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Brett L. Abrams, National Archives

From Hogettes to Cash Cows: Washington Redskins Fans over the Last Thirty Years

Teams and leagues spend millions of dollars on consulting firms to study their fan base to expand the numbers and maximize the expenditures they can generate from their fans. This presentation builds upon the paper that I gave last year which looked at the ways in which teams and the media think about specific fan groups.

As I mentioned in last year’s proposal, academics have looked at fans from the perspective of socialization, fan violence and whether factors like roster turnover influence 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. They do not examine the fans of individual teams nor focus on the actions fans have taken and their ideas they have formulated about their team. 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 presentation takes on the challenge of providing specific insight into a team’s fan base from 1980 through 2010. While documenting the actions taken by team and league, the paper concentrates on the responses the fans had to those actions, ranging from the players’ strikes through Super Bowl wins and the banning of fan signs in FedEx field. This paper enables us to begin noting where Redskins’ fans reacted uniquely and where they shared behaviors with other sets of professional football fans, each enabling us to broaden sports history’s understanding of fans for particular sports and in particular sections of the country.

Carly Adams, University of Lethbridge

On being consumed: Documentary film and the academic experience

Increasingly sport historians are seeking ways of reaching and interacting with the larger public. Yet, public history is often criticised by academic historians for its perceived lack of rigour and often-problematic connections to tourism and heritage initiatives. In his examination of how the “historical” is conceptualized by the popular and cultural imagination, deGroot (2009:5) suggests that in recent years our engagement with the past, and how it is publically consumed, has changed, conditioned by processes of consumption and commodification. Following deGroot (2009) this paper explores the “visual” turn in sport historiography and how popular interests and the increasing visual literacy of our students and the public can articulate with and/or contradict our academic priorities.

In September 2014, Labatt Park, a documentary about Labatt Memorial Park in London, Ontario, Canada was released. The film, funded by the City of London and the London Heritage Council, examines the history of the park, touted as the oldest continually operating baseball grounds in the world. The film explores how the park was established, as well as notable events and championship teams that called it home. As a sport historian, I have engaged in several public history projects and have presented my academic work in various visual and textual forms; this has led me to consider my obligations as a public intellectual. Most recently I was interviewed and my research was
included as part of this documentary film on Labatt Park. Based on research I did from 2002 to 2007, I was the token academic historian included in the film, the only woman, and I spoke about the voices and experiences that are too-often marginalized in our understanding of sporting places and heritage. In this paper, following Giradina and Newman (2011), I reflect on my embodied experience in this process to explore the historian’s role as “expert” to consider the implications of my academic voice in this documentary film.

Iain Adams and Ciro Prisco, University of Central Lancashire

Samurai baseball: The Illustrations of Kyojin no Hoshi (The Star of the Giants) and the development of Japanese social identity

This paper examines the part played by the illustrations in the Shônen Manga (young people’s comic) ‘Kyojin no Hoshi’ (Star of the Giants) in the development of post-war Japanese social identity, the ‘New Bushidô’. Although Kyojin no Hoshi, originally written by Ikki Kajiwara and illustrated by Noboru Kawasaki, was developed into three anime series, a TV special and five movies, this study is limited to the original manga published between 1966 and 1971. The roots of Bushidô, Manga and baseball in Japan are briefly reviewed before evaluating whether Kawasaki’s images in ‘Kyojin no Hoshi’ helped generate, reinforce and spread Japanese social identity.

It was determined that the success of Ichiko High School’s team against visiting American teams in the late nineteenth century, employing the traditional Samurai values of loyalty, self-discipline and self-sacrifice, led to the perception of a specific Japanese way to train for and play baseball. Following the Second World War, the Japanese government employed baseball to help stabilize the country and begin the restoration of Japanese values. Weekly Shônen Manga were introduced in 1959 to provide encouragement to the younger generation showing the world around them and providing models for overcoming life’s adversities using important rules and values. The launch of ‘Kyojin no Hoshi’ was instrumental in raising the sales of Shônen Magazine from 1 million per week in 1966 to 1.5 million per week by the end of 1968. The hero, Hyuuma Hoshi, employs the grueling ‘bloody urine’ regime and traditional Samurai values to lead the Giants to success by teaching the new generation the behaviour and principles necessary to become a citizen of modern Japan.

It was concluded that ‘Kyojin no Hoshi’, and other manga, can be viewed as forms of print capitalism connecting and disseminating Japanese social identity and exemplifying Anderson’s notion that the print media is central to reaffirming and cementing the features that bind the imagined community together.

Josh Adams, Saint Leo University & Phil Hatlem, Saint Leo University

“Olympic Stadium Legacy – To Preserve or Move Forward?”

When business and history collide, business usually wins in a crushing manner. Nowhere is this more evident than in the current environment surrounding North American professional sport facilities (Craig). For every Fenway Park in Boston, Lambeau Field in Green Bay, or Madison
Square Garden in New York that is preserved, renovated, and ultimately revered due to its unique historic value, there are countless more facilities that are replaced by gleaming monuments to the pursuit of ever-expanding revenue streams.

One might believe, however, that at least Olympic Stadiums would fall into the small category of venues that are revered and preserved for their history. In the United States, that would be half true. The Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum has hosted two Summer Olympics, and has been the home of the University of Southern California Trojan football team for over 90 years (Teel). It has been able to both invoke its history, such as listing all gold medalists from the 1932 and 1984 Olympics in its “Memorial Court of Honor” (Barnes), while also staying relevant over the years by undergoing “huge” improvements periodically (Los Angeles Coliseum). USC is contracted to play football in the Coliseum for another 40 years, with the agreement hoping to generate another $100 million in improvements over that time (Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission).

It is a different story for the most recent “Olympic Stadium” in Atlanta. Built at a cost of more than $200 million for the 1996 Centennial Olympics, following the games it was immediately renovated to be the home of Major League Baseball’s Atlanta Braves beginning with the 1997 season, even changing the name to “Ted Turner Field.” Some question—tongue firmly planted in cheek—whether those Atlanta games actually even happened (Browne). But it is obvious that the stadium was not built to be a lasting architectural piece as a symbol of prestige and accomplishment. In fact it will only have a limited twenty-year life span, with a new stadium for the Braves scheduled to open in 2017 (Suggs).

By examining these two conflicting case studies, this presentation will explore the viability of preserving historic venues when faced with economic realities. Is it enough to preserve history simply for history’s sake? Or must those of us hoping to preserve history find a way to also make these venues fit the current business model, or see them disappear?

KATELYN AGUILAR, UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

To Win One for the Gipper: Football and the Shaping of Ronald Reagan

This paper explores the significance of football to Ronald Reagan and the shaping of his public persona. Sport historians Michael Oriard and Elliott Gorn identify football as a cultural lens through which to explore historical constructions of masculinity. Kurt Edward Kemper and Jeffrey Montez de Oca position football as important for studies of the Cold War because of its cultural prominence and relationship to militarism. Despite the rich historical scholarship on Ronald Reagan, masculinity, and the Cold War, no scholar has grappled with the role football played in the making of the Gipper.

Through Reagan’s essays, biography, autobiography, and political speeches, in addition to media commentary, I explore how Reagan categorized football as critical to his personal development as a citizen and how he and others used the sport to fashion him as the ideal citizen of the 1980s. How did football help Reagan move from a high school and college player to a Hollywood star? How did he employ the sport, especially the role of George Gipp, to articulate himself as the 1980s archetype of American citizenship? How and why does this ideology position him as most fit for leadership during the Cold War?
Football catapulted Reagan into the public sphere. Most scholars and political pundits analyze his impromptu interview with WOC AM radio after college. Reagan also regaled audiences with his improvisation of this fictitious football game. He rewrote the script to make himself the hero. I argue he employed this script and talked continuously of his love for football because of the sport's historical use in shaping men for war. In his writings and speeches on football, Reagan positioned himself as the ideal American citizen to lead a nation at war because of the attributes he cultivated on the field: physical and mental toughness, self-discipline, and sacrifice.

Because of football, Reagan was able to ascend from a Midwestern high school player into a sports announcer and Hollywood star. He secured the sports announcer position because of his knowledge of football and the role of Gipp because he was a football player. Through a fictitious football game, he was also able to transform himself ideologically from one who may have missed a tackle into the Gipper, a political player who was not afraid to address issues with the Soviets head-on.

The mythology of Reagan’s success was predicated upon his grit and physicality. This mythology obscured how Reagan’s race provided him unrestricted access to American football, which he used to define his and others’ American citizenship. This research is significant to the history of sport because by focusing on football for Reagan, a game that shaped constructions of masculinity through its historical relationship to military organization, historians gain new insight into how football shaped Reagan personally and politically and how he and others were able to use the game to show him as the rightful commander-in-chief.

CAT ARIALL, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

“Olympian Quintessence:” Wilma Rudolph and Female Athletic Iconicity

Wilma Rudolph represents an enduring, universal exemplar of female athleticism, with the exceptional, unprecedented combination of her inspiring personal story, athletic excellence, and perceived “feminine” charisma deemed the rationale for her lasting resonance. However, what can a historicized deconstruction of Rudolph’s iconicity reveal about female athletic iconicity and the cultural status of women’s sport? Furthermore, what can a closer examination of Rudolph’s iconicity reveal about the importance of black female athletes in charting the trajectory of women’s sport in the late-twentieth century U.S.?

Records of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs about government interest in sport during the Cold War, held at the University of Arkansas, provocatively suggest the foundational role of the state in enshrining Rudolph as the cultural model of female athleticism. By contextualizing archival documentation on the State Department’s role in U.S. sport during the 1960s, including the employment of Wilma Rudolph as an American Sports Specialist in West Africa in 1963, with the historical trajectory of black women’s track and field in the 1950s and 1960s and Rudolph’s lived experiences of race and gender gleaned from her autobiography and an oral history interview with coach Ed Temple, can encourage a more authentic, complex appreciation of Rudolph and, in turn, black female athletes who carry on her legacy. Historicizing Rudolph’s lasting resonance reveals the precariousness and uniqueness of her acclaim. Her iconicity represents an unattainable ideal for subsequent female athletes, especially black female athletes. Appropriately,
Wyomia Tyus, one of Rudolph’s underappreciated successors, would tell youth she worked with, “You can be the best in the world and not be recognized. A lot of it has to do with breaks.”

The early 1960s were an important “break,” not only for an individual black female athlete but also for the genesis of modern women’s sport culture. Rudolph’s lasting iconization illuminates the simultaneously constitutive but contested, foundational but ephemeral position of black female athletes in late twentieth-century U.S. sport culture. Subject to the double-burden of race and gender, black female athletes demonstrate the tenuous iconic potential of all female athletes in U.S. sport culture. The continued cultural impact of the Rudolph moment also highlights the significance of state support in both enabling and constraining the potential of female athletic iconicity. Fully recognizing Rudolph’s “break” frees her legend from its static model and permits an appreciation of her lived experiences of race and gender. Positioning Rudolph in her “break” also provides a space for establishing a new ground for better understanding and critiquing the historical legacy, current manifestation, and future possibilities for black female athletes, women’s sporting progress, and American sport culture at large in the late twentieth-century U.S. and beyond.

ROBERT K. BARNEY, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

What’s in a Flag? The Union Jack, the Maple Leaf, and the Olympics in the Contested Terrain of Canadian National Identity

In the summer of 1908, Canada’s first Olympic Team entered London’s White City Stadium behind flag-bearer Ed Archibald carrying his nation’s national ensign, a flag whose upper left hand quadrant featured a powerful and ubiquitous symbol of world social, political, and economic influence—the renowned Union Jack. The remainder of Canada’s “first Olympic flag” featured a composite of the coats-of-arms of the nation’s then nine provinces. But, there were no Union Jacks on the dress uniformed breasts of the 32 athletes assembled for that “opening ceremonies parade.” Instead, the uniform presented a symbol of more striking national identification—a large red maple leaf. Thus commenced the exact moment that the Union Jack vied with the red Maple Leaf in the contested terrain of British imperial designs for Canada vis a vis rising Canadian nationalism. In a limited way (given 20 minutes to present the case) this paper attempts to trace the journey of the Maple Leaf’s rise and steadfastly increasing incidence as the nation’s “Olympic signifier,” a signification that finally culminated in Canada’s permanent “Maple Leaf” flag being presented for the first time in Olympic context at the parade of nations on the afternoon of 12 October 1968 in Mexico City’s national stadium on the occasion of the opening of Games of the XIX Olympiad. The essay argues that the introduction of the red maple leaf as a national symbol of Canada, with respect to the logo’s initial international debut at the Games of the Fourth Olympiad celebrated in London, England in 1908, provided the first in a series of succeeding international Olympic occurrences that lent credibility to a greater Canadian movement towards neo-liberal-promoted national self-identity and a commensurate beginning of the erosion of what most Canadians would refer to as “Britishness.” The study profits from primary source material from Canada’s National Archives in Ottawa, as well as selected secondary sources.
During the running of the 1928 Italian Grand Prix auto race, a car driven by Italian ace Emilio Materassi plunged into the crowd killing the driver and 27 spectators. It was the first such mass tragedy at a motor race since the ill-fated Paris-Madrid race of 1903. That tragedy prompted European governments to ban city-to-city races. After these deaths, purposely-built autodromes like that of Monza, where the 1928 accident occurred, were seen as the safest venues for holding Grand Prix races. The tragedy of 1928 showed, however, that this was not the case and the controversy over the sport of Grand Prix racing was revived. The death of drivers had always been seen as an acceptable risk but the killing of spectators was another matter entirely, often provoking the intervention of governments. The Italian fascist regime—in power since 1922 and in the process of constructing a dictatorship when this race was held—was thus faced with a dilemma. Despite much discussion in the press and controversy, which echoed the firestorm after Paris-Madrid, the fascist regime reaffirmed rather than restricted motor sport.

This paper will examine the place of motor sport in the fascist regime and its “culture of speed” which derived from fascism’s close links with the avant-garde art movement Futurism. The 1928 Italian Grand Prix was, in fact, a key component in this “culture of speed.” The race at Monza, Italy’s national autodrome near Milan, was the only international race held that year due to changes in the racing formula. Much was made of the regime’s saving Grand Prix racing at a time when other European countries didn’t bother to hold a race at all. The event was so important for the regime’s international reputation in sport that it involved the Fascist party secretary Augusto Turati, who had made sport a main pillar in the party’s making of the Fascist New Man. The events of 1928 threatened to undermine this policy. Since the death of Italian ace Antonio Ascari in 1925 fallen race drivers had been treated as fascist martyrs. They were given state funerals and a place in the pantheon of fascist heroes. A similar ritual was used after the Monza accident—only this time all the victims were part of a funeral procession which included the driver. This paper will demonstrate how the regime took a potential disaster—the death of innocent bystanders and thus the loss of crowd control—and turned it into a sacrifice in the name of progress and the fascist revolution.

The evidence for this paper will come primarily from newspapers and specialist magazines published at the time of the event. It will trace the controversy over the accident in the press and the official reactions of the regime. The paper will also make use of newsreel footage and photographs of the race and the accident. These sources will show how images were used to emphasize the “disciplined crowds” in the face of the accident and also examine the close-ups of the wrecked racing car. Commentary will also be made of what was not shown in these images—the dead bodies. This absence of death in the images and the focus on the car recalled the Futurist manifesto of 1909 and its exaltation of an automobile accident. In this case the regime was able to transform the tragedy into a key pillar of the “culture of speed.”
Mabel Rader: Never a Competitor, but Always a Champion

Like many traditional, mid-twentieth century, Midwestern women, Mabel is always mentioned in conjunction with her husband, Peary Rader. Peary and Mabel’s journey began in 1936 when they created a small, 5 ½” x 8 ½” pamphlet named *Super-Physique* which they mailed to Peary’s lifting friends. Little did they realize the small pamphlet would evolve into *Iron Man Magazine*—a highly respected publication on most of the physique and lifting platforms of the twentieth century. Peary and Mabel became a well-known pair in the Iron Game; they were always traveling to contests, whether it was a local Alliance, Nebraska, competition or the World Weightlifting Championships, to officiate, photograph, or gather information for their magazine. While Mabel would most likely believe that her husband’s name should be mentioned first and foremost, her personal contributions to women’s lifting demand individual attention.

The first female to do so, Mabel earned national referee certifications for three platforms—physique, powerlifting, and weightlifting. Involved with the development of the sport of powerlifting in the 1960s, Mabel encouraged women to not only lift weights and become strong, but to also compete. Women powerlifters gained national acceptance in 1977 with the first sanctioned women’s national championships; Mabel played a role in that recognition. Because of her constant advocacy of women’s lifting, Murray Levin, president of the United States’ Weightlifting Federation, appointed Mabel as the first chairwoman of the Weightlifting Federation’s Women’s Committee in the early 1980s. The first women’s weightlifting national championship occurred in 1981 thanks to Mabel.

Her ability to use the pages of *Iron Man Magazine* to promote and advertise lifting for women gave Mabel a unique and immensely influential position. Even though Mabel seems to have never competed herself, she is a true champion in women’s strength sports. She has also never been the topic of scholarly research. I’ve mentioned her name fleetingly in previous NASSH presentations while exploring the history of American women’s weightlifting and Jan Todd wrote a four-page encyclopedia article on “Weightlifting” for the *International Encyclopedia of Women and Sport* in which Mabel is mentioned. However, none of these treatments have Mabel as the primary target of the research as this paper expects to do.

Suburban Environmentalists: Protect Our Mountain Environment and the 1976 Denver Olympics

On November 7th of 1972, Colorado’s citizens voted in support of a referendum to make it illegal for public funds to be allocated toward the 1976 Denver Winter Olympics. The vote effectively forced Denver, Colorado to become the first and only city to win and then rescind a bid to host the Olympic Games. This paper represents one facet of a larger project that aims to reveal why some citizens of Colorado supported hosting the games, why others did not, and what can be learned about the social and cultural history of the American West by examining people’s respective positions on the controversy. How did values pertaining to racial justice, gender expectations, one’s socio-economic status, concerns for public infrastructure, the dangers of air and water pollution, or
threats to one’s aesthetic surroundings inform the opinions of specific Colorado voters? Why and how did the majority of Coloradans come to feel that they would be better off without the winter sports spectacle? And more broadly, what can Colorado’s successful opposition to the winter Olympics teach us about larger social movements pervading Colorado and the American West at the time?

Though this paper only begins to attempt to answer these questions, it does so by looking at the first organization to make a concerted effort to undermine the Denver Olympic Committee’s (DOC) plans for the 1976 games. Opposition to the 1976 winter Olympics first emerged in the Denver suburb of Evergreen, Colorado, when residents learned that a cross country ski race would pass near (and even through) some of their backyards. In response, Evergreen residents formed an organization called Protect Our Mountain Environment (POME). As this paper argues, POME couched its opposition to the DOC’s plans in a distinct environmentalist rhetoric—what environmental historians have often termed “suburban environmentalism.” This brand of environmentalism proved to be most significantly shaped by socially constructed notions of ideal middle-class suburban environs. The ski industry, Colorado businessmen, and politicians hoped to use the Olympics to foster their personal wealth and social stature. In response, POME used the discourse of environmentalism to protect their neighborhood’s milieu.

To supporting this thesis, this essay draws from the POME’s collected papers, letters, and news clippings. It also pays particular attention to editorials published in Evergreen’s local newspaper, the Canyon Courier. Thereby, this analysis sheds light on the beginning of the end of the Denver Olympic Games.

DOUGLAS BOOTH, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO

Bondi’s First Swimmer in History and Historiography

Swimming is an irrefutable element of Australian culture. It is highly visible at Sydney’s acclaimed beaches and ocean pools, including the renowned Bondi Beach and the Bondi Iceberg’s pool. At one level, the history of swimming at Bondi is well known. Waverley Council built the Bondi Baths (subsequently the Bondi Iceberg’s) in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to protect bathers from dangerous surf and currents, and to regulate bathers and to control how they revealed themselves in public. Over time bathers became more proficient swimmers and competitive individuals practiced the activity as a codified sport. Adventurous bathers braved the surf and became surf swimmers and body surfers, and local authorities progressively relaxed the rules that defined how, and when, bathers presented their bodies in public. By the 1920s Bondi was a bathing and swimming Mecca among Sydneysiders and Australians. Yet, this history is strangely silent about the origins and nature of early swimming at Bondi which is somewhat at odds with the discipline’s penchant for beginnings. Scant primary sources partly explain the silence, but more fundamentally it represents a failure on the part of historians to fully and adequately define their subject, vis. swimming, which at Bondi, and indeed at all Australian beaches, has always commingled with numerous synonyms and related terms such as bathing, surf shooting, body surfing and surfing.

In this presentation I describe and analyse my search for the first swimmer at Bondi as a reminder of Jacob Burckhardt’s observation that history is ill-suited to studying firsts or origins. According to Burckhardt, single beginnings are rare phenomena. Extrapolating on Burckhardt’s
position, I argue that history does not contain fully defined or fully formed subjects ready for analysis. Historians demarcate and position their subjects. They define relevant terms and concepts, describe places, times and events, identify key agents, and provide context; simultaneously, they configure their subjects as narratives. Every one of these historiographical processes involves choices on the part of the historian which leaves inordinate space for alternative histories. In my search for Bondi’s first swimmer I highlight these evidential, theoretical, contextual and narrative choices which I argue historians too often ignore in the production of their histories.

LINDA J. BORISH, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

“The National Jewish Welfare Board and Sport History at the Young Men’s-Young Women’s Hebrew Associations”

This paper addresses the significant role of the National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB), in the development of sport for Jewish young men and women at the Young Men’s-Young Women’s Hebrew Associations (YM-YWHAs) in the early decades of the twentieth century. The history of the JWB as it relates to the growth of sport at the YM-YWHAs will be explored using original research with the JWB records, housed at the Center for Jewish History, American Jewish Historical Society, New York. The JWB formed in 1917 to meet the needs of World War I and Jewish soldiers, following the development in 1913 of the Council of Young Men’s Hebrew and Kindred Associations (YMHA-KA) to coordinate the programs of YMHAs and JCCs in the United States. In 1921 the JWB became the national parent organization of the YMHAs, YWHAs and JCCs, and emphasized serving the Jewish people of both sexes in new programs, including sport programs. The JWB purpose stated in its 1921 constitution was “To promote the religious, intellectual, physical and social well being and development of Jewish young men and women” and to organize YM-YWHAs in the United States. In particular, the importance of these JWB archives will be examined to answer how the JWB promoted sport at YM-YWHAs. Louis Kraft, Director of the Jewish Center Division, stated, “The YMHA & YWHA, represented a synthesis of two drives—the drive for close association with the Jewish community and for full and uninhibited participation in American life as American citizens.” Sport became part of this mission in the YMHA-YWHAs. Of importance, the JWB records show the workings of gender and politics. This research examines how women strived to engage in sport, typically the male prerogative. The JWB also was affiliated with the Amateur Athletic Union, the American Olympic Committee, and the Women’s Division, the National Amateur Athletic Federation, providing perspectives on sport.

In American sport history, Jewish history and women’s and gender history, Jewish women’s sport is underexplored, and the JWB records provide valuable research. This paper explores, how did the JWB seek to develop sport especially for women within Jewish environs and American culture in the 1920s and 1930s? How do JWB records like Jewish Community Center series, Field Reports of Personnel, Surveys such as “Cultural and Recreational Facilities of Newark, N.J. with Recommendations” (and other locales), demonstrate the place of sport and show that American Jewish sport extended beyond stereotypes? As one of the first researchers to use the JWB archives for historical research on American Jewish women in sport, this paper offers insight on gender, ethnicity, and sport in American life.
On April 5, 1970, en route to the World Cup in Mexico, the Brazilian national soccer team played for the first time in Manaus, a city at the geographic and symbolic heart of the Brazilian Amazon. Brazil’s national anthem blared out under the gaze of the Amazonian sun; civilian dignitaries and military officials stood rigid on the turf. In the western reaches of the barely completed stadium, five thousand ticketless spectators seized the solemn moment to surge through gaps in the perimeter. The visit of the national squad, including the global icon Pelé, marked the unveiling of the Vivaldo Lima stadium, an architectural behemoth under construction since 1958, and one of the most celebrated urban infrastructure projects in the Amazon under Brazil’s military dictatorship (1964-1985). My paper focuses on three questions: first, what did military regime and soccer administrators hope to achieve through the construction and high-profile inauguration of the “Colossus of the North,” as the stadium came to be known? Second, how were their intentions successful and/or subverted? Third, how did the legislative debates and public commentary about the stadium reflect and, in turn, shape competing visions of Manaus and the Amazon in Brazil? I analyze government documents at the city, state, and federal levels, as well as journalistic accounts, including audiovisual and written commentary. Oral histories of administrators, journalists, and players further supplement this documentary base.

The military regime and soccer administrators expected that the stadium and its inauguration would symbolize and stimulate the economic and cultural integration of Manaus—an urban development pole for the Amazon region—with the rest of Brazil. This effort at cultural coordination occurred within a larger matrix of federal investment through rhetoric and resources in the Brazilian Amazon. Yet my paper argues that many of Manaus’s civic leaders and diverse residents were ambivalent about their city’s (and their own) place in the Amazon region and the Brazilian nation. They channeled this ambivalence through their use of, and commentary on, the stadium. Indeed, the Colossus of the North provided a totemic urban space in which the people of Manaus could express disquiet as well as support for national policies in the region.

This paper intersects with a growing body of scholarship on sport, infrastructure projects, and cultural politics under military rule in Brazil. My study shifts the focus away from the national soccer heartlands of southeast Brazil (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo) to the Amazonian north. In Manaus, I seek historical explanations for still-relevant debates, as the city comes to terms with the combination of local, national, and international initiatives that demolished the Colossus in 2010 to make way for the “FIFA-standard” Amazon Arena. While the new stadium hosted four games of the 2014 World Cup, suspicions that it may prove an enormous “white elephant” continue to inform broader debates about public policies, sporting infrastructure, and cultural identity in so-called national peripheries.
DOUGLAS A. BROWN, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Sport Documentary and Mid-century Modernism: The National Film Board of Canada in the 1950s and 1960s

In the 1950s and 1960s the National Film of Canada (NFB) produced an eclectic and impressive number of documentaries and art films that examined sport, dance and physical recreation. Although the NFB had produced a number of documentaries on sport prior to the late 1950s, a distinct style of documentary filmmaking emerged during this period. For a group of filmmakers, principally French Canadian, sport stimulated a new wave of creativity in their craft that reflected political and aesthetic shifts in Canadian society. More accurately, sport inspired these filmmakers to make art. In several instances the filmmakers also collaborated with famous literary and intellectual figures on these projects. This paper surveys NFB films on sport produced between 1958 and 1970. Two films within this context are highlighted. Of Sport and Men (1961) was conceived of and directed by Hubert Aquin and La Lutte (1961) was conceived of and directed by Michel Brault. These films share many common historical and aesthetical similarities. However, Roland Barthes’ participation in both productions is perhaps the most interesting and significant common denominator. Roland Barthes, the renowned French literary theorist, philosopher and semiotician, wrote the commentaries for both films. As well as considering the content and aesthetics of the films, this paper also examines the conditions that brought about the production of these two particular films. Primary sources for this paper include production documents from the NFB archives, correspondence between Barthes and the director Hubert Aquin from the Aquin Fonds at the Université de Québec à Montréal and seventeen NFB documentaries produced between 1940 and 1972.

These films are significant to the discourse of sport history for a number of reasons. They constitute a social and cultural critique of sport that was unusual for the period. While sport has peaked the curiosity of intellectuals and artists since ancient times, the NFB films provide a critique of sport through a fusion of avant-garde filmmaking and the ideas of an academic intellectual superstar of the 20th century, Barthes. I argue that both films are evidence of the first wave of critical sociology of sport. Rather than documenting individuals or events, these films interrogate sport, spectacle and nationhood. They extend Barthes famous “Mythologies” project into a French Canadian commentary on sport and nationalism.

NATHAN CARDON, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, SCARBOROUGH

“Clear Out If You Value Your Life”: African American Cyclists and Black Working Class Internationalism in an Age of Empire, 1895-1905

In 1899 African American cyclist Marshall “Major” Taylor was crowned the world champion of the one-mile track sprint. In doing so, Taylor became the first black world champion in any sport and America’s greatest cyclist. Discriminated against in professional races, Taylor found acceptance for his skills and racing outside the United States and was hailed as a cycling phenomenon in France. Like boxing heavyweight world champion Jack Johnson after him, Major Taylor became a symbol of hope for African Americans, proving that they were equal and in some cases superior to white
athletes. Viewed by white racial scientists as a race that was degenerating and unfit for industrial labor, the ability to master the bicycle proved the future-oriented nature of African Americans.

At the very moment Taylor became a cycling superstar in France, the United States came to terms with the reality of an overseas empire as the Spanish-American War escalated into the far longer and bloodier Philippine-American War. Faced with unruly colonials, the bicycle became a tool of empire and symbol of racial advancement. Political cartoons from the era frequently depicted racialized colonials attempting to ride a bicycle under the supervision of Uncle Sam. The metaphor of these cartoons was simple: a childlike or feminized Cuba was uneasily learning to ride the bicycle of independence and freedom. To ride a bicycle is to learn a set of skills that require mastery of the self, balance through self-propulsion, a skill that Cubans, in the view of the U.S. government, had not proven themselves capable of.

Plying their skills in the United States, Australia, and France this paper examines African American racing cyclists as a way to access black working-class transnationalism in an imperial age. Bicycle races, like boxing, allowed black athletes a physical and metaphysical freedom. At the same time, these international travels on the waves of the “black Atlantic” confirmed as much as contested a “global color line.” In the complicated and transnational world of black working-class soldiers and imperial soldiers the bicycle was a multi-faceted technology. It was a symbol of hope and freedom as well as one of imperial control. This paper will demonstrate the ways in which race and empire intersected in the global bicycle-racing circuit of the turn-of-the-century.

CHAD CARLSON, HOPE COLLEGE

Before the Madness: The Inauspicious Start of the NCAA Men’s Basketball Championship Tournament

The annual National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Men’s Basketball championship tournament—“March Madness”—is one of the most prominent events on the American sporting calendar. The NCAA oversees 92 championship events among 23 sports for men and women within its three constituent divisions. Yet with all of these championship events, the Division I Men’s Basketball championship tournament television rights contract constitutes about 80% of the association’s annual revenue. Clearly, March Madness is the main source of revenue for the NCAA.

While the massive size of the television rights contract demonstrates the popular appeal of this tournament, the event had humble beginnings. Ohio State basketball coach Harold Olsen founded the tournament on behalf of the National Association of Basketball Coaches (NABC) in conjunction with the NCAA in 1939. This tournament became the third such basketball event, following the National Invitation established in 1938 in New York City and the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics tournament, which began in 1937 in Kansas City. Thus, the NABC/NCAA tournament had competition from the start.

Remarkably, each of these events began during an inauspicious time period in the United States. The latter half of the 1930s included the end of a decade of economic depression and the beginning of political instability in key geographic regions abroad. The implementation of these three domestic college basketball championships helped provide a national consciousness for the game that did not exist beforehand. Yet they did so in different ways. The National Invitation
Tournament enjoyed immediate success. Madison Square Garden hosted the event with large, basketball-adoring crowds and with prominent local teams to ensure financial success. The Kansas City tournament started slowly but was growing quickly by 1939, even though it hosted mostly small schools that did not have national name recognition. The NCAA event, on the other hand, started very humbly.

In this paper, I will demonstrate the context for the inaugural NCAA basketball championship tournament, the ways in which the organizers scrambled to put it on, and the outcome of the first tournament—it lost more than $2500. I will also show that, in the midst of these unfruitful beginnings, tournament organizers made shrewd long-term decisions that would set the event into stability and on course to become the main attraction that it is today.

This paper will rely on primary source documents from the NCAA and a variety of college library archives that will augment the primary source newspaper discussions of this first NCAA basketball tournament. Reflection on these key sources for this event will show how the NCAA organizers of this first event prioritized the long-term success of the event that eventually came to fruition. Further, much of the value of this paper is in the exploration of an event in which the NCAA had only a fraction of the power over intercollegiate athletics in the United States that it does today. The course of the NCAA’s rise in power and prestige, not coincidentally, parallels that of the NCAA men’s basketball tournament.

DAVID CHAPMAN, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The Good Giant: Physical Strength and Fascist Politics in the Films of Maciste

In 1914 movie director Giovanni Pastrone produced the biggest and most extravagant cast-of-thousands epic the world had ever seen. It was called Cabiria, and the massive 2 ½ hour film is set during the Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage. Of the hundreds of characters in the film, it was the bronzed and muscular, good-hearted slave Maciste, played by Bartolomeo Pagano that captured the hearts of viewers. The producers realized quickly the strongman’s appeal, and they began to turn out film after film starring the genial giant. Maciste’s popularity was so great that he inspired a whole series of Italian films in the teens and twenties featuring various benevolent athletes who used their strength and courage to right wrongs and reestablish social harmony. These characters were collectively referred to as giganti buoni or “Good Giants.”

As the 1920s proceeded, there was another less benevolent strongman who sought to use strength and brute force to achieve his goals: Benito Mussolini. By an odd twist of fate, the actor and the dictator bore an uncanny resemblance to one another, and Maciste’s films subtly began to mirror some of the same political and social changes that were happening in Italy. But did Maciste’s films inspire Fascism or did they merely reflect the political situation that already existed? One of the fictional strongman’s most obvious attributes was his great muscular power. Virile physical strength like Maciste’s was greatly admired by the Fascists, and this was nowhere more true than in the person of the Duce himself. Mussolini packaged himself as a polymath who was brilliant in politics, art, linguistics and athletics. He loved to have himself photographed shirtless performing some arduous physical activity. It was not long before the Black Shirts made heroes of other high-profile sportsmen, especially people like boxer Primo Carnera, auto racer Tazio Nuvolari, and football coach Vittorio Pozzo. Manly, barrel-chested Maciste is clearly one of the prototypes for these super-
Fascists, and he fits easily into this group. Exercise, sport and physical culture were given renewed importance in the Fascist era, and Maciste was just one more example of what the new Fascist man could look like.

Bartolomeo Pagano’s last film was released in 1929, and by that time the Fascists were firmly in command of the country and had set it on a path of repression, isolationism and war. There has been little written in English about the phenomenon of these muscular heroes and their influence (both witting and unwitting) on the early days of Fascism. I will consult written sources in Italian, French and English as well as original materials from the Museo Nazionale del Cinema in Turin and the Cineteca Bologna. I will also examine in detail three films by Maciste: *Maciste Imperatore*/*Emperor Maciste* (1924), *Maciste all’Inferno*/*Maciste in Hell* (1925) and *Maciste nella gabbia dei leoni*/*Maciste in the Lion’s Cage* (1926) and explain their effects on sport, masculinity and politics. I plan on employing still photos and brief movie clips to show how the massively built Good Giants, and specifically Maciste, both reflected and refracted many aspects of the Fascist political and social agenda.

**BRAD J. CONGELIO, KEYSTONE COLLEGE**

**A Group of Nobodies in Los Angeles: The Political and Propaganda Activities of the Ban The Soviets Coalition**

On 26 September 1983, four California businessmen, led by David Balsiger, formed the Ban The Soviets Coalition. The Coalition, a right-wing faction composed largely of evangelical Christians and East European émigrés, was a small but vociferous group. After the shooting down of Korean Airlines Flight 007 by a Soviet fighter pilot, the Coalition’s unquestionable goal was to prevent the Soviet Union from attending the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Summer Games. Peripheral material has since been used to document the actions of the Ban The Soviets Coalition, including: an attempt to collect a million signatures asking for the banning of the Soviets; supposedly infiltrating the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee; and setting up numerous safe houses throughout Southern California to harbor any potential Eastern Bloc athlete defectors. However, this paper uses the archival holdings of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Museum and Library to document the political maneuvering—at both the national and international level—of the Coalition members to achieve their goals. The Coalition’s political volleys included convincing a California Senator to sponsor a resolution to take the appropriate actions to ban the Soviets from the 1984 Olympic Games and a vicious letter writing campaign addressed directly to the White House. The majority of the Coalition’s activities were nothing less than complete propaganda aimed at undermining the Reagan administration’s shifting foreign policy that would have allowed the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries to attend the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics. Using archival resources to explore the political maneuvering of the Ban The Soviets Coalition allows for a more robust understanding of one of the less researched factions associated with the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympic Games boycott.
Pornography and Physical Culture: How Bernarr Macfadden Connected Health with Sex and Why the Story Stuck

This paper delves into the impact of Bernarr Macfadden’s career on the contemporary landscape of health and fitness. Macfadden’s work spans multiple categories when considering the work he did as a health reformer, prolific publisher, and ever-aspiring, unsuccessful politician. Always on the cutting edge, practically predicting the health-interested public’s desires at every possible turn, Macfadden caused his fair share of controversy. None of his professional pursuits caused quite the uproar as his dissemination of pictures portraying scantily clad, physically trained bodies, as well as his insistence on a regularly maintained sex life. Macfadden’s belief in the aesthetically refined and sexually active body, combined with his affinity and skill for printing popular publications, created the perfect vehicle for a small-scale revolution. Physical Culture, Macfadden’s health focused publication which ran from 1899 to 1995, served as the revolutionary means for displaying the exemplary American body. Bernarr Macfadden made fitness sexy, and attractive, but also experienced a great deal of resistance as evidenced by swift legal action taken against him, backed by Anthony Comstock, for disseminating what at the time could be classified as pornography.

By analyzing Physical Culture, as well as other periodicals from the early twentieth century for a public response to Macfadden’s work, it will become clear that the sexualized health message Macfadden created made a great impact on the cultural views of the body in the early twentieth century. Why though, did Bernarr Macfadden’s health reform message stick? To better answer that question, the work of Clifford Geertz presented in “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight” will be used to provide an analytical framework with which to better look at and read the story Macfadden told. Comparing Macfadden’s story about the healthy American body, to that of the health reformers that came before and after him such as Sylvester Graham, Catharine Beecher, and Horace Fletcher, will demonstrate the uniquely context-appropriate quality of Macfadden’s work that made it sinfully attractive to the public and enduring in the realm of health and fitness. Long accounts of Macfadden’s life have been written by Robert Ernst, Fulton Oursler, Mark Adams, and others, yet none satisfactorily explain why his sensationalized, highly sexualized, once pornographic model for the dissemination of health information has stuck, and continues to be consumed today. This paper will attempt to solve the riddle of Macfadden’s often forgotten impact on physical culture in the United States.

The Dark Days: On-Court Violence and Black Masculinity in the Late-1970s National Basketball Association

Longtime National Basketball Association (N.B.A.) Commissioner David Stern once referred to the late 1970s as “the dark days” of the league as it struggled with rampant on-court violence, illicit drug use among its players, and charges that the league was becoming “too black.” On December 9, 1977, the league witnessed perhaps its darkest day when Los Angeles Lakers forward Kermit Washington nearly killed Houston Rockets forward Rudy Tomjanovich with a
punch thrown during an on-court fracas. Fighting was an accepted, and sometimes even celebrated, part of the N.B.A.—there were 41 documented scuffles the previous season alone including one much-publicized bout during the N.B.A. Finals. But the level of violence precipitated by Washington, an African American, on Tomjanovich, a Caucasian, caused numerous debates about the increasing physicality of professional basketball as well as racialized notions of masculinity and violence pervasive throughout late 1970s American culture. The Washington-Tomjanovich fight was just one of many instances of on-court interracial violence in this era and is not the sole focus of this paper. Instead, their fight serves as a symbol of violence and masculinity connecting Sport History to larger cultural movements in American society.

Drawing on a variety of primary sources—including articles published in Sports Illustrated and Basketball Digest, autobiographies from players like Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Jerry West (both of whom witnessed Washington’s punch firsthand and themselves engaged in on-court violence), and popular discourse from media outlets like Saturday Night Live, which featured a parody of “The Punch” in a racially exploitative manner—I argue that the pervasive violence of late 1970s professional basketball emerged from hypersensitive notions of masculinity closely linked with racialized constructs of N.B.A. players permeating American society.

As the league became increasingly populated by African Americans, black players faced criticism from fans, the media, and team owners (all primarily white) for being “overpaid and underworked.” At the same time, popular culture depictions of African Americans promoted their virility and manliness—the Blaxploitation films of the early 1970s and the edgy comedy of Richard Pryor stand out as prominent examples. This created a culture in which the N.B.A. expected African American players to be macho and combative but also safely marketable to white consumers. At times, this balance proved impossible, as the events that transpired between Washington and Tomjanovich attest, causing consternation among the league, its owners, its players, and its fans about the racialized violence marring the N.B.A.’s “dark days.”

Camille M. Croteau, California State University, Fullerton

From Harmful to Healthy: The Modernization of Pathologies for Elite Female Athletes within the IOC’s Medical Commission, 1969-2002

In 2002, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Medical Commission’s working group on Women in Sport released a position statement emphasizing that the benefits of women’s inclusion in sport grossly outweighs the risks. Moreover, with this statement the diverse mix of academics, medical doctors, and members of the IOC Medical Commission sought to dispel the persistent and disparaging assumption that women and girls faced an array of misguided gender-specific injuries, concluding that such concerns “about female participation in sports are outdated and erroneous.”

Such comments stand in stark contrast to the IOC Medical Commission’s historical approach to the perceived pathologies of elite female athletes throughout the second half of the twentieth century. While the IOC made efforts to increase the number of women in international sport, its Medical Commission, formed in 1967, sought to ensure safe and equitable grounds for the growing number of female athletes. However, such paternalistic concerns towards the “fairer sex” frequently pathologized healthy and naturally-occurring phenomena such as menstruation or

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pregnancy. At other points, concerns over pathologies such as damage to a woman’s uterus, breast, or reproductive health, meant that between 1969 and 2002 women’s sports received considerably more medical scrutiny than male athletes.

Building on the existing historiography of women in sports from authors such as Vertinsky, Cahn, and Schultz, this paper will introduce archival material as well as medical and scientific journals to explore the shifting attitudes towards elite female athletes in sport and concerns regarding their health. This paper argues that throughout the 1970s, 80s and 90s, members of the IOC’s Medical Commission frequently pathologized typical female physiology. However, in the same period critical voices emerged within the medical community and academic communities that depathologized healthy aspects of women, such as menstruation and pregnancy, and directed attention instead on more concerning health issues such as higher rates of ACL tears and concussions in female athletes. At the same time, the shifting conversation helped support the growing inclusion of women in sport and redefining sport’s attitudes towards equal access for women.

Amanda K. Curtis, Lake Erie College

Isn’t it Ironic?: The Threat of Female Physicality in Physical and Military Training at West Point, 1976-1980

This study investigates the ways in which understandings of gender, physicality and equality influenced policy and thus constructed the identities and experiences of female cadets during the 1976 integration of women into the United States Military Academy at West Point (USMA). This paper will specifically address the irony of women’s physicality being more threatening than women’s military skills and the ways in which the academy protected the symbolic role of combat leader through the decisions made about what training should include women and which activities should exclude them.

This study is based on archival research conducted at the Special Collections and Archives of USMA and the personal accounts of female cadets who attended West Point from 1976 to 1980 to produce a qualitative picture of the integration of women into West Point. Focusing on military training, physical education, athletics, and covert training, I found that women generally performed equally to men in military training yet struggled in certain aspects of physical training which seemed to validate those who doubted women’s ability to be successful cadets. Women were also excluded from important physical activities because of “physiological differences,” something that further served to separate them and construct them as “different” and “lesser.” Based on the Academy’s policy and practice with regard to physical training, along with a number of related matters, I conclude that while women were given equality in most respects, those in which they were not served to make them a second-class tier of cadet and soldier, judged not on combat and military skill and potential but rather on physical capabilities and attributes. As a consequence, even though West Point integrated women it did so in a way that served to protect the symbolic role of combat associated with masculinity.

This study contributes to our understanding of sport history because policy decisions and the way in which they were put into practice set the precedent for all subsequent female cadets with regard to physicality and so it is important to explore their origins and early impact. West Point is an ideal setting in which to explore two historically masculinist institutions, sport and the military,
during a time when the women’s movement was cresting and the military was redefining itself into a new post-Vietnam voluntary military. An exploration of the changing gender dynamics as this elite male military institution became co-ed at a particular historical moment shows that physicality was more integral to the process of integrating women than actual military training. This speaks to the significance the threat of female physicality has historically carried in the male-dominated institutions of sport and the military.

CATHERINE D’IGNAZIO, RUTGERS UNIVERSITY-CAMDEN

Is There a National Story for Schoolgirl Sport?

In an upcoming chapter on schoolgirl sport in Philadelphia, I claim that:

“Philadelphia offers an astounding account of the breadth of school sport aspired to and achieved by schoolgirls and their allies, perhaps the most organized in the nation at the time. Other city school districts shared some of the nascent developments of schoolgirl sport, but Philadelphia in its exuberance and organization epitomized the emergence of schoolgirl sport. It is the depth and breadth of the support that makes the story about the suppression of interscholastic competition historically relevant. It is easy to underestimate the impact of the national campaign to suppress inter-institutional competition if it is assumed that little interest existed.”

How different was Philadelphia from the rest of the nation? Did the city and suburbs of other metropolitan areas divide along similar lines of interscholastic and intramural competition? Was even the timeline for the development of schoolgirl sport consistent? Was the national campaign to suppress inter-institutional competition nationally effective? And was sport opportunity closely aligned with a liberatory expression for girls across the nation during the first part of the twentieth century as it was in Philadelphia?

Local newspapers rarely, and never consistently, reported on nascent schoolgirl sports. Especially when schoolgirl sport abandoned interscholastic games for intramural (intra-campus) games, only high school yearbooks and other student publications covered these programs. Therefore, establishing a foundation of a national narrative is a painstaking process. For this paper I will present evidence from high school yearbooks and other student publications from: Philadelphia (7 schools, 1904-1960s), Camden, NJ (2 schools, 1908-1950), Chicago (6 schools, 1906-1974), Utica, NY (1 School, 1907-1971) and San Francisco, CA. (1 school, 1898-1940). While clearly the evidence is incomplete, I will attempt to begin to put together the history of schoolgirl sport across the nation.

For the Philadelphia metropolitan area, I have argued that the campaign to eliminate inter-institutional sport for schoolgirls fell upon cultural and historical differences between early twentieth-century cities and suburbs. So far, evidence from across the nation indicates similar outcomes for city and suburban schoolgirls.

Another aspect of the story from Philadelphia that appears in other venues is the way schoolgirls assumed their scholastic athletics would follow the path of schoolboy sports: inter-class
games would lead to interscholastic games with the goal of winning league championships, and high school sport would prepare girls for sporting opportunities in college and non-scholastic teams.

Finally, the evidence indicates that while most of the earliest sport programs, usually basketball but not exclusively, quickly adopted interscholastic competition, eventually the programs were replaced by robust intramurals. I connect these changes that occurred to the national campaign not by specific references to the national campaign but with the language of “playing for the fun of it” and “the spirit of girls sport is for fun and not the glory of winning” and similar statements provided by students in student publications.

The accumulation of evidence of a national story is significant by itself. Additionally, the slow piecing together of the story makes the fickle school programs in the 1960s not the starting point of the story of girls’ sport, but a consequence of political, social and cultural tensions from decades earlier.

SIMON DARNELL, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

The Power of History and a History of Power: Theorizing the History of Sport-for-Development

The significance and profile of sport-for-development reached new heights in August 2013 when the United Nations proclaimed 6 April to be the new annual International Day of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), beginning in 2014. This emergent SDP sector has attracted numerous practitioners, but the current novelty of sport as a tool for development has rarely questioned (or historicized) SDP’s apolitical self-presentation. That is, despite increasing scholarly interest (e.g., Coalter 2013; Kidd 2008) that acknowledges that sport-for-development does have a history, there have been few in-depth historical descriptions or analyses of it. Further, and despite a general recognition of the political and ideological traditions within sport-for-development, few scholarly efforts have sought specifically to describe, contextualize, and capture the breadth of the various historical underpinnings of sport-for-development, and the social and political implications of this history.

This paper offers a theoretical framework for considering just such a history. It takes as its starting point Gramsci’s notion of social hegemony: “the ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is ‘historically’ caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production” (1971, p. 12). Such an approach suggests three inter-related observations: First, that the logic, and ‘knowledge’, of sport as a form of progress and/or in the service of development does not stem from sport itself, but has been ‘produced,’ at various historical moments, and through the interplay of dominance and consent. From this perspective, social entrepreneurs, moral leaders and political actors have worked to promote, refine and establish the idea and importance of sport in the service of development. In this sense, the politics underlying these actions are specific, not neutral or universal, as they reflect the worldviews and interests of particular actors. Second, international development inequalities, and responses to them, have also been produced and constrained historically through processes of dominance and consent. The ‘development era’ of the 1950s, southern de-colonization in the 1960s, the Latin American social movements of the 1970s, and the
Washington and Post-Washington consensuses of the 1980s and '90s, all sought to establish dominance and consent for particular views of international development and to assert how development should be pursued and achieved. Finally, viewing sport-for-development through a Gramscian lens shows that understandings of sport—and development—are fundamentally political and therefore sport-for-development is not reducible solely to issues of governance or management. If sport-for-development is historically and politically constructed, then specific understandings of these productive processes, and of the individuals and groups within them, are called for.

DAVID DEE, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY
“A Game Was More Than A Game”—Sport, Integration and Interwar British Jewry

In his 1950 part-autobiography/part-social commentary entitled The Gentleman and the Jew, writer Maurice Samuel recalled his childhood growing up in Britain and noted that for many young Jews like him ‘a game was more than a game’. Sport, Samuel claimed, was more than just sport for British-Jewish children—it was a key means of developing British mind-sets, characteristics and cultural sensibilities. Interest in sport helped further widen a social, cultural and religious ‘gulf’ that existed between migrant parent and their British born and/or raised offspring.

The effects of second-generation immigrant children like Maurice developing interests in, and understandings of, British sport was at its clearest in the period between the two World Wars. In the 1920s and 1930s, children born to pre-1914 Jewish migrants from Russia and Eastern Europe to Britain reached adolescence and early adulthood. In their formative years, these young Jews began to gradually cast off many of the vestiges of ‘immigrant’ Jewishness and develop interests in the social, economic, political and leisure cultures of their mainly working-class, non-Jewish peers. By the late 1920s, the Jewish Chronicle (a national weekly newspaper serving the British-Jewish community) began to regularly lament the creation of what it labelled an ‘estranged’ generation of younger Jews who were seemingly developing closer ties to mainstream society than to the community and ethnicity of their birth.

Whilst the immigrant generation remained largely detached from British leisure attitudes and habits (Samuel talked of his parents being ‘baffled by the extraordinary phenomenon of grown-up… people passionately addicted to football and cricket’), many of their children developed a keen interest in watching and playing a wide variety of different sports and physical recreations. Their assimilation of habits and interests that were central to the life of the majority population impacted significantly on the way second-generation ‘British Jews’ felt and expressed their identities.

Utilising memoir, oral history, newspaper and archival materials, this paper will analyse the nature and effect of second-generation Jewish interactions with the interwar British sporting world. It will discuss several pertinent research questions, including: How significant were interactions between second-generation migrant Jews and British sport in terms of their integration and evolving ethnic identities? Which sports/physical recreations were young Jews participating in? Did some sports exert a particularly powerful effect on assimilation and acculturation? How did migrant parents/the British-Jewish establishment react to this phenomenon?

Whilst advanced in North America, the study of immigrant integration through sport is in its relative infancy within Britain. This paper—built on pioneering research in this area by the presenter—will therefore help further our understanding of how ‘a game’ was ‘more than a game’ for
young people of migrant heritage in Britain. It will show how sport helped young Jews shed the immigrant/’Ghetto’ Jewishness of their parents and acculturate significant aspects of the culture and identity of mainstream British society.

**ARI DE WILDE, EASTERN CONNECTICUT STATE UNIVERSITY**

*Six Day Racing in The Films: Visualizing Class and Gender Through a Forgotten Pastime*

Recently, the *Journal of Sport History* published a forum on Filmic Sport History. Collectively, the papers made a strong argument for the primacy and complexity of filmic sport history as a form of history. In this paper, I draw on the work of film and business historians, Douglas Gomery and Gerben Bakker, among others, to examine three films on Six Day bicycle racing, *Little Miss Marker* (1934), *6 Day Bike Rider* (1934) and *The Gang That Couldn’t Shoot Straight* (1971). I will explore the entrepreneurs and authors who constructed these films and how they depicted, constructed and reified bicycle racing as a masculine, hetero-normative, and working-class pastime.

From 1891 to 1939, Madison Square Garden held over 50 Six Day bicycle races during the winter. As several scholars such as G. Norcliffe (2001), M. Ann Hall (forthcoming) and A. de Wilde (2010) have shown, the sport of professional bicycle racing was a significant sporting industry during the latter part of the 1800s and early to mid-1900s. In the 1920s and 1930s, in the context of developing newsreels and film industry, Six Day racing was featured in national newsreels, and was one of the first professional sports to be broadcast on television in the world. It was also popular enough to be featured in Hollywood movies. Yet, after 1939, the sport never again regularly featured in Madison Square Garden and memories of the races quickly eroded.

While the specificities of the sport remain distant for the majority of the public in North America, the films represent an excellent lens to see shifting contexts and realities in North America and changing memories and identities related to masculinity, social class and sport. Two of the films, *6 Day Bike Rider* and *Little Miss Marker*, have the racing as a backdrop of male-dominated professional sports during the 1930s and famed writer Damon Runyon influenced both movies. While the third, which was based on a novel written by Jimmy Breslin, uses the memory of Six Days as a way for a New York, Italian-American gang to increase its power. The films represented a way for some professional racers of the day to make extra money and they featured several big stars such as Shirley Temple and Joe E. Brown in the 1930s as well as Robert De Niro in the 1970s. Ultimately, the films visualize a glimpse at a lost American pastime and the meanings and constructions it once had as an activity and as a memory.

**HEATHER L. DICHTER, ITHACA COLLEGE**

*“Gracious Hosts in the Land of the Tulips”: Dutch Football and NATO During the Cold War*

During the Cold War, NATO member states agreed to support the Federal Republic of Germany’s policy that denied recognition to East Germany, which also included refusing to grant entry visas to athletes and teams which represented East Germany. This policy particularly impacted
the Netherlands in 1964, as the country sought to qualify for the 1964 Olympic Games in football and also hosted the UEFA Under-18 Championship. NATO spent a significant amount of time discussing international sport, in particular these two cases regarding East German football at the request of the Dutch representatives.

This paper seeks to understand why the Dutch raised these two football cases within the transatlantic alliance and why these instances met with significantly different results. For their Olympic qualifying match, the Dutch advocated that East Germany’s football team be permitted to visit the Netherlands for the same reasons that East German rowers were able to enter the country for the 1964 European Rowing Championships: because these athletes competed as part of an all-German team. The youth football tournament, however, presented a different scenario, since East Germany sought to send a separate team from West Germany to the event. The widespread media coverage of the refusal of visas to the East German youth team forced the Dutch government to respond to a strong negative reaction from the Dutch football federation and the media.

This paper uses diplomatic correspondence, NATO records, and newspaper articles to understand the problems confronting the Netherlands with respect to international football during the height of the Cold War in 1964. These actions demonstrate how the Netherlands asserted its national interests within NATO during the Cold War. Although the Netherlands has not traditionally wielded significant influence within the international system in the twentieth century, its tradition within international sport led the country to take a stronger stance within NATO when sport-related matters arose, in many cases taking the leadership role.

BEN DOWNS, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY & ADAM G. PFLEEGOR, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY

The Curious Case of New Comiskey Park: Chicago’s New, Obsolete Stadium

In October 2005, the White Sox delivered the first World Series game win to the city of Chicago in forty-six years. The backdrop for the historic win was US Cellular Field (New Comiskey Park), a controversial publicly-funded stadium that replaced iconic Comiskey Park. Prior to opening in 1991, no baseball-only facility had opened since Kansas City’s Kauffman Stadium in 1973. Coming into existence during a transitional period, New Comiskey possessed a sterile, concrete exterior with seating located far from the field. Despite the stadium’s departure from the multipurpose, publicly funded ventures ushered in by Milwaukee County Stadium in 1953, it was a far cry from the retro era facilities that were popularized with the opening of Oriole Park at Camden Yards in 1992. Interestingly, the architecture firm Helmut, Obata, & Kassabaum (HOK) was responsible for both the lackluster design of New Comiskey Park and the visionary conceptualization of the retro style park in Baltimore. Since Camden Yard’s success, many retro era facilities have taken on similar properties such as PNC Park in Pittsburgh and AT&T Park in San Francisco.

An ominous backdrop to New Comiskey Park’s initial failure was organizational, municipal, and state political turmoil. Team owner Jerry Reinsdorf, who acquired the team in 1981 from famed owner Bill Veeck, championed the construction of a new facility in the wealthy suburbs west of Chicago in order to attract a wealthier demographic to the ballpark. However, Mayor Harold Washington, who took office in 1983 as Chicago’s first black mayor, ran on an agenda of eliminating large-scale spending projects. To overcome Washington’s initial opposition, Reinsdorf
teamed with James “Big Jim” Thompson, the Governor of Illinois and Reinsdorf’s former law school classmate. Together, the three developed the Illinois Sports Facilities Authority (ISFA), which was designated to oversee the construction of New Comiskey Park. Following Mayor Washington’s death in 1987, Thompson arranged a significantly pro-White Sox rental agreement that ensured the long-term commitment to the organization.

Following Washington’s death, the ISFA contracted HOK to design the facility, which was to be located in a socio-economically depressed and predominantly black neighborhood (across the street from Comiskey Park). The new facility, which towered over its predecessor, occupied significantly more space within the city grid yet had a similar maximum capacity due to an increase in luxury amenities. In addition, rather than fitting within the existing infrastructure configuration, the facility bisected streets, which required the construction of skywalks for fans to arrive and depart the facility safely. Despite fan and constituent frustrations with the ballpark, many were proud to have a new facility that kept their beloved White Sox in Chicago. However, this mindset changed to aggravation after Camden Yards opened one year later. In this paper, the authors review the political and cultural environments surrounding the construction of New Comiskey Park. Further, the paper investigates the architectural, political, and logistical reasons why US Cellular Field was deemed obsolete from the start, while Camden Yards was celebrated as a rousing success.

ANDY DOYLE, WINTHROP UNIVERSITY

The 1899 Sewanee Iron Men and the Incongruous Diversity of the New South Elite

“Diversity” is an admittedly incongruous word for a football team at a small southern university at the turn of the twentieth century. The players were all white males from families that possessed wealth, social status, or both, and they attended a private Episcopal school founded to educate the sons of the antebellum planter class. Yet the social elite South of the Gilded Age and Progressive era was a complex and contradictory group in which prominent families that had lost much of their wealth vied for power and prestige with ruthless arrivistes who made their money in an anything-goes world of speculation and quick-buck deals.

The Sewanee Iron Men of 1899 was likely the best southern football team of the 19th century. This group of fourteen men became a legend after winning five games on a six-day, 2,500-mile journey that included games in Texas, Louisiana, and Tennessee. In contrast with many of the teams they played, the Iron Men were all legitimate students at an academically demanding institution.

The coach, manager, and players on the team embody the crazy-quilt diversity of a ruling class and a region still in flux more than three decades after the revolutionary transformation wrought by the Civil War. The six-day schedule was the brainchild of the outsized ambitions—and ego—of team manager Luke Lea. The scion of two prominent Tennessee families, the twenty-one-year-old Lea already had a B. A. and was then in Sewanee law school. He later founded the Nashville Tennessean, which quickly became the city’s leading newspaper and won election to the U.S. Senate, all before his thirty-second birthday. As a colonel in the Allied Expeditionary Force, he conceived and led a quixotic and unauthorized plot to kidnap Kaiser Wilhelm from his refuge in the Netherlands and bring him to trial before the Paris Peace Conference. Lea’s interests unravelled during the Depression, and he served a stint in prison for bank fraud.
The players on the team included halfback Rex Kilpatrick, a New Yorker whose father led a group of Northeastern investors in a real estate and industrial development scheme in the boomtown of Bridgeport, Alabama. The Bridgeport plans went bust in the depression of the 1890s, and a decade after graduating from Sewanee, Rex promoted Rexton, Tennessee, a similar boomtown-cum-bankruptcy. Guard Henry Keyes was a balding thirty-two-year-old from a prominent New England family who somehow ended up at Sewanee medical school and later became a prominent doctor in Los Angeles. End Preston Brooks was the grandson and namesake of South Carolina congressman Preston Brooks, who provoked a crisis two years before the Civil War by beating and severely injuring abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner for impugning the honor of slaveholders. Another was the son of a Confederate general. Other players came from more standard southern elite backgrounds: one was the son and nephew of Episcopal bishops, three other players became Episcopal clergymen and others were scions of the planter and mercantile elite of the region.

This paper will demonstrate how the individuals on this team reflect a social elite in flux, all amid the backdrop of a legendary team and a story of unparalleled athletic achievement.

MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

Miami, 1969: No Black Gloves, No Racial Protests-A Major Surprise

In 1969, for the first time in nearly a quarter-century, the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) national track and field championships returned to the deep South when Miami hosted the meet. The AAU’s return to the ex-Confederate South came at a time when the landscape of legal segregation and racial conflict had changed considerably. The focus on “color lines” in track and field had dramatically shifted by then from the South to New York City where the New York Athletic Club (NYAC), with its long history of excluding Africans Americans and Jews from membership, faced vociferous public condemnation and a series of well-organized boycotts of its meets. Indeed, by 1969 even the oldest bastion of Jim Crow in the AAU, the Southern Association headquartered in New Orleans, had dropped its prohibitions against black members.

By 1969 the dynamics of the struggle for civil rights in American track and field had changed dramatically as well. Older traditions that combined firm resistance to inequalities wrapped in polite appeasement of white majorities among whom proponents of desegregation hoped to win hearts and minds had given way during the 1960s to the noisy political theater and calculated militancy of a new generation of leaders. They no longer accepted merely tentative steps toward pushing back racial barriers but challenged racism in every nook and cranny of American society. The decorous press conferences of 1946 given by black athletes lauding San Antonio for letting them run and jump (but not room or eat) with whites gave way to black-gloved fists on medal stands in Mexico City.

The 1969 AAU championships in Miami inhabited a volatile political climate. John Carlos, who had been at the center of the Olympic protests in Mexico City, ran in Miami as did Lee Evans and a host of other veterans who played roles in the dramas of 1968. The embattled NYAC sent a team as well. Black and white athletes from the territories once ruled by the segregated fist of the Southern Association also competed. The city of Miami, only recently unshackled from a long history of Jim Crow statutes, represented in 1969 a volatile tinderbox of racial conflicts. The summer before riots had erupted in the black neighborhood of Liberty City during the Republican National Convention that nominated Richard Nixon for the presidency.
Given the actors and the context, Miami seemed primed for a replay of Mexico City’s racial dramas. The AAU championships, however, generated remarkably little controversy and almost no discussion of race in American society. This essay explores why an event seemingly made-to-order to join the 1968 Olympics and other AAU national meets in the history of confrontations over racial discrimination and exclusion produced so little drama.

The essay uses media coverage from the black and white press and the archives of the Southern Association of the AAU and the national AAU to exploring why Miami in 1969 did not offer similar narratives to San Antonio and Mexico City in the long history of racial conflicts in sport.

LARS DZIKUS, UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Lady Vols: A history of a nickname from Title IX to twenty-first century arms race

In November 2014 the University of Tennessee (UT) announced that “beginning with the 2015-16 academic year, all sports other than women’s basketball will compete under the name, “Tennessee Volunteers”” (para. 1). Consequently, the Lady Vols nickname would no longer be used in UT sports, with the exception of basketball. UT’s decision was met by a wide spectrum of reactions. USA Today columnist Christine Brennan (2014) called the nickname “antiquated and discriminatory” whereas Washington Post columnist Sally Jenkins (2014) compared its removal to “chiseling the face off a priceless work of art. If someone started whacking the arms off statues at the Acropolis in order to sell them, you would call the perpetrator a destructive vulgarian with no appreciation of history.” Thus, the prefix “Lady” in women’s sport has been regarded as both a symbol of oppression and empowerment.

This study examines the origins, evolution, and recent decline of the Lady Vols nickname. The brand emerged in the broader context of Title IX and faded in the context of the twenty-first century arms race in college sports. Informed by critical feminist theory, we provide a constructionist history arguing that these contexts are pivotal for understanding the development of the brand. Based on archival documents, secondary sources, and interviews with social agents involved in the creation of the Lady Vols, this research adds to scholarship in the areas of women’s sport, intercollegiate sport, and mascots/team nicknames.

Women’s athletics at UT started in 1900 with rowing and tennis, nine years after the university had fielded its first men’s football team. Following the passage of Title IX, by 1976 UT established an independent women’s athletic department, offered athletic scholarships for women, and both women’s and men’s basketball teams competed in the same arena. “To go with it,” Coach Pat Head Summitt decided, “we needed a new identity, a break from the dingy, underfunded past” (Head Summitt & Jenings, 2013). Formerly referred to as Volettes, UT’s women’s basketball team became known as the Lady Vols. In 2014, a sponsor switch from Adidas to Nike contributed to the decision to remove the Lady Vols moniker. This move occurred in the context of an advanced arms race that included the continued restructuring of conferences and the emergence of the College Football Playoff (CFP), as well as unprecedented legal challenges to the power of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA).

The use of “lady” in team nicknames has been contested for decades, since the practice might suggest otherness and inferiority (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). Racial and social class connotations
contribute to the debate. Hargreaves (1985) identified “behaving like ladies” as a central theme of the formative years in the history of women’s sport. In the late 1980s, Eitzen and Zinn (1989) found “more than half of American colleges and universities employ names, mascots, and/or logos that demean and derogate women’s teams.” The researchers also found that the practice was more prevalent in the south, where UT is located.

CHRIS ELZYE, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY
The Game That Remade the Big Five: Penn vs. Villanova, January 1969

The basketball game between the University of Pennsylvania and Villanova on January 15, 1969, represents a seminal moment in Philadelphia basketball history. Both Penn and Villanova were members of the Big Five, a popular basketball series in Philadelphia. Established in 1954, the Big Five included three other schools: Saint Joseph’s, La Salle, and Temple. Penn was generally considered to be the weakest of the bunch. When it played Villanova in 1967, opposing fans unfurled a banner reading “Welcome to the Big Four.” But Penn would develop into a dominant force in the Big Five. The win over top‐ten rated Villanova that January marked the beginning of a basketball revival for the Ivy League school and altered the landscape of college basketball in the City of Brotherly Love.

Even though the Penn-Villanova matchup occurred during a time when basketball was becoming a speedier and higher scoring game, Penn chose to play a slowdown, ball-control style against Villanova. The methodical, possession game represented a traditional kind of playing style that had been widely used since the center‐jump rule was eliminated in 1937. By the late 1960s, however, basketball had undergone a revolution. Offensive production and fast‐tempo action were now de rigueur. Yet Penn’s win over Villanova underscored the efficacy of old‐fashioned basketball and symbolized the friction between a more traditional way of playing and a style that celebrated speed, quickness, and non‐stop action.

The triumph over Villanova also represented a rebirth of Penn’s basketball program—particularly in the Big Five. From 1955 through 1968, Penn won the fewest City Series games. But the victory over Villanova in January 1969 helped revitalize Penn basketball. Over the next decade, Penn not only won the most Big Five games of any school, it also captured the most Big Five championships. A perennial underdog, Penn became the Goliath of the City Series in the 1970s.

Much of the paper is based on accounts of the game in the three major newspapers in Philadelphia: Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia Daily News, and Philadelphia Evening Bulletin. The Daily Pennsylvanian and Villanovan, student newspapers from Penn and Villanova, respectively provide additional perspectives. The University of Pennsylvania Archives maintains a collection of Big Five materials, and the athletic department at Penn contains records and ephemera useful to the project. Interviews with players are another source. Lastly, basketball media guides from both Penn and Villanova shed light on the biographies of players and coaches, as well as each school’s basketball history. The guides are located in the Joyce Sports Collection in Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame.
COLLEEN ENGLISH, MARSHALL UNIVERSITY

Women in Roller Derby: Athletes or Entertainers?

For thousands of years, from ancient Greek sport and Roman gladiatorial contests to contemporary professional football, spectators found immense satisfaction in watching sport and sport-like competitions. Some spectators enjoyed the nuances of the particular game, others the escape from daily life, and others still the violence featured in athletics that may be condemned in other circumstances. Modern Americans tune in on Sunday afternoon to watch NFL stars sustain and perpetuate hard tackles. Audiences cheer montages of big hits. For spectators, violent and dangerous sport is entertainment.

In the 1970s, roller derby found much popularity on television, as people around the country tuned in to watch roller derby superstars such as Joan Weston and Ann Calvello skate around the banked track. For many fans, the highlights of the bout were frequent physical altercations—fights often broke out on the track. Spectators valued roller derby as much for its shocking amusement as its athletic feats. Did the gender of the skaters influence the perceptions of spectators? How did the violence and fights associated with women skaters differ from other female athletes? Were women in roller derby seen as athletes or as entertainers? In this paper, I argue that roller derby provided a unique case for sport as a performance attraction. Women were always important to the success of roller derby. Additionally, the media treated women roller derby stars differently than other female athletes—they were often praised as much for their abilities as their appearance. Thus, women played a large role in the entertainment value of roller derby. As it featured both men and women, roller derby differed from many other popular forms of sport and sporting amusements. Typically, spectators cheer for men on the field, who must demonstrate their masculinity by playing through injuries, focusing on winning, and hiding any physical or emotional suffering. By allowing women to participate in the same way as men, roller derby raised questions about gender and sport entertainment.

Unlike many of the sports Americans turned to as distractions from everyday life, roller derby provided fighting women, challenging the norms of athletics in a number of ways. These women skated well and took part in a sport requiring hard physical contact. Additionally, they took part in the violence and fighting so often associated with roller derby. Their unique position in roller derby allowed women to become both athletes and entertainers. This paper adds to scholarship on sport as entertainment in two ways. First, it explicitly focuses on gender and the role of women as athletes and performers. Secondly, it uses roller derby, a sport unique due to its constant acceptance of women, to analyze the role of sport as a form of entertainment.

This paper uses standard secondary sources, especially those that focus on sport spectatorship, such as Allen Guttmann’s *Sports Spectators*. It also utilizes primary sources, including newspapers, magazines, and advertisements.

JOHN FAIR, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Athena: Bodybuilding Breakthrough or Box Office Bomb?

One could easily dismiss MGM’s 1954 production of *Athena* as a light-hearted, romantic, musical romp, devoid of any intellectual, artistic, or social value. Although it was scripted by
William Ludwig (best known for his screenplay of *Oklahoma*) and Leonard Spigelgass (who later penned *Gypsy*) and featured such stage, screen and singing sensations as Jane Powell, Ed Purdom, Vic Damone, and Debbie Reynolds, it never lived up to expectations at the box office or in critical acclaim.

The plot centers on a handsome but unfit young lawyer, Adam Shaw (Purdom), who becomes romantically entangled with Athena Mulvain (Powell) and her fitness-crazed family (grandparents and six sisters) who operate a health food store and live in a hill-top compound where everyone follows a strict dietary regimen and exercises regularly. They are joined by a troupe of bodybuilders, including such leading lights as Steve Reeves (1950 Mr. Universe), Richard (DuBois) Sabre (1954 Mr. America), Bert Goodrich (1939 Mr. America), and Joe Gold (founder of Gold’s Gym), whose physiques were obviously produced by the barbells strewn about the grounds. The singing, key-noted by Damone and Reynolds, accompanies the cheerful but often conflicting love matches that instill a bit of intrigue to this fitness paradise. A climax is provided by a televised Mr. Universe Contest where Reeves displays his classic physique and wins a weightlifting challenge. When Purdom, however, after an altercation, devalues Reeves’ fit body by throwing him over his shoulders, it appears that Athena, embarrassed by this affront to her family’s ideals, is fated to marry Reeves. But she chooses love (Purdom) over muscles. “People are better than vegetables” thus becomes the signature line of the movie.

Much fault can be found in this film. The script seems wacky and simplistic, the acting is often wooden, and the songs are forgettable. Furthermore, *Athena* does nothing to remove existing stereotypes at a time when bodybuilders were often stigmatized as muscle-bound, narcissistic, and homosexual and health food aficionados viewed as kooks. Film director Dick Thorpe usually walked away from each scene in disgust. And for Debbie Reynolds, who “hated the script,” it was a picture she “didn’t want to do.” It is hardly surprising that *Athena* was a flop and that MGM endured a $511,000 loss.

Its legacy, however, was quite different. As a result of watching it, the daughter of famed Italian film maker Pietro Francisci recommended Reeves for the title role in *Hercules* which became the biggest box office draw of 1958. It also inspired many other peplum films of the 1950s and early 1960s featuring numerous bodybuilders and laying the groundwork for Arnold Schwarzenegger, *Pumping Iron*, and the fitness craze that swept America and the world in the 1970s. As Powell noted in her 1988 autobiography, *Athena* was a film that would have been better received had it been made two decades later.

This study, employing evidence from movie and muscle magazines, biographies and autobiographies, manuscripts from the Margaret Herrick Library in Los Angeles, and the film itself, intends to show how cinematic depictions of physical culture, though dismissed as irrelevant within the context of its time, can foreshadow developments in later generations.

**Victoria Felkar, The University of British Columbia**

**Physical Culture in Prisons: The Resilience of Correlating Crime with the Muscular Body**

The issue of the relationships among muscularity, body type and criminal behaviour has long intrigued scholars. Criminologists, psychologists, physical educators and the health professions more broadly have enquired into the relationship between body type and criminality, specifically
addressing the links between criminal behaviour and a “mesomorphic” or muscular physique. Although early biological theories of crime, such as body profiling, in particular William Sheldon’s somatotyping categories, have undergone extensive scientific scrutiny and subsequent critique, they continue to persist within contemporary culture. Nicole Rafter notes the importance of examining the historical origins of constitutional theory and body typing to understand the acceptance and maintenance of such criminological perspectives. There is a dearth of research, however, examining the implications for linking criminal behaviour to muscularity.

My paper will discuss the ways in which criminology and body typology have constructed and reinforced beliefs about the potency of the muscular body, and the impact of these beliefs in contemporary thought and practice. I will show how through the constant recognition and acceptance of somatotyping and the mesomorphic-delinquency correlation, criminology has continued in some ways to construct, promote and re-produce knowledge of what a “delinquent” body looks like. My investigation into the development, impact and influences of criminology and body typology’s construction of the muscular body as deviant explores the ongoing tensions between enthusiasm for and criticism of the muscular body within the domains of competitive sport, the recreation and fitness industry, and physical culture more broadly.

Among my examples, I will show how historical perceptions of the muscular criminal body have influenced prison physical culture over time. Furthermore, I will demonstrate in what ways, by normalizing what the “criminal body” looks like, criminologists continue to influence the development of prison physical culture and how inmates should be punished within the prison setting. My claim is that although Sheldon’s research on somatotypes was not directly related to the creation of penal policy, the impact of body typologies and mesomorphy-delinquency correlation has played an important role in creating popular perception of the muscular criminal body. One of several examples of this was the mid-1990s panic over prison weight lifting in the United States that was characterised by a historical unconsciousness of the relationship between criminality and muscularity and a corresponding desire to discipline and control the criminal body.

RUSSELL FIELD, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A history of sport-for-good: Recasting the origins of sport/historicizing sport-for-development

The ostensibly innovative nature of recent and high-profile connections between sport programming and development initiatives in and throughout the global South has been called into question by scholars such as Fred Coalter and Bruce Kidd. In Coalter’s (2013) words “at the level of practice and implementation…the claims to ‘newness’ are at least contestable. In part this is because the legitimacy of sport-for-development is derived from the fact that it is not new.” This paper is an initial foray into taking up the challenge of historicizing sport-for-development-and-peace (SDP) initiatives that position sport as an institution offering social benefits beyond the movement skills and participation pleasures of play on the field.

The paper argues, consistent with dominant historical narratives, that from the outset organized, codified sport was in fact a series of projects or interventions in the industrializing and colonizing countries of Great Britain, Western Europe, and North America. Organizers were in effect giving meanings to sport that we now take for granted and they were doing so for specific reasons. Chief among these was amateur sport as a project by middle-class men for middle-class men, one that
when directed at the public schools in England sought to “turn hooligans into heroes,” in J.A.
Mangan’s phrase.
But out of these varied projects emerged a strong belief that the institution of sport could be
a social change project (one with particular gendered, classed, and racialized trajectories) where the
practices of sport could serve social ends against the backdrop of the changing structures of sport itself
and a globalizing, urbanizing, and industrializing world. Unlike modern SDP initiatives, which attach
sport programming to serve development aims, 19th-century reformers largely believed (although there
was dissent from this position) in the mantra of “sport-for-good.” This was indeed the reason for
creating sport programs.
Bookending this analysis will be two examples that can be used to trace the historical
articulation of “sport for good.” One is Thomas Hughes’ 1857 novel, Tom Brown’s School Days, which
loosely fictionalizes the author’s experiences at Rugby as the public schools of England turned to sport
as a tool to discipline the bodies and minds of young boys. Hughes represents the wide ambition of
sport-for-good, through a particularly masculinist lens. The other is the YMCA. By the end of the 19th
century, as Luther Gulick encouraged YMCAs in North America to shift from offering “hostels and
gospels” towards physical education and sport programs for boys, the YMCA started to use sport to
attract kids into their programs.

SARAH K. FIELDS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER

Sport Studies: The Model for the 21st Century University

Amy Bass’s state of the field essay in The Journal of American History and the responses by
seven other scholars (including NASSH president Dan Nathan) all presume that the study of sport
is, should, or could be incorporated in traditional history departments. That premise is flawed;
rather, the broadly constructed “field” of sport studies provides a model for scholarship and teaching
that universities of the twenty-first century would be wise to follow.

Sport studies is an interdisciplinary look at a single, albeit amazingly broad, topic. The study
of sport has intrigued academics within such wide-ranging disciplines as physics, epidemiology,
motor development, exercise physiology, philosophy, sociology, communication, economics,
management, marketing, sales, law, and nutrition. This list excludes, of course, all the other studies-
type programs which address sport: American, Communication, Cultural, Ethnic, and Gender.
Sport studies is potentially the broadest vision of a liberal arts education explored and taught
through the lens of sport. The study of one topic through a myriad of disciplines may be the best
way to study and teach any complicated question. And in all candor, are there any good questions
that can best be answered via a single discipline? Do not all complicated questions deserve rich,
complex, interdisciplinary methodologies?

For decades, universities have proclaimed the value of interdisciplinary work and have then
largely failed to support such research. However, this attitude can and should change if university
administrators pay attention to those who hire their alumni. In a 2013 Forbes article “The 10 Skills
Employers Most Want In 20-Something Employees,” the top two skills were the ability to work on a
team and the ability to make decisions and solve problems. None of the skills listed were specific to a
single discipline.
Employers want interdisciplinary skills, and funding agencies want interdisciplinary teams. Some universities have created interdisciplinary centers to study issues of obesity and food security. Employment and funding would seem to indicate the future direction of the university.

Bass concludes her state of the field symposium by suggesting, “Thus, perhaps this is the most important point regarding sports history: it does not need the broader field, nor its approval, as much as the broader field might need it.” She is correct: history needs sport (just as it needs to be included as a methodology in the study of other complex questions) in order to survive.

In this paper, I analyze existing university sport studies degree programs and other interdisciplinary centers and programs as well as the writings of other scholars who have called for an end to the traditional discipline-based departments. I argue that the future of the university is not the model of traditional departments and disciplines, but rather the twenty-first century university model should be the interdisciplinary study of complex questions.

Al Figone, Humboldt State University

Hypocrisy: An Integral Part of the Professional Franchises’s and NCAA’s Strategy to Prevent Sports Gambling in New Jersey

Commercialized and professionalized college sports are presented to the public as an integral part of higher education representing the best tenets of amateurism. The NCAA and colleges rightfully assert they care about the integrity of college sports outcomes and view themselves acting in the best interests of athletes. If a considerable number of games are perceived to be rigged, the colleges and NCAA know the public will tune out. But, it is hypocritical and naive to act as if gambling-related game fixing is the only threat to a sport’s integrity. A non-gambling artifice designed to ensure the production of victories, thereby increasing television viewership and advertisement, is equally dangerous. Agents and boosters illegally paying players, academic fraud, homicides, rape, and other NCAA and civil transgressions also denigrate integrity and are related to point shaving in basketball and football. Hence, the incentive to ignore NCAA and civil laws may be strong, absent the enforcement of NCAA rules and federal enforcement of sports’ gambling statutes.

One of the latest hypocritical positions involving big-time commercialized college football and basketball is the position the NCAA has assumed in joining the NFL, MLB, NBA, and NHL in challenging New Jersey’s bid to legalize sports gambling. Mark Emmett and other sport executives in private without cameras turned on will admit that gambling is good for business and enhances fan interest leading to multi-billion dollar television contracts. Publicly, the NCAA and the other league executives denounce gambling and have collectively sued New Jersey governor Chris Christie who signed a bill legalizing sports betting in the state. The 12-page complaint alleges the law violates the federal Professional and Amateur Sports Protection Act that limits sports betting to Nevada and a few other states.

The primary purpose of this presentation will be to examine the contradictions inherent in the NCAA’s position in joining the four professional leagues and suing the governor of New Jersey. This analysis will reveal that until the leagues and colleges have determined how to share in the money generated by gambling, they don’t want other entities (New Jersey) sharing in the potentially enormous windfall.
DENNIS GILDEA, SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE

Quitting Football; Calming Commie Hysteria, 1951-52

This essay is a close textual analysis of a serialized narrative that ran in a comic book from September 1951 to January 1952. *Treasure Chest* was published by the George A. Pflaum, Co., and was distributed at minimal cost to grade school students in Catholic schools throughout the United States. Pflaum, who was the head of the Catholic Press Association of America, conceived of the book as a “response to the undesirable comic books of that time with the intent to use the comics to teach tenets of both the Catholic faith and American patriotism.” “Chuck White” was a regular character in the series, which was launched in 1946 and ceased publication in 1972. White was a three-sport high school star who, in the narrative being analyzed, quits football days before the start of the season because he feels that he should be doing his part either by enlisting and fighting in the Korean conflict or, failing that, because of his age, tracking down communist saboteurs on the home front, which is what he ends up doing. That the text of the story appears in a Catholic comic book is significant, just as the cultural and political context is significant: the war against North Korean communists; Sen. Joseph McCarthy’s ongoing hunt for communists in the State Department, the military, and the professoriate; and the Catholic church’s opposition to Communism that dates from the Bolshevik Revolution through the Spanish Civil War and most definitely to McCarthy, a Catholic, and his crusade to rid the nation of “the enemies within.” Interestingly, the story concludes not by adding to the commie hysteria engulfing much of the United States but by calming the hysteria symbolically represented in the Chuck White character.

GUY GINCIENE, BIOSCIENCE INSTITUTE (RIO CLARO, BRAZIL)

Teaching Athletics History in Physical Education Classes: First Approaches

Athletics is a content of the Curriculum Proposal for the State of São Paulo and its history is one of the things that should be taught in physical education classes. However, teachers don’t have any didactical material to assist them in teaching this content. Therefore, what should be taught about athletics history? Trying to answer this question is the aim of this research and, to do that, we need to look at the history of athletics and search some important facts to teach in physical education classes. With a literature review, we realize that sports history could be an important resource for students to understand sport today. More than that, sport can also teach some values, which are an important resource for children and young people. In this case, teachers must be careful to not encourage competitiveness and exclude some students. Looking for the athletics history, we realize a lot of important facts that can be used in student’s education, like women participation in the Olympic Games, for example. At first, women could not compete in the Olympic Games, including the inaugural modern games in Greece. Four years later, in 1900, women had the right to participate in the Olympic Games, but the first participation in athletics competition was only in 1928 with a few events. Later, and gradually, other events were incorporated into the Olympic program. The marathon for women, for example, started only in 1984, in the Olympic Games of Los Angeles. This increase of women events is related to the respect that women earned in society. It is important to remember that women have not always had the same right as men, including jobs...
and salaries. It is true that a lot of work and research should be done, and introducing this kind of discussion is important for the student’s education.

JORDAN GOLDSTEIN, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

Canada 1867-1892: Political Theory, Nationalised Sport, and the Stanley Cup

This presentation examines the historical context of the creation of nationalised sport in Canada over the first twenty-five years post-Confederation (1867-1892), culminating in 1892 with the donation of the Stanley Cup by Governor General Lord Stanley. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of nationalism as a potent political, social, and cultural ideology. As a young nation coming of age, Canada stands as a prime example of a country in this period that attempted to define its own nationality during its infancy. On top of this, a conception of Canadian nationality needed to wed together two distinctive nationalities, English and French, into a North American national unit. These immense challenges produced novel forms of legitimate national identification. Following Great Britain and the United States, Canadians sought identity in sport. Particularly, sports like ice hockey, which many Canadians believed engendered, promoted, and nurtured national character values in the nation’s individuals.

How did sport in particular serve as an avenue for national identity creation in Canada during the post-confederation era? Why was Canada, during the immediate post-Confederation years, an ideal location for the fusion of sport and nationalism? How does the donation of the Stanley Cup illuminate this moment in Canadian history? To answer these questions I rely heavily on primary source materials from Canadian nationalists during this period including pamphlets, speeches, and books. Sources from Lord Stanley’s personal archives provide insight into his motivations in donating a national hockey trophy. Pamphlets and brochures from the Montreal Winter Carnivals of the 1880s illuminate the genesis of hockey as a national sport. Additionally, the presentation draws on eighteenth and nineteenth century political philosopher’s definitions and conceptions of nationality. The use of Government statistics from censuses illustrates the growth and development of the Canadian state during this period.

The paper argues that the Canadian state after confederation presented the ideal environment to form a Canadian nationality predicated on sport. The heterogeneity of the population and the similarity of its culture to Great Britain and the United States necessitated a novel national definition. Furthermore, political theories concerning nationality during this period supported the creation of nationality through means that united and reflected the population. Thus, although many Canadian nationalists attempted to define precisely a Canadian nationality, those who strove to embed it within particular sports ended up creating a lasting conception of Canadian nationality. The symbol of the Stanley Cup, creating a national sporting culture around hockey, stands as a testament to the enduring legacy of nationalised sport creation during this period.

My research adds to the literature on Canadian nationality and sport. Firstly, this study uses a political framework, as opposed to a cultural or social understanding of nationality. It synthesizes political philosophy, Canadian nationalist thought, and the nineteenth century ideology of athleticism. Secondly, this study focuses on a particular national symbol, the Stanley Cup. The paper explores the creation of the Cup in conjunction with Canadian nationalist ideology and Imperial conceptions of the role of sport.
ARAM GOUDSOUZIAN, UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS
“A Man Who Knows His God”:
Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and the Cultural Politics of Race and Religion

In the summer of 1971, just prior to leaving on a State Department tour of Africa, Lew Alcindor announced at a press conference that he now wished to be called Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. Interested sports fans already knew that he was a Muslim—he had converted to Islam in 1968, prior to his senior year at UCLA, and revealed it to the public by his rookie year with Milwaukee Bucks in 1969. But the proclamation of his name change thrust his religion into the spotlight, since he was the reigning MVP and NBA champion. It rendered him orthodox Islam’s most significant face in the United States.

Islam played a paradoxical role in shaping Abdul-Jabbar’s place in American culture. On one hand, it sharpened a perception of him as basketball’s great villain. Though utterly dominant, he fostered an image as sullen and solitary, his quiet impassivity broken only by spurts of rage. His religious conversion cast him as the sport’s symbol of racial alienation. His connection to a violent rivalry between the Nation of Islam and his own mentor, Hamaas Abdul-Khaalis, strengthened an association of Islam with black violence.

Yet in the early 1970s, Abdul-Jabbar was a singular black public figure in his adherence to an orthodox version of Islam; he portrayed the religion as universal, peaceful, and within a democratic framework. In important public outlets, he countered any association of Islam with violence, and he explained the distinctions between his faith and the Nation of Islam’s doctrine. Despite a personal journey filled with missteps and contradictions, his religious conversion had allowed him to overcome his own racial bitterness, and he won a sincere, if halting, level of public appreciation.

CRAIG GREENHAM, THE UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR
Rethinking Lindros: Sorting through the Legacy of the NHL’s “Next One”

Few players, if any, entered the National Hockey League (NHL) draft with as much promise and hype as Eric Lindros. For an 18-year-old, Lindros was a prodigy, touted by scouts and media as more than just an evolutionary player due to his immense skill and physical size, but a wondrous hockey messiah who could rescue even the lowliest of franchises. As luck had it, there was a team in need of salvation. The Quebec Nordiques had finished at the league’s bottom in 1990-91. It was their third straight year in last place. The story had all the fairytale elements; except Lindros refused to play the part of savior.

Lindros’s position was clear—he would never play for the Nordiques. The Lindros camp cited unstable ownership, lack of winning culture and reduced marketing abilities in francophone Quebec City as reasons for his refusal. Lindros was steadfast, but so were the Nordiques. Despite Lindros’ warnings, the club drafted him first overall in 1991 and expected the can’t-miss-star to eventually acquiesce, join the team and lead it to glory. Instead, Lindros returned to junior hockey east of Toronto and left the Nordiques without their big acquisition for the entire season.

Over the course of the year, the Lindros saga became an embarrassment for the NHL. With the 1992 NHL Entry Draft in Montreal, the stage was set for Lindros to be dealt, and he was traded by the Nordiques—twice. In quick succession, the highly coveted Lindros was traded to the Philadelphia Flyers and the New York Rangers by Nordiques management that was equal parts
greedy and inept. An independent arbiter was required to sort out the chaos and awarded Lindros to the Flyers after nearly a week’s worth of testimony.

A complicating factor of Lindros’s decision was the cultural component that, at least to those in French Canada, made the hockey player’s original sin unforgivable. To salt the wound, the Nordiques were relocated to Denver, became the Colorado Avalanche in 1995 and won the Stanley Cup in their inaugural season. The myth persists that if Lindros had been more agreeable on draft day 1991, the franchise would have remained in Quebec City and flourished. The problems of the Nordiques, in reality, were greater than any teenager could have remedied. Still, Lindros remains the scapegoat.

This paper explores Lindros’s legacy and concludes that it is incomplete and inaccurate. This paper is part of a larger project that uses history and comparative analysis to recalibrate Lindros’s place in the annals of hockey. Lindros, though prolific on-ice, endured a career-long character assailability that stemmed from his point of entry into the NHL. Labeled a baby and heckled by rattle-toting fans and derisive signage, hockey’s “Next One,” attempted a principled stand. To this day, his motivations and contributions to the game remain unnecessarily muddied. This paper aims to provide clarity on a player so important yet so misunderstood and undervalued.

AARON L. HABERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

American Individualism and Communitarianism during the 1970s Running Boom

This paper will focus on the long-distance running boom of the 1970s (in which an estimated thirty million Americans took up running during the decade) and the ways in which the discourse on the boom reflected and shaped larger socio-cultural developments. Specifically, I’m interested in the seemingly paradoxical impulses that the running boom engendered between encouraging more solitary and individualistic behavior on the part of some who trained alone and used the time for deeper introspection, while at the same time catalyzing a greater communitarian ethic among many other runners in the form of running clubs and mass participatory races. This varied response to the running boom complements the work of other scholars on 1970s America who have debated the extent to which 1970s Americans were mostly just concerned with themselves. What scholars have not fully shown is the extent of and ways that Americans compartmentalized the individualistic and communitarian impulses of the era and whether they regarded such competing impulses as mutually exclusive.

A deeper look at the running boom and how participants and even non-participants grappled with these issues of individualism and communitarianism can provide a more complete view of American society during a turbulent yet pivotal era in the nation’s history. This will be accomplished through a close review of the activities and cultural representations of 1970s runners as revealed in sporting and running publications like Sports Illustrated and Runner’s World Magazine, publication materials for both nationally prominent and local races, as well as the papers of community running clubs that formed in the 1970s.
FLORIAN HEMME, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

To go or not to go: A historio-ethical exploration of the 1936 Olympic boycott debate

Praised by many for their monumental facilities, remarkable pageantry, and vivid entertainment, the 1936 Berlin Games also spurred intense public controversy in the U.S., Canada, and Western Europe, where observers were concerned with Germany’s disregard of the Olympic spirit and the Nazi’s repression of racial and religious minorities. Despite the widespread calls for a boycott led by a vocal coalition of athletes, unions, and religious organizations, however, the U.S. ultimately participated in the Games, which in turn extinguished fledgling protests in other countries.

Scholars and the popular press have since described the failed boycott as a moral and ethical lapse and the 1936 Games in retrospect have come to be perceived as a dark and embarrassing chapter in Olympic history (e.g., Barbara Keys, Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s; Allen Guttmann, “The ‘Nazi Olymics’ and the American Boycott Controversy,” in Sport and International Politics: Impact of Fascism and Communism on Sport). Although detailed and insightful, the currently available historical narrative of the Nazi Games does not offer a systematic assessment of the ethical dimension of the boycott debate. The question thus remains if the ethical character of the 1936 Berlin Games boycott debate is captured accurately beyond its use as a popular catchall phrase and if the actions of the historical actors involved can be interpreted more comprehensively through the application of normative moral philosophy.

In an attempt to remedy this gap in Olympic history research and popular discourse, this essay poses the question of whether to boycott the 1936 Games in Berlin as an ethical dilemma that can be analyzed by applying normative moral philosophy. Using personal accounts, newspapers, and other secondary sources, the goal of this paper is to trace the 1936 boycott debate from a critical historical perspective, with a particular focus on the moral character of the historical actors involved. Furthermore, the author comments on the suitability of sport in shaping historio-political realities and its role as a political instrument.

ANNETTE R. HOFMANN, LUDWIGSBURG UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION

A New York Sport Festival under the Swastika:
The “Deutsche Turn- und Sporttag” on Randall Island

When the Nazis seized power in 1933, National Socialist tendencies were widespread not only in Germany, but also in the United States. A German-American Volksbund was founded to act as the Nazis’ American arm. Many German-American clubs joined this so-called Bund. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, a “Deutsche Turn- und Sporttag” was organized on New York Randall’s Island. The organizers of these festivals tried to combine symbols of the new Germany, such as the swastika, with American values. The main organizer was the German-American Soccer Association (Deutsch-Amerikanische Fußballbund) in cooperation with the German-American Athletic Association (Deutsch-Amerikanische Athletik Verband). Besides soccer teams, some turner clubs from the New York City area participated at this yearly one-day event along with Italian-Americans.
This event was also the province of the president of the Athletic Verband, Eugene E.W. Rieflin, who described himself as the “US Representative of Hans von Tscharmer and Osten, who was the Reichssportführer under Hitler, back in Germany.

So far the Deutsche Turn- und Sporttag has not been the focus of any research. The paper will shed some light on this neglected topic. It will not only looks at the athletic competitions, but also on the political circumstances under which it was organized.

**THOMAS M. HUNT, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN**

**“Kangaroo Court” and Constitutional Threat: The Recent History of Anti-Doping Regulation in the United States**

Over the last fifteen years, a strong regulatory partnership has developed in the United States between public law enforcement bodies and anti-doping officials. From the standpoint of those interested in ridding sport of performance-enhancing drugs, this has made possible incredible successes. The collaboration has “had an absolutely enormous effect,” said Don Catlin, who for years remained at the forefront of American anti-doping efforts as the director of UCLA’s Olympic Analytical Laboratory. “When I look at the 23 years of work before Balco and what we were able to do—yeah, we would grind out positives and occasionally have a big hit -- but when the government decides to go after it and comes in with their tools . . . they [wiretap], they pull out e-mails. I was amazed.” As was the situation in the recent Lance Armstrong doping scandal, the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency has even made use of evidence collected through governmental investigations.

Using legal records available in the public domain (primarily ones pertaining to the Armstrong case), this conference paper will argue that these developments represent a grave constitutional threat. The ability to hand over evidence to such a non-governmental organization as USADA, it will assert, represents a convenient way for public officers in America to circumvent the U.S. Constitution, which places limits on the state’s investigative powers. In making this point, the paper will also point to the fact that even in the case of evidence collected by public law enforcement bodies, the standard burden of proof used in U.S. criminal courts—“beyond a reasonable doubt”—does not apply to arbitration proceedings involving USADA. The recent history of anti-doping efforts in the United States, the paper will conclude, thus has negative legal implications that extend far beyond the narrow realm of sport.

**OFER IDELS, TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY**

**Zionism and Olympism: The Jewish community in mandatory Palestine and the XI Olympiad, 1931-1936**

The XI Olympiad was held in Berlin in 1936. The event, which is known today mostly as the “Nazi Olympics,” is one of the most controversial sports events ever held. As a result, the question of Jewish participation/discrimination in the 1936 games was discussed extensively. However, the research has not adequately addressed the perception of the Jewish community in mandatory Palestine (the *yishuv*) towards the XI Olympiad. Through analysis of news articles and
the official publications of the *yishuv* sports organizations, I examined the multilayered views the Zionist *yishuv* had towards competitive sports and the Olympic movement in the early 1930s.

I argue that the *yishuv* had three different approaches toward the 1936 Olympics. The Socialists and workers’ sport supporters opposed competitive sports and the Olympic movement. For them, the fact that the event was being held in this anti-Semitic country was proof of the “rotten nature” of bourgeois competitive sports. In their view, the Nazi party had only exposed the problems of competitive sports—not created them. The “civil group” (Farmers, Merchants, Free professions) in the *yishuv*, on the other hand, did not oppose competitive sports, but they also did not necessarily regard it as an important national tool. They therefore understood the eleventh Olympics not as a sporting event, but as an international political event held in an anti-Semitic country. They supported the international efforts to boycott the games, and when those failed they focused on the propaganda attempts made by Nazi party towards the games. The last approach is that of the *yishuv*’s competitive sports leaders and supporters. For them, the games created a contrast between their Zionist point of view and their belief in the “Olympic spirit.” They emphasized the event was an attack against the ideals of competitive sports and “Olympism”—the same national tools they tried to promote in the *yishuv*. This contrast also influenced the way the *yishuv*’s sports agents understood the participation of European Jewish athletes in the 1936 Olympics. In their eyes the athletes betrayed the Zionist unity against the games and the anti-Semitic regime, but at the same time served as a powerful demonstration of the Jewish race.

In conclusion, the paper analyzes the *yishuv* perception toward the “Nazi Olympics” in order to expand the historiography of the 1936 games, but also enrich research topics like the *yishuv*’s attitudes towards European Jewry, its understanding of Nazism before World War II, and its relationship with the international community.

SCOTT R. JEDLICKA, WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

**The Olympic Games as International Political Signal: A Study of Japan’s Olympic Experiences**

Japanese cities have successfully bid to host four Olympic games and hosted three in the postwar era. In 1964, the Summer Olympic games were held in Tokyo, while Sapporo and Nagano hosted the 1972 and 1998 Winter Olympic games, respectively. Additionally, in 2020, Tokyo will once again serve as the Summer Olympic site. Common to each of these events is a corresponding popular narrative that the ability to bid for and to host the Olympic games are indications of Japan’s (re)emergence as an international political power. The first Tokyo games were considered to be a turning point in Japan’s recovery from World War II (in addition to signaling the country’s move toward westernization), while the Sapporo games coincided with the beginning of Japan’s meteoric economic rise that peaked in the mid-1990s. Despite occurring during a period of economic stagnation, the Nagano Olympics were heralded as an opportunity for Japan to reassert itself on the world stage while domestically bolstering flagging national pride.

Drawing on IOC meeting minutes, official Olympic reports, as well as popular media coverage from before and after each of Japan’s Olympic events, this paper argues that the notion that the Olympics were (and are) an opportunity for Japan to catch up to or assert itself in the international political arena has remained relatively unchanged over time, regardless of prevailing
political and economic conditions. Even today, this portrayal of the Olympics’ importance to Japan’s international status is difficult to reconcile with empirical reality. For instance, Japan consistently ranks as the world’s third-largest economy, behind only the United States and China; hardly a nation in need of the sort of “boost” the Olympics allegedly provide. While high-minded, idealistic rhetoric is unsurprising when it emanates from Olympic organizations, this paper shows that the belief about the Olympics’ continued ability to provide Japan with some benefit is prevalent outside of the Olympic movement as well. Though many cities and countries are beginning to question the Olympics’ economic, political, and symbolic utility, this narrative continues to influence policy decisions in Japan. Indeed, the idea that the country will rely upon the games as an opportunity for redemption is already evident in the preparation for 2020, as Japan attempts to manage the ongoing problems stemming from the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster. In a more general sense, this paper demonstrates the ways in which historically-situated beliefs about the relationship between sport and politics continue to have an impact on contemporary policymaking.

GREGORY KALISS, DICKINSON COLLEGE

Was The Revolution Televised? Popular Culture and the Black Athlete Revolt

A number of influential scholars have considered the history and consequences of the Black Athlete Revolt, usually focusing on the medal-stand salute of U.S. sprinters John Carlos and Tommie Smith in Mexico City in 1968. Building on that work, this paper will consider the ways in which black athlete activism—before and after the medal-stand salute—infiltrated popular culture. Focusing primarily on the years 1964 (when Cassius Clay changed his name to Muhammad Ali) to 1974 (when a vindicated Ali reclaimed the title of heavyweight champion), this paper will explore how popular cultural forms, including music, art, films, and television shows, incorporated the attitudes and actions of radical athletes in the 1960s and 1970s. Although Muhammad Ali garnered the most attention from songwriters and visual artists, other athletes, including actor/football player Jim Brown, sprinters Smith and Carlos, and basketball great Bill Russell, also inspired a wide range of responses in American culture. By examining these popular cultural representations—from those filled with adulation to those suffused with disdain, this paper will provide a window into American attitudes towards the relationship between sports and activism, changing ideas about black masculinity, and conflicting notions of patriotism.

MARGARET C. KIEPER, CENTRAL MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

The NBA’s D-League: The End of a Jagged Path for Minor League Basketball

Within the minor league basketball marketplace there have historically been numerous leagues operating at a given point in time. For example, in 2010-11 there were thirteen minor leagues in operation within the United States (Krieger, 2012). Since the collapse of the American Basketball Association (ABA) in 1967, over 30 minor league organizations have operated—the vast majority of which are now defunct (D. Jones, 2001). The difficulties minor league basketball organizations have experienced uphold the idea that professional sport, though unique in some
attributes, is not exempt from the complexity of new business survival. The National Basketball Association Development League (NBA D-League) is no exception.

The D-League represents the desire of the NBA to have a sustainable minor league, or farm system. The D-League is the first league in history to be the official minor league for the NBA. Despite the affiliation with the NBA, the D-League has faced similar struggles that other organizations and industries encounter. Financial struggles, team relocations, and lack of league identity have all plagued the D-League (Lombardo, 2010). The importance of the D-League in sport history is that the D-League is the only minor league to show potential to sustain long-term success. For example, in 2011 it was stated by Dan Reed, the then president of the D-League that each franchise was valued at over $2 million (Lombardo, 2011).

This paper considers the characteristics and history of minor league basketball within the United States. Consideration is given to the structural characteristics of current and previously operating minor leagues within basketball and the similarities and differences amongst leagues. Specific emphasis is placed on the characteristics that make the D-League successful compared to other leagues that have operated in minor league basketball. Also discussed in this paper are the organizational struggles that plagued the initial market entrance of the D-League as they are similar to struggles that other minor leagues have faced.

Evidence for this paper comes from a comprehensive review of historical basketball literature as well as former minor league owners. The conclusion of this paper gives a breakdown of contextual similarities and differences between the D-League and other minor league basketball organizations. Specifically, the argument at the base of this paper is that if the D-League does not succeed, minor league basketball will never be successful in the United States because of the jagged history surrounding other leagues.

RICHARD KIMBALL, BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

Extreme Sports and Celebrity in the Nineteenth Century:
The Case of Steve Brodie, Bridge Jumper

Steve Brodie (1861-1901) gained fame in 1886 as the first person to jump off the Brooklyn Bridge and survive. Although his feat was questioned by many, notably David McCulloch in *The Great Bridge*, Brodie became an overnight sensation. He may well have been the first widely popular “extreme” athlete in modern American history. Building on his fame, he opened a tavern in the Bowery District where athletes and underworld characters often filled the tables. Like other famous athletes of the time, he joined a touring troupe and re-enacted his famous jump nightly on the theatre stage. In 1894, Brodie starred as the original “Bowery Boy” in the three-act play, “On the Bowery.” Later, dozens of books about the Bowery Boys were published and Brodie’s story was revived in the 1933 feature film *The Bowery*, with George Raft starring as the daring bridge jumper.

Although Brodie gained immediate fame in the aftermath of his well-publicized jump, he understood that a performer was only as good as his most recent trick. To stay in the spotlight, Brodie worked diligently to keep his name in the press by jumping from other bridges, participating in long-distance swimming races, and turning his tavern into a “must-visit” location for middle-class visitors “slumming” in the Bowery. Much like celebrities today who live off their fame, Steve Brodie did whatever it took to keep his name in the papers and money in his pockets. Extreme sports—then
as now—may be a young person’s game, but Steve Brodie manipulated the levers of public relations to turn his Brooklyn Bridge escapade into a career. Newspaper accounts, a promotional pamphlet, and various scripts are used to tell Brodie’s story and increase our understanding of extreme sports in their earliest incarnations.

GEORGE N. KIOUSSIS, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

A Chance Gone Begging? U.S. Soccer Diplomacy and the Cultural Cold War

Throughout the early-to-middle Cold War era, the United States government fashioned a program of cultural diplomacy that used artists, musicians, and athletes to foster goodwill with foreign citizens and build international prestige. Soccer, as the “global game,” appeared well poised to help in this regard. Indeed, its administrators preached a universalist rhetoric into which policymakers could very well tap. A report on the 1953 FIFA Extraordinary Congress summarized the sentiment of one speaker from the French Football Federation, who held that “people understand each other through the language of football.” The diplomatic potential of this lingua franca was not lost on members of the U.S. Soccer Federation nor Washington bureaucrats. American shores had long played host to teams touring from abroad, whilst a number of competitions—the World Cup, the Olympics, and the Pan-American Games, for instance—provided opportunities for foreign travel. Beyond this, several countries forged “the friendliest” of relations with the USSF and expressed keen interest in scheduling future matches with American sides.

This paper explores the interactions between the game’s American brass and the U.S. State Department, paying particular attention to the experiences of the former. Using meeting minutes and annual reports from the USSF, it elucidates the complex position in which America’s “soccer men” found themselves. Caught between the benefits a relationship with Washington might provide—if not financial, then certainly socio-historical, given the foreign stigma which continued to impede the game’s cultural cachet—and a desire to maintain a certain freedom of action, USSF members had to carefully weigh their options. That they also found themselves embedded in an international sport governance system, whose rules and regulations limited their room to maneuver, added to the intricacy of the situation. Ultimately, this dynamic combined with differing opinions over what form assistance from Washington should take to prevent the sport-state partnership from developing still further. The results of this research will hopefully add another dimension to the scholarship on Cold War-era sport diplomacy, while developing the literature on the cultural Cold War more broadly.

CHUCK KORR, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI – ST. LOUIS

From Research Project to Feature Film

In May 1998, I gave the Steward Staley lecture at the NASSH conference. I spoke about the role that soccer played in the lives of political prisoners held on South Africa’s notorious Robben Island. It was the first time I spoke publicly about the research that I had started in 1995.
A decade later, a ninety-minute made for television docu-drama, entitled *More Than Just a Game* had its world premier in Durban, South Africa before an invited audience who were there to be part of the draw for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The film was produced by the best known filmmaker in South Africa and the cast featured an actor who had been the star of *Tsotsi*, the first South African film nominated for an Academy Award. During the 2010 World Cup, the film was shown on TV in approximately forty-five countries around the globe. This presentation is a summary of what happened between 1998 and 2008 to bring this story to the screen.

By 1998, I was convinced that this story was dramatic and significant enough to warrant trying to bring it to the broadest possible audience. I wanted to see it on film, probably as a documentary. I saw it in the same way as I did wonderful films like *City Dump* and *Fists for Freedom*. The first problem was that I didn’t have a clue about what went into the making of a film and I didn’t know many people who knew much more.

In 2003, I was introduced to a London-based documentary film producer whose work included an award-winning film about Muhammad Ali. We formed a partnership, both legal and personal, to complete the film. That’s when the first harsh reality hit—how to raise the money for it. There were other issues. What should be the structure of the film? Should we focus on specific prisoners? How would we cope with the fact that there was no archival footage or photos?

Early on in the process, we received two important supporters—the prisoners whom I had interviewed said they wanted to participate and officials at the highest level of FIFA asked us how they could help. We finally turned the project over to Anant Singh in South Africa. That’s when everything changed, including my role. It was Anant’s film—he chose the format, the director, and the screenwriter. I was lucky because all three of them chose to involve me at virtually every stage of the film from the various drafts of the script to doing the interviews.

What I plan to show in this presentation is how the project went from an idea to a film and how my role as a historian had a crucial role in determining what ended up on the screen.

ROBERT S. KOSSUTH, THE UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

**Intersections and Contact Zones:**

‘Sport’ as a site for Aboriginal and settler relations in turn-of-the-twentieth century Lethbridge

Frontier communities in colonial-era prairie Canada emerged through processes tied to racial politics, gender identity (masculinity), and class-based social relations. Physical recreation practices represented critical sites shaping the lives of Aboriginal peoples and pioneer settlers in early Lethbridge between the 1880s and the First World War. Race and gender relations within this ‘contact zone’ impacted all areas of life, and sport and physical culture represented a unique space for ongoing relations between colonists and those whom they colonized. These relations were particularly salient within the cultural milieu of physical competitions including, for example, rodeo and horse racing. Ultimately, these cultural practices served to privilege white colonial masculinity. However, these interactions must also be understood as sites of intersection where relations of power operated within structures of inequality. Race and gender relations, in this context, provide a window for reconsidering then existent relations in this colonial frontier society.

Lethbridge, and smaller communities in the surrounding region, was established within the traditional territories of the Blackfoot, Peigan, and Blood nations, peoples who historically occupied
most of the lands south of the North Saskatchewan River. By the early 1880s a steady flow of American and Euro-Canadian settlers had followed the Northwest Mounted Police into this region. This colonial migration initiated social and cultural impacts that forever altered life for the Indigenous cultures of this region. As middle-class white migrants settled in Lethbridge, gender and race differences emerged as critical sites where power relations were both established and at times disrupted. First Nation cowboys, for example, assumed an often-contradictory position on this frontier. The case of Tom Three Persons, a member of the Blood Tribe, demonstrates this disconnect as he was lauded by many Euro-Canadians for winning at the first Calgary Stampede in 1912 while continuing to struggle under colonizing laws and social indifference. As Mary Lou LeCompte, Peter Iverson, Morgan Baillargeon, Allison Fuss Mellis, and Mary Ellen Kelm articulate, Aboriginal men and their communities were social and economic outsiders, yet at the same time were central to establishing the early ranching culture in western North America.

Gender constructions at the intersections with race and ethnicity reveal the critical place of physical culture in the process of shaping power and identity relationships at this time and in this historical location. Lethbridge, Alberta’s colonial history continues to resonate in the present day, and physical culture and recreation practices remain a prominent site of unequal access to social privilege and a location where social inequities are produced, reproduced, and resisted.

MICHAEL KRÜGER, UNIVERSITY OF MÜNSTER

History of Sports Medicine in Germany

The paper presents the concept underlying a research project on the history of sports medicine in Germany. In fact, sports medicine in Germany is associated with various doping scandals from the past, beginning with the Sports Medical Service in the former East Germany, which consistently delivered so-called “sustaining means” to East German athletes, to West German networks of doping doctors like those at Freiburg University, represented by such protagonists as Joseph Keul and Armin Klümper. However, the history of German sports medicine is by no means limited to doping. Sports doctors also initiated anti-doping concepts. Beyond doping and anti-doping, the history of German sports medicine reveals a broad spectrum of genuine medical aid and research, all located somewhere between prevention, medical and social aid, medication, trauma surgery, and rehabilitation by means of physical exercises, education, and sports. Sports medicine, not only in Germany, “sells” movement and sports as the most successful and legitimate drug against diseases of every kind, and for health and well-being.

The project aims to research the exciting and ambivalent history of German sports medicine by studying new and complex historical documents and oral history.

RITA LIBERTI

“All Frocked Up in Purple”: Rosie Casals and the Politics of Fashion at Wimbledon, 1972

In 1972 Rosemary (Rosie) Casals, an established player in women’s tennis and winner of several doubles championships at Wimbledon, appeared on the court of the staid English event in a
tennis dress with a blue/purple design with a “VS” (Virginia Slims—a cigarette brand marketed to a female audience) embroidered on her outfit. The next day she appeared on the number one court for the women’s doubles semi-final match with the cigarette insignia clearly displayed across the front of her athletic wear. Instructed to adhere to Wimbledon’s dress code of “predominantly” white outfits, officials warned Casals would be banned from further play if she did not comply. Forced to obey Wimbledon dress codes, Casals conceded, though not without a verbal assault directed at tournament officials. Others too, including many of the press in the U.S. and beyond, took note of and commented on Casals’ fashion choice and the tennis establishment’s response.

In this paper I argue, analyzing oral history as well as various press reports in the U.S. and abroad, that Casals’s ensemble and the reaction by officials and those in the media symbolized far more than a perceived fashion faux pas by the tennis star. Rather, Casals’ attire and the public reaction to it throw into sharp relief debates around equal rights and female independence that raged throughout society during the late 1960s and 1970s. Importantly, the discussions and tensions in relation to Casals’s tennis outfit did not simply mirror these broader conversations—they contributed greatly to them. The dress, like Casals, challenged rules of conduct on the court—and social convention off it. The attire was, for her, a form of self-expression, which personified a style she was eager to portray to a public, some of whom were not necessarily similarly keen on its exhibition.

Andrew D. Linden, Pennsylvania State University

Tempering the Dichotomous Flame: Social History, Cultural History, and Postmodernism(s) in the Journal of Sport History, 1974-2014

In 2006, discussions over postmodernisms in sport history piqued tension. At a NASSH session titled “Assessing the Field of Sport History,” sport historian Douglas Booth presented “A New Dawn? Sport History and the Cultural Turn.” Although I was not present—and I can never know the “truth”—scholars identify this session as a turning point in the history of the field. In a recent issue of The Journal of American History, historian Amy Bass agrees that this session played a crucial role in sport history’s “cultural turn.”

For Bass and Booth, sport historians arrived very late to the “cultural turn,” while many never made the paradigmatic shift at all. Many sport historians, they argue, continue to rely purely on empiricism, refuse to ask important epistemological questions, abhor reflexivity, and believe that they can find the past “as it really was.” On the contrary, sport historian Allen Guttmann has referred to Booth’s argument as based on a fallible strawperson. Recently, he called Booth’s oft-cited reconstructionist-constructionist-deconstructionist framework as “professional malpractice” (“Making Sport History: A Commentary,” 2014).

I believe that these discussions have created a false dichotomy in sport history. Therefore, in this paper, I explore whether such a discernible shift in sport history ever occurred. Did “traditional historians” (should they exist) ever espouse a reconstructionist mentality, as Booth articulates? Did constructionists and deconstructionists really make such a radical shift?

To attempt to answer these questions, I analyze each full-length article written in the Journal of Sport History since its first issue in 1974 through the final issue of 2014. I document the major themes, methodologies, and epistemologies that sport historians have adopted since the beginning of
the publication of the journal. To avoid creating false identities for sport historians, I consider each article and look for shifts over time in the journal, rather than pigeonholing scholars into definitional compartments.

I contend that, as a field, sport history has gradually evolved over the past half century through the paradigms of social, cultural, and postmodern history. This view, I hope, provides a more nuanced historiography than many “state of the field” essays have done, most of which have delineated the “beginnings” and “ends” of various “eras” in sport history. Social, cultural, or postmodernist history did not appear or disappear at any single “moment,” but shifts occurred along a continuum of change. Ultimately, this paper will provide a comprehensive look at the work in the journal in hopes of tempering the dichotomous flame that continues in the annals of sport history and reappeared in the recent Journal of American History “state of the field.”

MATTHEW P. LLEWELLYN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON & JOHN T. GLEAVES, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

An “Inconsistent” Apostle of Amateurism: Avery Brundage, a Revisionist Interpretation

No figure played a more significant role in the history of Olympic amateurism than Avery Brundage. Dubbed in 1948 by Life Magazine “The Irascible High Priest of Amateurism” for over four decades and across all layers of Olympic governance, the American seemingly defended amateurism with religious conviction. His deeply conservative views and outspoken defense of the amateur ideal set the tone for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in the Cold War years, helping insulate the Olympic Movement from the radical currents that were transforming postwar societies and global affairs. Both in his lifetime and in the years since, portrayals of Avery Brundage depict a Quixote-esque idealist providing the Olympic Movement’s only firm line of defense against professional and commercial encroachments throughout the Cold War years.

However, the orthodox view of Brundage as an unwavering apostle to the amateur ideal—a dominant position in sport history—overlooks the finer, more nuanced realities of his administration. Despite his anti-commercial rhetoric and investigatory crusades, Brundage also appeased, compromised, and even spearheaded initiatives that broke with the Olympic Movement’s amateur traditions. While Brundage disavowed politics and professionalism, he sanctioned the participation of Communist-bloc nations in keeping with the universal aspirations of the Games. While Brundage raged against commercialism, he denied the Olympic Movement the financial and bureaucratic capacity to promote Olympism around the world. While he publically proclaimed his adoration for the amateur ideal, his narrow metaphysical understanding of amateurism hindered the IOC’s ability to craft more relevant, realistic and enforceable legislation. Thus the prevailing perception of Brundage as well as previous scholarly attempts to draw a clear, consistent line across the length of his Olympic career indicate that Brundage’s legacy as an unwavering apostle of amateurism demands a revisionist interpretation.

Drawing upon archival materials from the Avery Brundage Archives, the Olympic Studies Center (OSC) archives, and public debates in the leading national and sporting newspapers and periodicals of the time, this paper will detail and analyze how Brundage’s oscillating ideological blend of pragmatic compromise and ideological rigidity exposed the Olympic Movement to the very charges of hypocrisy, inconsistency, elitism, and anachronism that ultimately led to amateurism’s
defeat. With a revisionist interpretation of Brundage’s stewardship of amateurism, a new picture of his tenure emerges. In this picture, despite his best intentions and indefatigable efforts, Brundage’s policymaking ironically served to hasten rather than forestall the disintegration of Olympic principles and the amateur ideal.

MICHAEL E. LOMAX, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

*Changing the Way They Do Business: Jackie Robinson, Integration and the Origins of Organizational Culture In Organized Baseball*

On April 18, 1946, Jack Roosevelt Robinson made his International League (IL) debut against the Jersey City Giants at Roosevelt Stadium. In his first at bat, Robinson worked the pitcher to a full count before grounding out to the Giants’ shortstop. In the third inning with two men on base, Robinson drilled lefthander Warren Sandall’s fast ball over the left field fence for a three-run home run. In the fifth inning, the Royals second baseman laid down a bunt that stunned the Giants infield as he dashed across first base ahead of the throw. Robinson stole second base, then went to third unexpectedly on a ground out to third base. When Giants relief pitcher Phil Otis entered the game, Robinson aggressively taunted him with attempts to steal home. Confused by his antics, Otis balked and Robinson trotted home. Robinson’s debut in Organized Baseball couldn’t have been scripted better by a Hollywood director. In five at bats, he hit safely four times, including a home run, two stolen bases, and scored four runs, two of them on balks.

There have been several scholarly studies that examine Jackie Robinson’s rookie season with the International League Montreal Royals. Their works can be briefly summarized as follows. Jackie Robinson’s spring training season in Florida was marred by several cancellations. He rebounded nicely with an excellent opening day performance against the Jersey City Giants. Throughout the season, Robinson was subjected to racial abuse in several IL cities, like Syracuse and Baltimore. In spite of this unwanted attention, Robinson performed spectacularly and led the Montreal Royals to the International League pennant and Little World Series championship.

These studies contributed immensely to our understanding of Jackie Robinson’s rookie season with the Montreal Royals. They revealed Robinson’s courage and intestinal fortitude in the midst of a complicated and often hostile environment. The overwhelming focus on integration, the Civil Rights movement, and Robinson being accepted by his white teammates makes our understanding of his rookie season incomplete. What is often overlooked was the way Robinson’s presence on the Royals marked the start of the transformation of Organized Baseball’s organizational culture. This paper examines the way Jackie Robinson transformed Organized Baseball’s organizational culture during his rookie season with the Montreal Royals.

Jackie Robinson’s rookie season with the Montreal Royals was a combination of complexity and triumph. His presence led to disrupting the Royals’ chemistry, while he personally experienced a sense of alienation. Player and fan reaction to his presence on the diamond was, for the most part, mixed. Robinson endured the trash talking from Syracuse players, although he received a generous reception from Buffalo fans throughout the season. The Royals second baseman’s reception from Baltimore fans could be perceived as a threat to his safety. Despite this mixed reaction from the players and fans, Robinson’s performance on the field appeared to offset any reception he received. It
marked the beginning of players of white Eurocentric origin co-existing with players of color in the pursuit of pennants and World Series championships.

Brandon M. Long, Niagara University & Jimmy Smith, Niagara University

The Spirit Soars On: Past, Present, and Future for the Athletic Members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium

In 1879, Brigadier General Richard Pratt founded a boarding school for American Indian youth in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, with the famed motto, “kill the Indian and save the man.” The idea was to correct what was viewed as an Indian problem by means of erasing and recreating the American Indian identity, the spirit.

Over time, however, history and historians alike have shown that those who are resilient and determined have the ability to change their chapter in the history books. Approximately a century since Brigadier General Richard Pratt created the boarding school, American Indians have shown that this educational and the athletic systems meant to assimilate American Indians into Anglo society, actually provided American Indians with an opportunity to show pride and continuous cultural growth. These opportunities have continued into the twenty-first century, more specifically 2003, with the establishment of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium Athletic Commission.

The ability to find comprehensive research in relation to the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) and AIHEC Athletic Commission is limited. As a result, there has been a research initiative that was issued by the AIHEC with the focus on research that preserves, sustains and restores the American Indian traditions and cultural practices. This research is guided through a contemporary historical lens that is created upon the knowledge that is gained by interviewing athletic department administrators at Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCU). Additional data collection reviews, archival records and historical journals connected the TCUs and the AIHEC. The timeliness of this research is in response to the initiative brought forth by the AIHEC and provides insight on the effect of the persistence and focus that can be found within the AIHEC and its members and athletic institutions.

This research presents an accurate historical and cultural narration of the athletic institutions of the AIHEC. In turn, this research also allows for the acknowledgement and addressing of a void found in sports history. In addition to an emphasis on a historical and cultural telling, this research places emphasis on the importance of leadership found within the members of the AIHEC Athletic Commission and the community as well as the impact and unity created through wellness and athletics.

This research will show how a culture that has faced pressures of assimilation and countless obstacles was able to change their history by means of utilizing the philosophical structure of the “self-determination” movement in the 1960s and continue to develop the longevity of their cultural history, leadership and wellness. This research will continue in helping society and future researchers in understanding the various possible research methods that fill voids within the sport industry from a historical and cultural analysis as well as assist in addressing this largely under-explored topic.
The Americanism Program: Baseball, the American Legion, and Building Patriotism in America’s Youth

World War I provided a key platform for the expansion and institutionalization of American sports. The US military adopted sports programs in its training, and it contracted with the YMCA to work with the troops and use sports to improve troop morale. But one of the most important results was the creation of the American Legion, spearheaded by Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. In the post-war years the Legion quickly grew into an important political organization, especially at the local level. The Legion not only sought to protect the interests of veterans but also joined the battle with other reactionaries of the twenties to root out left wing and radical activity during the first Red Scare. The Legion promoted a program of “Americanism” that was aimed at foreign and immigrant influences, and against heterogeneity in general. Unfortunately for the Legion, which sought mainstream acceptance, their program smacked of the “100 percent Americanism” of the surging Ku Klux Klan.

To offer a softer approach towards essentially the same goal, the Legion turned toward a more positive expression of Americanism: baseball. In the mid-1920s it created a youth baseball program that soon spread around the country and became, for millions of young men over the decades, the first chance to compete in organized sports. It allowed the Legion to separate from the hateful message of the Klan and provide a positive experience for young men. The baseball program was also considered a great success and became the Legion’s primary outreach program. This paper will examine the creation of the program and its significance to the expansion of baseball and other organized sports.

The research for this paper is based on published secondary sources, media coverage and the archives of the American Legion in Indianapolis. This is part of a broader study I am conducting on the impact of American participation in World War I on the development of American sport.

“Wild Woolly Westerners Win”: Regional Rivalry, Community Identity, and the 1896 Stanley Cup Hockey Challenges

This case study of media coverage of Canadian hockey examines narratives of regional and local identity during two Stanley Cup hockey challenges played by the Winnipeg Victorias and the Montreal Victorias in February and December 1896. First presented in 1893, the Stanley Cup symbolized the national hockey championship of Canada. The 1896 Winnipeg-Montreal Stanley Cup hockey challenges provide considerable insight into the cultural meanings of hockey during the late nineteenth century. In particular, this paper investigates the regional and interurban rivalries that were expressed through east-west hockey competition in Canada. Media accounts from newspapers based in Winnipeg and Montreal form the basis of this study. Narratives of regional identity and civic boosterism were constructed through press reports on the 1896 challenges, as coverage of the rival Victoria clubs became part of an emerging “hockey world” that was beginning to expand across the country.

With its power to express community aspirations, sport acted as a vehicle for the dramatization of regional and interurban rivalries during the late nineteenth century. A dominant
narrative in the discussions surrounding the 1896 Stanley Cup games was the depiction of Montreal and Winnipeg hockey teams as representatives of east-west conflict and difference. Narratives of east-west antagonism drew upon widely held perceptions of regional cultural distinctions in Canada during this period. For example, newspapers referred repeatedly to the “effete east” and the “wild and woolly west” in their coverage of the hockey challenges, describing the competing clubs as symbols of “old” Canada and “new,” or civilization versus the frontier.

At the same time, local sports teams like the Montreal Victorias and Winnipeg Victorias were represented in press coverage as embodiments of community identity and emblems of civic pride. Winnipeg’s political and business leaders, in particular, believed that promotion and publicity were essential to their city’s continued progress and population growth. This outlook was shared with other civic boosters on the Canadian prairies prior to the First World War, as newly emerging communities in the region battled fiercely to attract businesses and settlers. Major sporting events like Stanley Cup challenges provided opportunities for cities to uphold civic pride and advance community prestige.

This study explores the relationship between sport and community identity during a key period in the development of top-level hockey in Canada. By assessing media narratives of regional rivalry and civic identification, this research addresses gaps in the study of Canadian sport history and the analysis of hockey and Canadian popular culture. In particular, this paper begins to answer the need for careful, focused case studies that examine the cultural meanings of sport, including North American hockey, in a historical context.

**Jan Luitzen, Amsterdam University of Applied Science**

**Noorthey Rules!**

**The Role of Noorthey in the Introduction and Diffusion of Cricket in the Netherlands**

Most of the English ball sports were introduced in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, from 1845 onwards, a period of major social changes. Whilst many studies have reviewed the role of English elite schools in the conceptualisation and popularisation of modern sports around this time, little attention has been given to similar analysis of other national education/sport systems. This study has been designed to answer the question ‘what role did the Dutch elite schools play in the practising of these sports and in the integration process in the Netherlands?’

An in-depth systematic literature review was conducted over a period of two years, using key search terms including Dutch and English sport language terminology such as *sport*, *cricket*, *bowler*, *bat* and *wicket*. The literature search involved numerous databases including public archives and private libraries and resulted in the identification of a variety of sources including books, magazines and newspapers. Analyses of this unique database resulted in a comprehensive overview of cricket in the Netherlands from 1845 to 1883 and identified Noorthey school as the central catalyst for the development of this sport.

Noorthey was a Protestant-Christian boarding school for boys founded in 1820 by Petrus de Raadt. The school’s pupils were predominantly from very wealthy families, including noblemen, barons and counts. De Raadt’s pedagogical principle was that studying was to be intensive but that every few hours of mental activity was to be interchanged with physical recreation. Pupils were encouraged to do calisthenics and to practice ball sports on the large outdoor playground during
their time off. Based on our research, we can conclude that pupils Richard, James and William Smith introduced cricket to Noorthey in August 1845, supported by the English teacher Frederick Martin Cowan. The new sport was very popular among the pupils of Noorthey. After finishing their studies some graduates—influential as they were as noblemen—worked for the further proliferation and formalisation of cricket in the Netherlands, being involved for instance in the founding of the first Dutch Cricket Clubs: Mutua Fides Cricket Club (Utrecht, 1856-57), the Amsterdamsche Cricket-Club (May 26, 1871) and the Leeuwarden cricket club ‘Frisia’ (1883). Clubs were founded all over the Netherlands, and in 1883 the Dutch cricket federation was established.

While there have been numerous publications about the diffusion of modern cricket, its introduction in the Netherlands and the founding of the first cricket clubs have thus far remained underexposed. By studying the introduction and diffusion of cricket in the Netherlands, better insight has been gained in the transnational processes that took place in the middle of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, this research contributed to the understanding of the importance of the legacy of Noorthey and its ex-pupils, who acted as promoting agents of cricket and therefore played a significant role in the sport history of the Netherlands.

MALCOLM MACLEAN, UNIVERSITY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE, ENGLAND

Reading rebellion and racist rugby: literature, prop theory and the Springboks in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Sport historians’ recent accentuation of literary works has been a welcome development opening up areas of scholarship and analysis that have enriched the field. For the most part, however, these explorations of sports’ historical literature have remained grounded in the conventions and approaches developed by literary studies and literary analysis to explore the presence of sport in literature and the deployment of sport in and as literary texts. This paper, as part of a research programme exploring social and cultural historical aspects of the campaign against sporting contact between South Africa and Aotearoa/New Zealand, draws on recent developments in theories of fiction to explore the use of literary texts as historical sources.

Developing an argument based in the make-believe theory of representation, the paper explores the extent to which one young adult novel, David Hill’s The Name of the Game, may be used as a source in discussions of the tumultuous 1981 campaign opposing the Springbok rugby visit to Aotearoa/New Zealand. Make-believe theory (also ‘prop theory’) allows the analysis of literary representations as prescribing particular fictional imaginings to participants in the fictional or game world of the literary text. Hill’s novel, published 20 years after the tour, has a realist textual frame that allows analysis of the tensions between didacticism and modes of historical representation.

The objective is to consider the extent to which ‘make-believe theory’ allows analysis of historical memory of the tour and its associated protest movement, and accordingly the extent to which this approach with its associated fictional principles of ‘reality’, ‘mutual belief’ and ‘shared mythology’ can provide historians with tools to analyse fictional literary texts as sources. The paper is designed, therefore, to explore the potential of make-believe theory as a part of sports historians’ methodological toolkit. The analysis will complement a parallel project exploring the usefulness of and techniques for the analysis of contemporary poetry as a source for historical analysis, and supplement a sister project investigating the place of the anti-apartheid campaign in plays.
Mary G. McDonald, Georgia Institute of Technology

Across Time and Space: Billy Mills, Public Memory, and Native American Resistance

The fall of 2014 marked the 50th anniversary of the United States’ Billy Mills surprising gold medal victory in the 10,000 meter run during the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo, Japan. Mills, an Oglala Lakota (Sioux), finished with a time of 28:24.4. This time established an Olympic record and was reportedly nearly 50 seconds faster than Mills had ever run before. The victory was made all the more dramatic as television announcer Dick Bank alerted US viewers to Mills surging past two other competitors down the stretch by screaming: “Look at Mills, Look at Mills!” In 1983 Mills’ story was made into a television movie, Running Brave, starring Robby Benson. In this paper, I draw upon cultural studies sensibilities and scholarship on public and collective memory to investigate the ways in which this event and Mills are imagined 50 years after that gold medal victory. To do so, I analyze a variety of media texts including those from “traditional” media such as newspapers and magazines as well as those from “new” media such as Facebook pages, twitter and related websites. These narratives and memories offer competing versions of the meaningfulness of the 10,000 meter victory to Native Americans as well as points of resistance to dominant commodified sporting ideals.

Kieren McEwan, University of Portsmouth

The Anti-Competitor as Athlete? An Evolutionary Historical Analysis of Mountain Biking and its Adherence to Guttmann’s Classification of Modern Sport

Mountain biking, along with all emerging extreme sports, is still a relatively new phenomenon in comparison to its traditional counterparts. However, the increasing attraction and popularity of extreme sports is undeniable (Rinehart & Sydnor, 2003; Creyer, Ross & Evers, 2003; Jarvie, 2006). As a result it is also true that extreme sports have become a dynamically evolving consumer space where activities such as mountain biking continually adapt in format to meet the shifting needs of their participants. Building on the early work in this area by Donnelly (1981), a continued discourse has emerged amongst sports sociologists, centering upon the deliberate development and propagation of a counter-cultural identity within extreme sports. This emergent identity has been characterised by the conspicuous display of anti-competitive sentiment and the rejection of traditional sporting values. To an extent this has been supplanted by the formation of a subcultural identity focused on risk taking and aesthetic self-expression. The changing nature of sports such as mountain biking therefore prompts a discussion examining whether the demarcation boundaries between sport, game and simple acts of play have become porous in nature and increasingly amorphous.

This creates a somewhat dichotomous juxtaposition for researchers in this field to contend with. On one hand, research on the early stages of the development of mountain biking has shown discernible conformity to Guttmann’s (1978) characteristics of modern sport (Savre, Saint-Martin and Tarret, 2010). This undoubtedly still holds true for contemporary participants who engage in conspicuously competitive forms of the sport such as cross-country and down-hill racing. However, since its inception, mountain biking has become a pluralised and highly fragmented arrangement of similar but differing activity formats. The result of its historical development as a sport has meant
that numerous ‘styles’ of mountain biking have emerged, with many arguably displaying a tendency towards non-conformity to the normalised competitive characteristic which is at the heart of traditional sport.

This paper examines the degree to which differing pluralised forms of mountain biking conform to Guttmann’s (1978) classification of the characteristics of modern sport through the representation of each fragmented sub-style within the media. By utilising leading historical mountain biking publications, a critical content analysis has been conducted to demonstrate how the evolution of mountain biking can be characterised by the emergence of two types of participants, the competitor and the anti-competitor. This paper aims to prompt a continued discussion of the changing nature and meaning of sport in contemporary culture and asks if it is possible to be both anti-competitor and athlete simultaneously.

TARA MAGDALINSKI, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

Won’t someone please think of the University? Animating the Sanctity of Sport

In 2012, the University College Dublin (UCD) began a project with Dublin’s Institute of Art, Design and Technology (IADT) to link UCD researchers with IADT students to create short films to highlight aspects of the University’s research. Science Expressions 2012 was a great success, with the winning film going on to claim an international film prize. In 2013, a call for expressions of interest was made, and having met with a number of different teams in a “speed dating” scenario, I nominated to work with animation students who, fortunately, selected me as well. We worked on trying to present a sequence that in five minutes would make a lay audience reconsider the notion that doping is a black and white issue by demonstrating that a variety of moral panics over threats to the sanctity of sport have existed for as long as organised sport itself.

The process included the development of an initial treatment by the animation students, including a script that was based on ideas, themes and examples that I provided them. Our project was selected as one of four films to be funded for Science Expressions 2013. Having mastered the first hurdle, we set to refine the script and storyboard, only to have the project’s message deemed ‘too provocative’. In a series of phone calls and one meeting, I was asked to reconsider the script with a view to adding a positive ending so that university’s reputation would not be negatively impacted.

This paper outlines the process of representing sports historical research accurately, yet accessibly, whilst negotiating the requirements of a University seeking to promote itself and its research activities to the broader community.

LOUIS MOORE, GRAND VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY

Race Man or Race Menace?: George Dixon and the Meaning of Black Athlete Success

Although he never weighed more than 120 pounds, George Dixon was the greatest fighter of his generation. In 1890 he defeated England’s Bantamweight Champion Nunc Wallace (105 pounds,) to become the first black champion. After Dixon beat Wallace, a writer for the Cleveland Gazette [black newspaper] quipped, “Will someone tell us what this country is coming to? Young Afro-Americans are winning prizes at colleges, riding winning horses in leading races and winning
world’s championships in the pugilistic arena. There are other avenues in which we have excelled in the past year. Isn’t this an indication of progress?” As the quote suggests, the black press used black athletic success to prove racial advancement. Even Dixon understood the important role his championship status played in the black community. He once told a group of Boston’s black leaders, “I have never yet entered the ring but that I was conscious that I was not only fighting the battle for myself alone but also for the race. I felt that if I won, not only credit would be given me, but that my race would also rise in the estimation of the public.” The black press continued to celebrate Dixon throughout the decade, but by 1902 they were done with Dixon. One paper asked its readers, “How many young men in the heyday of prosperity will be warned by the improvidence of George Dixon to save up a few pennies for the rainy day that is sure to come?” What happened to George Dixon? How could a race man so quickly become a race menace?

Examining how the black middle class reacted to the rise and fall of George Dixon, my presentation will discuss the meaning of the black fighter at the turn of the century. More than proving physical equality, the black prizefighter represented black competence, work ethic, an ability to overcome racism, and demonstrated that blacks would succeed in the labor market if given an equal chance to compete. As one black writer argued, “the pugilistic business is, however, indicative of something. It shows whenever a Negro is given a chance, to use the language of the street, he is sure, ‘to get there.’” However, using boxers to prove black equality was a huge gamble, because the sporting culture’s construction of manliness diverged from the expectations of the black middle class. White writers, however, viewed the financial downfall of black fighters like Dixon, who squandered $250,000, through a racial lens and believed blacks had an innate pathology towards economic failure. Understanding this attack from the lens of the black middle class, whites’ indictment of a black fighter’s inability to demonstrate manly responsibility became a condemnation of black manhood. Thus, race men publically shunned the pugilist’s cultural habits and instead situated fighters like Dixon as failed figures who did not represent the racial manhood.

DOMINIC G. MORAI, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

Bulking Up Brand Community: BEENTH & Health Magazine, 1932 -1941

Since approximately 2000, the physical culture industry has experienced a relatively steady increase in popularity. Market research indicates that participation in many fitness categories, including exercise in clubs, exercise with weights, and exercise with equipment, has increased. The relatively recent explosion of CrossFit, promoted as an exercise philosophy, a business, and a competitive fitness sport, has surely contributed to this trend. One aspect of CrossFit cited as a significant contributor to a company’s success is the notion of community among participants in the sport and within each gym. As much as CrossFitters tout this communal feeling, it is not an isolated occurrence. Scholars have demonstrated that companies such as LEGO, Hummer, Coca-Cola, and Harley-Davidson utilize this same strategy of promoting brand community as well.

With this in mind, the purpose of this paper is to examine the brand community practices of BEENTH & Health magazine from its inception in 1932 until World War II significantly changed the social milieu in America in late 1941. It will be argued that brand community played an important role in attracting and retaining followers, which accords with the argument made by sport management scholars Matthew Katz and Bob Heere in their article “Leaders and Followers: An
Exploration of the Notion of Scale-Free Networks Within a New Brand Community.” They aver that when starting a new brand community, it is important to cultivate connections between consumers in order to actually create and entrench the community.

This paper will contribute to sport history scholarship in multiple ways. Although sport historians have generally heeded Stephen Hardy’s call for the examination of sport through economic and business lenses in his piece, “Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians,” the physical culture industry has generally been neglected in these types of examinations. This paper will help to fill that void. In addition, it will refine our understanding of brand community through the use of a historical lens, and it will shed light on the use of physical culture to build community.

**Rudolf Müllner, University of Vienna**

*From “Sport-for-all” to Quantified-Self—The Transformation of the Physical Fitness Movement in Central Europe since 1970*

This study intends to sketch out the development of fitness-oriented sport in central Europe during the last four decades. The precursors can be seen in the physical fitness campaigns of the USA tracing back to the 1950s. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy published the key article, “The American Soft” in *Sports Illustrated* in which he criticized the poor fitness of the American people. From the USA the fitness movement came to the Scandinavian countries where the European “sport-for-all-movement” started at the end of the 1960s. German-speaking countries like Austria picked up the modern fitness ideas after a delay of several years.

The history of fitness sports is a history of diversification, transformation and expansion of the traditional performance-dominated amateur sports. When we look at contemporary sports we can distinguish a broad variety of physical practices ranging from high-performance, risk or fun sports, mediated spectacles, fitness, health or recreation activities and so on. There are big differences between all these forms of sports and physical exercises concerning, for example, the form of organization, the intensity, the goals of the participants, the media representation or the gender structures.

This study argues that the 1970s in Central Europe was a key period in this transformation process. Many parameters of popular sports changed radically like sports participation, which meant that the number of persons practicing sports increased enormously, and more women took part into fitness sports, but also the motives changed. Performance for many people was no longer the main goal. Health reasons became hegemonic.

Another important factor, which has to be examined in that context, is the question of body control. Following Michel Foucault’s concept of “Biopolitics” (Foucault, 2014) and interpreting fitness sports as a “self technology” we can—to put it simply—assume that the power which controls the body shifted towards the individual. Fitness in late modernity can be understood as “a body practice which is situated between self-submission and self-empowerment” (Graf, 2013). The “Quantified-self-movement” and the methods of “self tracking” are the latest outcomes of that development.

Methods: Hermeneutical analysis of specific secondary literature concerning the “sport-for-all” and the “quantified-self-movement” in central Europe especially in Germany and in Austria;
analysis of original documents of the big fitness campaigns during the 1970s; content analysis of popular magazines; and interviews with people practicing fitness sports and leading fitness experts.

Christine Neejer, Michigan State University

“The servant girls have taken to wheeling”:
Towards a Working-Class History of Women’s Bicycling, 1889-1910

When the mass-market bicycle emerged in the late 1880s, women jumped at the chance to ride. By the mid-1890s, women made up one-third to one-half of cyclists on the road. Used bicycle shops, layaway plans, and informal, community-based sharing practices helped make bicycling accessible to women from a variety of socioeconomic classes. Despite its popularity, scholars have largely understood the history of American bicycling through men’s athletics and innovation. Women’s bicycling practices have remained on the margins of this historiography, and scholarship which does include women focuses primarily on middle- and upper-class cyclists. Although women cyclists did share some broad commonalities in their enthusiasm for the sport, their race, class, region, age, and other identities and subjectivities greatly shaped their bicycling practices. Limiting scholarly understanding of women’s bicycling only to middle- and upper-class women has inadvertently naturalized the experiences of only one group of cyclists. This oversight has simplified and limited historical understanding of the complexities and broader scholarly significance of women’s bicycling in this era.

This paper responds to this gap by asking how working-class women envisioned and used the bicycle to serve their specific interests. This paper uses a variety of sources, including popular periodicals, factory inspection records, and bicycle industry documents, to argue that many working-class women used bicycling as a strategy to challenge the particular constraints they faced as workers, both on and off the job. For example, women who worked as domestic servants used bicycling to subvert their employers’ surveillance and control. Bicycling offered domestic servants a new way to access urban spaces, including booming centers of nightlife and commercialized leisure, in which they were beyond their employers’ grasp. Threatened by this strikingly independent form of travel, some wealthy families refused to hire wheelwomen and only offered jobs to “walking girls.” Many working-class women also used bicycling to improve their physical, emotional, and financial wellbeing off the job. Women factory workers used their limited savings to purchase a bicycle because it offered them a more effective and cost-saving way to commute. Yet their rides had far more than just financial benefits. Many workers used their cycling commutes as a non-medical way to soothe the physical and emotional strain from their stressful, dangerous jobs. Bicycling offered women with limited free time a more effective form of exercise compared to walking, and women workers also used bicycling as an escape from the confines of tenement life. Women who spent the workday in isolation even found that bicycling served as a companion, similar to a pet or friend, to meet at the end of each lonely shift. Recognizing working-class women’s bicycling practices does not only expand the historiography of women’s sport. It also challenges scholars to rethink the boundaries of politics and leisure. For many working-class women, bicycling was not simply an apolitical hobby, but a key activist project in their class-based struggles.
Big Ten basketball had been a powerful force in the collegiate ranks and the NCAA tournament, from the first one, won by Oregon, in which Ohio State finished second, followed by two Big 10 NCAA champions in Indiana and Wisconsin. After a long hiatus, Big Ten basketball returned to the championship game in 1956, when Iowa lost to the University of San Francisco and Bill Russell for the title. Shortly afterwards came the Ohio State teams of Lucas and Havlicek (1960-63), which appeared in three straight championship games, followed by the Cazzie Russell era at Michigan. But, after a mediocre showing as a league in 1965-66, the bottom seemed to drop out in 1966-67, in both the quality of the teams and in the painful Illinois slush fund scandal, which will be a major part of this paper.

Some questions to be considered: how did Big Ten and today’s recruiting differ and what significant contrasts are there in roster composition? How did the slush fund scandal affect Big Ten athletic policies and implementation? What was the NCAA’s role in the implementation of Big 10 punishments? How does the way the scandal was addressed differ from the way such issues are and would be dealt with today? How does this scandal look, viewed through today’s lenses, especially in light of the Ed O’Bannon lawsuit and the new big 5, so-called, Power conferences and their separate rule-making?

The Big Ten basketball season played out against a new national dominance, that of UCLA and their sophomore stars, Lew Alcindor, Lucius Allen, Lynn Shackelford and Ken Heitz. In the Big Ten no team established any similar dominance. Indiana and Michigan State tied with records of 10-4, but Indiana got the NCAA nod from the Big 10 because Michigan State had been in the tournament more recently as conference champion. At that time, only one team per conference went to the NCAA tourney and the Big 10 forbade their members from playing in the NIT, the other top tourney of the time.

Indiana, as Big Ten champion, had a bye in Round One of the 23-team tournament, then faced Virginia Tech in the second round. The Hoosiers promptly lost, 79-70, an upset to be sure. But still there was more as three coaches were forced to resign at Illinois, weakening them even further and bringing an embarrassing end to a season to forget for the Big Ten.

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**Murry Nelson, Penn State University**

“The Big Ten Basketball Season of 1966-67- A Year to Forget”

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**Erik Nielsen, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia**

**Soccer and Australia’s Vietnam War: The Case of the 1967 Friendly Nations Tournament**

The Australian soccer team won its first tournament at the 1967 Friendly Nations Tournament held in Saigon at the height of the Vietnam War. The team’s captain Johnny Warren argued that the naive team was cynically sent to Vietnam by an uncaring and duplicitous Australian government in order to bolster the South Vietnamese Government. This paper will address Warren’s claim that the team was used by the Australian and South Vietnamese governments for propaganda purposes. It will also address the way that the tour has been used to claim a space for soccer within Australian culture. In order to historicise this unique tour, this paper will examine press reports from the Australian mainstream and specialty soccer press that charted the tour. Archival material held by the National Archives of Australia will be engaged with in order to interrogate Warren’s claim that
the team was sent for propaganda purposes. Contemporary cultural products including Warren’s autobiography and media commemorations of the tour will be addressed in order to assess the way the story of the tour has been granted cultural significance in terms of Australia’s sporting and military history. This paper will contend that Warren’s claim that the team was sent to Vietnam for propaganda reasons is unsustainable, but the tour has occupied a place in Australian culture as a talisman of post-Vietnam era disillusionment. Despite significant differences between Australian and American experiences of the war, the American memory of differences between pro and anti-Vietnam war forces has influenced Australian memories of the conflict—particularly regarding the treatment of returning soldiers. The influence of American cultural memory over Australian responses to the Vietnam War provides a problematic prism with which to understand Australia’s experience of the conflict. This paper significantly adds to our understanding of sport’s role to the way that societies remember and make meaning of times of conflict and turbulence.

Ornella Nzindukiyimana, Western University

“If you Keep Winning, Larry, They’ll Have to Give you a Chance”: Larry Gains’ pursuit of the World Heavyweight Title (1927-1932)

Larry Gains was a black Canadian professional heavyweight boxer from Toronto with a most impressive record. Between 1927 and 1932, he was crowned Canadian champion, world Coloured champion, as well as British Empire champion. When any other white man with his record would have had a cleared path towards the world title, the politics of the time, as Larry Gains puts it, made crossing that line impossible, for him and for other coloured men. In the person of Jack Johnson, the black race had been disassociated from the world heavyweight title, and the colour bar had been raised most resolutely in boxing. The purpose of this paper is to use Larry Gains’ pursuit of the world title in the inter-war period to explore the place of a black prize fighter within professional boxing, in the aftermath of Jack Johnson’s reign. Referencing his effort to capture the Canadian and British Empire titles in the late 1920s and early 1930s, we observe how, in the post-Johnson era, Larry Gains constituted an especially lucrative tool in the increasingly commercial sport, when he was matched with white boxers. Using an analysis of Canadian and British printed press, it is demonstrated that while the colour bar was resolutely up as a symbol of white “politics,” promoters were not averse to Gains’ popularity with the public. Gains’ autobiography, The Impossible Dream, is also used to contrast and highlight the press’ sensationalist narrative. In the tense climate created by Jack Johnson’s time as world champion, mixed bouts took on a new meaning that was readily exploited. Mixed fights procured a notable pecuniary benefit to promoters by appealing to the white public’s fascination with the othered black body. But as the elusive world title reminds us, the heavyweight champion was a most precious symbol of white supremacy that was not to be readily surrendered, not even to one as “deserving” as Larry Gains. This paper explores Gains’ pursuit of an impossible dream, a pursuit that took him away from his native Toronto to England and back again. In so doing, the paper presents the ambivalent attitude that existed towards black boxers as boxing was gaining in popularity, a context that led to Joe Louis’ successful challenge for the world title in 1937.
THOMAS OATES, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

Heaven is a Playground?: Basketball, Urban Space, and Racial Politics in the 1970s

During the late 1960s and 1970s, urban ghettos, abandoned by whites and most social services took shape, “enacting in concrete spatial form” what George Lipsitz calls “the core ideology of white supremacy—that black people ‘belonged’ somewhere else.” As Lipsitz argues, the ideological framework of the “white spatial imaginary” impacts communities in devastating material ways, but also “structures feelings as well as social institutions.” This paper examines how narratives of “inner-city” basketball produced in the 1970s worked to shape the structures of feeling of the “inner city” in the white spatial imaginary. Alongside narratives of the urban ghetto that associated it with blackness, criminality, and social dysfunction, there emerged a narrative theme that located “authentic” basketball in these same racialized urban spaces. In Pete Axhelm’s The City Game (1970) and Rick Telandr’s Heaven is a Playground (1976) public basketball courts are positioned as romanticized sites where temporary transcendence within urban ghetto life is possible. In these narratives, white interlocutors interpret and often organize “the city game” for mainstream audiences, tying claims of basketball’s authenticity to dominant notions of race and space. I argue that these texts have made important and lasting contributions to the complex, sometimes contradictory, meanings of the “inner city,” basketball, and race which continue to influence dominant structures of feeling.

CHRISTINE M. O’BONSAWIN, UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

Authentic Indigenous Identities: The 2010 Indigenous Youth Gathering and the Politics of Representation

In September 2009, Vancouver Olympic organizers distributed the Vancouver 2010 Indigenous Youth Gathering application form. The purpose of this Olympic gathering was to bring together more than 300 First Nation, Inuit, and Métis youth who were interested in participating and performing in cultural activities. Aboriginal youth aged 19 to 29 were encouraged to apply for this non-paid, volunteer gathering if they could verify Aboriginal ancestry and “experience in a culture.” Candidates were further required to be outgoing, physically fit, able to follow instructions, have access to traditional clothing and/or performance regalia, as well as be willing to have their photos used in promotional materials, learn professional choreographed rhythmic movement, and to represent their First Nation/Inuit/Métis group in public environments and to international audiences. Successful candidates were required to submit to criminal and security searches conducted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), as well as live in dorm-style accommodations while in Vancouver for the two-week period from January 30 to February 14, 2010.

This paper positions the decidedly problematic criteria set forth in the Vancouver 2010 Indigenous Youth Gathering application within the historical context of colonial relations, and thus ongoing Indigenous oppression in Canada. First, this paper considers the list for acceptable forms of proof of Aboriginal ancestry within parochial and racially prejudiced colonial frameworks. Second, careful consideration is paid to antiquated approaches used by Olympic officials in verifying “authentic” Indigenous identities, as candidates were required to include two full-length colour photographs of themselves in traditional clothing/regalia as well as prove they have “experience in a culture.” Finally, this paper contextualizes the decision to have the RCMP oversee candidate searches as well as the decision to house participants in dorm-style accommodations.
It must not be forgotten that the RCMP has played a forceful role in assisting with colonial endeavours. Furthermore, for over a century the federal government was responsible for the administration of dorm-style Indian Residential Schools where thousands of Indigenous children were physically, sexually, emotionally, and spiritually abused. Accordingly, this paper argues that in order to support the cultural objectives of the Olympic program, Vancouver officials purposefully utilized the affluence of the Olympic movement in developing decidedly problematic and racially prejudiced criteria for the Vancouver 2010 Indigenous Youth Gathering. These conditions were put in place to ensure that public environments and international audiences experienced “authentic” Indigenous representations, notwithstanding the everyday lived realities as experienced by Indigenous peoples in Canada.

This paper is supported by Vancouver Olympic archival materials as well as First Nation, Inuit, Métis membership information. Secondary literature includes works on colonial-settler history in Canada, particularly works focusing on the Indian Residential School history, the RCMP, and Indian Act policy.

LAUREN OSMER, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

**A Run for Their Money: Baseball and Cuban Nationalism**

**During the Second American Occupation 1906-1909**

The Second Occupation of Cuba by the United States lasted from September 1906 until early 1909. During this time, baseball, which already had an established history in the country, increased exponentially in popularity. Cuban teams travelled to the U.S. on barnstorming trips, and both Major League and Negro League teams from the U.S. travelled to Cuba for exhibition series. While the baseball relationship between the two countries appeared to be growing, many Cubans were dissatisfied with the realities of the American occupation, and there was an increased sense of nationalism and negative opinion towards the occupying American government. Defeating Americans on the baseball field, therefore, was considered an act of resistance, and baseball, as a sport growing in popularity throughout the country, served as a site to reproduce nationalism and anti-imperialist beliefs among the Cuban population.

This paper, therefore, will examine the ways in which the political tensions in Cuba played out on the baseball diamond and were representative of the nationalist sentiments in the country. Both Cuban League games and Cuba-U.S. contests were viewed as opportunities to beat the Americans at their own game, the baseball diamond a place where victories were not only actual but also provided, as Thomas Carter says, “a symbolic reversal of power relations.” Exploring these connections further will allow us to examine the complexities of a political relationship through a sporting context.

This paper will draw primarily from archival records of the U.S. Occupation Provisional Government located at the National Archives in College Park, MD. Additional sources include both U.S. and Latin-American public newspaper archives available at the University of Texas library, historical foreign affairs and sport resources, and secondary literature.
Digitally Reading ‘Snippets and Shadows’: Locating Male Homosexuality in the Australian Sporting Press

Australian historian of sexuality Lisa Featherstone (2011) has argued that researchers of Australia’s homosexual past are ‘writing on the silences and absences, as much as on empirical record.’ She is referring to the challenges presented by the dearth of written evidence of homosexual desire, behavior and identity, a problem which is compounded in sport history by the denial of the existence of male homosexuality. In order to explore hidden homosexual histories, researchers use various approaches to scour conventional sources with a critical or ‘queer’ eye, to read between the lines for ‘snippets and shadows’ (Featherstone 2013). This paper will employ digital history techniques, specifically distant and close reading of newspapers, to locate the specter of male homosexuality in the Australian sport press. The focus is not on finding references to homosexual athletes, but on locating attitudes, innuendo and inferences concerning homosexuality and non-heteronormative masculinity. The project contributes to the growing scholarship on Australian sexuality, opens avenues for research on homosexuality in sport, and engages with digital history.

Digital history straddles traditional history and Digital Humanities, reflecting the impact of the digital era on historical scholarship. Two features of digital history bear on this project: the unprecedented access to traces of the past granted to historians via newspaper digitization programs; and the development of new research and analytical techniques to aid in exploring this new ‘infinite archive’ (Berry 2012). In Australia, the digitization program of the National Library of Australia—Trove—has made available over 140 million newspaper articles from 800 newspapers from 1803 to 1954, including a handful of sport-themed organs. Reading even these limited sport-related titles is impossible, but the sophisticated search engine provided by Trove allows for specific word searches. This project uses this distant-reading approach to find instances of contemporaneous homosexual-related terms—legal parlance, slurs, colloquialism, and euphemism—in the following newspapers: Referee (1886-1939), Arrow (1896-1912), and Bell’s Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer (later Chronicle) (1845-1870). Given the commonality and multiple meanings of many of these words, a close reading is necessary to filter out the vast majority of these findings in order to facilitate a reading of the ‘snippets and shadows’ of homosexuality that remain.

The Short Goodbye: Scandal, Politics, and The End of Muscle Beach

The original Muscle Beach, located in Santa Monica, California, between 1934 and 1958, was a seminal site of the fitness and exercise movements in the second half of the 20th century. In these years, it was a place of great convergence: gymnasts, acrobats, stage performers, wrestlers, weightlifters, and bodybuilders came together to learn, train, compete, and entertain crowds of spectators that sometimes numbered in the thousands. Many fitness industry pioneers emerged from the beach, including early regulars like Vic and Armand Tanny, Harold Zinkin, and Pudgy Stockton, as well as frequent visitors like Jack LaLanne and Joe Weider.

As popular as Muscle Beach was, the facility met an abrupt and ignominious end in December of 1958. Shuttered that month by decree of the City Council—amidst allegations of
sexual deviance and statutory rape against several beach athletes—Muscle Beach was removed by the City of Santa Monica by early 1959. Despite the cultural and historical importance of the site, little attention (scholarly or otherwise) has been given to the events leading up to and surrounding the closure of the facility. This paper examines the last days of the original Muscle Beach in the context of municipal politics and policy. Drawing on Santa Monica City Council and Recreation Commission archives, contemporary newspaper coverage, oral history, and popular histories of Muscle Beach, it is an effort to tell a story that has largely been forgotten. It is a story marked by ambivalence, political opportunism, and the vagaries of memory. As an historical project, it is characterized by the ongoing challenges presented by the passage of time and archival sources that are incomplete and often unsatisfying. Despite these challenges, the evidence and analysis in the paper provides the closest examination of the subject to date.

The paper proceeds in four parts, beginning with a brief overview of the relationship between Muscle Beach and the city of Santa Monica in the years immediately preceding the closure of the facility. The second part is a close investigation of the allegations levied against the athletes and the civic debates surrounding the end of Muscle Beach and its immediate legacy. The third part looks backwards, returning to the final years of the beach playground in a speculative attempt to identify the forces and conditions that allowed for such an abrupt end to a beloved destination. Finally, the concluding section traces the faint civic legacy of Muscle Beach in Santa Monica, from a 1963 attempt to rename the facility, through the following decades of relative silence, and to the eventual, official civic memorialization of the Muscle Beach site in 1989.

VICTORIA PARASCHAK, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

Fostering Hope through Sport History:
A Strengths and Hope Perspective on Elite Aboriginal Athletes and Builders

Sport History has many uses. For example, sport histories can be written to document and honour past events, to help provide insight on current situations, or to foster activism. My question in this paper is if sport history, framed within a strengths and hope perspective, can also contribute towards fostering hope in others by helping them to maintain hope as defined by Denise Larson: “the ability to envision a future in which we wish to participate.” I assume that fostering hope in others is a worthwhile activity. I will use CS Snyder’s (2002) three components of hope theory to organize these histories: the ability to identify a meaningful goal, the ability to identify a path to reach that goal along with the flexibility to modify the path or goal as needed, and a belief in one’s ability to begin and sustain effort on that path. Snyder also speaks to the hope enhancing environment provided by others as a contribution towards hope. To his components I add elements of a strengths perspective: to begin with the strengths that exist in any situation and to look for resources in the environment that can further those strengths.

I will complete a case study of five aboriginal athletes who will all be nominated for the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. These individuals include Bill Isaacs and Ross Powless (Lacrosse, Six Nations Reserve); Willie Littlechild (builder, Hobbema Reserve) and Sharon and Shirley Firth (Cross Country Skiing, Aklavik NWT). Along with major athletic achievements/contributions, the nomination process asks for “the nominee’s demonstration of exemplary values and personal characteristics” and “how the nominee has made a defining contribution to his/her sport and/or
Canadian society” (2015 CSHOF Nomination form). I draw upon existing biographies of these athletes as well as primary data from Halls of Fame where relevant and/or necessary to create histories about their lives and contributions framed within a strengths and hope perspective. Their histories provide examples of high hope individuals (CS Snyder, 2002) within the Aboriginal community who have accomplished sporting goals but also served in a hope-enhancing manner for others. Such evidence, I argue, makes these athletes ideally suited for recognition in the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame. Their biographies can inspire both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians towards an understanding of sport that is broader and more equitable than is currently fostered through the Canadian sport system. The production of sport histories framed within a strengths and hope perspective, such as these biographies of accomplished Aboriginal athletes and builders, are thus ideally suited to contribute towards the 2002 vision of the Canadian Sport Policy, which was “to create a dynamic and leading-edge sport environment that enables all Canadians to experience and enjoy involvement in sport to the extent of their abilities and interests and for increasing numbers, to perform consistently and successfully at the highest competitive levels” (Canadian Heritage, 2005).

CATRIONA M. PARRATT, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

On the Playing Fields of Scunthorpe, and Other Points North:
Perspectives on PE, Sport, and School, 1960-1980

This is a personal history. And a feminist history. And an angry history. And a hopeful history. It is a history that eschews detachment and objectivity and the purely empirical. It is a history that cannot be simply linear. It is a history that has been lived as well as learned. It is a history that courses through every vein in my body and nestles in every vascular calcification of my arthritic former long-distance runner knees; and erupts in my every old-school feminist rant at every next episode of sexual violence perpetrated by anyone who feels they have the right and who has the power. It is my history and your history and our history because, as John Donne reminds us: “No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friend’s or of thine own were; any man’s death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind.”

Tempted as I am to edit the gendered language, I will leave it because that gendering is central to the history that I am working with here; central to the history that I have lived and that History of which I have become a practitioner. And a lot of that began, insofar as it is possible for anyone to be sure where anything began, on the playing fields of Scunthorpe—which, as you might imagine, if you do not know, are a million miles away from the playing fields of Eton—except, that they are not, as I hope will become apparent.

In this paper I reflect on the gender, sexual, class, and regional dynamics of sport and physical education in England in the 1960s and 1970s, the latter part of that transitional era that Patricia Vertinsky characterizes as poised in “a tension between conservative discourses on womanhood and a social reality incorporating greater freedoms and opportunities.” During these decades, women’s physical educators continued to be drawn from the “tight little empire” of specialist colleges of which Bedford was one of the first and most prestigious, an empire that was
largely white, homosocial, and upper- and middle-class. With the post-World War II putative democratization of secondary and higher education, numbers of these women found themselves working with students and colleagues, and in schools and cultures where very different values, attitudes, and practices might obtain. Periodical and other literature as well as popular visual media offer some access to key narratives and representations of “the PE teacher” that emerged in this context and I focus on several of these, putting them into conversation with the gender dynamics that Fletcher touches upon in Women First. Additional sources include institutional records and personal histories, the latter serving as an important touchstone for my critique.

JOHN PETRELLA, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

A Man of Many Hats: Dick Beddoes at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics

Dick Beddoes was a sports reporter for the Globe and Mail from 1964 to 1980. During this period, Beddoes, one of the pre-eminent sports reporters of his era, covered some of the most influential sporting events of all time. In 1968, Beddoes travelled to the Mexico City Olympic Games as the Globe’s only on-site sports reporter. As a result, Beddoes had access which was not afforded to almost all other Canadian sports journalists, most of whom covered the Games from Canada. Beddoes’s presence in Mexico City afforded him unrivaled access to cover two of the most influential political uses of the Olympic Games: the Mexico City Massacre, and the Black Power Salute. Scrutinizing the reporting of Beddoes during these Olympic Games will signify how this particularly popular and high-profile sports media personality covered the convergence of political events and sport. This examination will serve to exemplify how Beddoes’s coverage was markedly different from other on-site reporters during the Mexico City Olympics, namely Paul Montgomery of the New York Times. Through this analysis of Beddoes’s coverage of the Olympics, key insights will be made into the popular media discourses which were presented to the Canadian public in the aftermath of these two watershed moments in Olympic history.

MICKEY PHILLIPS, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

Walter Camp, Physical Culture and America’s Preparation for World War I

Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting.

George Orwell

Walter Camp, Yale’s football coach and athletic director in some capacity from 1888 to 1912 is considered the Father of American Football. However, he was so much more than just a football coach. He was a successful business man and prolific writer. However, little is known about his contributions to America’s fitness during and after World War I. Perhaps his most important contribution was appointment as Chairman of the Athletic Department of the U.S. Navy Commission on Training Camp Activities during World War I. In this position, the Navy used his sage advice and popularity creating the “Daily Dozen” exercise regimen and installing an athletics program, including team sports such as football, thus helping new recruits become fit and coalesce
into a war-fighting team. Soon thereafter, Camp found himself doing the same for the fledgling Army Air Corps, and then he went to Washington, D.C., where he trained U.S. Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Roosevelt and members of Congress. If that wasn’t enough, he then worked to establish a nationwide senior service corps with the goal of getting business and civic leaders into shape so they could work longer hours.

Walter Camp and Theodore Roosevelt were instrumental leaders in the “masculinization” and “Americanization” of young men from the last decade of the nineteenth century through the first two decades of the twentieth century. The numerous letters the two exchanged during that period is evidence of their influence and respect of each man’s views of manhood and physical culture. Both wrote prolifically and Camp is accredited with publishing more than 30 books and 250 articles. In addition, his social circle included contact with four U.S. Presidents and the fact that his “Daily Dozen” was one of the very first known physical fitness workouts on vinyl make him one of the most important individuals in physical culture from the 1890s through the mid-1920s.

This paper will explore Walter Camp’s contributions to America’s physical fitness in preparation for and throughout World War I. Sources for this paper include: the Camp archives at Yale which contain numerous pages of correspondence with Theodore Roosevelt, FDR and other Navy, Cabinet and federal government officials; a review of a number of books, and the numerous newspaper and magazine articles written by Camp which provide insight into his thoughts on physical culture; and literature on Americanism, masculinity, WW I, muscular Christianity, and Social Darwinism which will provide historical context.

**Murray Phillips, The University of Queensland**

*Mapping Sport History: Investigating the relationship between Geospatial Information Systems (GIS) and History-Making*

Geospatial Information Systems (GIS) and sport history seem like odd bedfellows. How does the positivist technology of GIS—entities, fields, objects, attributes and geometric topology—relate to the ambiguity, complexity, nuance and plurality of history-making? How does GIS with its emphasis on accuracy, precision, generalisation and reductionism interact with the history-making that privileges the individual, the unique, the contingent and the role of narrative? This presentation addresses these issues through a case study of the sporting activities of the Indigenous settlement of Cherbourg in South East Queensland, Australia. Cherbourg’s four major sports, including boxing, cricket, rugby league and marching, were plotted on Google Maps for a period that covered most of the 20th century. The map of these activities enables an examination of the relationship between place, space, time and sport, and is a valuable tool for understanding the changing sporting landscape for this Indigenous settlement and Aboriginal sport more broadly. Ultimately, this paper demonstrates that digital maps and GIS can make a significant contribution to sport history.
Prior to the 1972 Munich Olympics, most people in the United States considered gymnastics to be a physical, strength-inducing pastime reserved for hulking men and masculinized women. The Soviet Union’s dominance in the sport further encouraged the disparagement of female gymnasts. Yet when seventeen-year-old Olga Korbut and fourteen-year-old Nadia Comăneci bounded onto the scene in 1972 and 1976, respectively, the two gained worldwide admiration for their elfin-like appearances and circus-like feats. Not only did the teenaged contemporaries outwardly display girlish femininity, but they also altered the judging criteria. In the wake of Korbut’s and Comăneci’s performances, judges started to award more points to the high-risk routines best suited to prepubescent, flexible and light-weight bodies. Gymnastics, then, became a women’s sport performed almost entirely by girlish athletes. This change allowed U.S. fans to unreservedly embrace the Eastern European “sprites” for—unlike the muscular Eastern swimmers and throwers—they fit comfortably within the parameters of 1970s U.S. gender norms.

This paper explores the simultaneous popularization and feminization of women’s gymnastics in the 1970s. The sport proved attractive to many in the United States as it required power and strength, albeit in controlled, socially-approvable fashions. Using media assessments, IOC minutes, FIG records and gymnast accounts, I argue that the adulation of gamine gymnasts and appreciation for acrobatic routines surfaced as backlash against both women’s overall advancement in sport and the triumphs of Eastern European competitors in international contests. This paper adds to the scholarship on women’s sport in the 1970s and suggests that while women advanced in several arenas, a pushback against the increased muscularity of female athletes encouraged many to view gymnastics as a more appropriate pastime. The childlike appearances of the gymnasts reassured the public of women’s appropriate place in sport.

“Vic Tanny is doing more than any other private citizen to make every American health and exercise conscious. . . . With the wizardry of a Merlin he has conjured up his recreational fairylands and, like the legendary Pied Piper of Hamelin, has played his magic tune—luring millions of Americans away from their television sets, away from their unsound eating and drinking habits, back to the use of their legs, their muscles, their entire bodies!” This passage from Wisdom magazine, lauding Tanny for his “nation-wide Gymnasiums and Health Centers [that] have given the great benefits of vibrant health and physical fitness to millions of American men, women and children,” encapsulates just one of the many contributions the second-generation Italian-American made through his endeavors in physical culture. In fact, Tanny may deserve to be considered one of the most influential figures in the world of modern fitness.

Journalists past and present have called Tanny one of “the country’s most influential fitness entrepreneurs”; a “visionary”; the “high priest” of health. It is curious that no historian has specifically examined Tanny’s life and his impacts on physical fitness across race, gender, and geography. Indeed, in her book Getting Physical: The Rise of Fitness Culture in America, Shelley
McKenzie has recognized that Tanny has, heretofore, not been “associated with any larger movement” outside the world of physical culture. Perhaps his legacy has been overshadowed by that of his indefatigable contemporary, Jack Lalanne; or perhaps it was forgotten when his international chain of gymnasiums collapsed. Regardless, the fact that *Wisdom* celebrated Tanny on its cover—in the same way it did Thomas Edison, Benjamin Franklin, Albert Einstein, and Jesus—should serve as an indication that his life is one worth remembering.

Most people who do remember the Tanny name equate it with the eponymous gym Vic founded in the late 1930s. And in this paper, through the use of archival evidence including magazines, newspapers, government records, personal letters, and interviews, I will argue that Tanny was the father of the modern commercial fitness club. However, he was also an influential figure in the history of Muscle Beach, which sparked the modern bodybuilding era. And, though not a shrewd businessman, Tanny was a visionary entrepreneur who recognized the value in marketing his products and services to women as well as men, and applied many aggressive practices in a new field—with great (if not lasting) results.

ROBERT PRUTER, LEWIS UNIVERSITY

**Chicago’s American Tournament: Women’s Basketball on Semi-Par with Men in the 1930s**

During the 1920s and 1930s, Chicago was a hotbed for women’s amateur basketball. Because Chicago women played the men’s game, unlike most of the rest of the country where the women played the women’s game, the city represented a particularly progressive view on women as athletes. This progressive view paradoxically was promoted by the leading conservative newspapers in the city, notably those of William Randolph Hearst. Early in the Depression, when the women’s game was at a low ebb in the city, William Randolph Hearst’s papers vigorously promoted the game by sponsoring a huge basketball extravaganza called the American Tournament. The progressive spirit by which the basketball achievements of women were duly recognized by the sports writers was at the same time tempered by the sometimes traditionalist, highly-gendered language that focused on the women’s attractiveness, their sexual appeal, and their womanly roles. The American Tournament was a high achievement in the advancement of women, but it can only be appreciated in lieu of the retrograde turn woman’s athletics took in the post World War II years, and women’s amateur basketball virtually disappeared from the city.

This essay on the American Tournament represents an important corrective and modest contribution to sport history, as it brings to light the existence in the 1930s of a robust big city basketball program for women that was not gender moderated. Chicago women stood virtually alone in the United States as players of men’s rules basketball. The tournament has been missed in all histories of women sport and basketball, and it is to be hoped that in the future such will not be the case. A few secondary sources were used for this paper, but it is mostly built on primary sources—namely contemporary newspapers, other publications, and a personal scrapbook.
In 1895, the black advice book *College of Life or Practical Self-Educator – A Manual of Self-improvement for the Colored Race* made a case for African American girls’ sports, recreation, and purposeful exercise. The author claimed, “Boys and men can always find means for out-door exercise, but the girls—the poor, pale, housed girls, ‘cabined and confined’—must take most of their exercise in sweeping and dish-washing...When the whole nation of American women learn to walk, row, swim, ride horseback, play croquet and lawn tennis, we shall not be the laughing stock of all the rest of the world.” Did the “poor girls” ever partake in the mentioned sports programs, and what were the social and political implications of such participation? This paper will answer these questions by examining the intersection of race, gender, and recreation in the early twentieth century.

Recreation provided a host of social benefits; however, black reformers, educators, and clubwomen cautioned against certain kinds of amusement like gambling, excursions, and provocative dancing that would harm their efforts at uplifting the race. Instead, they advocated “active recreation”—leisure that involved sports and other physically-intense activities in wholesome environments. Black middle-class reformers, mostly women, proposed that folk dancing, swimming, running, hiking, and basketball were civically advantageous for black communities. They designed these programs with gendered implications in mind. For girls and women, they believed that active recreation guarded young women from sexual misconduct and allowed them to compete with their male counterparts. For boys, active recreation helped deter criminal behavior. Considering these gendered visions of leisure, this paper argues that active recreation was central to African American racial uplift agendas in the early twentieth century. It uses black newspapers, YWCA reports, college catalogues, advice literature, and essays to explore this crucial, albeit under-examined component of racial uplift organizing.

Historians note that gymnasiums, pools, and summer camps were some of the most segregated recreational spaces for African Americans in the first half of the twentieth century. This paper goes a step further by uncovering how African Americans circumvented these barriers and created their own spaces of health, fitness, and recreation. They built gymnasiums in their churches, raised funds for the construction of swimming pools, and organized sports programs through black settlement homes, among other ways. By placing this history within the larger context of the physical culture movement of the early twentieth century, this paper explains how African Americans interacted with what was a mostly white health campaign, and how they made it their own by marrying physical culture with racial uplift. More generally, it uses sport history to understand issues of gender inequality, citizenship, and race.


In 1971, nearly 48 years after the New York Renaissance professional black basketball team had first taken the floor and eight years after the team had gained entrance into the Basketball Hall
of Fame, Renaissance owner/manager Bob Douglas gained the recognition he so justly deserved. Douglas broke the color barrier as the first African American individual to gain enshrinement into the Basketball Hall of Fame. Douglas never set out to make a name for himself. He simply wanted the team he organized and managed to be the best and to be recognized as such. Bob Douglas was a remarkable man. What he achieved in his lifetime against many challenges is noteworthy, creating a superb professional basketball team and developing good citizens in the process.

This paper will present a biography of Robert L. “Bob” Douglas, including information about his professional and personal lives, while addressing several questions. How did Douglas create and maintain a professional black team that found financial success in a legally-segregated environment? What personal characteristics did Douglas possess that allowed him to persevere and succeed in getting his players and teams into mostly white leagues, negotiating white organizational culture in the process? What relationships did he enjoy with his players, other players and teams, and members of the Harlem community, and how did this affect the way he ran his team and conducted business? Following the decline of the Renaissance basketball team, how did Douglas spend the next 39 years of his life? How was Douglas viewed by his basketball colleagues and members of the Harlem community? What can current day players and owners learn from the example set by Bob Douglas?

Primary sources used for this paper include newspapers such the New York Amsterdam News, Chicago Defender, and Pittsburgh Courier, personal interviews, and archival information from the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame. Secondary sources include magazine/journal articles, books on basketball and Harlem history, and internet sites.

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

- Bob Douglas, an immigrant from the British West Indies, possessed a business oriented mind, one that enabled him to find financial success in his endeavors.
- Douglas cared greatly for his players, but expected them to uphold training principles during season and behave as gentlemen in their day-to-day lives.
- Douglas became, and remained, a well-known member of the black Harlem “upper-crust” community, yet maintained close friendships with white players and coaches, such as Joe Lapchick.
- Through hard work and personal sacrifice, Douglas demonstrated that success on and off the basketball court could be achieved.

MIKE RAYNER, UNIVERSITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Daniel Carroll – An Olympic Pioneer

On the 9th of October 2009, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) voted to allow rugby ‘7s’ to return to the summer Olympic Games in 2016 for the first time since 1924 (Gibson, 2009). Rugby was initially part of the modern Olympic Games in 1900 through an interest in the sport from Pierre de Coubertin, the IOC President. However, Pierre de Coubertin’s successor for the 1928 Olympic Games, Count Baillet-Latour, did not share the same enthusiasm for rugby or even team games. According to the IRB website, at the 1925 Olympic congress ‘Baillet-Latour was elected as the second IOC President, signalling the beginning of a drive against team sports and despite the vigorous protestations of the Dutch students keen to have Rugby in the programme of the 9th Olympic Games in Amsterdam, Rugby was dropped from the Olympic programme’
Olympic rugby tournament in Berlin before the 1936 Olympics, the 2016 Olympic Games represents rugby’s first return to the world’s premier global event and an opportunity to develop the sporting global rugby union profile (Jackson & Scherer, 2013).

The significance of rugby’s return to the Olympics provides the opportunity to explore one of rugby’s most successful Olympians. Daniel Carroll was a dual Olympic gold medallist in rugby, winning for Australia in 1908 and for the United States of America (USA) in 1920. He also coached the victorious USA side in 1924. While Carroll’s success in rugby in the early modern Olympics is evident, he also served as a Lieutenant with the US Army during the First World War, earning the Distinguished Service Cross for actions during a skirmish in France on the 28th of September 1918.

Using archival sources, handbooks, manuals and a wide range of other sources, the paper traces the contribution of Daniel Carroll to rugby’s Olympic history and examines his wider impact within the sport as it prepares to return to the world’s premier global event. In order to explore the central research questions, a range of international locations have been utilised to obtain a range of committee documents, match reports and library texts—all of which were vital in examining the significance of Daniel Carroll’s contribution to rugby’s Olympic development.

Anju Reejhsinghani, The University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point
Boxing as Physical Culture in 1940s Cuba

This paper explores how Cubans of all social classes, races, and genders participated in boxing outside of the amateur and professional rings during the Cuban Republic (1902-1958). Long before the 1959 Cuban Revolution linked the regular practice of sport with the everyday expectations of citizenship, Cubans engaged in various forms of pugilistic practice for one reason or another. Whether to train future soldiers, create better wives and mothers and improve the quality of their offspring, or produce a more virtuous citizenry, Cubans took up boxing as physical culture in increasing numbers throughout the 1940s.

Using rare Cuban archival sources, I describe how the everyday practice of boxing—along with wrestling, gymnastics, and weightlifting—became symbolic of a new breed of virtuous citizen whose physicality contrasted with the dissolute, aristocratic sons and daughters of decades past.

Though professional boxing still maintained an unsavory reputation despite the much-lauded heroics of Cuban champions such as Kid Chocolate (Eligio Sardiñas Montalvo), boxing as physical culture was something else entirely—the “purification” of the manly art, one that even middle-class women could acceptably practice, in limited forms.

What about this period lent itself to a renewed interest in recreational boxing, which had been practiced in elite Cuban social clubs long before the popularization of prizefighting after 1898? By the 1940s, Cuba was firmly enmeshed within the U.S. economic and cultural orbit but also began to act with greater autonomy on domestic and international political issues. The decade saw some genuinely democratic moments, including the passage of a new Constitution, which heralded a country on the ascent—and in need of healthy young bodies to lead it. Moreover, the explosion of recreational boxing coincided with the rise of a robust, state-run boxing program that drew talent from all corners of Cuba and that had moved the sport to the forefront of cultural life. The end of World War II contributed to elites’ interest in building viable future soldiers for whom “the art of
the fists” might offer critical self-defense training. Finally, the lasting impacts of the eugenics movement meant that middle-class women, too, would be expected to contribute to the country’s genetic stock by becoming healthier, stronger, and more physically powerful wives and mothers.

By the 1950s, boxing as physical culture began to decline as the so-called “golden age of Cuban prizefighting” dawned. The introduction of televised boxing, though later than in the United States, was one of several factors contributing to a waning public interest in its recreational practice. Other factors included the decline of artificial racial divisions in Cuban amateur competition, which increased the prevalence of Afro-Cubans at the elite amateur level, and the introduction of the Golden Gloves, which professionalized the top Cuban amateurs. Lastly, the disillusionment and instability of the 1950s (including, but not limited to, the guerilla movement led by Fidel Castro), meant that, for many middle-class Cubans, it was no longer enough for the nation to encourage the creation of virtuous physical specimens; the system itself needed to be wiped clean.

SAMUEL O. REGALADO, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, STANISLAUS

In the Cheap Seats: Fandom, Culture, and Community Baseball, 1930–1960

Far from the spotlight of the major leagues, baseball since its beginnings enjoyed great popularity in other arenas, such as in many of the nation’s (United States) ethnic communities where the amateur game was routinely played. In such intimate settings, spectator support gave life to the game in ways that reached beyond the field of play. With summertime contests played only once a week, contests took the shape of family gatherings, community and cultural celebrations, and displayed shared communal identity and values. As well, while spectators came to cheer friends and relatives who were on team rosters, they and others in attendance networked with one another on a variety of political, social, and even labor issues. Onto the stage of such community games also stepped ministers from local churches, whose very parishioners sought their blessings from the field of play and civic leaders who rallied the attendees to demonstrate their patriotism through ceremony, particularly during national holidays. Community icons in athletics and the arts and those who had gained some regional or national notoriety, also frequented the games both as a means to stay in touch with old friends and, of course, advance their celebrity. Finally, local newspaper writers enthusiastically covered such games knowing full well that readership of such games was strong.

This essay will broaden our understanding of the sport environment in arenas other than those that were high profile. Within this realm, I will focus on the U.S. Japanese and Mexican American communities between 1930 and 1960. It was during this time that both such communities, composed of largely first generation immigrants and their offspring, were shaping their American identity. As well, it was in this setting that fans brought a distinctive transnational ambiance to the weekly games, that was featured in the varied aforementioned manners and whose community journalists proudly displayed in their reports.

The chief resources that support my study come from several community newspapers such as the Eastside Journal, La Opinion, Rafu Shimpo, and Nichi Bei among others. As well, I use selected interviews and an array of secondary sources. Harold Seymour’s Baseball: The People’s Game, for instance, is an important secondary study as it lays important groundwork for the role of boosters throughout U.S. baseball history. For the larger context, Allen Guttmann’s Sports Spectators is extremely useful.
I look to explore questions that pertain to the degree upon which the game reflected ethnic community, cultural, and national identity and values. As well, I seek to uncover continued queries as to the extent to which class, gender, and race accompanied the game’s environment and served as incentive to attend them.

**Toby C. Rider, The Pennsylvania State University, Berks**

*Presenting the American Way of Life: Sport and U.S. Cold War Propaganda*

At first glance it can be easy to underestimate the U.S. government’s use of sport for diplomatic purposes during the Cold War era. Scholars have noted that from time to time the White House dipped its toes in the pool of sporting diplomacy, but that it generally left the organization of the nation’s athletic establishment to the private sphere. As fair as this general assessment might be in relation to the funding of athletes and teams that competed in international events or embarked on “good will” tours, it does overlook an area where the U.S. government did attempt to mobilize sport for Cold War advantage on a consistent and global scale. This presentation will demonstrate that in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, Washington’s propaganda apparatus harnessed America’s diverse sporting landscape as a means to present the nation’s way of life to overseas audiences in the “free world.” Through pictures, cartoons, and articles distributed overtly and covertly to people across the planet, U.S. propagandists used sport as a vehicle to counter communist denunciations of American society and to instead project an image of how sport represented America’s commitment to freedom and democracy. As such, this paper will use material from the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, to reveal why the U.S. government believed that sport could be an effective tool to sell the American way of life and some of the themes (or messages) that permeated this considerable propaganda output.

**Steven Riess, Northeastern Illinois University**

*Al Capone, the Chicago Mob and Dog Racing in Chicago, 1926-1933*

In a recently published book that won the NASSH book award, *Going to the Dogs* (2013), Gwyneth Anne Thayer argues that greyhound racing became a popular American spectator sport during the 1920s, denying the conventional wisdom that the underworld had a major role in the sport, which was widely banned because of the gambling, abuse of animals, and fixed races. This presentation, based heavily on Chicago newspapers, will demonstrate the vital role of the underworld in developing the sport in the USA by focusing on metropolitan Chicago. I will also examine dog racing’s relationship to thoroughbred racing, which had been banned in Chicago since 1905; off-track gambling, however, remained very popular, largely controlled by Mont Tennes, who ran the national racing wire. Thoroughbred racing returned to the area in the early 1920s, and in 1927 pari-mutuels were legalized for horse racing but not dog racing.

The first important dog track in metropolitan Chicago was Thornton in Homewood, operated by Homer Ellis, the power broker of Chicago Heights. Capone was impressed by Ellis’s profits, and opened the Hawthorne Kennel Club (HKC) in Cicero in 1927 and took over the Thornton track.
These gangsters were attracted to dog racing as a cash-rich gambling business with big profits and races that were easy to fix.

At this time, the principal figure in dog racing was attorney Eddie O’Hare, a partner of Patrick Smith, who invented the mechanical rabbit and formed the International Greyhound Racing Association (IGRA). O’Hare owned the Madison Kennel Club in downstate Illinois and in 1927 moved into Chicago and established the Lawndale Kennel Club, financed by politically connected “Big Bill” Johnson, who conducted the biggest gambling house on the South Side.

Capone wanted to go into business with O’Hare because he needed access to the mechanical rabbit and to greyhounds. They arranged a deal that gave O’Hare entree to Capone’s business and political connections and set up the Laramie Kennel Club (LKC). O’Hare held a 51% stake, and nearly all the rest went to Mayor Johnny Patton of Burnham, who stood in for Capone, Frank Nitti, and Jake Guzik. The New York Times estimated Capone made about $500,000 from his dog racing business. Capone admitted his involvement in dog racing to gossip columnist Louella Parsons, complaining that her paper “ignore my dogs.”

The IRS investigation into Capone’s income tax evasion was abetted by O’Hare, who turned state’s evidence to prevent his own audit, and help get his son into the USNA. When Capone got out of jail, O’Hare was assassinated.

Capone’s main rival, Bugs Moran of the North Side gang, owned the Fairview Kennel Club when Capone reportedly torched the track on April 10, 1930, in retaliation for a liquor hijacking. The year before, when mobster Jake Zuta was murdered, Fairview records were found in his safety deposit box showing profits of $75,137 that year, and data on the track’s financial connections with politicians and policemen.

Despite public and governmental opposition, the tracks were not shuttered until 1933.

IAN RITCHIE, BROCK UNIVERSITY

Kitchen Table Policy: The ‘Caracas Fiasco’ and the Beginning of Anti-Doping in Canada

Just prior to the 1983 Pan American Games held in Caracas, Venezuela, authorities made a last-minute announcement that drug tests would be conducted specifically for anabolic steroids. Testing for steroids was still very new—in international sport the first tests were conducted during the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympic Games. In Caracas, several athletes were unable to avoid detection and tested positive, including two Canadian weightlifters. Embarrassed by this state of affairs, authorities in Canada under the direction of its state-controlled high-performance sport organization, Sport Canada, quickly created the first ever anti-doping policy in December that same year—Drug Use and Doping Control. This presentation considers the creation of this first important anti-doping policy in the context of changing attitudes towards performance enhancing substances internationally and in Canada, and in terms of the internal concerns within Sport Canada to avoid criticism of the nascent Canadian high-performance sport system and manage the ‘crisis’. First, following Dimeo (2007) and other scholars who have suggested that an important shift of attitudes regarding drugs in sport took place in the post-WWII years, it can be surmised that even as late as 1983 there was mixed reaction to the use of performance-enhancing substances in sport. What was the reaction of media sources, the general public, athletes, coaches, and other interested parties in Canada? Had the attitude that drugs were, to use Dimeo’s word, ‘evil’ taken effect in Canada? Or is
there evidence that there was still a relatively open approach to performance-enhancers? Second, what exactly motivated policy makers in Canada to quickly create the country’s first policy? Was the policy created expeditiously or was it carefully considered in consultation with the various stakeholders within the Canadian sport system? Utilizing media sources including newspapers articles and archived television reports, interviews with those who created the first policy alongside athletes affected, and existing secondary research, this presentation attempts to frame the reaction in Canada to the ‘Caracas Fiasco’ in terms of motivations of policy makers and on-going legitimation concerns within Sport Canada, alongside shifting morals and attitudes towards performance-enhancing substances internationally and domestically. In general, the ‘Caracas Fiasco’ is an important event to consider in terms of the ever-changing attitudes and concerns about banned performance-enhancers in sport.

TOM RORKE, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

Demonstrating American Prowess: sporting pastimes, Olympic football, and the Los Angeles Games of 1932

In 2012, as the global sports media focused its attention on the London Olympic Games, National Football League Commissioner Roger Goodell argued that American football should “absolutely” be part of the Olympic Games program, and noted that the NFL was “taking steps to gain IOC recognition.” The idea was mocked by countless commentators, many of whom pointed out the impossibility of assembling a competitive group of teams for an international tournament. Goodell’s suggestion for Olympic football, which some characterized as simple attention-seeking, was, if far-fetched, not entirely without precedent. At the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles, East and West Coast American teams played a match as a demonstration sport that received considerable media attention and drew a crowd of over 60,000 to the Coliseum.

That game seems to have aligned with cultural patterns that still exist today. The Olympic match was played amidst both the reform debates sparked by the 1929 Carnegie Report, and the rise of what Michael Oriard has called the era of “King Football” on college campuses around America. The LA Times called the game the “greatest thrill” of the Olympics, and forecast that the sport would become an international pastime in short order. But reports in overseas newspapers characterized the game as boring, and reported little interest in the game from international visitors. The expectations that football would intrigue foreigners fell flat, but American journalists found compelling narratives about American culture and pastimes in the East-West match. Using accounts of the game in local and international press, this presentation offers insights into the position of football as an American pastime in the 1930s, and takes a critical look at the question of why the game’s “thrills” were received so positively in the American press, but fell so flat with foreign audiences.
Autonomy and Biopower in the Anti-Doping Establishment: A ‘Rogue Agent of Governmentality’

Recently, the world of elite sport has been marred by doping scandals, with a preponderance of high profile athletes accused of using performance-enhancing drugs, often made possible through lies, cover-ups, and conspiracy. The Lance Armstrong-captained US Postal Service cycling team provides evidence of the sophistication of such practices, which have historically called for equally stringent anti-doping policies aimed at ridding sport of performance drugs. As such, the anti-doping apparatus (operating under the World Anti-Doping Code) has formed its policies with the ultimate goal of catching and exposing athlete doping, operating largely as a self-governing and internally regulated institution. With a vested interest in cleaning up sport, agencies like the United States Anti-Doping Agency (USADA) have often ignored due process and fair justice for athletes, even in the face of counter-evidence that might serve to exonerate the innocent. Particularly, the absence of adversarialism has tipped the scales in favor of the anti-doping apparatus, limiting athletes’ ability to effectively defend themselves. With athletes finding new and innovative ways to evade detection, anti-doping agencies have been required to circumvent the legal system, creating policy that is largely unconstitutional. Through its alliance with the medical establishment, the anti-doping apparatus has legitimized its practice, grounding its policy and athlete sanctions in what they hold is reliable medical science. To explore and give depth to these phenomena, this paper will apply Foucaultian social philosophy, in particular, the constructs of governmentality and biopower. In reviewing anti-doping policy and past doping cases, this review found that the anti-doping establishment has acted as an autonomous entity, and exerted its power on the athlete population. This has been effectively carried out through an alliance with the medical establishment, and the normalization of an athlete’s natural physiology. Coupled with a gross power imbalance within the system, athletes have generally been subjugated, and denied fair proceedings in the face of drug charges. Indeed, the anti-doping apparatus can be characterized as a ‘rogue agent of governmentality’.

“Tied up for life”: Labour-Capital Relations in Professional Ice Hockey, 1910-46

In 1910 the club owners of the National Hockey Association (NHA) reorganized their commercial relationships to implement what they called “business principles” (Wong 2005; Ross 2008 and forthcoming). Wanting to make a clear separation with the informal practices of amateur and semi-professional leagues of the past, the owners borrowed from major league baseball and created a formal constitution dictating the form of the association, the rules of its operations, and its relations with its labour force, the players. In a break from the star treatment of the past, the league now imposed limits on salaries and player movement in order to maintain the viability and profitability of its clubs (Barnes, 2010). From the 1920s, the NHA’s successor, the National Hockey League (NHL) was able to evolve even more effective administrative tools to constrain player movement, including a Negotiation List that assigned amateur rights to a particular club, an option clause that allowed clubs to re-sign players under contract (similar to baseball’s reserve clause), and signing bonuses that brought amateurs into the professional game, and restricted their return.
Though these in-house rules appeared to be an illegal restraint on trade, for decades they were never challenged in the courts. In 1924, an Ontario court noted that a Toronto hockey player under contract was “tied up for life,” but did not criticize this “rigid law in the professional hockey world” (Ross, 2008). Even at this early date, the hockey industry was considered a special economic case and implicitly would be allowed to make its own laws.

Through primary source analysis of league documents, court records and player contracts, this paper analyzes the special application of “business principles” to North American ice hockey labour, particularly by the National Hockey League (formed in 1917). I argue that hockey was able to maintain a labour-management relations system outside the mainstream of North American labour trends. Using a nominally illegal cartel form, agreements with minor leagues and rival leagues, and benefiting from the neglect of regulatory authorities in Canada and the United States. Furthermore, I show that into the 1950s, even as the special labour relationship in baseball was being challenged (Staudohar, 1996), hockey remained relatively immune, taking advantage of the perception that the NHL was a (Canadian) outsider to the mainstream of American major league sports.

MACINTOSH ROSS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

Professionals Boxers and Domestic Abuse: An Exploratory Essay

This paper explores instances of domestic abuse by male boxers and how this violence was dealt with by the media and authorities. Although this is a paper about boxing, the catalyst was a case of domestic abuse perpetrated by Ray Rice of the National Football League’s (NFL) Baltimore Ravens. The NFL initially responded by suspending Rice for the first two games of the 2014 season. That Fall, however, a video of Rice’s actions was leaked to the media, showing the football player knocking his fiancée unconscious in an elevator before dragging her limp body into the hallway. Once the video was made public, Rice was suspended indefinitely. Most acts of domestic abuse, however, are not witnessed by society, occurring largely in private, beyond the eyes and ears of sporting fandom. When incidents of domestic abuse are reported, they are all too easily downplayed by the perpetrators and their teams. In the boxing world, the most obvious example of late is Floyd Mayweather Jr. Considered the most talented fighter in the world by most boxing analysts, Mayweather has been accused of hitting women on multiple occasions, ultimately receiving convictions for such attacks in 2002, 2005, and 2011. Yet, as this paper shows, violence against women is nothing new in the boxing world. This study endeavours to establish a discourse regarding domestic abuse by male boxers through a rigorous survey of available reports in legal journals, newspapers, and sporting periodicals, published in the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries. The results of this survey will then be analyzed using R.W. Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity to explain the preponderance of boxing-related domestic violence cases through a discussion of combat sport, dominant and complicit masculinities, and the oppression of women in sport and society.
Women have taken a major part in mountain climbing since its beginnings—first as daughters, sisters and wives of the climbing men in their families, but later as independent climbers too. Their exploits have generally been recorded far less often, but despite this they have left us a great many documents in the form of written texts and images that give evidence of their active presence in the world of alpinism.

It is less commonly known that women climbers also played a special role in a mass medium that was new to the twentieth century: film. Female climbers were present from a surprisingly early time in cinematic history. Despite a few exceptions (like Elizabeth Main Le Blond or later Leni Riefenstahl), women initially were almost completely absent as directors of mountain films, but women frequently appeared as major or minor characters in many twentieth-century mountain films. In this paper I will take a closer look at some of the most famous mountain films. Among the films I will examine are Ernst Lubitsch’s comedy *Meyer from Berlin* (1919) and Erich von Strohheim’s drama *Blind Husbands* (1919), to some films of the twenties and thirties like Paul Czinner’s *Fräulein Else* (1929) or Gennaro Righelli’s *Ammazzoni Bianche* (1936) including some examples of the very popular German “Bergfilm” genre by the triumvirate Arnold Fanck, Leni Riefenstahl and Luis Trenker, concluding finally with two more recent twentieth-century films—Fred Zinnemann’s *Five Days One Summer* (1982) and Bernard Giraudeau’s *La Face de l’Ogre* (1988).

Although often shown in the position of the weaker members of a climbing party who have to be led and protected, women in mountain films are usually strong and athletic, with vigorous and healthy bodies. They are often unconventional, modern, determined and sometimes even heroic characters who—at least within the range of the mountain and mountaineering world where they are located—manage to break free from the chains of social conventions while questioning neither traditional social values nor (more specifically) gender structures.

In my lecture I intend to present several pictures and clips from the mentioned films in order to explain how women are shown in these films, which roles they play, what kind of models of femininity and messages they are meant to get across. Moreover, I am going to try to answer questions like: Have their roles changed over time? Does the respective image of women depend on any specific characteristics regarding the genre, the country and the historical period when the films were produced? And finally: Do women directors depict women differently than men do, and if so, how? I will use sources from various libraries, including the Biblioteca della montagna-SAT in Trent, the Biblioteca nazionale del Club Alpino Italiano in Turin and the library of the Deutschen Alpenverein, Munich.

According to recent statistics female film directors comprise about 20% of the total, and interestingly, only about 15% of the main characters are women. This shows that things haven’t really changed so much. It also demonstrates that some of the mountain films that I will discuss were surprisingly modern if not ahead of their time and that they often strove to disprove the usual clichés about female weakness, vanity and excitability.
Jeffrey T. Sammons, New York University

Golf's Ultimate Crossover Artist:
James R. “Jimmie” Devoe and the Bridging of the Game’s Racial Divide

Devoe lived from 1888 to 1979 and enjoyed/endured more than 50 years as a golf instructor, organizer, writer, administrator, entrepreneur, and player. He saw and felt the effects of *Plessy v. Ferguson*; the race riots in Springfield, Illinois; the formation of the NAACP; the great migration; the Great War; the hardening of segregation and discrimination; the *Birth of a Nation*; the Great Depression and New Deal; the Second World War; the Civil Rights struggle; the end to constitutionally- and legally-sanctioned apartheid in America. Sport could not escape these larger social developments and dialogically interacted with them. Although Jimmie played, managed, and umpired in the Negro Leagues—an important black parallel institution that resonated and reverberated far beyond the fields of play—this paper will focus on his golf career, which began around 1926 in Cleveland, Ohio, and ended with lessons on his books in 1979 in Los Angeles, California where he lived, worked, and played from the early 1940s.

In 1944, Devoe became the first black to play in the Los Angeles Open. In 1962, at age 74, he was the second black admitted to the PGA of America, founded in 1916. Its first member, Dewey Brown, was admitted in 1928 and removed in 1934 as the victim of the association’s infamous “Caucasian Clause.” Jimmie’s election as the first after the rescinding of the clause speaks to his ability to position himself for opportunities that others could not. His success was a product of his non-confrontational style, splendid interpersonal skills, keen managerial mindset, fierce dedication to craft and acquisition of knowledge, and a racial ambiguity that made whites comfortable. Seemingly as at home in the all black United Golfers Association and its affiliated bodies which he helped organize or lead as he was in the lily white world of golf, Jimmie is a prime example of black adaptation and survival in hostile environments and golf was at the top of that list.

This study is based largely on newspaper and magazine sources, supported by census records, draft cards, city directories, and limited numbers of letters and official documents from the PGA of America. Interviews are limited as Jimmie outlived most of his peers and those closest to him.

Jaime Schultz, Pennsylvania State University

“American Women on the Move”:
The Torch Relay of the 1977 National Women’s Conference

The 1977 torch relay began in Seneca Falls, New York, site of the first women’s conference, held 129 years earlier. Over the course of 51 days, more than 2,000 runners bore the symbolic flame through fourteen states to its final destination in Houston, Texas, where it inaugurated the National Women’s Conference—the first federally-funded gathering of its kind. At the opening ceremony, congresswoman and conference chair, Bella Abzug, told the assembled crowd, “Some of us run with the torch, some of us run for office, some of us run for equality, but none of us runs for cover.”

Although the relay was “one of the most symbolic events of the conference,” as one journalist described it, it was somewhat unusual for the broader women’s movement to tether itself to sport and physical activity during this time. For the most part, sport provided little more than a spectacle for drawing attention to contemporaneous campaigns for equal rights. Despite the formation of a
“sports committee” for the 1977 Women’s Conference, for example, delegates virtually ignored the topic. Instead, many feminists saw the prevailing “jockocracy” as something to be “dismissed as a ‘fascist’ domain.” Women athletes, on the other hand, frequently rejected the feminist mantle, arguing they were no “man haters” or “bra burners.” The lack of engagement between feminists and women’s sport activists of the 1970s is curious, for the two were fighting for similar rights: physical autonomy, equal opportunity, and respect. For these reasons, and based on oral history interviews, archival materials, and popular media accounts, I use the torch relay as a significant event through which to consider some of the connections between 1970s feminisms and women’s sport.

**CONNIE F. SEXAUER, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MARATHON COUNTY**

*From a Park, to a Stadium, to a Little Piece of Heaven*

This study, based on newspapers, journals, oral interviews, and academic studies examines nineteenth- and twentieth-century cultural changes through the space and place of American baseball parks to expose how public buildings exemplify American culture. Leisure space and popular culture have served as venues to shape American culture according to perceived bourgeois conventionality and respectability. Physical spaces of amusement parks, dance halls, vaudeville playhouses and motion picture theaters have been seen to encourage mingling of classes, genders, and ethnicities and to confront differences that included race and religion. The argument put forth is: Connections can be made by examining these places to reveal economic, political, and social conditions of American society which reveal changes to the culture of the day.

Baseball served as a trope to inculcate immigrant groups into “100 percent Americans,” as well it appealed to both genders, and all social classes, especially the rising middle class and the working class seeking to become a part of the American social scene. The changes to this spectator sport in the twentieth century reflected cultural changes in American life.

The park is an important source to follow American society in the twentieth century. Beyond the architectural structure and the neighborhood setting, how did people use the grounds and how can we understand society by inspecting this material culture? How did the parks change the communities and the people who attended the games? How did the people attempt to control the setting? This paper will examine cultural spaces in St. Louis, Missouri, that attracted sports enthusiasts, Sportsman’s Park at Grand and Dodier in use from 1866 to 1966, and Civic Center Busch Memorial Stadium at Seventh and Spruce which opened in 1966 and closed in 2005. I contend that the development of the ballpark design—the space and place of the ballpark—parallels the general cultural development of American urban design and reflects the technological and cultural changes in twentieth-century America. Baseball went from a poor man’s exercise of fun to a multi-billion-dollar industry in the course of a century with the unsuspecting American citizens feeding the pockets of the rich owners. This paper will more clearly illuminate the importance of professional baseball in the cultural advance of American society.
Myth-Making and Memory: Nineteenth-Century Female Baseball Players in Popular Culture

Myths are not created overnight nor do they stand alone. One myth tends to spawn others in a perpetual cycle that eventually subsumes reality. The history of baseball is a tapestry of fact and fiction so tightly interwoven that it is sometimes difficult to separate the individual strands. One of the myths that has yet to be fully exposed is that of baseball’s gendered past. Like the myth that baseball was wholly an American invention, the myth that baseball has always been a “man’s” game required decades of cultivation and promulgation before its roots sunk deeply into our collective psyche, transmogrifying fiction into “fact” and human invention into the “natural” order of things. One of the ways that baseball became so deeply gendered as a man’s game was through the application of particular tropes about baseball and female baseball players in popular culture. Baseball transcended emerald diamonds and wooden grandstands; it found its way into poetry, literature, songs, theatrical performances, and novels. The sport spawned board games, card games, cigarette cards, and countless other collectibles. By the late 1860s, enough women were playing baseball that images of them in popular culture began to appear across the country. Some of the cultural references took the form of jokes or quips; some were advertisements for consumer products, and a fair number were lines or lyrics about female players in songs, poems, books, and theatrical productions. Many of the cultural references to women baseball players were fairly innocuous, but a significant number were covert efforts to advance and reinforce the false message that baseball was, and always had been, a man’s game. This paper describes and analyzes selected cultural references to nineteenth-century women baseball players to explore how historical actors have used sport to perpetuate particular narratives about gender and society.


On May 16, 1964, the self-proclaimed “King of the World” arrived in Accra, Ghana. From the moment Muhammad Ali set foot on African soil, local citizens and government authorities treated him like royalty, showering him with praise and gifts. Mesmerized by crowds of ordinary men, women, and children who followed him at every stop, Ali realized that he was an African hero, promoted by the foreign press as a figure of black unity and nationalism. While most Americans refused to recognize his Muslim name, strangers, writers, and dignitaries in Ghana, Nigeria, and Egypt acknowledged it, embracing him as a Pan-African brother. A few months earlier, when he announced his membership in the Nation of Islam and accepted a Muslim name, American critics vilified him as a segregationist, unpatriotic and un-American. He realized then, as his mentor Malcolm X had taught him, that being born in America did not make him an American. When he returned from his trip, he announced, “I’m not an American. I’m a black man.”

In Africa, Ali discovered that he was more popular abroad than at home. During his month-long tour, he began to see himself through the eyes of the world, as a global citizen, and a champion of Islam. His journey marked a pivotal moment in his life, introducing a new era in which he became the most recognizable person in the world, and a potent international symbol of anti-
American defiance. Surprisingly, historians have written very little about Ali’s formative excursion abroad. Reconstructing his trip, using foreign newspapers, government documents, and oral histories, we can learn how Ali emerged as a global icon.

Maureen M. Smith, Sacramento State

Will the Real Sport Historians Please Stand Up?
Academic Musings on Territories and Truths

In Amy Bass’s “state of the field” in the June 2014 issue of *The Journal of American History*, she attempts to convince her fellow historians of the import of her academic field of study, namely sport history. She claims “writing about sport from a historical perspective is entangled in a mess of somewhat unique complications” (149), including a lack of respect for the field (what Colin Howell explained as “the snubbing of sport history by mainstream historians” as cited in Bass, 149), as well as the difficulty owing to sport being one of America’s greatest passions. Bass owes her collection to comments offered by NASSH President Dan Nathan at “one of the inaugural sessions of the newly minted Sports Studies Caucus” at the American Studies conference in 2012. Nathan told the small gathering “the place of sport in American Studies is radically smaller . . . and more marginal, than the place of sport in American culture” (Bass, 148). He concluded his comments, telling the audience despite the work of scholars in the field, “little movement had taken place toward the acceptance of sports history as a legitimate and important field” (148).

From a kinesiological perspective, that is, as a scholar housed in a department of kinesiology, or whatever we might call ourselves as scholars interested in studying human movement from our various disciplinary-specific perspectives, I assert that the broader field of kinesiology is an academic space where sport history is a “legitimate and important field,” despite the claims offered by Bass and some of her colleagues. Moreover, the organization and scholarly work of NASSH, a point Nathan attempted, but ultimately failed, to convince his American Studies colleagues, has been and continues to be critical to the growth of the field. Ari de Wilde attempts to make some of these points in his September 2014 blogpost “Historians in Kinesiology: The Evolving Vocational World of Academic Sport History.”

This effort to engage in a “state of the field” is nothing new—it’s something those of us housed in sport history struggle with as well, trying to assert our importance in the university setting where grant monies are more valued than ideas and our own science colleagues seek to cut the social sciences and humanities from the curriculum. Still, few of us would argue that what we do is not important and valuable; it’s the desire for others to share those sentiments that drives much of this conversation.

I examine how “sport” historians have taken up this same contested terrain of the state of our field, beginning at Bass’s starting point of Gorn and Oriard’s 1995 essay, “Taking Sport Seriously,” with an emphasis on our stated desire to be legitimated not just by our peers, but by ourselves. We are largely speaking to ourselves, among ourselves, about ourselves. Ultimately, I offer an assessment of the emotional state of our field, identify strategies to enhance the state of the field, and conclude that the future of sport history is largely predicated on our collective abilities to celebrate the varied contributions of the differently prepared and qualified individuals who delight in calling themselves sport historians.
RONALD A. SMITH, PENN STATE UNIVERSITY

Lesbianism, Culture of Athletic Silence, and P.S.U. Sandusky Scandal

The culture of silence at Penn State University that contributed to the Jerry Sandusky Child Molestation Scandal, was not only apparent in the Joe Paterno-led football program but also in coach Rene Portland’s women’s basketball team. Rene Portland was appointed head coach by Joe Paterno in 1980, and for the next 27 years she was consistently successful in winning games while carrying out an illegal program aimed against any lesbians or perceived lesbians in her program. The administrators of her program, including Joe Paterno, later athletic directors, and those in the president’s office, allowed her discriminatory practices to continue without an investigation until the very end of her career.

Only when a suit, Harris v. Portland, was brought against Rene Portland and Penn State administrators by a Penn State African American basketball player, Jennifer Harris, was Portland forced out of the institution. Research, principally in the Penn State Archives, reveals opposition to Portland’s actions from students, faculty, and finally the president’s office. Despite support by Joe Paterno who stated, “I think Rene has done a great job. That is one of the best things I have done for Penn State. I hired her,” the breaking of federal laws supporting women’s rights and civil rights, and Penn State’s policy opposing sexual orientation discrimination led to her dismissal.

I will draw parallels between the administrative isolation of sexual discrimination and the isolation of child molestation in the Sandusky case. I will discuss a number of individuals Portland drove off her team, until the last one, Harris, who took action rather than leaving quietly. The isolation (or covering up) of Portland’s actions and the actions of four Penn State administrators (Joe Paterno, A.D. Tim Curley, V.P. Gary Schultz, and President Graham Spanier) will be emphasized. Just as in the Jerry Sandusky scandal, both the president and his administrators and the athletic department remained silent when they could have taken action. As in big-time athletics across the nation, hiding the negatives can have devastating results for the institutions and individuals involved.

The paper will be the result of research in various papers in the Penn State Archives, Board of Trustees minutes, Faculty minutes, lawsuits, a documentary, and newspapers.

JENNIFER STERLING, GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Making Sport History: Creating Collage and Crafting Digital Interpretations

In 2006, the University of Maryland celebrated its 150th Anniversary by inviting proposals for a mascot-themed civic sculpture project. Selected as one of the artists paired with fifty larger-than-life-sized fiberglass-cast Testudos, I designed and completed Champions All—a visual exploration and critique of the University’s sporting history. My design addressed the development of sport at Maryland through a chronological collage of archival sporting photographs on the turtle’s shell (sculpture’s back) and a collage of both archival and student-sourced images on the turtle’s underbelly (sculpture’s front). However, my intent to provide a critical, public commentary that would highlight racial and gendered histories, and extend an institutional focus on varsity athletics through the careful selection and placement of images, was undermined by the Fear the Turtle Sculpture Project’s mission and genre. The permanent installation of Champions All at the University Archives since the project’s completion has provided an ongoing opportunity for public engagement,
and acted as the impetus for the development of an interactive companion website to assist in re-shaping interpretations of the sculpture, and continuing to “make” history.

Though focusing on the development of Champions All’s digital component, I will first provide a background of the project, an overview of my autoethnographic experience as a turtle artist, and a discussion of the institutional contexts that shaped the sculpture’s reception. Next, I’ll discuss the development of the companion website, including: the selection and limitations of various web platforms and content; the possibilities of electronic, public histories; and, the crafting of digital interpretations that present alternatives to audiences and disrupt author authority. Finally, I’ll situate the development of the website within a digital humanities framework to examine, and contribute to, broader discussions of digital forms of research, visualization, and presentation in sport history.

Ryan Swanson, University of New Mexico
The “Gettysburg Address” of American Sport Culture

In 2013, Americans celebrated the 150th anniversary of President Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address. The 1863 speech, which ranks among the most famous in American history, is notable not only for its rhetorical proficiency but also because it encapsulates the ideas and struggles of the Civil War.

There is not, in my opinion, a clear-cut “Gettysburg Address” in American sports history. But Theodore Roosevelt’s 1907 speech to a Harvard audience comes closest. The talk articulated many of the concepts that would influence the sporting world in America during the twentieth century. The speech provides a roadmap for historians assessing how and why sports developed as they did. Roosevelt’s words quickly became familiar to many Americans—especially those interested in sports: “Be doers rather than critics of the deeds that others do”; “The athletic spirit is essentially democratic”; “I do not in the least object to a sport because it is rough”; “In any republic courage is a prime necessity for the average citizen if he is to be a good citizen; and he needs physical courage no less than mental courage.” Through these phrases and others, Roosevelt made an argument for sports to be broadly participatory and utilitarian. He expressed the idea that athletics could instill American men with physical courage.

He connected athletic performance to American democratic ideals. Roosevelt rationalized that violence and sport should be comingled. He connected sports and American higher education in unapologetic ways. In making these arguments, Roosevelt helped create the theoretical lattice work that supported America’s burgeoning sports culture during the twentieth century.

This project investigates Roosevelt’s 1907 speech more closely than scholars of sport have previously done. The analysis positions Roosevelt’s words within the context of a dwindling, lame-duck presidency. It situates these choice words amid Roosevelt’s many other speeches and ideas on sports. This study also assesses the response to Roosevelt’s speech and tracks how his words and concepts came to reappear in subsequent speeches by politicians, coaches, and scholars.

This study utilizes the voluminous works of Theodore Roosevelt, dozens of newspapers, Olympic committee correspondence, NCAA documents, and other primary and secondary sources to provide a reassessment of this important speech. Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address and the significant
scholarship surrounding it, provides a comparative framework for this Roosevelt analysis that is both timely and illuminative.

Damion Thomas, Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture

“Making a Way Out of No Way”: What’s the role of sports in the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture?

When the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture opens in 2016, one of the 11 permanent, inaugural exhibitions will be devoted to sports. Because sports were among the first, and most high-profile spaces to accept African Americans on relative terms of equality, sport has had a unique role within American culture. Within black communities, sports have always been political. From the refusal to allow African Americans an opportunity to compete to the formation of African American segregated sporting teams and leagues; from the hard-won battles to compete at the highest levels of the game to the introduction of African American expressive cultural practices within the games, the African American presence in sports has had social and political consequences. Given the centrality and complexity of sports in African American history, how should these topics be presented to a public audience that is estimated to top 5 million annual visitors from around the world? By drawing from the legislative documents that were signed by President George Bush and the United States Congress in 2003, the organizing documents of the museum, as well as the exhibition script, this presentation will not provide an answer to the question posed in the title, but rather will demonstrate how continually asking that question shapes and re-shapes the multiple lenses through which the museum must contend with the multiple meanings of sport within African American history and culture.

Jan Todd, The University of Texas at Austin

The Dirty Dozen: The 1983 Pan American Games and America’s First Great Doping Scandal

Five years before sprinter Ben Johnson lost his gold medal for failing a drug test at the 1988 Olympic Games, Canadian weightlifters Guy Greavette and Michel Viau were the first victims in a doping scandal that rocked North American sport and called real attention for the first time to the fact that Americans and Canadians were steroid users too. Greavette and Viau’s positive doping results at the 1983 Pan American Games in Caracas, Venezuela, caught them, the 3400 other athletes at the Games, and especially the international press, by surprise. What Greavette, winner of two gold medals and one silver at the Games, had not understood before arriving in Caracas was that the IOC would utilize a new testing procedure that included a test for exogenous testosterone, the “loophole drug” used to circumvent the IOC’s steroid screen at the 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games and that the use of mass spectrometry and gas chromatography in Caracas meant that smaller amounts of banned substances could be detected than in years past. As news spread among the athletes of the new testing methods other athletes began re-calculating their own chances of passing the test. Twelve male members of the American track and field team boarded planes and headed
back to the States rather than face testing where, to their great dismay, they found themselves at the center of a journalistic hurricane. One of the so-called Dirty Dozen, Mike Tully, who claimed he left in protest over the handling of this by the USOC, eventually returned to Caracas where he won the pole vault and passed his drug test. As the Games unfolded, at least twelve athletes from other nations also fled Caracas and a surprisingly large number of “injuries” occurred during the contest that allowed athletes to avoid drug testing because they placed well out of the medals.

This essay examines the historical events surrounding what *Sports Illustrated* dubbed “A Scandal and a Warning” for sport. Both Canadian and American sport officials and the public at large were forced to look at doping and their respective athletic champions differently after Caracas. Sport Canada would draft its first anti-doping policy in the months immediately after the Games, releasing “Drug Use and Doping Control” in December, which allowed financial assistance to be cut from those who tested positive and initially placed the burden for drug testing at all national championships with the various national governing bodies for sport. Meanwhile, in the United States, the USOC underwent similar policy discussions yet also tried to preserve their sporting advantage by announcing that their new drug testing program would include both formal and informal testing, the latter allowing athletes to become educated on when they needed to stop taking their drugs in order to avoid detection. American track and field, for example, did only informal testing prior to the 1984 Olympic Games, including at its trials for the Games.

This paper will argue that the doping scandal of the 1983 Pan American Games was a watershed moment for Canadian and American sport fans and officials who had to face the fact that it wasn’t simply communist athletes who resorted to drug use.

**Terry Todd, The University of Texas at Austin**

**The Wheels of God: Gregg Ernst, the 2015 Guinness World Records Book, and “The Greatest Weight Ever Raised by a Human Being”**

In November 2014, when the 2015 version of the *Guinness World Records* book (*GWR*) was published it contained a short but significant new blurb stating that:

The greatest weight ever raised by a human being, according to our 1955 book, “is 4333 lb. (1.84 tons) [1965 kg] by the 25-stone [158.7-kg] French-Canadian Louis Cyr (1863-1912) in Chicago in 1896 in a back-lift (weight raised off trestles). Cyr had a 60 ½-in [153.6-cm] chest and 22-in [55.8-cm] biceps. Today, the fully notarized record stands at 2.422 kg [5340 lbs.] for two cars (plus drivers) on a platform backlifted by Gregg Ernst in Jul 1993.

This paper explores why it took more than two decades for *Guinness World Records* to recognize the lift made by Ernst which was done in front of thousands of witnesses at the South Shore Exhibition in Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, in July 1993. In September of 1993, I wrote a short editorial for *Iron Game History*, just a few months after Jan and I had stood an arm’s length away as Ernst raised that colossal load. I thought when I saw his lift in person, and wrote the editorial, that when the next edition of the *GWR* was published that his lift would be acknowledged. However, the editorial staff at *GWR* saw things differently and decided to totally remove the category from *GWR* and list no backlifting record at all. As this paper explains, the backlift is not a contested lift in normal weightlifting contests nor is it sanctioned by any traditional weightlifting association.
Although often seen in vaudeville and circus strongman acts at the turn of the twentieth century, lifters who hope to be able to claim that they’ve raised more weight at one time than any other human being have to generally build their own platforms, provide their own weights (often animals) and find an appropriate venue and judges to judge and bear witness to the lift. In the late nineteenth century, for example, William Kennedy backlifted three large horses; Josephine “Minerva” Blatt reportedly lifted more than twenty men; and Jack Walsh elevated an elephant. Louis Cyr performed his 4333-pound lift by raising a platform holding 18 men on the stage of a theater in Chicago. In 1927, itinerant strongman Thomas Jefferson (Stout) Jackson reportedly beat Cyr’s record by lifting 6472 pounds of cotton bales and platform, a feat which was subsequently included in a Ripley’s “Believe It or Not” in 1943, but was never listed in GWR because there was not adequate documentation. Far more significant in Gregg’s record not being listed, however, is the story of Olympic Gold medalist Paul Anderson, who reportedly raised 6,270 pounds in 1957, a feat that remained as the record until 1993 when, following Ernst’s submission of the documentation of his lift, it was decided to remove Anderson’s because of lack of proper evidence. The significance of the inclusion of Ernst’s lift by the current editorial staff at GWR goes beyond merely righting an old wrong and giving credit to the man who has deserved that credit for 21 years.

The Gregg Ernst/GWR story is also the story of sport outside the world of traditional sport. The Guinness World Records book is filled with sporting events that are not sanctioned by any NGB and yet many of them have great significance. Paul Anderson, for example, used the 6270-pound lift he claimed, as justification for billing himself as the “strongest man in the world,” a tribute Ernst never has had associated with his name because of GWR’s unwillingness to list his record back in 1993. That it took so long for Ernst to get his just due is regrettable, but that he finally got it is worthy of a bittersweet celebration. Since the recent release of the 2015 GWR Ernst has been the subject of newspaper stories and done national TV and radio interviews in both Canada and the US and already his accomplishment is being spread around the world via the internet.

Though the wheels of God grind slowly,
They grind exceeding small,
Though with patience He stands waiting,
With exactness grinds He all.
—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

Kristi Tredway, University of Maryland

Women’s Lob: The Original 9 as a Feminist Social Movement in Women’s Professional Tennis, 1968-1973

The Original 9 was a group of nine women who banded together in 1970 to pressure the governing bodies of tennis to offer equitable pay and access to tournaments for women as they did for men. They emerged in and through the women’s liberation movement in the US. The term “women’s lob” was coined in the early 1970s by Gladys Heldman, the founding editor of World Tennis magazine, to describe the particular feminism that was being used in women’s tennis (King & Starr). The Original 9 drew on two main components of the rhetoric of the broader women’s liberation movement of the time: 1) equal pay for equal work; and 2) access to an economic
livelihood (through a sustained and consistent offering of tournaments for women). The Original 9 are credited with creating modern women’s professional tennis along with the creation of the Women’s Tennis Association in 1973. Along with contextually grounding the Original 9, interviews conducted with each member of the Original 9 illuminate the influences, motivations and potential risks of their protest, as well as the gains they achieved.

Stephen Townsend, The University of Queensland
Muhammad Ali (aka Cassius Clay) and American Newspapers: (Re)writing the Evolution of a Sporting Icon

The evolution of Muhammad Ali’s identity, from a brash young heavyweight named Cassius Clay to one of the Civil Rights era’s most powerful and divisive figures, is one of sport history’s most fascinating stories. Cassius Clay changed his name to Muhammad Ali in 1964, signifying his official induction into a controversial religious sect called ‘The Nation of Islam, also known as ‘The Black Muslims’. The American press reacted vociferously, with some outlets championing the boxer’s right to freedom of religion. Many more, however, denounced his association with what they saw as a militant and potentially dangerous cult. Ali’s 1967 refusal to join the war in Vietnam on the basis of his religious beliefs further inflamed debate regarding his suitability as heavyweight champion and led to the removal of his boxing title and his conviction for draft evasion. Cassius Clay’s transformation into Muhammad Ali illuminates how the American press (newspapers specifically) addressed issues of race, religion and war throughout the 1960s and 70s.

This paper seeks to explore these issues via an analysis of how American newspapers used the names “Muhammad Ali” and “Cassius Clay” when writing about the boxer’s exploits, both in the ring and outside it. Many Ali biographers have viewed the two names as being analogous with Ali’s changing identity. In particular, the works of David Remnick (2000) and Michael Ezra (2009) investigate this relationship. They argue that Cassius Clay became Muhammad Ali in the eyes of American newspapers around 1967, the year of his refusal to fight in Vietnam. This paper uses newly available resources and methods to offer a new, and different, understanding of how, when and why Cassius Clay became Muhammad Ali. Via distant and close-readings of mainstream and ‘Black’ newspapers between 1964 and 1975, this paper contends that Cassius Clay truly became Muhammad Ali not in 1967—but rather in 1971. These findings have implications for how we understand the American press during the Civil Rights era, how we understand the story of Muhammad Ali and can also help us to understand the new ways in which digital technologies can allow us to approach historical research.

Laura Troiano, Rutgers University—Newark
Crafting the Language of Identity, Community, and Nostalgia

Baseball games have been played on the fields and meadows of Newark, New Jersey since the 1800s. Today, Newark has no professional or minor league baseball teams stepping onto the grassy diamond. Last year, the latest incarnation of Newark’s great baseball hope, the Newark Bears, were liquidated and put out to auction. Those were the second Bears; the first Bears began their stint, a
winning one at that, in the mid-1920s. The relationship between the two Bears, their Negro League counterpart, the Eagles, and the city of Newark is in essence my dissertation.

As I made my way through the archives I have noticed something. It was an unexpected variation of a statement Daniel Nathan made in *Rooting for the Home Team: Sport, Community, and Identity*. He wrote that sports “provides people and communities with common reference points and can foster solidarity and the creation of social identities, things that many people need and cherish…that sports and identity formation are often intertwined, that who we root for represents our communities and us.” To find communities being fostered and identities being shaped through baseball in Newark is no revelation, but what I found interesting was the city government’s role in purporting, affirming, and even manufacturing the relationship between the teams and the identity of the city and its residents. The city was crafting an identity, a sense of community, and notions of nostalgia in real time.

Resolutions and proclamations dating back to 1932, and consistently issued by 1940, demonstrate the city’s involvement in the creation of Newark’s community baseball identity. The Board of Commissioners of the City of Newark annually declared “Where, the opening game of said League is always an event of great importance to the City of Newark,” making opening day a half-day holiday so that city employees could attend the game. From the desk of the mayor, year after year, we see a proclamation that established “Bears Day.” Each year the language was different, but all spoke to the positive impact baseball had on the community. It only took ten years after they arrived, but the city did eventually acknowledge the influence of the Negro League team as well.

This is a paper on creation and use of language in forming community identities around baseball in Newark. How and why did the city of Newark attempt to craft a master narrative for the city in regards to baseball? What impact, if any, did this have on how the residents felt about the teams? Lastly, in what ways did this narrative contribute to the twentieth-century narrative that led to the second Bears and the building of their stadium?

**Bob Trumpbour, Penn State Altoona**

*Roy Hofheinz’s Astrodome: The Grand Huckster and His Vision for Houston*

This research traces the personal history of Roy Mark Hofheinz (1912-1982), the flamboyant Houstonian, described by biographer Edgar Ray as “the Grand Huckster.” Hofheinz took great pride in his ability to sell Houston on a vision including ambitious construction initiatives that would ultimately bring fast-growing Houston into national prominence. Hofheinz, a former mayor of Houston, spearheaded construction of the Astrodome project—and later the larger development known as the Astrodomain. It was Roy Hofheinz’s energy and determination that led to construction of the Astrodome, a venue that changed the direction of sports spectatorship in America. This research will explore how Hofheinz gained the stature to lead Houston’s transition to major league status. The research will explore how Hofheinz’s grand vision served to reshape the image of Houston, one that was initially regarded as a low-tech city defined by oil industry wildcatting and the cattle trade to a city that was perceived to be a center for high-tech innovation, in part, as a result of the Astrodome’s construction. Hofheinz was an amazingly complex man who cemented his influence through a number of prominent political positions ranging from State Representative, to Harris County Judge, to Houston’s mayor during the mid-1950s. Prior to this rise
as a major powerbroker, he demonstrated an uncanny ability to connect with important individuals before they achieved fame and influence. Hofheinz established a life-long friendship with a 20-year-old student named Lyndon Johnson at the 1928 Democratic National Convention, while establishing a positive relationship with famed musician Louis Armstrong (before his rise to national prominence) earlier in that same decade. This research will strive to capture the complexity of this enigmatic man, devoting particular attention to the manner in which Hofheinz’s high-profile work as an entrepreneur and pioneering businessman paralleled his political rise, especially in terms of his role in the ownership of the Houston Colt .45s, the Major League Baseball franchise that later became the Houston Astros. This research will demonstrate that Hofheinz’s bold ambition and zeal for ongoing self-promotion served as the domed stadium’s most significant catalyst. His work both on-site and within the community will be explored.

JOHN VALENTINE, MACEWAN UNIVERSITY

The 1962 Grey Cup Fiasco: Cultural Citizenship, Television, and Canadian Football

Recently, the issue of access to live televised sporting events has received greater interest from the academic community (see Scherer & Whitson, 2009 and Rowe & Scherer, 2014, for example). In a digital broadcasting era, live sporting events have become much more powerful, expensive and popular as one of the only televised products that commands a live audience. Sport is a key way to represent the nation and, as such, national sporting events, where the nation becomes concrete through sport, remain an important contributor to the construction of national identity. The case has been made that the state should make national sporting events available to as many citizens as possible on free-to-air television for reasons of cultural citizenship. While this interest may be recent, there has been a history of this type of state involvement.

In 1962, Canada became one of the first countries in the world to force the public broadcaster to televise a national sporting final. The government acted to ensure that all Canadians could watch the championship of Canadian football, the Grey Cup, because it deemed such viewing to be in the national public interest. This was recognition of the importance Canadian football had to imagining the nation.

This research is a historical study undertaken within a political economy explanatory framework relying on Dependency Theory to explain why the government acted as it did. The Canadian Broadcasting Act states that the goal of Canadian television was to “strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada.” Furthermore, the public broadcaster was to “contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity” (3-4). Scherer and Whitson (2009) point out that one of the “promises” of television was free access to national events that could be used to create commonality.

From its inception in 1861, Canadian football had nationalist overtones. It evolved from the English game of rugby and developed independently in Canada during the Confederation era of nation-building. A sense of having a distinctly Canadian pastime led early organizers to differentiate it from English rugby and American football by developing and defending distinctive rules for the game. Football associations developed as domestic rather than cross-border organizations, fostering a congruence of the national territory and the Canadian version of the game. Consequently, the organizational structure of Canadian football reinforced the east-west axis of transcontinental
transportation and communications infrastructure fostered by the state since Confederation. Team and regional rivalries became a staple of print and radio news and commentary, integrating Canadian football into the national discourse.

More importantly the Grey Cup became a national spectacle, a ritual through which Canadians communed in a shared experience every fall. This research explores the history of the relationship between professional football and broader forces in Canadian society to explain why the government considered the Grey Cup essential to the nation and acted to ensure that it was available to all Canadians.

COURTNEY VAN WAAAS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

Sheepskin or Pigskin?: The Christian Reformed Church in North America and the issue of Sabbath Sports

When researching Calvinism and its view of athletics in application to active church members, researchers often point out Puritan America and the widely held view of Puritanical opposition to all things pleasurable, in an effort to describe the basic underlying tenets of Calvinism, and how it affects Calvinists today. However, Calvinism is not Puritanism and, as such, Calvinism deserves to be analyzed in relation to sport through other branches of the Calvinist tradition; they too are worthy of attention in order to present a more comprehensive view of Calvin’s successor’s thoughts on the matter of sport. Calvinism is a broad tradition; North America in particular saw a major shift from the dominant Pietistic Calvinism of 1846 following a large influx of post World War II Dutch immigration. Dominant Calvinist tradition of North America after WWII became Kuyperian in fundamental values. In light of these changes within the Calvinist traditions in North America, the important question becomes what are recent mainstream Calvinist views on athletics? If Puritan-like opposition exists, has it lessened, and why or why not? Evidence to answer the above is found in the Christian Reformed Church of North America (CRCNA) publications: The Banner, Insight (or Young Calvinist), Torch and Trumpet (or Outlook), and the Federation Messenger magazines from 1900 to 2015. Evidence will be looked upon both qualitatively and quantitatively through Stuart Hall’s encoding/decoding principles of institutional power relations. Using identification of acceptance versus rejection of sport participation argument articles to discover what the articles reveal about the dissemination of doctrines through the Calvinist shifts in North American history. Excluding other Calvinist North American Groups and their publication opinions on this topic serves to limit the study to the CRCNA mainstream churches rather than make broad generalizations of Calvinist denominations worldwide. Calvinism worldwide comprises many theologically and ethnically diverse denominations at various levels of doctrine-following specifics.

By limiting the study to North America and further to the CRCNA churches (for the purpose of this study those that prescribe their adherence to the Belgic Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Canons of Dort), this study will avoid grandiose statements of Calvinist perspectives on sport which would not apply globally. CRCNA publication evidence shows that although opposition to sport did and still does exist within CRCNA churches, it is rarely for Puritanical ethical reasons and mostly based within Sunday Sabbath preservation and notions of the true purpose behind sport and play. Within the field of Sport History this study is important, as equating Calvinism and Puritanism should not be continued in relation to modern sport research.
Few Calvinists today can relate to puritan religion, or even the theological texts in which their religion is based outside the Bible. Also Calvinism should be looked upon with a new perspective in its relationship to athletic participation, as most Calvinists see themselves operating within the Kuyperian/neo-Calvinist viewpoint in which sport is handled as a worldview issue rather than doctrinally. While Puritan Calvinism focused on the personal relationship between a person and God, Kuyperian Calvinism focuses on salvation and practice of one’s religion within all spheres of life including those aspects of life that are often assumed to be extra-religious, like recreation. As such, Kuyperian doctrine of Creation and Salvation would have grounded all authors’ points of view within the published articles, and deserve their own Calvinist religious-based perspective analysis.

PATRICIA VERTINSKY, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Reconsidering the demise of the female tradition in physical education:
Dancing in New Directions

Since at least the 1980s, much research, policy and practice in the field of physical education for girls has been trapped in a repeated lament that we have yet to find the solution to ‘the problem’ of girls’ lack of participation in physical education and consequent negative effects on their health and wellbeing. The narrative builds upon dominant ‘progress and loss stories’ which have cemented a stock account of the history of the female tradition in physical education in a fixed temporal entrapment. In Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education 1880-1980 (1984) Sheila Fletcher describes how women in England led the field in establishing and maintaining the profession from the late 1800s only to lose their power and authority in the decades following World War II to a burgeoning male physical education profession. This mid-twentieth century move from female to male dominance in physical education has been described as one of the most striking phenomena of recent educational history. Once the lines of conflict were drawn by gender, the modern history of female physical education in England came to be viewed as a gender-dividing profession with a legacy of decline and wrong-headedness.

In my presentation, I will ask why there has been so little attention to physical education histories in recent years and discuss the underlying assumptions on which physical education histories have been built, with particular attention to Sheila Fletcher’s Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education 1880-1980 (1984). Fletcher’s study of Bedford College of Physical Education, while superb in its analysis and insight, tends to enclose female physical educators in a rather small, white, middle-class and body-focused world and place them in adversarial positions in relation to men in general and male physical educators in particular. Issues of sexuality, social class, race and expressions of social conditions dealt with more substantially might have led to other conclusions about the lives of the students and the ambit of their professional ambitions. While intersectionality as a heuristic term was only introduced in the late 1980s, well after the publication of Women First we now see a vast opportunity for intersectional analysis to examine the dynamics of difference and sameness in facilitating considerations of gender, race, class and other axes of power. Focusing keenly on local continuities, Fletcher does not explore the diverse transnational interconnections – what Ballantyne and Burton call ‘bodies in contact’—which shaped everyday life and clearly affected institutional life and curricula development in physical education. I will suggest that her subjects were not as place bound, as trapped in the gaze of the horizon of their
circumscribed training and material circumstances, nor as distant from feminist debates and international ideas and impulses as she implies. To elaborate on this point, I will use a variety of sources to argue that the ‘fatal’ weaknesses Fletcher identified in the female investment in modern dance and movement education also had a highly productive side as a number of female physical educators engaged with transatlantic developments in modern dance during the 1960s and 70s opening a range of professional opportunities that beg for deeper exploration.

WANDA ELLEN WAKEFIELD, SUNY COLLEGE AT BROCKPORT
Baseball and the Cuban Revolution: What the Rochester Red Wings Experienced

Despite the noise and excitement of the celebrations for the first anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, the Rochester Red Wings and the Havana Sugar Kings continued to play their regularly scheduled games in Havana. However, on July 26, 1959, the two International League teams met to begin a game that never ended. In the bottom of the 11th inning as shots rang out around the stadium to commemorate the Revolution an errant bullet hit Red Wings third base coach, Frank Verdi, just above his ear. As Verdi lay bleeding the umpires called the game, after which the Red Wings left Cuba to return to the United States. As more teams in the International League began to worry about the safety of their players in Cuba, the Sugar Kings presence in Havana became untenable and the franchise moved to New Jersey. While the July 26 incident is often told, there is little to no analysis of the context in which Verdi was shot. Certainly many American baseball players spent time in Cuba during the Revolution and Tommy Lasorda, at least, seems to have supported the overthrow of the Batista government.

This paper will explore the role of baseball in Cuban life at the end of the 1950s and the significance of the Sugar Kings as a professional team in a country that was soon to embrace the amateur ideal. This paper will also explain how local Rochester media interpreted the challenge of playing baseball during a revolutionary time and how newspaper writers and editors explained to their readers why Verdi got shot and why the Red Wings management concluded that the team had to leave Cuba immediately after the incident. There have many studies of baseball in Cuba, with the most important being Roberto Gonzalez Echevarria’s The Pride of Havana. The history of the Rochester Red Wings franchise has been told as well in Silver Seasons: The Story of the Rochester Red Wings by Jim Mandelaro. In addition to these and other secondary sources the paper will rely on primary sources from the Red Wings archives and articles in newspapers such as the Democrat and Chronicle.

JARED WALTERS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY
The south, television, and death at 200mph: An examination into the influence of southern masculinity, honour, and technological changes on violence and safety in 1980s NASCAR

This paper explores how the notions of southern masculinity, identity, and honour aided in creating the NASCAR culture of the 1980s, one that promoted violence, danger, and lack of safety on and off the track. This culture, as well as the increased focus on television revenue ultimately led to numerous serious injuries and deaths of NASCAR drivers. Foremost in this study is the notion of
honour in southern masculinity, particularly the role of violence in its defense and celebration. The defense and celebration of southern honour depended on the use of violence and confrontation, the presence of danger or risk, glorification of the automobile, and a lack of safety in 1980s NASCAR.

While appealing to southern masculine identities in the popularization of the sport, NASCAR organizers also implemented technical and mechanical changes in the 1980s, in addition to increased television coverage. These changes contributed to increasing levels of violence, danger, and a lack of concern for safety within the sport. NASCAR demonstrated significant resilience and flexibility in responding to television audience demands and a proactive campaign to change the sport to appeal to a broader audience demographic. In the 1990s, NASCAR shifted emphasis from southern values and ideals to a more “family friendly” approach, which led to reductions in the number of violent confrontations, less risk, and higher safety standards for the sport.

The importance and significance this paper has towards our understanding of sport history is demonstrating the effect that regional cultural attitudes can have on sporting culture. The intertwined bond between the American south and NASCAR is undeniable. Therefore, in this paper, we can see how the issues within NASCAR are rooted in the society and culture from which it developed. The evidence used in this paper comes from an examination of NASCAR-related material from three media sources. I examined fifteen years of Sports Illustrated’s coverage of NASCAR, from 1980 to 1995. As well, I reviewed all 1980 issues of the Daytona Beach Morning Journal, and selected dates that corresponded with major NASCAR events of The Miami News from 1980 to 1989.

Tosh Warwick, University of Huddersfield

“For the benefit of the men who had done so much for them”: Middlesbrough’s steel magnates and the patronage of company-led sporting provision at Dorman Long, 1880-1934

In his landmark Victorian Cities, Asa Briggs contended that the influence of Middlesbrough’s late Victorian industrialists on the town had shifted markedly from a mid-century strongpoint to one blunted as they followed the pattern of other English businessmen and chose to live in the town at the expense of active business and urban involvement.

Until recently, the portrayal of second and third generations of industrialist families as less engaged in the cultural, economic, political and social aspects of the urban sphere than their forefathers has been reinforced in subsequent works on Middlesbrough and manufacturing towns elsewhere. However, with urban history’s expansion from a focus on traditional government to the wider spheres of governance, the extent of this withdrawal and diminishing patronage has been reassessed. Notably, recent work of Mike Huggins, Catherine Budd and Margaret Williamson has pointed to the vibrancy of company leisure on Teesside.

Drawing extensively on company records held in Teesside Archives’ newly accessible British Steel Collection, this paper will highlight the key role of Middlesbrough’s manufacturers in providing sporting facilities in the late nineteenth century through to the interwar period. Through a case study of the Dorman Long, one of the world’s leading steel manufacturing and bridge building firms in the twentieth century, it will be shown how the steel magnates played a vital role in financing, shaping and organizing the development of sporting clubs, facilities and large scale events for tens of thousands of workers and their families in the manufacturing town. Through this
exploration of company-led leisure and sporting provision, this paper will address wider debates surrounding notions of a ‘decline in the industrial spirit’, employer patronage and urban governance. In doing so, the importance of sport and leisure provision in understanding urban elites and the role of the manufacturing firm in the welfare of employees will be highlighted.

**TOM WEBB, UNIVERSITY OF PORTSMOUTH**

*A Career in Football Refereeing: W. P. Harper and the Beginnings of Mass Media Attention*

This paper is a case study of the career of W.P. Harper. Harper was an Association Football referee during the 1920s and 1930s before entering administration and working with and for the Football Association in England. Harper officiated in some of the biggest matches of the time, such as the 1932 FA Cup final between Arsenal and Newcastle United.

Prior to the days of televised football one of Harper’s decisions in the 1932 FA Cup final created a wave of public interest due to the competitive nature of the match. Newcastle United won the match 2-1, following a disputed winning goal and the award of this goal meant that Harper was perceived to have had a direct influence on the destination of the trophy. This match proved to be a catalyst for increased media attention and scrutiny related to refereeing decisions, something that was rare early in the twentieth century.

It was evident as early as 1822 that sport helped to sell newspapers with *Bell’s Life* in London increasing its circulation after including sports reports in the publication (Cashmore, 2005) and by 1880 it was also clear that football sold newspapers (Murray, 1994). By the 1900s the growth of the written press and in particular the development of sport-specific periodicals was synonymous with the advancement of football, and other sports in Great Britain (Smart, 2005). As sport became popularised into the twentieth century, this was reflected in the column inches that it was afforded in national papers (Goldlust, 2004). This developing symbiotic relationship between football and the written press (the dominant media at the turn of the twentieth century) was a togetherness which would serve both well as these two areas evolved together (Jarvie, 2006) into the 1920s and 1930s.

This paper focuses on the career of W. P. Harper with particular attention paid to the 1932 FA Cup final as perhaps the most infamous incident in his career. This case study is framed in the growing sport/media relationship of the time and utilises archival material in the form of personal diaries, cuttings from newspapers, personal correspondence and letters as well as photographs to illustrate the career of one of the most prominent referees of the time. This paper sheds new light on the relationship between Association Football, the media and referees at this time through a detailed case study.

**CASSANDRA WELLS, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA**

*A ‘Good Enough’ Method: The Barr Body Test and the IOC*

Ever since Caster Semenya’s fateful race at the World Championships of Athletics in 2009, scholarly interest in the science, social politics, and ethics of sex testing in sport has been on the rise. This paper links these interests together through an exploration of the ‘Barr body’, or sex chromatin test—the first laboratory-based sex test introduced in international sport in the late 1960s.
Biological explanations of the ‘source’ or ‘essential’ difference between men and women have come to rest on DNA, and in particular, on the so-called ‘sex chromosomes’. As the science of sex chromosomes developed in the middle of the twentieth century, their significance was in constant flux. Despite the scientific uncertainty about what these chromosomes might mean for human sexuality, they soon became incorporated into sport as the determiners of sex through the policy of sex testing. Synthesizing histories of medical genetics and sport with archival material relating to the scientific community’s reaction to the use of the Barr body test in sport throughout the 1960s, 70s and 80s, this paper asks, How did international sport governors (primarily the IOC) use or misuse the test in its quest for a discreet and objective arbiter of sex? The paper concludes that it was not the Barr method’s certainty, but precisely its scientific slipperiness that enabled the IOC to put it to use in sex testing for sport.

Stephen R. Wenn, Wilfrid Laurier University
A Long and Winding Road: IOC/USOC Relations in the Post-Amateur Sports Act Era

Oslo’s recent withdrawal from the 2022 Olympic Winter Games bid competition prompted much consternation and hand wringing in Lausanne, Switzerland where IOC officials considered the troubling reality that only two cities from the original slate of six finalists remained. Media commentary focused on a list of provocative IOC needs associated with hosting and how this might have contributed to Norwegians’ sense of unease with moving forward with Oslo’s bid, the earlier decisions of Stockholm, Lviv, and Krakow to shelve their bids, and that the two cities remaining, Almaty and Beijing, were located in countries (Kazakhstan and China) where public dissent is not prized. Cities believed the financial risk outweighed the possible benefits. It was not a positive circumstance.

Judith Grant Long, a University of Michigan scholar, who explored the burgeoning infrastructural demands on Olympic host cities, highlighted the “IOC’s interest in recalibrating the infrastructure required of host cities, since the viability of its mission, and its political power, is predicated on [a] strong candidate pool.” Former USOC Chairman and the impresario of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, Peter Ueberroth, issued a warning concerning the increasing financial burden tied to bidding for, and hosting, the Olympic Games. “I really hope the IOC can encourage future cities by making the requirements much simpler, by requiring less expenditure, and that the actual bid process is not so expensive,” observed Ueberroth in August, 2012. “It doesn’t serve anybody in the present world economy to have these Games costing the amounts they do.” The IOC, intoned Ueberroth, risked a return to the soft bidding environment of the late 1970s when the repetitive intrusion of world geo-politics and the pall cast by Montreal’s massive debt, constrained bidding interest. Oslo’s recent decision, which mirrored those rendered in Stockholm, Krakow, and Lviv, confirmed Ueberroth’s prescience on this issue.

Jacques Rogge’s successor, Thomas Bach, was not tone deaf on this matter and he understood the need to confront the challenges tied to the new bidding and hosting environments. Bach’s Olympic Agenda 2020 think tank exercise, and its resulting 20 + 20 recommendations, is aimed, in part, at dealing with the host city conundrum. Whether his industry leads to any discernible policy decisions that give greater succor to prospective host cities will be revealed in the wake of the IOC’s Extraordinary Session in December, 2014.
Equally pressing is the need for the IOC to solicit bids from the United States. U.S. cities stood removed from recent bid processes in light of the embarrassing 2nd and 1st round defeats of New York (2012) and Chicago (2016), respectively, at IOC Sessions staged in 2005 and 2009. The United States Olympic Committee’s (USOC) unwillingness to sponsor a city in the host city bid processes for 2018, 2020, and 2022 was inextricably linked to the tension between the IOC and the USOC over Olympic revenue distribution, the continuing leverage afforded to the USOC by the Amateur Sports Act (ASA, 1978), and the IOC’s European bloc’s frustration with the intransigence of the USOC’s leadership in acceding to changes in the revenue distribution formula that greatly privileged the USOC.

This paper will examine the tortured path that IOC/USOC relations have followed on financial matters since the USOC first invoked the ASA in the mid-1980s as a means of securing sizable shares of U.S. television contracts and revenue raised through the fledgling TOP (The Olympic Program, now The Olympic Partners). While the U.S. federal government sought to resolve administrative infighting involving the USOC, the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), and the National Collegiate Athletic Association (as a means of enhancing the performance levels of future U.S. Olympic teams), with the passage of the ASA, it also provided an avenue for revenue generation for the USOC by granting it exclusive ownership of Olympic marks and emblems in U.S. territory. Years passed before the USOC realized that it possessed the combination to the vault of U.S. Olympic dollars. Following extended discussions, the USOC secured 15% of the TOP revenue in exchange for its consent to become part of TOP in 1985. Later in the same year, emboldened by this financial windfall, the USOC informed IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch that it required accommodation financially if television advertisers sought to use the Olympic rings on future U.S. Olympic telecasts.

The IOC, faced with little legal recourse given that it had not previously sought legal protection for Olympic marks and emblems, reached an accord with the USOC on both fronts. In the 1990s, the USOC connived with federal politicians to further enhance its share of U.S.-generated Olympic revenue. Again, the USOC was accommodated. The glaring financial advantage enjoyed by the USOC over the world’s other National Olympic Committees became an increasing source of irritation for many IOC members. Samaranch’s successor, Jacques Rogge, sought to amend the formula for distribution of U.S. Olympic revenue generated through TOP and the sale of U.S. Olympic television rights. The USOC, a privately funded organization, dependent upon these sources of revenue for 50% of its operating budget, was unmoved. European IOC members blocked the hopes of New York and Chicago as a means of expressing their frustration. In the waning months of his presidency, Rogge and his IOC colleagues, knowing that the IOC needed active U.S. bid cities, and the USOC, cognizant that its own efforts to generate revenue were compromised by the absence of any U.S. host city since 2002, were able to find common ground. Individuals whose roles will be assessed in the near two decade long narrative include Juan Antonio Samaranch, Richard Pound, William Simon, Dick Schultz, Jacques Rogge, Gerhard Heiberg, Peter Ueberroth, Larry Probst, and Scott Blackmun. Primary sources including material from the IOC archives, and secondary sources will be examined.

It will have been 28 years by 2024 since the U.S. has hosted a Summer Olympic Games. A U.S. bid city offers the IOC the greatest possible security from a financial consideration and provides an avenue to change the hosting narrative in the wake of the difficult 2022 Olympic Winter Games exercise. One must think that Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, or Washington, the four cities
currently pursuing the USOC’s approval to enter the wider international bidding competition, has the inside track for 2024, and should the IOC move in this direction, it would signal in the most powerful way that the two sides have realized that they really do need each other.

DERRICK E. WHITE, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Sporting Congregations: Rethinking the History of Black College Football

This paper is a critical intervention that challenges the scholarship on race and college sports. It seeks to answer why, despite the tremendous growth of college sports history, have scholars mostly ignored Black college sports? I identify three areas that are causes for this oversight. First, I explain that sports history, in part, neglects Black college football because the evidentiary limitations stemming from legacy of segregation on Black college library systems. I briefly explore how segregation affected Black college library systems tasked with the responsibility of preserving the sports history legacy. I also suggest that the recent digitization of Black college sources provides a new avenue for primary source material that can serve as a corrective to the oversight. Beyond the paucity of sources, a more profound issue has been scholars’ theoretical weaknesses. Therefore, a second source of neglect has been scholars’ over reliance on race relations as a theoretical model of analysis. As a result, scholars have been too interested in the interracial conflict of Black players on White teams. Scholars in turn have virtually ignored the vast majority of Black players who earned letters on Black college campuses, thus making Black autonomous interactions nearly invisible. John Sayle Watterson’s College Football is representative when he states, “Inevitably, this book had to deal with the problem of race, notably the slow influx of African American players into football at major state institutions. As a result, I have not tracked the history of African Americans in football at predominately black institutions, a story that needs to be told.” Finally, scholars have failed to understand the nuances of Black culture.

Specifically, scholars, by avoiding Black college football and its associated culture, imply that it is not worthy of study. The nuances of Black college football and life in general are better understood through Earl Lewis’ suggestion “that segregation became congregation,” creating “a certain degree of autonomy and, by extension, power.” This essay is a call to examine the power and pleasure of Black college athletes, students, and fans. As Ralph Ellison asked in his critical review of Gunnar Myrdal’s An American Dilemma, “Can a people . . . live and develop for over three hundred years simply by reacting? Are American Negroes simply the creation of white men, or have they at least helped to create themselves out of what they found around them?” This essay seeks a similar question about the history of college football and athletics.

DAVID K. WIGGINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Kenny Washington, Woody Strode, and the Re-integration of the National Football League

In 1947 history was made when Jackie Robinson reintegrated Major League Baseball. It was an extraordinarily important event that was received with unabated enthusiasm by the African American community in particular and was covered widely by black and white newspapers and other publications throughout the United States. Anthropologist John Kelly claims that Robinson’s entry
into Major League Baseball with the Brooklyn Dodgers “was the proving ground for most U.S. citizens for the prospect of black and white ‘races’ integrating into one nation.” He contended that Robinson “gathered more attention than any other figure in the history of US Civil Rights struggles.”

Standing in sharp contrast to this event was the reintegration of the National Football League (NFL) just a year earlier. In 1946, Kenny Washington and Woody Strode, both former teammates of Robinson’s at U.C.L.A., reintegrated the NFL by signing contracts with the Los Angeles Rams. Although the event received attention from an assortment of publications, it realized far less press coverage than Robinson’s debut with the Brooklyn Dodgers. This presentation, based on the canvassing of black and white newspapers and other primary sources, seeks to answer a number of questions, including why the Rams chose to reintegrate, why they selected Washington and Strode as their first African American players, and how did their football careers and post-athletic lives differ from that of Robinson. What is immediately apparent from this analysis is that the signings of Washington and Strode was largely the result of the pressure put on the Rams by local and nationally black sportswriters. Like black sportswriters who clamored for the reintegration of Major League Baseball, black sportswriters took advantage of the newfound spirit among African Americans resulting from World War II and a host of other factors, to convince the Rams to sign the two former star athletes from U.C.L.A. The signing of Washington and Strode received far less attention than Robinson’s, largely a result of professional football’s limited popularity at the time relative to baseball and other sports. This fact, combined with the length and quality of their athletic careers contributed a great deal to how the three outstanding African American athletes have been remembered and the historical legacy that has been constructed. While Robinson would go on to a Hall of Fame career in Major League Baseball and have his life recounted in a plethora of publications and through other mediums, Washington and Strode realized only a modicum of success with the Rams and until recently have largely been forgotten for their part in reintegrating professional football. Of the three, it was Washington who experienced the greatest anonymity in his post-athletic career, working as a Los Angeles police officer until his untimely death in 1971 at the age of 52 from polyarteritis nodosa.

JEAN WILLIAMS, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY

Miss Ludy and The Paris Women’s Olympic Games in 1922

While women’s swimming, diving, skating, tennis and a mixed yachting event were featured at the IOC Antwerp Olympic Games in 1920, female track and field athletics were not admitted. As a direct response to the International Olympic Committee’s refusal, in 1921, female representatives from France, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland took part in the first international athletics meeting inaugurated by Alice Milliat, staged in Monte Carlo. By October 1921, the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale (FSFI) had begun to campaign on a worldwide scale for the advancement of women’s sport, specifically targeting US and Canadian participation to raise the profile of the issues. This was a success in the short term. In 1922 the first Women’s Olympic Games was staged as a separatist event at the Stade Pershing, Paris with one hundred and one competitors taking part in front of crowds of 20,000 spectators. At the seventh IOC Olympiad, held in Antwerp, there had been approximately eighty female participants.
The paper will focus on the life of one ‘Olympian’ who remains unacknowledged by the IOC—the American flag bearer in the 1922 Paris Women’s Olympic Games, Lucille Ellerbe Godbold (1900-1981). One of seven children from a family of educators, ‘Miss Ludy’ taught at Columbia College in South Carolina for fifty-eight years. A ‘Ludy Bowl’ touch-football game was inaugurated at Columbia in her honour in 1955 and a $1.1 million sports facility named after her in 1974. In 1968 Ludy became the first woman admitted to the South Carolina Athletic Hall of Fame. In many respects, Godbold’s life and career were exemplars of Olympism, as she was dedicated to inspiring many young women to take up sport and physical activity (reportedly saying that she taught everything but golf and dance). By looking at the networks of Godbold and her experiences of touring Europe, in comparison with the IOC-recognised women Olympians from this period, the paper argues that we need more work on the complex and contingent associations of women’s track and field athletics in the inter-war period. The example of Miss Ludy also suggests the need to re-examine the orthodoxy of women’s collegiate education as primarily fostering an amateur sporting ethos.

KEVIN B. WITHERSPOON, LANDER UNIVERSITY

Race and Diplomacy in the Cold War: Mal Whitfield, “An Outstanding Representative of America”

Throughout the Cold War, the United States employed athletes as Cultural Ambassadors around the world. Especially attractive to the State Department were African American athletes, who proved to be not only capable as practitioners of their sports and effective teachers and coaches, but perhaps more importantly helped to defuse the issue of racism, a touchstone of criticism of U.S. policy around the world. If black athletes were happy citizens of the United States, then racism must not be as bad as advertised, the argument went.

No American athlete was so thoroughly invested in the diplomatic program as Malvin “Mal” Whitfield, a five-time Olympic medalist in the 400- and 800-meter runs. Starting with a brief tour of Europe with the A.A.U. track team in 1947, Whitfield also became an ambassador for the U.S., a role he continued to practice until his retirement in 1989. A study of Whitfield’s career provides unique insight into the American sports diplomacy program, for two reasons: his career as an African American diplomat spanned the pre- and post-Civil Rights era; and, he made the transition from athlete to diplomat perhaps more thoroughly than anyone. His are not merely the idle musings of an athlete traveling abroad.

This paper, based on a review of government documents, secondary articles, and Whitfield’s own comments, examines the role of the African American athlete as cultural ambassador during the Cold War. Of particular interest is Whitfield’s perspective on the State Department’s approach to race and racism, and how such views may have changed over time as the racial climate in the United States changed.
KEN WOMACK, PENN STATE ALTOONA

Zimmerman and the Grand Plan: Engineering the Astrodome

As with Hofheinz, Kenneth E. Zimmerman (1913-2008) was responsible for supervising the structural engineering of the Astrodome, the first large-scale, air-conditioned indoor sports facility ever built. Zimmerman saw the Astrodome project as a pioneering opportunity. Having worked as an architectural engineer during his formative years, he served as a key player in the Manhattan Project from 1941 through 1945, developing its secret Oak Ridge, Tennessee, headquarters for the Army Corps of Engineers. In the post-war years, Zimmerman joined Houston’s Walter P. Moore and Associates, where his stellar reputation and engineering talents led to his appointment as chief engineer for the Astrodome’s design and construction. Zimmerman is credited with taking Roy Hofheinz and Buckminster Fuller’s vision for a domed structure and adapting their visionary concepts to the needs of sports entertainment. In so doing, he imagined engineering innovations that would introduce the public to a golden age of American stadium development that lingers into the present day. While the focus will be on Zimmerman primarily, a key aspect of this presentation will involve explaining the complex relationship between engineers, sub-contractors, designers, and the diverse range of individuals who were stakeholders in this enormous construction undertaking. The research will focus on engineering and construction challenges faced by Zimmerman as well as the various entities involved in the project, including but not limited to general contractors H.A. Lott, Incorporated of Houston and Johnson, Drake, and Piper, Incorporated of Minneapolis.

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

Of Tigers and Management: The 1925 Labor Strike of the NHL Hamilton Club

After World War I, the National Hockey League (NHL) emerged from the war as a regional sport organization consisting of four franchises based in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. As a small league, the NHL did not have a lot of leverage in terms of controlling the labor market. To complicate its plight, the NHL also had competition for the services of hockey players from the other major professional and amateur leagues as the latter often provided inducements, monetary or otherwise, to skilled players. Yet, the NHL was going to transform itself into an international (at least North American) cartel beginning in the early 1920s when it started to expand into the United States. Compared to their Canadian counterparts, owners of the new American franchises had very deep pockets and the Canadian franchise owners feared a takeover by the Americans and bound themselves in a formal pact.

The Hamilton franchise came into the league in 1920, in large part, because of NHL internal politics. Never being competitive, the team languished at the bottom of league standings until the 1924-25 season when it reached first place and the players decided to strike. As a result of the labor disruption, the Hamilton owner sold his players to a newly admitted American franchise in New York and major league hockey has not returned to Hamilton since. Drawing from both primary and secondary sources, this paper explores the Hamilton (Tigers) Hockey Club player strike under the context of labor-management relations at the time. The Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 inflamed fear of class warfare and the destruction of capitalism in North America. There was genuine apprehension that a similar revolution could happen in Canada and the United States as massive unemployment among European immigrants occurred in major cities across Canada and militant labor groups on both sides of the border instilled fear of the coming of a worker revolution. I argue that the strike represents a benchmark in the NHL’s monopsony of skilled players. The strike was never about organizing workers as a counterforce to management but rather it was about skilled workers trying to gain a larger piece of the pie, a tactic that the dominant crafts unions in Canada and the United States employed.

MICHAEL T. WOOD, TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

¡Cánibal Cánibal, Sis Bum Bah! ¡Atlético! ¡Atlético! ¡Atlético! ¡Rah! ¡Rah! ¡Rah!:
Club Atlético de Cuba, American Football, and Identity

On January 1, 1910, the Club Atlético de Cuba football team defeated the varsity squad from Tulane University by a score of 11 to 0 at Almendares Park in Havana, Cuba. This victory marked the first Cuban win against a U.S. team in an American football game. From 1910 to 1934, Atlético played thirteen more international contests against teams from U.S. colleges and universities, winning matches against Florida Southern College, Stetson University, and the University of Mississippi, gaining a win-by-forfeit against the University of Florida, and tying Norman Junior College. The C.A.C.’s success against North American teams earned the team the nickname the glorioso araranjado (the “Glorious Orange”), and it would often be described as “los defensores del honor nacional” (the defenders of national honor).
My paper will examine Club Atlético de Cuba and these games in the context of identity. More specifically, it will focus on class identification and national identity. I will address the C.A.C.’s place in the Havana social athletic club culture in the first half of the twentieth century, and how its adoption of American football and the games played against U.S. teams represented an attempt to forge a Cuban national sports identity through participation in a broader North American upper-/upper-middle-class sport culture. Similar to efforts in the U.S. South, a faction of Cuban authorities and intellectuals emulated the leading economic model and cultural forms of the northern United States. By playing American football and competing against their northern neighbors, Atlético showed Cuban inclusion in modern society and challenged negative stereotypes that supported U.S. hegemony.

For example, the title of the paper comes from a C.A.C. cheer referenced in a 1930 article written by Pablo de la Torriente Brau. Torriente, a famed writer, activist, and namesake of Cuba’s Central Cultural Center in Havana, played American football for the C.A.C. in the late 1920s and was a supporter of the sport in Cuba. His article provides a dramatic description of a game between Atlético and the team from the University of Havana, and serves as an instance of Cuban participation in the spectacle of American football outside of direct U.S. influence. My paper will primarily look at the C.A.C.’s international games; one of my overarching arguments will be that Cuban adoption of the sport follows a familiar trend of a colonized people taking a cultural form from colonizers and asserting agency through “beating them at their own game.” In this way, American football in Cuba should be associated with cultural hegemony rather than cultural imperialism.

I will support this view with evidence from U.S. and Cuban newspapers and journals, U.S. university archives, and the secondary literature of Cuban cultural history and sport history, such as the works of Louis A. Pérez Jr., Allen Guttmann, Gerald Gems, and Michael Oriard. Overall, my paper will contribute to our understanding of the transnational nature of American football, its often-overlooked importance in Cuba, and arguably its most successful Cuban team, Club Atlético de Cuba.

Full C.A.C. cheer:
¡Fuácata que fuácata, que ja ja ja!
¡Prángana que prángana, que chau chau chau!
¡Fuácata que prángana, que who are we!
¡We are the boys of the C.A.C.!
¡Cánibal cánibal, sis bum bah!
¡Atlético! ¡Atlético! ¡Atlético!
¡Rah! ¡Rah! ¡Rah!

ALISON M. WRYNN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON
Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education, 1880-1980: Therapeutic Exercise at Bedford College

This paper will consider the ways in which therapeutic exercise and/or physical therapy were important in the early history of Bedford College and the ways in which Sheila Fletcher analyzed this topic in Women First. The loss of formalized gymnastic work, as well as its corrective elements in the
years following the second World War, as well as the more structured requirements that emerged from the Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics (CSMMG) for the training of physiotherapists, meant that students who graduated from Bedford in the 1950s and beyond were different in a fundamental way from their predecessors.

As part of this focus on therapeutic exercise this paper will consider concerns about medical issues for female students that were similar to issues raised in women’s physical education in the United States and the connections between British and American women in physical education and physical therapy during this time period. Next, this paper explores the need to increase the number of physiotherapists once the First World War began. This includes the critical role that students in women’s physical education colleges—both in the United States and Britain—fulfilled as a ready supply of trained workers due to their long-standing work in Swedish gymnastics and corrective exercise. Finally, this paper analyzes the gender divide that emerged and persists in therapeutic exercise professions and how young men who were interested in therapeutic exercise—but largely excluded from the American physical therapy profession and the English system as well—were able to carve out careers in therapeutic exercise.

This paper utilizes the archives of the Bedford Physical Training College as well as a variety of secondary and primary sources on the history of women’s physical education and physical therapy in the United States and Britain.

MATTHEW R. YEAZEL, ANNE ARUNDEL COMMUNITY COLLEGE & CHRISTOPHER J. YEAZEL, GEORGE WASHINTON UNIVERSITY

Maybe Everyone is Wrong: Revisiting Who is to Blame for the Dodgers Leaving Brooklyn

The most contentious discussion in the history of the Dodger franchise is who was to blame for the team leaving Brooklyn and landing in Los Angeles. Historically, the blame has always focused on one of two individuals: Robert Moses and Walter O’Malley. From O’Malley’s takeover in 1950 to their last game in Brooklyn on September 24, 1957, a personal and professional grudge match began involving the Dodgers’ attempts to stay in Brooklyn via stadium construction at what was then the Atlantic Railroad Yards and Moses’ vision of a city-owned stadium in Flushing that would eventually become Shea Stadium. The clash of wills between Moses, the powerful yet controversial “city construction” czar, and the equally controversial O’Malley, the claims and will attorney who would become a minority owner of the Dodgers before becoming President and owner of the Dodgers in 1950, would bring about a radical reorientation of New York sports culture. Whereas that power struggle certainly played a role, perhaps history gives them too much credit (or discredit) for their responsibility in the ultimate move. This academic lecture will reorient the debate to what action laid the true groundwork (and carries ultimate responsibility) for the eventual move: New York City’s 1898 consolidation to a borough system after official city limits had been drawn. Upon examination of this historical conundrum, the presentation will then focus on three other franchise moves that served as urban planning debacles similar to the Dodgers: the Seattle Supersonics to Oklahoma City, the Baltimore Colts move to Indianapolis, and the twenty year absence of an NFL franchise in Los Angeles. For a fan, their team moving can be a torturous, almost traumatic, affair, and each of these situations provide a unique chance to address municipal rather than individual blame for franchise relocation.