinsky and Verbrugge have shown, the entrance of women into the profession of medicine improved the understanding of women’s bodies and their physical activity capabilities. This paper will examine the impact of the increasing number of women in the field of medicine over the past 50 years and the impact this has made to sport and exercise medicine. Specifically, it will provide insight into how the shifting demographics in the field are impacting the care of women who engage in sport and exercise.



Debra A. Shattuck, University of Iowa
Restoring Silenced Voices in Historical Narratives:
Why the History of Women Baseball Players (and Sport) Matters

History matters. Our perceptions of the past have very real implications for our actions in the present. This truism helped propel the emergence of fields like women’s history, gender studies, Native American studies, ethnic studies, etc., during the turbulent years of the mid-twentieth century. Since that time, social and cultural historians have been reconstructing the historical narrative of nations and people groups by reinserting previously silenced voices. These new narratives have undergirded social movements and helped foster cultural transformation as subsequent generations rediscovered lost truths, identified persistent inequities and envisioned new possibilities based on the past. If historical narratives can provide inspiration for positive social change, they can also stymie those same changes. In *Tidal Wave: How Women Changed America At Century’s End*, historian Sarah Evans described how succeeding generations of women’s rights activists reinvented feminism because they had little historical memory of those who had gone before them. The same can be said of women baseball players. Though women have played baseball continuously since the game first emerged in its present form in antebellum America, each new generation of players thought it was the first because it had no memory of preceding generations of players. The historical narrative of baseball that emerged perpetuated a gendered identity of the sport as a “masculine” activity; this gendered identity remains so deeply engrained in the national psyche that girls and women who play baseball today are still considered “novelties” whose proper place is on a softball field. Women have dismantled many gender barriers in the military, academe, industry, business, and sport, yet they have been unable to do the same for baseball. Why not? To answer that question is to better understand ourselves as a society. This paper discusses the concept of historical memory and the role that sport historians play in restoring the voices of those once silenced. It argues that the history of women baseball players matters because by understanding the process through which a specific gender-neutral form of play (baseball) became so virulently gendered, we can recognize the process through which other activities are gendered. Further, it contends that understanding how baseball’s gendered identity has been perpetuated as part of the sport’s prevalent historical narrative can give us insights on how to deconstruct other gendered identities that ought not be perpetuated. Sources include Daniel Nathan’s discussion of history as cultural narrative in *Saying*

It's So: A Cultural History of the Black Sox Scandal (2005), Keith Jenkins thoughts on the relationship between the past and historical narrative in *Re-thinking History* (1991), and John Thorn's discussion of the historical mythology of baseball in *Baseball in the Garden of Eden: The Secret History of the Early Game* (2011).



Jason Shurley, Concordia University–Texas

Mechanics, muscles...or menstruation?: An historical examination of the prevalence of anterior cruciate ligament tears in women

In a 2011 post on the *New York Times*' "Well" blog, journalist Gretchen Reynolds examined the relationship between athletic performance and the menstrual cycle. While most of the article discussed an apparent lack of correlation between the two, the advice of sport scientist Adam Leigh Bryant was conspicuous. Based on his research showing a correlation between estrogen levels and altered landing mechanics during hopping, Bryant recommended that women "should be careful during the ovulatory phase of their menstrual cycles" to minimize the risk of musculoskeletal injury. Bryant's work is related to a burgeoning line of inquiry in sports medicine: the association between the hormonal fluctuations of the menstrual cycle and tears of the anterior cruciate ligament (ACL) in female athletes.

With increased sport participation by female athletes in the decades after the passage of Title IX, a significant injury trend has emerged: female athletes are much more likely than their male counterparts to sustain ACL ruptures. Women and girls participating in sports that require sudden deceleration and changes of direction, particularly soccer and basketball, are two to eight times more likely to experience an ACL rupture. This disparity is particularly significant because the injury typically requires surgical intervention and an extensive rehabilitation process to continue sport participation. Even after a successful repair and rehabilitation program knee biomechanics are disrupted, placing individuals at high risk for developing osteoarthritis as little as ten years after the injury and potentially necessitating joint replacement within twenty.

A number of theories have been advanced to explain the higher injury rates in female athletes. These theories include anatomical, developmental, and neuromuscular differences between the genders. Since the discovery of estrogen receptors on the ACL in the mid-1990s, researchers have begun to focus on hormone fluctuation during the menstrual cycle and its effects on knee stability. This research focus is, not surprisingly, controversial.

This paper will explore the literature linking menstruation and ACL tears through a historical lens. It will discuss the relationship between the two as well as the resemblance of this research to nineteenth-century medical recommendations used to constrain the physical ambitions of women. Sources will consist of medial and popular literature relating to the menstrual cycle, orthopedic injuries, and athletic performance. The evolution of the theory and the methodology used to determine the existence of a correlation between the two will be discussed. Popular magazines, particularly those aimed at female audiences, will be utilized to determine the impact of this line of research on perceptions of sport participation and risk. Finally, this work will attempt to place this line of research within

social and historical contexts and consider the unprecedented participation of female athletes since the enactment of Title IX and changes in the landscape of youth sports. All sources are available through archival materials, microfiche, online archives, and the interlibrary loan services at the Concordia University and University of Texas libraries.



Maureen Margaret Smith, California State University, Sacramento
Reaching the “Summitt”? The Scarcity of America’s Sportswomen as Statues

During a time period in which there is unprecedented growth in the construction of sport statues, female athletes and coaches continue to be marginalized in their representation on the cultural sporting landscape. This paper examines the recent construction of Pat Summitt Plaza at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where the winningest head coach in college basketball, men and women, recently retired due to early onset dementia. Summitt Plaza includes a nine-foot statue of the coach standing with crossed arms with a smile on her face, in a bit of a contrast to her aggressive image as a coach, famously known for “the stare.” In looking at the construction of Pat Summitt Plaza and the statue of Coach Summitt, the context of American sportswomen depicted and honored with statues will be assessed. According to Norkunas (2002), only four percent of historical markers in the United States remember and honor the contributions of its female citizens. Summitt, then, joins a select few female athletes, and fewer coaches. I contend that the process of remembering and honoring athletes and coaches in statue form, while enjoying a growth spurt in men’s sports, has marginalized women in stark and meaningful ways, informing a public of whose history matters, whose historical accomplishments merit more permanent means of remembrance, and where such representations of sportswomen should locate. Summitt, in addition to being considered within the context of other female sportswomen, will also be compared with other coaching legends and their statue representations, as well as within the context of women’s sports, which includes the recent sex discrimination lawsuits filed at the University of Tennessee, which developed one of the nation’s most successful women’s programs. Summitt’s diagnosis will also be factored into the decision, timing, and framing of the construction of the plaza and statue.



Sarah Teetzel, University of Manitoba, &
Cesar R. Torres, The College at Brockport, State University of New York
The Impact of the Winnipeg 1967 Pan Am Games
on the IOC’s 1968 Drug Testing and Sex Testing Policies

This paper analyzes the impact of the drug testing and sex testing protocols used at the 1967 Pan American Games on the creation of the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) Medical Commission’s policies. The IOC Medical Commission conducted drug testing and sex verification of female competitors using chromosomal analysis for the first time during the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City and Grenoble. Prior to the implementation of the new policies, multiple sources claim that female competitors’ sex was verified through visual observations during required ‘nude parades’ and gynecological examinations at major international

competitions in 1966 and 1967, including the 1966 European Track and Field Championships in Budapest, the 1966 Commonwealth Games in Kingston, the 1967 European Track and Field Championships in Kiev, and the 1967 Pan American Games in Winnipeg. Yet despite frequent claims that invasive methods of sex testing and early procedures for doping detection were used in 1966 and 1967, little is known about the rationale for including drug testing and sex testing at these major sporting events.

This paper focuses specifically on the drug testing and sex testing protocols applied in Winnipeg in 1967. Through an analysis of the documents contained in the records of the Winnipeg '67 Pan Am Games Society and the City of Winnipeg Archives, the objectives of these tests are deciphered, as well as where the desire and funding to implement these procedures originated. The meeting minutes and policies contained in the Winnipeg '67 Pan Am Games Society records and the material found at the City of Winnipeg Archives are supplemented with a media analysis of the 1967 Pan American Games coverage included in the *Winnipeg Tribune*, *Winnipeg Free Press* and *Manitoba Free Press* newspapers, as well as through analysis of the international coverage of the Games appearing in the *New York Times*, *La Nación* and *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), *Folha de São Paulo* (São Paulo), and *El Mercurio* (Santiago de Chile). The resulting triangulation of sources is then compared to the policies and procedures endorsed and implemented by the IOC Medical Commission in 1968. We argue that problems and objections to the protocols utilized in Winnipeg at the 1967 Pan American Games impacted the resulting policies established by the IOC Medical Commission the following year. This paper investigates a seminal period in the history of both drug testing and sex testing in sport using previously unused archival sources to understand the motivations and objectives of implementing sex testing and drug testing in sport.



Dain TePoel, The University of Iowa
“All schools should get coverage”: Situating Sports Journalist
Mary Garber in the Civil Rights Historiography

Mary Garber was a sports journalist for the *Winston-Salem Journal* and *Twin City Sentinel* in North Carolina between the mid-1940s and early 2000s. During the Jim Crow era, she was the first white (and woman) sportswriter in her area to provide coverage of black high school and collegiate athletics. There is a lack of critical and historical research, however, that attempts to theorize and situate her writing on black sports in the historiography of sport history or the history of journalism. The continued state of stark gender inequality in sportswriting/sports editor positions at major, metropolitan newspapers across the United States suggests that examining the ways Garber worked within a system of white male domination to produce stories that *at times* resisted hegemonic coverage is a worthwhile undertaking.

My interest in Garber concerns her professional experiences as a journalist producing content about sports, athletics, athletes, administrators, and coaches. I assume that it is not only through bodily experience of “doing” sport or athletics that individuals and groups learn about sport as a social institution, or gain insight into the relations among sport, gender, race/ethnicity, and sexuality. In addition to embodied experiences, media institutions, representations, consumer choices, and connotations stemming from media products have a significant role in shaping understandings of the meanings of sport. How did Garber write about racial minorities?

In what ways did she depict and interpret their experiences? What types of narratives or patterns emerge in her coverage? How do her pieces relate to or appear alongside other material in the newspaper?

In this paper, I analyze over 350 articles (columns, op-ed pieces, “hard” sports reporting) penned by Garber between 1944 and 1964 covering Winston-Salem State University, Atkins, and Carver High School sports. I also rely upon her extensive interview for the Washington Press Club Foundation’s *Women in Journalism Oral History Project* in 1990, in addition to a host of secondary sources on women in grassroots local activism and journalism, and southern U.S. and civil rights histories. I situate Garber within the literature on the “pre-history” of the civil rights era, and argue that she was an activist at the local level, humanizing those that the local white community largely thought of and interacted with in de-humanizing ways.

As a journalist struggling for racial equality within the specific contexts of her community in the immediate post-World War II period, Garber’s labor as a civil rights activist has substantial implications for an understanding of sport history. Efforts to problematize women’s historical underrepresentation in the field of sport journalism require more grounding in research that highlights women’s reactions, voices, and beliefs about their motivations and frustrations. Garber is a case study for the ways in which a sports journalist working in the mainstream press produced more equitable and alternative representations of local sports, and draws our attention to how fundamentally different the influential portrayals of sport conveyed through the media could be. Further, Garber’s career points to a need to look for other “invisible revolutionaries” in sport and social justice movements.



Jan Todd, University of Texas at Austin

Boxing, Beauty, and Physical Culture: Vaudeville’s Belle Gordon—Champion Lady Bug
Puncher of the World

Six months before Thomas Edison released his 1901 short film on Charmion, the striptease/trapeze artist (chronicled in Bieke Gils’ 2013 award-winning NASSH Graduate Essay), he released another provocative film featuring scantily-clad women athletes. *Gordon Sisters Boxing* runs for only a minute and 36 seconds but as a text on the emerging physicality of women in early twentieth-century America, it is a particularly rich source. Vaudeville stars Belle (Bessie) Gordon and her more thickly-built sister, Minnie, walk on to a stage in front of a painted backdrop reminiscent of the formal gardens seen at the great estates of Europe. Wearing boxing gloves, skirts that end just below the knee, and numerous petticoats to hold the skirts away from the body, the two women immediately engage in a spirited sparring exhibition. As the boxers dance and twist between blows, their skirts flare out exposing knees and knickers. As Gils noted in her essay, how audiences in the *fin de siècle* era viewed such bodily exposure and the women entertainers themselves is worthy of consideration as they were simultaneously, “powerful symbols of women’s physical emancipation and autonomy” and subjects of the male gaze which objectified their bodies as sexual commodities.

That such objectification was part of reason for such films is abundantly clear in the 1898 Edison company catalog description for Gordon’s earlier film—a comedic boxing match between her and actor/boxer Billy Curtis called *Comedy Set-to*. There, Edison’s marketing agents write, “Belle is as frisky a little lady as ever donned a boxing outfit, and her abbreviated skirts, short

sleeves and low necked waist make a very jaunty costume. Plenty of action and sure to be a great favorite.”

This essay explores the career of vaudeville star Belle Gordon—who in addition to appearing in Edison’s films—became a great favorite of Richard K. Fox, publisher of the *National Police Gazette*. Under Fox’s auspices, Gordon published, in 1904, *Physical Culture for Women*, a book that not only established her as an early twentieth-century icon of women’s beauty but also introduced boxing and bag punching as a form of physical training to American women. Gordon, who appeared as a solo act and with two different sisters during her career (billed both times as “The Gordon Sisters”) was, in fact, at the forefront of an early-twentieth-century women’s boxing movement that included the appearance of women’s boxing at the St. Louis World’s Fair, gyms in which women did boxing training as exercise, and a number of other women vaudeville performers who mimicked Gordon’s fancy bag punching act.

Based on the archival collections of the Stark Center, newspaper accounts, and the early Edison films.



Stephen Townsend, The University of Queensland
‘Toe to Toe with the Greatest’: New Understandings of
Muhammad Ali in the Digital Age

The fundamental reality for historians in the 21st century is that we now have access to more information than ever before. We research, write, publish and teach with access to the ‘infinite archive’ (Weller, 2013) where information is plentiful and abounds just one click of a button away. This exponential increase in the amount of information available to the historian is a result of the relative ease with which information can be digitally copied, archived and retrieved. This glut of digitally available historical material raises numerous issues for the sports historian, epistemologically and philosophically. This presentation, along with those given by Drs. Klugman and Phillips, seeks to open a dialogue regarding the ways in which sport historians might approach ‘doing’ historical work on the Internet. To do this, three paradigms of digital history will be examined: digitized-online-newspapers, social media and Wikipedia. Furthermore, the exploration of these three platforms will be examined through a case-study of sport history’s most recognizable figure, Muhammad Ali. Ali, as a controversial and celebrated sportsman whose influence has extended over half a century, provides an ideal lens through which the epistemological and philosophical considerations of digitized-online-newspapers, social media and Wikipedia can be explored. Consequently, the purpose of this presentation is twofold. This research will contribute to the growing dialogue regarding digital approaches to sport history and will add to assessments of the contribution of Ali’s life to American history.



Samuel T. Twito, University of Texas at Austin
A History of Indian Clubs: From Ancient Wrestling to American Physical Culture

Wrestlers of India and the Persian Empire supplemented their wrestling practice with strength training for hundreds of years. Unlike their present-day Western counterparts, these ancient wrestlers did not lift barbells and dumbbells but instead swung heavy clubs and maces to develop their bodies. This method of conditioning has been well documented among present-day Indian wrestlers by scholars including anthropologist Joseph S. Alter. Alter has documented that, in addition to their wrestling practice and calisthenics, wrestlers swing pairs of wooden clubs resembling baseball bats called *jori* and use two hands to swing the mace-like *gada*, a heavy stone attached to the end of a long bamboo staff. These implements develop remarkable strength and flexibility in the upper body.

Just prior to the British Raj (1858-1947), this system of exercise also began to be adopted in Great Britain, Europe, and the United States. In 1866 the British military was swinging lightweight “Indian clubs,” as the *jori* came to be known, rather than the heavier clubs used by wrestlers. Through his book *British Manly Exercises* (1834), Donald Walker introduced physical culturists in continental Europe and the United States to club swinging. The work of strongman “Professor Harrison” (1866) promoted the swinging of heavy clubs for Western fitness practitioners, including both men and women. Indian clubs continued to grow in popularity and were briefly included as gymnastics events in the 1904 and 1932 Olympic games, before falling out of fashion by the mid-twentieth century.

Recently these implements have made a comeback in the United States—particularly among martial artists and the “functional training” fitness movement. The revival of both light and heavy Indian clubs, and even the *gada*, can be credited to Scott Sonnon, John DuCane, Dr. Ed Thomas, Roger LaPointe, Jake Shannon, and Ryan J. Pitts, among others. These individuals have promoted the use of Indian club and *gada* exercises to a modern audience through instruction, written work, and the manufacture of a portion of the club-like products now available in the field.

This paper will detail the history of Indian clubs in both the Eastern and Western worlds through their development in the Middle East and India, adoption by Westerners, and the modern rebirth of club swinging.

Sources include nineteenth- and twentieth-century physical culture publications (including instructional manuals and strongman photography), ethnographies, competition records, physical culture magazines, modern fitness manuals and magazines, martial arts publications, documentary films, and newspaper articles.

This paper benefits the field of sports history through the discussion of an understudied physical cultural practice used for centuries by Eastern athletes, adopted by men and women in the West, and recently revitalized by modern fitness experts and equipment manufacturers. This modern reemergence of Indian clubs is significant in that it demonstrates the growing interest in historical methods of physical conditioning. This paper also provides valuable historical context and a discussion of primary sources that may be of use to fitness professionals, strength coaches, and potential practitioners.



Travis Tygart, CEO of USADA
The Armstrong doping case: Ethics and anti-doping policy in Sport

USADA is the independent anti-doping agency for Olympic related sport in the United States. It was created as the result of recommendations made by the United States Olympic Committee's Select Task Force on Externalization to uphold the Olympic ideal of fair play, and to represent the interests of Olympic, Pan American Games, and Paralympic athletes. The USOC was aware that its program lacked credibility internationally for a number of reasons, and the task force was charged with recommending both the governing structure (as represented by the Board of Directors) and responsibilities, which should be assumed by the new agency.

USADA began operations Oct. 1, 2000. Its board consisted of nine members, five of whom came from outside the Olympic family and four of whom (two each) were elected by the Athlete Advisory Council (AAC) and National Governing Body (NGB) Council. As a non-profit and non-governmental agency, USADA was given full authority to execute a comprehensive national anti-doping program encompassing testing, adjudication, education, and research, and to develop programs, policies, and procedures in each of those areas. In 2003 the Board further extended its independence by choosing to consider recommendations from the AAC and NGBs, but ultimately electing its own members. USADA is still an evolving organization, and its history is still being written.

Since 2001, Annual Reports provide an overview of the activities of the United States Anti-Doping Agency. These reports could be a useful material for historians, particularly those called "Appendices and Supporting Materials" linked with the "Statement From USADA CEO Travis T. Tygart Regarding The U.S. Postal Service Pro Cycling Team Doping Conspiracy."

<http://cyclinginvestigation.usada.org/>
<http://www.usada.org/past-annual-reports>
<http://www.usada.org/annual-report/>

As written in the Statement released October 10, 2012, "From day one in this case, as in every potential case, the USADA Board of Directors and professional staff did the job we are mandated to do for clean athletes and the integrity of sport. We focused solely on finding the truth without being influenced by celebrity or non-celebrity, threats, personal attacks or political pressure because that is what clean athletes deserve and demand."

USADA promotes a vision "to be the guardian of the values and life lessons learned through true sport." The three main missions are:

- To preserve the value and integrity of athletic competition through just initiatives that prevent, deter and detect violations of true sport.
- To inspire present and future generations of U.S. athletes through initiatives that impart the core principles of true sport: fair play, respect for one's competitor and respect for the fundamental fairness of competition.
- To protect the right of U.S. Olympic and Paralympic athletes to compete healthy and clean, to achieve their own personal victories as a result of unwavering commitment and hard work, to be celebrated as true heroes.



Laurent Vidal, Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne University (France)
Sport Integrity Program: Creating a World Legislation on Match-Fixing,
Illegal and Irregular Betting

The object of the presentation is twofold: firstly, to present the aim, the justification and the scientific objectives of the Sorbonne-ICSS Research Program on Ethics and Sports Integrity; secondly, to unveil the findings of the Program and to describe the process of the Research.

The main aim of the Research Program is to contribute to the efforts of the international community in the development of an international legal framework to regulate gambling and curb sports results' manipulation, starting from an analysis of existing instruments at the international, regional and national levels. Outcomes of the research are expected to be presented to international and national policy makers in May 2014 in Paris.

The Research Program was established to foster interdisciplinary thinking at the international level, dedicated to bringing new solutions to the multifaceted problems concerning ethics and sport integrity, unregulated gambling and match-fixing, while enhancing understanding of these phenomena and demonstrating their transnational relevance.

The program has been conceived on the observation that existing tools, at the international, regional and national levels, are often inadequate to support the efforts of relevant stakeholders engaged in the fight against unregulated gambling and match-fixing (states, international sporting entities, federations, leagues and clubs, professional or amateur athletes, sports agents, public sporting events, authorities in charge of regulating sport, etc.). Moreover the program has taken into account the role of very different stakeholders such as sport legislators, law enforcement agencies, sports associations, athletes, referees, bookmakers and betting agencies, as well as key aspects around sporting events management such as division of responsibilities, insurance arrangements and sports funding (public and private).

The program has two main scientific purposes:

1. To identify the mechanisms currently available to fight against unregulated and illegal gambling and match-fixing, to assess their effectiveness under the various statutes of sport bodies and criminal and regulatory laws, whether national or supranational, identify existing gaps and propose possible solutions without obscuring potential drawbacks and challenges related to competition standards.

2. To propose the preparation of an international legal instrument, identify related benefits and propose its possible form and nature (Charter, International or Regional Regulations or Directives, International Code of Sport, Code of Ethics, Treaty establishing a supranational authority or mechanism, etc.). This component will aim to fight unregulated and illegal gambling and match-fixing through a combination of articulated strategies including prevention mechanisms, criminalization and punishment and functional regulation of presently illegal or unregulated international gambling practices.

The findings, transcribed in the form of recommendations, cannot be detached from their context. So, it is crucial to describe how the research, whether both the method of process or results, is built on the basis of a constant balance between the agenda of the stakeholders and the requirement of objectivity in the research.



Michel Vigneault, McGill University
From Game to Sport: the Case-study of Hockey's Origins

The origins of ice hockey is still a great debate in Canada as to find where is its birthplace. Many cities in the country claim to be the birthplace: Kingston ON, Windsor NS, Montréal QC, and Deline NWT, to name the most famous claims.

The Society for International Hockey Research (SIHR) has put together a committee on the origins of hockey to look at some of these claims. In 2002, it came out with a report on Windsor's claim. One of the features of this report, not the one saying that the Windsor's claim is not conclusive, was the definition of ice hockey itself. This definition put forward six characteristics: ice surface, two contesting teams, players on skates, use of curved sticks, small propellant, objective of scoring on opposite goals. Thus, *hockey is a game played on an ice rink in which two opposing teams of skaters, using curved sticks, try to drive a small disc, ball or block into or through the opposite goals.* (*Report of the Sub-Committee Looking into Claim that Windsor, Nova Scotia, is the Birthplace of Hockey*, 2002, p. 3)

But this definition fails to be explicit enough as to what is hockey. Using this definition, we can say that any games using sticks, skates, ice surface, goals, and a ball or a puck is hockey. What about the bandy game played in Russia, or a simple pick-up game on any outdoor rink? It looks like hockey according to this definition, even though everyone agrees it is not necessarily hockey. So we need more characteristics to differentiate these games.

Another feature of what could be the birthplace of hockey is its modernity. Hockey was played long before on ice in England during the 18th and 19th centuries, as found by two Swedish hockey historians Pat Houda and Carl Gide (their hockey timeline is available on the SIHR website). It could be confused with other stick and ball games played either on grass or ice, also known as bandy, shinty or hurling, not just in Britain, but in North America as well.

For the majority of hockey historians, the game played at the Victoria Rink in Montréal on March 3rd, 1875, was the beginning of hockey as we know it today. But what makes that game more acceptable as the starting point of modern hockey? For this author, it is the fact that the game is the forerunner of the sport of hockey. It is not anymore a game after this date, but becomes a sport. So what is the difference between a game and a sport? A sport needs rules, specific number of players, a referee, a regular competition, and a championship. It also needs to be played over a long period of time, allowing some evolution in the rules, but that this sport is recognized as the same in different eras. Finally, a game becomes sport because the competition takes over the pleasure of the players.

This paper will demonstrate that the SIHR definition is not acceptable for modern hockey, and that we need more characteristics which make hockey a sport, not a game as we know it today.



Travis Vogan, University of Iowa
The Institutionalized Object of Sport History: ESPN as Historian and History

Nearly 35 years after its launch, ESPN now stands as the world's most valuable media property. While live sporting events and news programming compose ESPN's principal and

most lucrative products, the outlet increasingly asserts and manages its self-given status as the “Worldwide Leader in Sports” by engaging a range of other media genres and creative practices—from documentary films to book publishing. These diversified activities principally help ESPN to broaden its demographic reach, increase its market share, and promote content across media platforms.

They also build cultural value that distinguishes ESPN from sports media’s stereotypically lowbrow status. A key strain in this broader effort to generate sophistication is situating ESPN as a reliable and rigorous chronicler of sport’s past. The 1999 multimedia project *SportsCentury*—along with the documentary series it spawned—and ESPN Films’ consistent production of documentaries since 2008 most poignantly demonstrate this endeavor. Although these productions engage—and in many cases usefully illuminate—sport’s past, they are not entirely motivated by the attempt to preserve or explain this heritage. They also work doggedly to position ESPN as a cultural producer—like HBO, PBS, and others—with the expertise to organize sport’s past.

Moreover, these documentaries are littered with archived ESPN footage (as well as footage from ESPN’s fellow Walt Disney Company property ABC) and ESPN personalities serving as expert commentators. These moments emphasize ESPN’s centrality to sport’s cultural history. More broadly, they locate branded media as the object of sport history—not simply sporting events or athletes, but commercially driven representations of those events and their participants. The films’ recirculation of this footage—and reinforcement of its historicity—indicates that sport’s recent past is inseparable from its commercialized representation. The history they fashion institutes ESPN both as the authoritative voice in sport’s visual history and as an authentic object of that history.

This presentation locates how ESPN’s historical productions work to reformulate the object of sport history in ways that advance the media outlet’s institutional, cultural, and economic goals. More broadly, it considers and critiques the relationship between media institutions and the increasingly commercialized production of sport history.



Tom Webb & Mike Rayner, University of Portsmouth
‘The Official Game’: The Connected Emergence of the Referee in Association Football,
Rugby Union and American Football

There have been several histories of ‘mob’, ‘folk’ and ‘Shrove football’ in England, but what is less evident in accounts of the early development of the game is the involvement of an umpire or referee to oversee and officiate on the practices of these games.

The referee that we know today originated and evolved through a complex set of developments that were activated during the process of codification. This resulted in the establishment of the Football Association in 1863 and the Rugby Football Union in 1871. Codification of sport throughout Britain, coordinated primarily through the public school system, provided many of the inaugural referees.

The emergence of regulatory sport coincided with Britain’s undisputed dominance as a world power in the nineteenth century. The developments of the public school system enabled an Empire-wide educated class to forge close links to Britain in which sport was a central element. As a result the various versions of sport soon spread to areas of British influence overseas, most

noticeably to America, Africa, India and Australasia.

This paper focuses on the evolution of the match official in utilising Association Football, Rugby Union and American Football as case studies to illustrate these codification processes and the complications that were subsequently inherited by the match officials. The paper explores the emergence of sport throughout the British Empire and the development of rules that the officials used to govern them.

In order to explore the central research question, a range of international locations were visited to obtain as much information as possible. As is evident throughout this paper, data has been obtained from a range of committee reports, training manuals, match reports and library texts—all of which were vital in examining the emergence of sport and the match official.



Stephen Wenn, Wilfrid Laurier University

Rivals and Revolutionaries: Avery Brundage, David Cecil, the Marquess of Exeter, and Olympic Television Money

They contested two IOC presidential elections with the American businessman, Avery Brundage, triumphing over the English peer, the Marquess of Exeter, on both occasions. They shared the label ‘Olympian,’ as both participated in Olympic track and field competitions in the first half of the 20th century (Brundage in Stockholm; Exeter, then Lord Burghley, in Paris, Amsterdam, and Los Angeles), and an abiding belief in the virtue of amateur sport. They held prolific positions in international sport administration; Brundage served as both the President of the American Olympic Committee (1932-1952) and the International Olympic Committee (1952-1972), while Exeter was the long-time President of the powerful International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF, 1946-1976), Chairman (1936-1966), and later President (1966-1977) of the British Olympic Association (BOA), and an IOC Vice-President (1952-1966). Both left their fingerprints indelibly on developments in international sport in the post-World War II era.

In 2010, IOC officials are wrestling with questions concerning the distribution of television revenue, specifically how much television money should be directed to the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) as its current share of the U.S. Olympic television contract (12.75%) resulting from the terms of the Broadcast Marketing Agreement signed by the IOC and USOC in 1986 (and amended in 1996) is viewed by many within the Olympic Movement outside the U.S. as too rich. The results of these bilateral talks between the IOC and the USOC which are to conclude by 2013 will likely have a trickle-down effect on the amounts of money received by the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) and International Sport Federations (ISFs). Jacques Rogge, the IOC’s President, Gerhard Heiberg, Chairman of the IOC’s Marketing Commission, and Larry Probst and Scott Blackmun, the USOC’s Chairman and CEO respectively, will try over the ensuing months to bring a resolution to the dispute that has adversely affected relations between their two organizations in the past five years. While Brundage and Exeter did not need to address directly the USOC’s financial interests in their discussions concerning the IOC’s initial policies concerning the distribution of television revenue in the late 1950s and 1960s because of the absence of the BMA (and the U.S. Amateur Sports Act passed in 1978 that forced the IOC’s hand in accommodating the USOC’s financial demands), they certainly had to deal with representatives of the ISFs and NOCs who viewed the

evolving sport television market as one to be exploited by members of the Olympic Tripartite for financial gain.

Both were key figures in establishing the IOC's earliest approach to the distribution of television revenue with Exeter much more bullish in pursuit of the money for the IOC, and his own ISF, the IAAF, than Brundage, who worried about the influence of commercial revenue on amateur sport organizations and their leaders. "Amateur sport organizations, I am convinced, are better off when they are poor," intoned Brundage in 1957. Despite his misgivings, Brundage relied heavily on the Exeter's thinking and ultimately accepted his British colleague's view to press forward in welcoming Olympic television revenue as a means of advancing the cause of amateur sport. Through an analysis of their correspondence residing in the Avery Brundage Collection, as well as their actions, this paper explores the opening days in the IOC's relationship with the television industry as a source of revenue through the eyes of the two principal historical actors who opened the vault of television dollars to their impoverished organization.



David K. Wiggins, George Mason University
Creating Order in Black College Sport: Lasting Legacy of the Colored Intercollegiate
Athletic Association, 1912-1949

This presentation analyzes the creation, history, and lasting legacy of the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association (CIAA). Utilizing black and white newspapers, personal letters, bulletins, and a variety of other primary source materials, we examine the origin of the CIAA and how it brought order to black college sport which was gradually being transformed after the turn of the twentieth century from a more informal, unstructured activity to a more highly structured and organized phenomenon. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) of different sizes and reputations, including the likes of Howard University and Hampton Institute in the upper South and Tuskegee Institute and Morehouse College in the lower South, began to expand their athletic programs which meant more regularly scheduled competitions in more sports against more schools. The increased emphasis on intercollegiate athletics at HBCUs, however, came at a price, including such problems as poor coaching, inadequate officiating, inappropriate fan behavior, player eligibility concerns, and game scheduling issues.

The problems associated with the burgeoning sports programs at HBCUs caused serious concern among the faculty and administrators at these institutions. One result was the founding of the CIAA in 1912. Almost immediately, founding members of the association, which included Howard University, Hampton Institute, Shaw University, Virginia Union University, and Lincoln University, established rules and guidelines in an effort to upgrade the quality of sports programs among member institutions and to ensure that all athletes were treated fairly and realized a positive educational experience on and off the playing field. The association paid close attention to seemingly every facet of black college sport to guarantee its success, including proper scheduling of games, maintenance of records, fostering of good sportsmanship, generating appropriate publicity and media coverage, and improving the quality of coaching, officiating, and administrative leadership. Among the many sports programs the CIAA sponsored, perhaps none of them were as popular and brought as much national attention as its annual basketball tournament first held in 1946. The CIAA, which replaced the word "Colored" with "Central" in

1950, is still in existence and still sponsors its annual basketball tournament along with a number of other successful sports programs.



Cheryl Williams & Lisa McDermott, University of Alberta
The Banff Winter Olympics: National Park Development and the “Wilderness Issue”

Since the modern Olympics’ inception in the late 19th century, many localities have sought the right to host the Summer or Winter Games in pursuit of increased international status. For civic boosters in the 1960s, staging the Olympics was often viewed as a means for both developing their communities and promoting a sense of cosmopolitanism about their locale. Such logic was not lost on the Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA), whose growth-logic was manifested through its efforts to stage the 1972 Winter Olympics in Banff National Park after having lost the right to host the 1968 Games to Grenoble, France by three votes. While the goals of Olympism have been articulated as educating and nurturing the individual through sport, encouraging international understanding and peace, and venerating human greatness and possibility (Loland, 1994), it is often an economic impetus that inspires cities to bid to host the Games. This was no less the case for CODA which viewed winning the Games as a means of transforming the existing facilities and infrastructure of the three major ski resorts in Banff “into the St. Moritz of [North] America” (“72 Olympics automatic,” 1965, p. 1); and by extension, establish Calgary as a major urban Canadian centre. CODA argued the international exposure garnered from the Games would benefit the economy through increased tourism, increased investment, and the creation of jobs (Layzell, 1961). Yet, not all locals supported such a growth agenda as over 50 conservation groups resolutely criticized and opposed the proposed developments required to host the Games in Banff National Park, viewing the Olympics as detrimental to the Park’s preservation. To this end, Olympic and park development opponents both challenged the importance of the Games to Banff and Calgary’s identity as a world class destination, and sought to focus public and political attention on the value of national parks.

Based on critical textual analysis of local and national newspapers, archival documents, and interviews, we examine the public dialogues brought to the forefront during the 1972 Winter Olympics bid when CODA’s objectives collided with park conservationists’ concerns about staging such an event in a national park. Specifically we sought to understand: how the 1972 Winter Olympics bid was framed and represented to the public in Banff and Calgary? How was Banff National Park constructed in relation to the Winter Olympics? We argue that the attempt to host these Games in Banff resulted in the public emergence of multiple constructions of the mountain locale: as a site of importance for sport, tourism, and environmental protection.

Specific case studies analyzing failed Olympic bids have been minimal. Moreover, Essex and Chalkley (1999) note that only a small number of scholars have analyzed the resistance to staging Winter Olympic Games, as most examinations have focused on the Summer Olympics. At the same time, though the IOC had no environmental policies in place at the time of the 1972 Winter Olympics bid, this study draws attention to an early resistance to Olympic Games on environmental grounds. While some scholars consider the 1976 Denver rejection of the right to host the Winter Games (Chernusheko, 1994) to be a watershed environmental moment in the Olympic movement, our research demonstrates that conservationists became involved in

opposing Olympic bids on environmental grounds even earlier, and provided the IOC with reasons to deny the Banff bid, fearing politicization of the Games through protests.



Kevin Witherspoon, Lander University
The Cleveland Workers' Olympiad of 1936 and Opposition to the Nazi Olympics

The 1936 Berlin Olympics, held under the auspices of the Nazi regime, inspired much controversy and protest around the globe. While the American boycott movement, spearheaded by Jeremiah Mahoney, ultimately failed, a number of groups carried on with counter-Olympic efforts. Historians have largely overlooked these counter-Olympics, with the exception of a few articles discussing the World Labor Carnival at Randall's Island and the People's Olympiad in Barcelona, which was ultimately cancelled due to outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Completely overlooked, however, is a relatively humble counter-Olympic display, the Cleveland Workers' Olympiad held on July 4th weekend of that year.

Organized by leaders of the Czech athletic community in Cleveland, the Workers' Olympiad was intended to be an expression of Czech pride, a demonstration of support for the growing labor sports movement in the United States, and, with any luck, a rival to the Olympic Games in Berlin. While such aspirations may seem difficult to believe in hindsight, organizers of the Olympiad dreamed big, and their hopes for a grand demonstration were bolstered when the Workers Sports League of America joined the effort in February. With an infusion of energy and enhanced credibility, the Cleveland organizers drew up plans for an expansive program of athletic and cultural events, several of which targeted the Olympic Games in Berlin.

Ultimately, the Cleveland Workers' Olympiad fell short of its goal of countering the Berlin Olympics in any meaningful way. The location of the Olympiad, a local campsite called Taborville, proved too limited to host a significant athletic festival, and a weekend of rain contributed to mediocre performances across the board. More damaging, the Workers' Olympiad fell on the same weekend as a major German gymnastic festival in Cleveland, the Turnfest, which drew more attention both locally and nationally, not to mention a full slate of baseball games. Finally, that same weekend, Cleveland's hometown hero, Jesse Owens, stole the headlines with a fantastic performance at the National Track and Field Championships.

Despite the limited exposure achieved by the Cleveland Workers' Olympiad, it warrants attention from scholars for a number of reasons. As an expression of Czech pride, it certainly achieved its objectives. As a demonstration of the growing labor sports movement in the United States, the Workers' Olympiad stands as a small but representative example raising a much broader question. Why did labor sports fail to catch on in the United States as they did in Europe? In the midst of the Great Depression, why didn't more Americans turn to the Socialist sports programs of the Old World? This paper, which will also briefly consider the World Labor Carnival and the People's Olympiad, will consider some possible answers to these questions. It is based upon archival research and newspaper accounts.



John Wong, Washington State University
Leadership and Organizational Culture—The Making and The Glory of the Broad
Street Bullies, 1967-1975

After years of prosperity since the end of the Second World War, the National Hockey League (NHL) decided to expand its membership in the late 1960s. Driven by a number of forces such as the fear of a potential rival league in the West, television broadcast revenue concerns, and changes in the NHL Board of Governors, the league added six new teams in 1967 effectively doubling its size. One of these teams was the Philadelphia Flyers. Despite the expansion, the new additions to the league were given little chances to succeed on ice as the old teams had a virtual monopoly in the player market. Yet the Flyers won consecutive Stanley Cup titles within ten years of its creation and has since established itself consistently as one of the elite teams in the league. This paper takes a look at the Philadelphia Flyers from its beginning to its second Stanley Cup title through the lenses of organizational culture and leadership and argues that they contributed to the club's success in the early years which helped to establish a firm footing for professional hockey in the local sportscape.

As organizational culture expert Edgar Shein noted, culture is more than content but a dialectic process between agents and their environment. “[H]ow we are supposed to perceive, feel, and act in a given society, organization, or occupation has been taught to us by our various socialization experiences and becomes prescribed as a way to maintain the ‘social order’” (2010, p. 2). Furthermore, culture is not a monolithic institution. Within each organization, subcultures exist. Although these subcultures may share many of the same values and basic assumptions espoused by management, they also form “assumptions beyond those of the total organization, usually reflecting their functional tasks, the occupations of their members, or their unique experiences” (p. 55). In order for an organization to be effective, its leadership needs to reconcile the differences among the various subcultures. For major professional sports such as hockey, the ease of personnel changes in the employment of general managers, coaches, and players complicates management's efforts in maintaining an effective organizational culture. Drawing from both primary and secondary sources, this paper examines how the ways team management handle organizational culture can impact the success of major league hockey in Philadelphia.



Michael T. Wood, Texas Christian University and the University of Alabama
Knut Rockne and American Football in Cuba, December 1927

After the 1927 college football season, Knute Rockne spent a week on vacation in Havana, Cuba. In addition to popular tourist spots, such as attending horse races at Oriente Park, Rockne visited several social clubs, including the Havana Yacht Club and Vedado Tennis Club. While at the V.T.C., he noticed the club's football team practicing outside and asked permission to give the players some instruction. Pleased with the players' improvement and enthusiasm for the game, Rockne offered a free football clinic the following day, which was well attended by players and coaches from all Cuban football teams. After returning from his vacation, the Notre Dame coach presented an optimistic view of the prospects for the sport in Cuba in his syndicated column.

My paper focuses on this unique exchange between the most popular college football coach in the United States (and perhaps of all time) and Cuban players and their coaches. Rockne's trip, his impromptu football clinic, and his opinion of the sport in Cuba provide opportunities to examine Cuba as a tourist destination in the 1920s, American football as it was played on the island, and Rockne's assessment of and attitude toward the Cuban football players. My paper will be grounded in primary research from U.S. and Cuban newspapers and supplemented by secondary works such as Murray Sperber's *Shake Down the Thunder* (of which there is no mention of Rockne's trip to Cuba). In addition to the topics mentioned earlier, I will also place this interaction in the broader context of Rockne's career, college football history, and the history of American football in Cuba. Overall, my paper will contribute to our understanding of the transnational nature of American football and will spotlight Rockne's previously overlooked participation in encouraging the sport in Cuba.



Matt Yeazel, Anne Arundel Community College
“Mommy, why is Charles Barkley wrestling Godzilla on TV?”:
An historical look at the history of sports commercials

From the invention of the television to the age of tablets, professional sports have attempted to capitalize on any existing medium to sell the sport and their products. Just like all creative attempts at engaging the public, not all advertisements have been successful. For every Pepsi “Mean Joe Greene” Commercial there is a McDonald’s “Evil Larry Bird Torturing Grant Hill with Fries.” The lucrative sports sneaker market built a cottage industry on athletes wearing their particular shoes, but for every Nike “Air Jordan” campaign there are a rash of miscalculated shoe campaigns, like the three recent campaigns for Robert Griffin III (Adidas), Kobe Bryant (Nike), and Derrick Rose (Adidas), where gargantuan-like comebacks were touted and not delivered. Further, different professional sports have attempted to sell the sport itself through the use of commercial advertising. This paper will chronicle the history of sports commercials along with gauging their impact on American culture. Due to their everyday presence, sports commercials have shaped not only sports but the means by which individuals see themselves.



David Zang, Towson University
The Grand Tour of Baltimore's Graveyard Greats

There is an assumption among American urbanites that each of the nation's cities are unique, distinguished by social tics and habits that can be detected in its citizenry, even when far afield. Some of the passion devoted to professional teams and their athletes is claimed to derive from this fiction—that is, the idea that if we all pretend to live as if some connective tissue binds us, then there really is a connective tissue that binds us. But trying to stretch the fiction of a city across sports is difficult inasmuch as most of the athletes representing us weren't born or raised in the locales that they represent. I decided, then, that the heart of Baltimore sport was less likely to be found in the present, from which many will inevitably depart, than in the past. That is, I

decided to visit the city's graveyards in search of the athletes who finished their lives here, on the entirely unscientific grounds that something about Baltimore made it feel like home.

Hidden in every city, the graves of once notable humans lie camouflaged among a thousand others who never made the same kind of public mark. Now they are as indistinguishable as one M & M from another. Where we buried them and where we now find them reveals a society's character across time, leaking light from the depths onto issues of power, class, gender, race, religion, and—most important of all—onto what we made of sport, that most vital engine of all human existence.

From “Buttercup” Dickerson to “Boileryard” Clarke to “Cupid” Childs, some of the liveliest characters in Baltimore sports history now lie dead—some famous, most forgotten. They were players, broadcasters, writers, owners, and icons. They played not only for the Orioles and Colts, but for Quicksteps, Orphans, Beaneaters, Black Sox, and the Federal League Terps. They rest alongside Lincoln assassin conspirators, gifted jazz musicians, and members of the Little Rascals.

In profiling a sample of the deceased and where they came to rest, this presentation will, I hope, reveal not only personal stories, but also the character of the city across time, illuminating issues of power, race, class, gender, and religion.

Gravesites meriting a visit include those of: John J. McGraw and Wilbert Robinson, men who had an impact on baseball, but just as important, are falsely lionized in Baltimore as the creators of duckpin bowling; Native Dancer, the “Grey Ghost” that lost just one race and became the first horse to be glamorized by the rise of television; Jack Dunn, who discovered Babe Ruth, then dealt him to the Red Sox; John Unitas, the city's other Twin Tower (alongside Cal Ripken); Robert Garrett, Olympic gold medalist who revolutionized for all time the way a discus is thrown and who ran Baltimore's segregated parks system for nearly four decades; Rube Marquard, the great Jewish pitcher; Joe Gans, the turn-of-the-century boxer whose race with death brought him back to Baltimore; Benjamin Taylor, one of the great Negro baseball players of the early twentieth century; controversial Ravens owner and NFL pioneer, Art Modell; media giants Jim McKay and Chuck Thompson; and John Turnbull, the “Babe Ruth of Lacrosse,” Baltimore's quintessential sport.



Adrian Zita-Bennett, McMaster University

“War Minus the Shooting:” The Cold War and the 1952 and 1956 Summer Olympics

Millions of people all over the world look upon the Olympic games as a promise of peace among Nations. It is clear, however, that the great and global hope for peace is a constant source of irritation to those who prepare war.

—Bruno Frey, Radio-Verkehrs-AG (Vienna), July 26, 1952

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) has been adamant that “the Olympic games are competitions between athletes in individual or team events and not between countries.” However, upon the Soviet Union's induction into the Olympic Movement in 1951 and its participation at the 1952 and 1956 Games thereafter, the Cold War essentially prevented such idealism from becoming a reality. Historians have displayed a growing interest in Olympic

history, though the intersection between sport and politics remains underexplored outside of Berlin (1936), Moscow (1980), and Los Angeles (1984). The Helsinki and Melbourne Olympiads, nonetheless, became veritable battlegrounds of the East-West confrontation. For both sides, success at the Games was akin to cultural currency that purported to demonstrate the superiority of their respective nations and political systems. This paper will chart the development of Soviet sport since the October Revolution in 1917 to give context to the Soviet “threat” in the sphere of international athletics. It will discuss how the resultant politicization of the Games by influential voices within US society—including government officials, journalists, and athletes—reinforced dominant ideologies crucial to sustaining the US’s Cold War effort. As the performances of athletes were framed through political lenses, sportswriting the “American way” became a defining feature of international sport coverage during the era.

This paper will demonstrate how Soviet success in the Summer Olympics caused and underscored an introspective crisis of confidence within US society over the practicality of the “American way” in athletics and general life. In a revealing paradox, there was significant debate in public discussion that the US embrace aspects of the Soviet “method” in order to emerge victorious in their protracted Cold War against the USSR. Sport historians, as Ken Cohen recently argued, should not solely narrow the breadth of their craft to only illuminate instances wherein sport proves a reflection of the processes of social and cultural production within a given society, but rather highlight cases wherein sport proves a determining factor of such processes. This paper does just that, and as stated not only broadens our understanding of the intersection between sport and politics in an international context, but significantly demonstrates how that intersection had a clear and crucial domestic impact within a US society already affected by the nascent East-West *tête-à-tête*.

