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CARLY ADAMS, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE & JASON LAURENDEAU, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

Juvenile delinquency? Youth, citizenship, and the emergence of minor hockey in Canada

In this paper, we respond to recent calls for sport scholars to take “kids’ sport,” and childhood and youth—not as stages of life, but as sets of ideas—more seriously in our investigations of the histories, discourses, and practices of sport and recreation. Over the last two centuries, medical professionals and social reformers have increasingly constructed children and youth as innocent, precious, and in need of constant protection, particularly during their most formative years. Drawing on the work of Mona Gleason and other scholars of childhood and youth we argue that qualities associated with the “public child” in this era guided and “legitimized the work of twentieth century reformers, defined the essence of children’s ‘nature,’ and characterized qualities of their physical bodies.” To do this we situate the emergence of minor hockey in Canada within a broader historical context, interrogating how this important shift in the history of hockey in Canada can be understood in terms of a set of narratives about children and youth “at risk” and “as risk” ascendant during this historical period. We note, for example, that the emergence of juvenile (under 18 years of age), midget (under 16) and bantam (under 14) leagues in the 1930s coincides roughly with the institutionalization of Pop Warner football and Little League baseball, which allows us to situate minor hockey’s roots within a political economy of risk. We draw on newspaper reports and Canadian Amateur Hockey Association’s organizational documents to explore the cultural politics of (some) young people’s sporting experiences in this historical period, highlighting the extent to which these are tied to questions of nationhood, citizenship, and “proper” formations of childhood and family life.

IAIN ADAMS, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL LANCASHIRE

In the eyes of the Beholder: G.K. Chesterton on Wyndham Halswelle, Villain and Hero

The journalist G.K. Chesterton wrote a weekly column in the Illustrated London News called ‘Our Note Book’ in which he pithily commented on events in the news. His essay on August 1, 1908 reveals much about both the newspaper’s editorial approach to the Olympics as well as the likely views of its readers. Chesterton began his essay by referring directly to incidents in the stadium with explicit connection to the stated goals of the Olympic movement.

He examined two apparently different meanings of the word ‘sportsman’ referencing the 400 metres and the marathon. Wyndham Halswelle, the winner of the 400 metres, had previously won silver in the 400 and bronze in the 800 at the Intermediate Games in Athens in 1906 and was one of the great athletes of the age. Disillusioned by the events of 1908, Halswelle retired from athletics and was killed by a sniper at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle on 31 March 1915.

The centenary of the First World War has witnessed a significant upsurge in interest in the war with a concomitant increase in attention to the relationship between sport and war. This has included a number of publications identifying sportsmen who ‘fell’ in ‘The Greater Game’. In these, Wyndham Halswelle has received scant attention.
This study seeks to examine the athletic career of Wyndham Halswelle and reconstruct his approach to sport utilising Chesterton’s essay as a contemporary lodestone.

**Dean Allen, Bournemouth University (UK)**

‘The Englishman’s Game’: Cricket and English Identity in North America, 1830-1900

As in England, sport in America evolved from an essentially unorganized activity to a highly structured and organized phenomenon during the mid to late nineteenth century. Alongside mass immigration, the advent of industrialization, new technology, and the decline of religious opposition to recreation and leisure activities, sport evolved in a manner that mirrored its development in the British Isles. Indeed, as it had done throughout the British Empire during this period, an English middle-class influence had strongly affected American’s attitudes toward sport, and at times and to varying degrees, created the popularity of sports such as boating, horse-racing, cricket, field hockey, tennis, and track and field amongst others in the United States.

The power of English sport at this time was similar to that of the nobility, which, as T.F. Dale described it at the beginning of the twentieth century, was “entirely unsupported by force; it is all so intangible and made up of so many threads that it is almost impossible to define” and despite the failure of concerted efforts by British cultural imperialists to convince the American people to submit to the superiority of British culture and sport, the English Diaspora in America continued to express their ‘Englishness’ through a rich variety of sporting clubs and societies. From the 1830s, when English immigrants brought cricket to Philadelphia, to the introduction of rugby in the 1870s and the 1880s and the foundation of the American Football (soccer) Association, this study explores the significance of sport and leisure to the English Diaspora throughout selected regions of North America. Using a combination of secondary and primary sources (most notably from the archives of Haverford College, Philadelphia), this study examines the role and meaning of quintessential ‘English’ sports, most notably cricket, in areas such as New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania.

**Cat Ariail, University of Miami**

Wilma Rudolph and the Possibilities of Athletic Citizenship

During the Cold War, the United States insisted on the superiority of its democratic system and values. While racial and gender inequality characterized the nation’s domestic landscape, sport served as a way to mask these persisting inequities. African American and women athletes who competed in the Olympic Games and other international events embodied the U.S’s proclaimed values, even as they did not enjoy full citizenship status. As a young African American woman, Wilma Rudolph, who won three gold medals at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, most ostensibly validated U.S. democracy. Nevertheless, Rudolph belonged to the population of U.S. citizens most excluded from political, economic, and social citizenship rights and opportunities. Yet, by athletically exemplifying national ideals, Wilma Rudolph gained athletic citizenship.
Rudolph’s experiences intimately capture the gap between the rhetoric and reality of U.S. democracy. For instance, a U.S. government report would soon pathologize African American single motherhood, yet Rudolph’s athletic talent protected her from such recrimination, with her status as an unwed mother remaining silenced. Alternatively, not long after her Sport Specialist service, a hometown restaurant prevented Rudolph and three hundred other African Americans from entering. These disjunctive experiences highlight the contingent quality of athletic citizenship, suggesting that it served the U.S. state more than the athletes who attained it.

Thus, the experiences of Wilma Rudolph provide a provocative opportunity to explore the degree to which the Cold War athletic context benefitted U.S. athletes who remained only partial U.S. citizens.

**ANNA ARNAU, ERICKA BRUNDAGE, AND HAYDEN GREGG, GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY**

**Researching and Designing Holmes v. Atlanta: Changing the Game**

The case of *Holmes v. Atlanta* is a significant one for its impact in desegregating public golf in Atlanta. Additionally, Atlanta historians Norman Shavin and Bruce Galpin observe that “the first scene of court-ordered desegregation in Georgia was a golf course and not a “school house” further suggesting the case’s significance. Subsequent analysis reveals that the case has also been cited as precedent in a number of cases involving public accommodations. Besides this important legal legacy, the case also offers a unique site for understanding the experiences of amateur black golfers long before Tiger Woods’s golfing exploits captured the American imagination. This presentation offers additional details about the case of *Holmes v. Atlanta* describing the legal strategies of the case, and its relationship to significant moments in the history of black golf. The presentation also discusses the ways in which these ideas were successfully curated into the exhibition design of “*Holmes v. Atlanta: Changing the Game*” that represents the legal, civil rights, and golfing import of the story.

**JEPKORIR ROSE CHEPYATOR-THOMSON EMMA ARIYO, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA**

**Examination of Post-Independent Africa Through Political and Sport Lenses: Historical Perspectives**

Sport in the contemporary world is not without the positive influence of golden moments of sporting history. Reflections of the past sporting experiences of nations and individuals tend to merge historical sporting events, memories, and traditions to interpret sport history in ways that are meaningful to contemporary sporting culture. The purpose of this paper is to examine how African political and sport leaders altered the course of sporting history and how their actions and leadership ideologies impacted sport participation, promoted nation building, and encouraged economic development and social cohesion. Data sources used in this study include government documents, newspapers, magazines, and scholarly journal articles. Questions of interest concern the role African
political leaders have played in shaping sporting culture, the impact on development and promotion of sport in different communities, and the extent to which top athletes from Africa paved the way for future generations through promotion of African sporting culture within a global context. Emerging themes from the literature center on: nationalism, activism, economic factors, and social development (both individual and community). Prominent political figures and legendary sport celebrities discussed in the study include African presidents—Nelson Mandela, Idi Amin Dada, and Kwame Nkurumah and sports leaders George Weah, John Akii-bua, Kipchoge Keino, Joginder Singh, Roger Milla, and Ebrahim Patel, respectively. The significance of African sport history lies in revealing how political leaders used sport to engender their political ideals while sport celebrities used sport as an instrument for social change, enhanced individual economic development, and advancement in society. The implications of this study include the political and social outcomes propelled by the leadership ideologies of African leaders and sport celebrities, and corresponding impact on sport participation at the African and international levels.

ELENA BALCAITE, UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Intersections and Disconnections between John’s narrative and Australian Soccer History. What can we learn?

John is a 56-year-old Manchester United supporter, who moved to Melbourne, Australia, from England in 1970. Despite supporting United since his early childhood, eleven-year-old John found himself adjusting to the move Down Under by quickly taking up Australian Rules Football and keeping his allegiance to Man United quiet. It was not until 1994 that the famous soccer club forcefully re-entered his life. The fan cannot quite explain what drove him to go and watch Manchester United in FA Cup final at a pub in Central Melbourne, but it was certainly a pivotal point in his fanship. Following official historical accounts of Australian soccer one may assume that John’s reintroduction to the world’s game was enabled by changing attitudes towards the game, which was labelled as un-Australian and simply foreign for a large part of the twentieth century. Although John admits that as a schoolboy he was certainly influenced by these unfavourable views towards the sport he loved dearly, he did not feel they had changed much by the time he was ready to reengage in his passion for Manchester United and remembers 1994 as still “the dark ages” of soccer in Australia.

Considering this and similar intersections between Australian soccer history and John’s personal narrative, the paper explores the Man United faithful’s life history in the context of official historical accounts of soccer Down Under. The fan’s personal narrative is built on his accounts gathered through a process of life history research involving several one-to-one interviews and reflective conversations that followed. This personal narrative aims to authentically depict John’s relationship with a famous soccer club amidst his contrasting connections with two football codes, multiple but intersecting identities, family life, emotional highs and lows, and innate human values. The paper places these personal reflections and interpretations in a context of widely accepted historical accounts of Australian soccer, questioning whether the two can form a coherent picture. John, who is also a founder and a president of Manchester United Supporters’ Club of Victoria, deems himself not only a participant in an historical narrative but rather a co-creator of it, in the light
of which this exploratory discussion sets out to understand not only whether in this particular case historical accounts of sport are inclusive of first-hand reflections but also to illustrate how sport histories can be enhanced by deeper focus on personal narratives emerging in and amidst social, cultural, and historical circumstances.

ARTHUR BANTON, PURDUE UNIVERSITY
The street game arrives at the top of the mountain of intercollegiate basketball

During the 1949-50 season, the City College of New York became the first racially integrated basketball team to win the national basketball championship and the only one to win the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and National Invitational Tournament (NIT) championships in the same season. Unfortunately, their accomplishment was overshadowed by the gambling scandal thereafter.

The intention of this project is to tell the story about that CCNY team, yet to be addressed in scholarship. So much attention has been drawn to the gambling scandals that what they accomplished as twelve young men from various racial and ethnic backgrounds gets lost in the narrative. These players and their coach, Nat Holman, who was Jewish, demonstrated the possibilities and the promise of interracial cooperation in our society, a promise still unfulfilled outside of athletics.

During the 1940s and 50s, baseball might have been the national pastime but basketball was rapidly carving its popularity across the globe. Nowhere was this theory exercised better than New York City, where the boundaries of European immigrants and black migrants from the South were resisting the fusion of cultural convenience (a practice in which cultural boundaries are negotiated due to a lack of sufficient space) through segregation. For many of these working-class individuals, basketball was not only suitable to the condensed space that playgrounds and city streets afforded but it was also a symbol of racial, ethnic, and neighborhood pride. These young men brought their love of the game to CCNY and were able to come together and demonstrate the possibilities of interracial cooperation.

Also noteworthy about their accomplishment was that the team played a style of basketball known as the playground style (colloquially understood today as street ball) that ran counter to many of the methods during that time period. The question driving this essay is what were the factors which enabled these young men (who were all from New York City) to come together as a unit. I argue there were a variety of forces that swelled and met at the right time which enabled this momentous occasion to occur. But basketball was created and socialized to be more inclusive.

This essay examines precisely the culture of this institution, briefly addresses their coach Nat Holman, who embraced these players in their context and allowed them to facilitate a style of play that enabled their athleticism to overwhelm opponents. Their signature win that season was a 39-point victory over a good University of Kentucky team that played a similar style to CCNY but unlike them were a racially homogenous team. The CCNY victory reinforced the notion that interracial cooperation was possible and worthy of grand accomplishments. This team reflected the dream that Dr. Martin Luther King envisioned when he gave his famous “I Have a Dream” speech in Washington, D.C. in 1963. This paper enables us to understand that sport is a reflection of our
society but in some instances exercises dreams before we dare or even understand how to dream them.

DAVID E. BARNEY, ALBUQUERQUE ACADEMY

Alvin and Me, Circa ’43: Something About Shoes & the “Bayou Eel,” Alvin Dark

All-around athlete, major league All Star, manager, and bench coach Alvin Dark is gone now. He passed away a little over two years ago at the age 92. We never met. But there was a “fleeting moment” in my life when I became Alvin Dark, or so I was led to believe. So when I picked up my newspaper on that November morning, indeed, seventy years after the fact of that pressed-upon-me persona, and read of Alvin’s passing, it provided me with a moment of pause and reflection, and that “fleeting moment,” but a moment long enough to realize that not only Alvin but a tiny part of me had left this world for another. Alvin Dark was a multi-sport star of the highest order wherever he competed, while I remained for the better part of my athletic life a multi-sport ignoramus of sorts—at least in comparison to Alvin’s star. Only once, it seemed, did I ever reach the level of play that Alvin aspired to on an almost daily basis, either in high school and college competition, or in the military and professional ranks. I would say that he set the bar too high; others might offer up the excuse that my wartime dislocation—there one day in Alvin’s shadow, gone the next—was the problem. But nonetheless, my memory hangs on to that one day, that one “fleeting moment,” circa 1943, when someone hitched my star to the legendary “Bayou Eel.”

That’s the opening paragraph of Dave Barney’s familiar essay on Alvin Dark, perhaps the finest all-around athlete ever to come out of the state of Louisiana. While the essay itself focuses on Dark’s legendary sporting legacy, it also touches on social issues that plagued both the writer as an adolescent and then Alvin two decades later as a major league manager of Black and Latino players on the San Francisco Giants, including the likes of future Hall of Famers Orlando Cepeda and Juan Marichal. And, of course, there is the matter of that “fleeting moment” of impersonation, the curious nature of which will not be divulged here but rather during presentation.

Merging memoir with secondary sources, Barney juxtaposes the bright life and times of Alvin Dark with a singular shadow in Alvin’s career, a moment in time that would haunt him for the remainder of his life, and even his after-life, as demonstrated by numerous references to that darkness in his obituaries. In the end, the writer attempts to secure some common ground so far as forgiveness for Dark’s momentary “slip-of-the-tongue” is concerned. In this regard, he finds a quartet of sympathizers in baseball’s historical hierarchy of that era: teammates Willie Mays and Orlando Cepeda, and, further afield, the legendary Jackie Robinson and the Commissioner himself at that time, Ford Frick.

ROBERT K. BARNEY, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

Shortly before his death on 9 November 2012, John Lucas, at that time undoubtedly the doyen of scholarship on American Olympic history matters, sent me a manuscript for my reaction, not as a reviewer, but rather as a close friend and colleague whose research paralleled his, not certainly in terms of “over time,” but in Olympic genre consequence. Though the main title of John’s manuscript, “I’m Tired of the Whole Silly Business,” perked my curiosity, his sub-title, “John Terence McGovern and the Evolution of American Olympic Wealth,” raised my expectation considerably towards learning more about a research dimension I had pursued for some 30 years. Sadly, John’s manuscript was essentially a marvelous, painstakingly documented biography of “Terry” McGovern, corporate lawyer, United States Olympic Committee Executive Council member, co-architect of the notable 1928 Carnegie Report on Intercollegiate Athletics, and, germane to this study, the diplomatic, tactful, mild-mannered counsel to the prickly, tempestuous, counterproductive Avery Brundage, supreme czar of Olympic matters in the United States. John asked my opinion on his article. In our usual frank way, I gave it. “John,” I said, “The entire article, 6,800 words, save nine lines of text, has nothing to do with the “evolution of American Olympic wealth.” And yet, what John had provided was by far the most extensive biographical treatment of a critically important American in the history of the nation’s involvement in the modern Olympic movement. In the end, John and I agreed that we would collaborate on an article that combined his wonderful biographical treatment with my analysis of McGovern’s contribution to “the evolution of American Olympic wealth.” Hence, this submission for presentation at NASSH 2016 in memory and honor of my friend and Olympic history colleague, John Apostle Lucas.

In the scenario that provided the cornerstone event in the evolutionary history of Olympic commercialism, the name of John Terence McGovern figured prominently. When Avery Brundage, the tempestuous, often cantankerous czar of Olympic matters in the United States for much of the period 1930 to 1950, squared off against the wealthy, congenial Los Angeles bakery owner Paul Helms in a twenty-year contest over the issue surrounding the right to use Olympic symbols for commercial benefit, it took a third party, “Terry” McGovern, to bring about resolution of the conflict. The resolution provided a precedent-setting marker in what the world would come to know as Olympic commercialism. This paper documents the trials and tribulations of McGovern in aiding the establishment of that precedent. The fundamental research base for the study is underscored by material in the papers of Avery Brundage (the Avery Brundage Collection) held at the International Centre for Olympic Studies at Western University in London, Canada. As well, the archival collection on the 1932 Olympic Games held at the Los Angeles Amateur Athletic Foundation (LA84) in California was extremely helpful. The study’s argument rests on the hypothesis that without Terry McGovern’s calm character and diplomatic expertise in handling the lengthy interface between the two antagonists (Brundage and Helms), the final resolution to the benefit of the United States Olympic Committee might have been delayed for years, perhaps even decades. The paper employs an empirical approach, one reflecting a narrative/analysis methodology.
L. DAWN BAVINGTON, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO, AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND)
’nSex’ Testing, Naked Inspections and the Olympic Games: A Rejoinder

In September 2013, the Centre for Sport Policy Studies at the University of Toronto published a correction to their research report titled “The London 2012 Olympics: A Gender Equality Audit” (Donnelly and Donnelly 2013). Anita DeFrantz, senior member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and Chair of the IOC Women and Sports Commission (1995-2014), took issue with the authors who, following in the footsteps of academics who have offered a similar account, made an incidental statement regarding sex testing and naked inspections at the Olympic games. DeFrantz pointed out “one serious error” in the report, noting that she had:

never seen or heard any primary evidence that [naked parades] happened at an Olympic Games. This story about naked parades at Olympic Games . . . is one of those myths that writers keep repeating without checking primary sources. The IOC implemented gender testing (or femininity testing as they called [it]) for the first time at the 1968 Grenoble Olympic Winter Games and at the Mexico City Olympic Games.

Donnelly and Donnelly checked their facts with other scholars and discovered that DeFrantz was right. They amended the original report, apologized for helping to propagate this particular mistake and thanked DeFrantz for presenting the opportunity to set the record straight.

This corrective by DeFrantz is one of several that have been directed at researchers doing critical policy analyses since the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) and IOC introduced regulations governing hyperandrogenism in elite female athletes. In this presentation, I take DeFrantz’s position as an entry point to examine the history of “sex” testing in women’s sport. Drawing on archival records, interviews with policy-makers (past and present) and official documents, I offer a re-telling that disrupts key aspects of the dominant narrative which claims that the hyperandrogenism regulations are not “sex” tests are secured and made believable. Guided by Hemmings’s work on narrative amenability, I reveal how policy-makers invoke this history to locate “sex” testing firmly in the past and thus signal a break between the new policies and previous iterations. In disrupting this narrative, my aim is to unsettle the tendency to reproduce it uncritically, so that it may be less amenable to co-optation by officials who draw on it in ways that distort and justify current practice. I conclude with the ethical dilemmas raised by how this history is represented, why it matters and its effects for female athletes.

ADAM BERG, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
On May 12, 1970, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) awarded Denver, Colorado, the 1976 Winter Olympics. Two-and-a-half years later, on November 7, 1972, Colorado’s citizens dismantled Denver’s Olympic cauldron before its fire could even be lit. By voting in support of a referendum to make it illegal for public funds to be allocated toward the event, Coloradans effectively forced the Denver Olympic Committee (DOC)—the group that had successfully vied for and won the right to host the Games—to rescind its bid.

This paper reveals why the DOC and its supporters wanted to host the games in the first place and how their earlier motives made it virtually impossible for them to respond when many of their fellow citizens chose to oppose their plans. This analysis will provide insight into the social and cultural history of Colorado, the American West, and American’s view of the modern Olympic Games, particularly during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Along with newspapers and magazines, this investigation is based on primary sources found in two Denver Olympic Committee Collections, held at the Denver Public Library and the Colorado Historical Society, respectively. These collections contain letters, meeting minutes, various reports, inter-office memos, and other sources produced by the DOC.

This paper contends that a seven-year endeavor undertaken by Colorado business leaders and politicians and aimed at economic growth deserved credit for the DOC’s triumphant Olympic bid. Prior to World War Two, the American West functioned as a colonial outpost of the North East. Yet during the war unprecedented job creation and population increases enabled westerners to not only break off the shackles of the Great Depression, but break away from eastern control. After the war, driven by their new found political autonomy, economic growth became the primary objective of the region’s leaders. Thus when attorney John Arthur Love became Colorado’s Governor in 1963, he launched a campaign to “sell Colorado” and around the same time announced his intention to host the Winter Games. Following the lead of his political predecessors, Love forged “growth networks,” aligning with bankers, corporate executives, real estate interests, and labor leaders to facilitate development throughout the Rocky Mountain state. Love and his counterparts envisioned that, at their nation’s bicentennial and their state’s centennial, the Olympic flame would add to Colorado’s churning economic boon.

However, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, the plans of Love and the DOC ran into emergent social movements that believed racial and ethnic justice, socio-economic equality, improvements to public infrastructure, and environmental well-being needed to be given priority over growth. Stemming from the Civil Rights movement in the south, a “rights revolution” had convinced many Americans of their power to alter the course of political institutions and now a diverse set of social advocates in Colorado realized that older pro-growth policies did not necessarily fit with their newer agendas. The most significant reason why the DOC failed to convince the majority of Coloradans to retain the Winter Games was their inability to come to terms with this contemporary social and cultural reality.
ZACHARY BIGALKE, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
Anything but Ringers: Historical Sketches of the Soccer Hotbeds
That Produced the 1930 U.S. World Cup Team

At the 1930 FIFA World Cup in Uruguay, a group of American soccer players advanced to the semifinals of the tournament, securing what remains the best-ever finish by a team representing the United States in the tournament. As time has passed, however, this team has largely been dismissed by many as a group of English and Scottish ringers brought in to bolster the Americans’ chances at the World Cup. This treatment of the U.S. roster belies the complex interrelation between immigration, labor, and leisure time in the early twentieth century that was at the heart of American success in Uruguay. The overarching aim of this essay is to gain a more nuanced understanding of the processes that climaxed in the third-place finish by the U.S. team in order to show that this successful finish was the result not of a coordinated effort to recruit immigrant talent but rather a gradual process of popularization and proliferation of the sport through the immigrant hotbeds of the Atlantic seaboard and Midwest.

In the decade leading up to the inaugural FIFA World Cup, a web of interlinked clubs, competitions, and communities continued a general upward trajectory for the sport of soccer in the United States, extending from the period following the Civil War to its zenith at the onset of the Great Depression. Taking advantage of the demographic impact of successive waves of immigration, the forerunner of today’s U.S. Open Cup and the first fully professional soccer league in the country were both inaugurated in the first decades of the twentieth century. The American Soccer League, which attracted players from England and Scotland as well as Central Europe during the 1920s, provided an environment in which naturalized immigrants and the native-born sons of immigrants developed the technical skills necessary to compete with the other dominant global soccer powers of the period.

This essay keys in on the four regions from which the roster for the 1930 U.S. World Cup team was selected. By examining the development of soccer culture along the Atlantic seaboard and through the Midwest, this essay argues that American success in Uruguay was the result not of any concerted attempt to co-opt foreign talent but the natural outgrowth of this broader dynamic of immigration that led to the development of institutions like the American Soccer League. Utilizing newspaper reports from the period, census data, and secondary research, this essay draws correlations between the demographic impact of immigrant populations and the economic impact of industrial development on the sport’s growth during the first decades of the 1900s. Drawing upon this data to illustrate the rich history of the sport in the United States, this essay argues that the success of the U.S. national team at the first FIFA World Cup in 1930 was the culmination of a decade-long process of professionalization and the proliferation of soccer culture within American immigrant communities.
'Certainly the best Corinthian team ever and the strongest Association sides ever engaged in a foreign tour': The Corinthian Football Club on tour in Canada and the United States in 1906, 1911 and 1924

After successful tours to South Africa and various countries across Europe, the Corinthians embarked on the first of three tours to Canada and the United States in 1906. The club was invited by the Canadian and Philadelphian football authorities and funded by The People newspaper of London. This paper addresses the questions of why an elite English soccer team toured North America playing against established working class and college teams while on tour. On the one hand it is argued that the team members were soccer ‘missionaries’ and educators while, on the other, the all expenses paid trip was part of a broader Corinthian ethos of sightseeing, dancing, dining and drinking.

Drawing from press coverage in England and North America, this paper argues that we need to reassess the role of the Corinthians as an amateur elite touring team. The North American press saw the tour as educational, and hoped the Corinthians would demonstrate association football at its best and attract a new following to the game. The American Cricketer exclaimed in 1905: ‘Joy, the Corinthians are coming! The visit of so renowned a team will give tremendous fillip to the game goers. The Corinthians will be undertaking a great missionary work, not only for all that they can but teach us.’ Although relatively large crowds watched the tourists play in Canada and the United States, the 1906 tour did not generate the profits that had been anticipated. Despite this, the Corinthians returned in 1911 and were again watched by enthusiastic crowds. The club returned to North America for the final time in 1924. This was to be the club’s ultimate tour outside of Europe. The heyday of the Corinthian travels outside of Europe had come to an end. In this paper, we consider the three Corinthian tours in detail and evaluate their contribution to the development of association football in both countries. This will aid our understanding of the significance of the team more broadly.

DOUGLAS A. BROWN, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
Athletes, Actors and Film Artists: Documenting Male Physicality at the National Film Board of Canada

The National Film Board of Canada (NFB) produced a curious and eclectic series of documentaries that studied sport in the late 1950s and 1960s. Two of the most celebrated films represent male physicality and masculinity in starkly different social contexts. Wrestling (1961) examines professional wrestling to critique social ennui through popular spectacle. Golden Gloves (also 1961) examines amateur boxing and probes the physical and psychological demands of this sport. Although very different in terms of their social commentary, both documentaries utilize similar aesthetic treatments of the male body to tell stories about masculinity in Canadian society. Both films exemplify Québécois filmmakers’ commitment to social realism through the aesthetic method coined direct cinema. Direct cinema was a revolutionary approach to documentary filmmaking that attempted to eliminate the artificiality of traditional narrative driven documentaries. This aesthetic
movement is also associated with cinéma vérité. Direct cinema practitioners frequently utilized handheld cameras in small enclosed spaces and rarely relied on omniscient narrators to assert meaning and context to the visual and audio tracks. Stylistically, films are intimate, immediate and often times jarring. Aesthetically, subjects are rarely as presented as ideal types. In the context of Wrestling and Golden Gloves male athletic physicality is represented in intimate, immediate and definitely jarring images.

The paper studies these two documentaries and their particular representations of the male body within a wider field of images of the athletic male body in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This field includes commercial “Hollywood” sport films, as well as early television coverage of these sports. A theoretical framework that fuses the concept of affect with the aesthetics of everyday life informs an initial deconstruction of the images. Analysis reveals the continuity and counterpoints that these documentaries added to the discourse of the male physicality and masculinity in North America in the 1950s and 1960s. The findings are significant because they reveal how the spectacle of sport was emerging as a serious site for social critique. Furthermore, they demythologize the relationship between the muscular physiques and physical power of men and social and economic capital. From the findings, I propose that NFB productions like Wrestling and Golden Gloves constitute important contributions to the current sociology discourse of sport.

BRIAN D. BUNK, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
Soccer and Sociability in San Francisco at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Although the earliest soccer teams in the San Francisco bay area began play in the late 1860s the first formal competition did not come until 1893. Within a few months, the region was home to nine senior and six junior sides, an organizational body called the Pacific Association Football League and even a prize known as the Hilbert trophy. Although many of the players were Scots, others came from England, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. In this paper, I analyze the formation of soccer clubs and related organizations in San Francisco and surrounding towns. I argue that the sport became a space for Anglophone men from around the world to express their sociability by participating in masculine leisure. Taking part in the soccer organizations as players and administrators helped the men build social capital and sustain ethnic identities. Economic depression led to the collapse of the first league just a few years into its existence although organized soccer would return in 1897.

In its second incarnation, the social position of those involved and the purposes of the sport shifted. Although still an important place of sociability, the game became more involved with global networks of both social and economic exchange. Participants in later clubs continued to be drawn from the Anglophone immigrant population but now tended to be middle-class men employed as clerks and bankers at companies dealing with international trade and finance. The game also began to shed some of its associations with particular ethnic groups and instead emerged as a way for the men to integrate into the city’s top social, cultural and political hierarchies. New teams were organized by some of the city’s established athletic clubs and attempts were made to begin play at the University of California and Stanford University. This study expands our understanding of the global
CHAD CARLSON & JASON DEWITT, HOPE COLLEGE
Antitrust Law and Big-Time Sport: An Evolving Relationship

The relationship between antitrust law and sport in America has included considerable complexity, and it continues to grow. This relationship, when antitrust laws first spawned, struck the public as unnecessary, incompatible, and, in some sense, objectionable. Applying antitrust law to big-time sport seemed like jabbing a square peg at a round hole. However, this relationship has been forced to fit. The hole now looks much more like a square than a circle—a modification that has occurred throughout more than a century of changing social and political landscapes.

This period of time has multiple phases marked by monumental court cases that changed the way big-time sport has come off and the way that the public views it. Analyzing these phases will provide a lens to understanding the current state of big-time sport and antitrust law.

Currently, professional sports have been forced to comply with the laws and college athletes have sought reprieve within antitrust law’s purview. We will analyze three important antitrust cases regarding big-time sport and describe how they continue to impact sport and its business practices. We will also demonstrate how these cases have set the landscape for the current antitrust cases regarding college athletes. We will argue, then, that while the public originally viewed big-time sport as play or playful entertainment, it has increasingly seen sport as big business over the past century. Further, this trend has trickled into big-time college sports, too, as there has been increased pressure on the courts to view college athletes as employees.

This paper’s conclusions are based on an extensive analysis of the legal briefings, primary sources, and secondary sources related to Federal Baseball Club v. National League (1922), Mackey v. National Football League (1976), and Oklahoma Board of Regents v. NCAA (1984). Our conclusions related to the 1984 case and the current state of antitrust law applying to college athletes comes from the NCAA archives.

This paper elucidates the contrasting public views of big-time sport from the first decades of the twentieth century to the first decades of the twenty-first century. The change, from the eyes of sportswriters, legal analysts, and fans, shows that big-time athletes were once seen as entertainers just like acrobats and other circus acts—adults earning money while at play. This view has shifted dramatically with the implementation of antitrust law into big-time sport, and it is now clear that professional athletes are employees. The state of college athletes, along these lines, remains to be seen.

LAURA M. CARPENTER, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
This paper examines popular media depictions of female racehorses in the United States, asking how those depictions influence and are influenced by phases of feminist activism from 1974 to the present. Additional questions include: How do depictions of racing fillies and mares relate to depictions of human women athletes? In what ways do these depictions represent a barometer of attitudes toward feminism and female/women athletes, and in what ways do they perpetuate or alter those attitudes?

To answer these questions, I collected every news item that mentioned one of five well-known female racehorses—Ruffian, Genuine Risk, Winning Colors, Zenyatta, and Rachel Alexandra—from three periodicals chosen to represent a range of media and audience types. They include the mass-market, generalist “newspaper of record,” New York Times; the mass-market, generalist sports magazine, Sports Illustrated; and the racing-industry journal Blood-Horse. The sample includes 1008 articles published between 1974 and 2015. My qualitative content analysis of these news stories followed grounded theory precepts.

Overall, I found that journalists often personify racehorses and use highly gendered language when discussing them. Themes in popular and specialty media coverage of fillies and mares in U.S. racing correspond broadly to periods of feminist activism and responses to it. In 1975, during the height of second-wave feminism, a match race between Filly Triple Crown winner Ruffian and Kentucky Derby winner Foolish Pleasure was widely compared to the 1973 “Battle of the Sexes” between tennis champions Bobby Riggs and Billie Jean King. Whereas King won the tennis match, Ruffian lost the race (and was subsequently euthanized) due to a broken leg—a fate reporters framed in terms redolent of gender politics of the time. In the mid 1980s, a period of substantial anti-feminist backlash, Genuine Risk, the second filly to win the (usually all-colt) Kentucky Derby (in 1980), faced many difficulties as a brood mare, which journalists discussed in terms strikingly similar to those used in reference to the “biological clocks” of employed women. As third wave feminism gained momentum in the late 1990s and early 2000s, 1998 Kentucky Derby winner Winning Colors gained praise for coming from and creating a “family” of female winners, including a daughter named after tennis champion Chris Evert. In the late 2000s, as a fourth feminist wave emerged, fillies Zenyatta and Rachel Alexandra were alternately depicted as sisterly and as competitors (though they never raced each other), tropes often used to discuss human females. The Associated Press was criticized, especially by feminists of color, when its 2009 Female Athlete of the Year list included the fillies as second and seventh runners-up, respectively, to winner Serena Williams.

This paper contributes to sport history by deepening our understanding of how perceptions of female/women athletes have changed over time, especially in relation to feminism and responses to it. By comparing reactions to human and non-human athletes, the paper additionally illuminates, and troubles, beliefs about the role of biology and social constructs in athletes’ lives and the enduring association of nature and femininity.
“Skate Fast, Hit Hard”: San Francisco Bay Bombers and Bay Area Roller Derby

In August 1935, the first-ever roller derby event took place at the Chicago Coliseum, drawing nearly 20,000 fans. Mirroring the success of the Depression-era dance marathons, the Transcontinental Roller Derby expanded to a traveling league featuring co-ed teams of skaters. The Roller Derby spent several weeks in various cities across the country, enjoying high attendance night after night. Public interest in roller derby waxed and waned from 1935 into the early 1970s, with periods of near total collapse, and many periods of tremendous success, high attendance rates, and record television ratings before the last significant league finally collapsed in 1973. As roller derby evolved, California acted as the hub for the sport and for the subsequent television broadcasts, and by the mid-1950s the organizational structure of roller derby was completely based in San Francisco and the surrounding Bay Area.

In contrast to most sports that women participated in in the 1930s, roller derby was a co-ed sport from the beginning. Women’s participation in roller derby as equal athletes to their male counterparts subsequently framed the coverage of the sport. In the 1930s, San Francisco was ahead of its time in its acceptance of female athletes, regularly covering women swimmers, golfers, and tennis players in both the sports and the society pages of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. This presentation traces the path of roller derby in the Bay Area as it became the epicenter of the sport, focusing particularly on the ways in which the media covered the skaters. I examine how roller derby was first covered by the local publications in 1938 in San Francisco, and explore the emergence of the iconic San Francisco Bay Bombers in the early 1950s, focusing particularly on the trio of Joan Weston, Ann Calvello, and Charlie O’Connell. Finally, I suggest connections from the early days of roller derby to the modern version of the sport, which was revitalized in Austin, Texas, in 2001.

**David Chapman, Seattle, Washington**  
Hercules of the Films: Eddie Polo, Athletic Star of Silent Movie Serials

The phrase “Continued next week” was familiar to every fan of movie serials during the first half of the twentieth century when audiences thrilled to these exciting “chapter dramas.” Although the earliest stars of these cinematic cliffhangers were almost all women (like Pearl White, Ruth Roland and others), around 1918 they relinquished their preeminence to resolute, rugged men. One result of this shift was that athletes, strongmen and acrobats, joined the ranks of serial stars—men like Joe Bonomo, Gene Tunney, Elmo Lincoln, Charles Hutchinson, and Frank Merrill. But one of Universal Studio’s biggest athletic stars in these silent series was former circus acrobat Eddie Polo (1875-1951), a figure who clearly reflected the transition from quick-witted female stars to burly he-men.

It proved to be a short vault from a circus trapeze to being a movie stuntman and later a featured player in popular weekly serials. Starting around 1918, publicity men marketed Polo as a perfect specimen of the masculine physique—one of the first film stars to have the body-beautiful treatment. His interviews in fan magazines often carried recommendations about how to build strength and health. In just about every episode of his serialized dramas Polo either removed his
shirt or had it torn off so that audiences could feast their eyes on his impressive musculature. Polo’s movie series appealed mainly to adolescent males and were characterized by predictable, unsophisticated plots set in interesting or exotic locales (American West, circus, Caribbean). But regardless of whether he portrayed a cowboy, a plucky businessman or a circus acrobat, Polo always managed to display his athletic talents and his pleasing musculature.

Polo also had an equally oversized ego that dwarfed even his mighty biceps; consequently, his personality often made him very difficult to get along with. Eventually, a decline in serial popularity as well as his overweening hubris caused him to leave Universal. After a disastrous attempt at producing his own films, he went to Europe where he made a number of highly popular Sensationfilme. These were stunt-driven German adventure films that were extremely popular in the late 1920s and early 30s. Despite being in his 50s when he arrived in Europe, Polo still had an impressive physique and extraordinary athletic skill, and his popularity had not diminished across the Atlantic. In Berlin, he appeared in a number of generally low-budget films, including future-director Billy Wilder’s first film, before impending war and waning popularity forced him to return to Hollywood in the 1930s. There Polo could find work only as an extra—a humiliating reversal for a man with such a high opinion of himself.

Many performers came from Europe and flourished in America, but Eddie Polo is one of the few international figures who took the opposite route; he left Hollywood and made films abroad as a popular performer in action films. Eddie Polo became one of the prototypes for the muscled, athletic action heroes of contemporary movies. Schwarzenegger, Stallone and The Rock might all see elements of their screen personas in this forgotten silent serial star.

**MARISELA CHAVEZ, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY**

Larry’s Clear: Negotiating Race and Athletic Stardom in *Space Jam*

Critical analyses of Michael Jordan’s celebrity, as well as scholarly work on sports film and sports media more generally, too often treat *Space Jam* (1996) as an amusing, but ultimately inconsequential, moment in the athlete’s storied career. Critics largely dismissed the film, which teams the NBA superstar with the Looney Tunes in a fight against aliens, as the strategic union of two major brands. Nearly twenty years since *Space Jam’s* release, its reputation as a purely commercial product persists. In contrast, my paper insists that serious close readings of *Space Jam*, in addition to historical analysis that places the film in the context of the NBA’s 1990s global surge, are vital for two key reasons. First, through its use of science fiction tropes and animation, *Space Jam* activates and illuminates a complicated history of racial appropriation and disavowal both the NBA and the Jordan persona traffic in. Until now, *Space Jam’s* engagement with freighted representations of blackness—especially potent in Jordan’s encounters with Bugs Bunny and an explicitly racialized alien other—has gone troublingly unremarked upon. Second, *Space Jam’s* uneasy attempt to manage Jordan’s heroism through such encounters provides productive ground for developing critical understanding of Black athletes as complex media stars.

My paper focuses on Michael Jordan’s contradictory star-text and the unsettled and unsettling way it is mobilized throughout *Space Jam*. Using performance scholar Robin Bernstein’s analytic of
“racial innocence,” I argue that Space Jam’s unruly mix of science fiction, sports, and children’s media enables the film to hide problematic racial constructions in plain sight. With a focus on Jordan’s relation to the film’s alien characters, I examine how his heroism is predicated upon the existence of an abject racial other whose appearance and demeanor rely upon centuries-old conflations of blackness and monstrosity. However, Space Jam’s Jordan never achieves complete (racial) transcendence. Instead of stabilizing, Jordan’s heroism splinters, accruing a variety of meanings and visibilities. Most significantly, Jordan becomes a hero to the alien others—and this heroism exists in secret, invisible to the film’s earthly characters. Building on the work of David Andrews, Garry Whannel, and Richard Dyer, I argue that critical analysis of Space Jam sheds light upon the divergent ways athletic stardom functioned within the public imaginations at a specific point in sports history. Imagined as both corporate savior and underground hero, I read Space Jam’s ultimate inability to resolve Jordan’s heroism as indicative of Black athletic stardom’s disruptive contradictions.

BRAD CONGELIO, KEYSTONE COLLEGE
Still A Beacon, Still A Magnet: Ronald Reagan, the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Summer Games, and the American Moral Compass

Upon becoming President of the United States in 1981, Ronald Reagan faced his country’s rapidly deteriorating relationship with the Soviet Union. The strain had been exacerbated by the events of the previous decade. Reagan’s bellicose statements as President and staunch anti-Communist stance further aggravated the situation, reasserting and deepening Cold War anxieties, both at home and abroad. Much like his predecessor Jimmy Carter, Reagan used the Olympic Games as an intermediary in the diplomatic and ideological struggle with the Soviet Union. That is where the similarities end. In Carter’s case, the 1980 American-led boycott of the Moscow Olympics was an overt use of the Olympic Games to declare discontent over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Conversely, Reagan used the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Summer Games as a tool of political propaganda to portray the American government as more open-minded, welcoming, and tolerant than its Eastern Bloc counterparts. This paper will explore the Reagan administration’s handling of the requests made by the Soviets in order to secure their attendance at the Games. Despite protests from large anti-Soviet coalitions, the Reagan administration unilaterally approved the requests, including permitting Aeroflot flights to land on American soil and the docking of a Soviet vessel at Long Beach Harbor. In using the Olympic Games as a political tool, the Reagan administration trumpeted that the American government was capable of rising above the deep-seated Cold War rhetoric to become a symbolic moral compass for the hearts and minds of the world. The research for this paper draws from primary and secondary documents from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum.

NEVADA COOKE, WESTERN UNIVERSITY
Preserving “The American Way”: Gerald Ford and the
President’s Commission on Olympic Sport in the Shadow of Cold War Politics

When Gerald Ford assumed the American presidency in August 1974 following Richard Nixon’s resignation, the onus fell on the former University of Michigan Wolverine athlete to find a solution to America’s amateur sporting dilemma. The American sports system, “amateur” in contrast to that of the Soviets, was bathed in a state of fracture and disrepair, a malaise that greatly compromised the American effort. Two sports-governing bodies, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), constantly jostled with each other for power in selecting the teams and individuals to participate in America’s international sport competitions. The United States Olympic Committee (USOC), charged with raising the funds necessary for sending a team to the Olympics, stood almost idly by, having little jurisdiction and influence in selection matters.

With the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games coinciding with America’s bicentennial, Ford grew increasingly concerned over America’s Olympic performances. In the latter stages of the Nixon administration, a President’s Commission responsible for Olympic Sports was created, but no subsequent work was accomplished before Ford’s arrival in the White House. Ford sought to use the President’s Commission in two ways: (1) to solve the amateur sports selection problem, and, (2) to fend off a growing movement that sought to emulate the successful Soviet model of state-sponsored athletics. If the latter could be achieved, the long-held American approach of keeping Olympic matters at arms-length from governmental control would be preserved. Ford’s successful journey through the labyrinthine political pathways established an all-powerful USOC, while relegating the AAU and the NCAA to the sidelines of American Olympic decision-making in matters of international sport. The outcome gave America its best chance at Olympic success while preserving the ideological purity of “the American Way.”

NATHAN MICHAEL CORZINE, COASTAL CAROLINA COMMUNITY COLLEGE

No Birds of a Feather: Sports, Politics, and Race in the St. Louis–Atlanta Hawks Narrative

Little has made the close relationship between race, sport, and politics more manifest than recent events unfolding in St. Louis and Atlanta. In St. Louis protests rocked the suburb of Ferguson and spilled over onto the city’s professional sports landscape. In Atlanta twin scandals erupted after an ill-conceived email from Hawks owner Bruce Levenson exposed an anachronistic view of NBA fan demographics while racially insensitive remarks by general manager Danny Ferry were leaked from a recorded telephone conversation. Given the positive proliferation of not only histories that combine the study of sports and race, but of outstanding Southern urban histories as well, there is no better time or way to explore the dynamics of St. Louis’ and Atlanta’s stories than through the one sporting lens shared by both cities—Hawks basketball.

There is a complexity to this narrative that begs unpacking. The St. Louis Hawks were a talented and successful NBA franchise in the 1950s and 1960s, but their success was never matched by fan support; most have suggested that the growing emphasis on black stars like Lenny Wilkens kept fans away, driving white St. Louisans to support the expansion Blues of the NHL rather than
the increasingly black NBA squad. The Hawks’ experience in St. Louis is made more compelling by the traditional sports-history narrative surrounding the famously diverse ‘El Birdos’ St. Louis Cardinals teams of the baseball world. Why were fans seemingly ready to embrace a baseball team combining Latinos, African Americans, and southern whites but uninterested or even antagonistic toward a similarly diverse and successful NBA squad?

The shift of the Hawks’ talented black nucleus to Atlanta seemed like a sporting fairy tale ready made for the “New South’s” hub city. As scholars have revealed, however, Atlanta in the late 1960s and early 1970s was hardly a racial paradise. As black baseball star Hank Aaron marched toward Babe Ruth’s home run record, the most sacred number in sports, the racial tensions in the city and throughout the south were highlighted. The basketball Hawks were not disconnected from this reality. In Atlanta, the Hawks encountered the same complex network of racial politics, but actively catered to a more suburban audience by drafting white superstar Pete Maravich in order to “diversify” one of the NBA’s blackest teams. Most infamously, it was the Hawks (not Aaron’s Braves) who became potent political symbols when swingman “Sweet” Lou Hudson appeared in a heavily coded propaganda photograph during the 1970 gubernatorial primary race between Jimmy Carter and Hawks part-owner Carl Sanders.

This paper explores the various complexities of the Hawks’ experience, tracing the transition between St. Louis and Atlanta while simultaneously comparing the differences between the basketball and baseball narratives in both cities. Using player memoirs, national and local media, and building on a rich historiography of race, sport, and Southern urban history, this paper will show how sport history remains a vital conduit for making sense of contemporary racial and political tensions in these two key cities.

RUSS CRAWFORD, OHIO NORTHERN UNIVERSITY
Transplanting the American (sporting) Way of Life to Cold War France: USAFE and USAREUR Football

During the Cold War, the American military had an extensive presence in France as part of its commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Thousands of soldiers, sailors, and airmen lived, worked, and played on the fields of France. In order to remind their personnel of what they were defending, the military maintained a robust sporting program that included football. Football games provided military personnel and their dependents with a small slice of the American way of life, and eased their transition into a culture that was foreign to the vast majority.

Starting in 1952, France, as part of NATO, allowed the U.S. to build military bases on French soil. Football teams representing these bases began playing that year, joining the already established bases in England and Germany that had been playing football for a number of years. French base teams played both in their own conferences as part of the United States Air Force—Europe (USAFE) and United States Army—Europe (USAREUR) leagues. They had to catch up to their longer established opponents, but by the late 1950s, teams from France began to dominate USAFE. Teams in the Com Z conference of USAREUR that were matched against U.S. Army bases had less success going up against teams whose commanders reportedly placed more emphasis
on the sport by excusing soldiers from work, providing football barracks, training tables, and the like. Despite the hundreds of games played on their soil, with the exception of a charm offensive in 1953 that reportedly brought hundreds of French spectators to games played in their country, very few French citizens ever saw a football contest.

In the 1960s, the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) Indians dominated USAFE under head coach Barney Gill. In addition to games played by USAFE teams, American high schools attached to the various French bases also played football to give their students the same prep experience that their peers had in the U.S. Some of these prep teams also played internationally, facing teams from Germany, England, and Spain. In 1961, Gill and his SHAPE Indians, along with the Laon AFB Rangers, played a two-game tour of southern France with the goal of interesting the French in the sport, but this came to nothing. When de Gaulle announced that he would pull France out of NATO in 1967, football teams played their last season on French soil during the 1966 season.

My paper will discuss the history of the American military’s sporting program, with emphasis on football, during the Cold War in France. It will explore its challenges and triumphs, along with the larger purpose that sports such as football played in sustaining our new global military presence. Much of the material is the product of several oral history interviews that I conducted between 2011 and 2013, along with coverage of the games and teams from Stars and Stripes. Our knowledge of the uses of sport by the American military is fairly complete up to the end of World War II, and this work will move consideration of the subject forward into the Cold War era.

**Camille Croteau, Western University**

Framing Gender: How Transitioned Female Athletes are Represented in the Media

Transitioned athletes have emerged in the professional circuit and have challenged the gender binary that is apparent in elite sports. In response, in 2003, the IOC presented a statement of recommendations for those who had undergone sex reassignment and wished to participate in sport. This policy document is called the Stockholm Consensus. While aiming to bring fairness and equity, the Stockholm Consensus has been accused of severely restricting female athletes’ well-being and health. Some athletes have gained international recognition for their critical stance on the Stockholm consensus, and further to that, for their critical stance of IOC policies that attempt to regulate female biology. The extant literature explores a variety of controversial issues regarding sex testing in sport. Much of what we know about this issue is drawn from historical and contemporary research that focuses on gender ideology and the development of policies, as well as the implications of those policies on female athletes’ lives. While many of these studies use media as part of their analysis, weaving in evocative quotes to illustrate their points, few studies take the media as their main source of evidence. This paper will help fill that gap by examining how the media represents the issue of sex testing in elite level sport.

Rather than focus on a particular news source, which is a common approach in media framing, this paper will center on the mediated representations of one transitioned (male-female)
athlete: Kristen Worley. Worley has been publicly challenging the IOC’s Stockholm Consensus since it was released in 2003. She feels that the recommendations provided in the Stockholm Consensus are not based on medical science (a perspective that is supported in the literature), and that the reduced amount of androgens in her system, which is a result of her transition, restrict her human liberties and have caused serious health issues.

As a vocal critic who has gained the attention of the IOC because of her actions, Worley thus represents an ideal case study for exploring this issue. All English commercial newspapers published worldwide and that provide free online access will be part of the data collection. The general timeframe for the study will run from 2000-2015. Since Worley has been in the news for nearly 15 years, this paper will further demonstrate how the media’s reporting on sex testing has changed over time. A thematic content analysis and framing strategy will be used to analyze the data, additionally using feminist theory as the main theoretical framework for conducting the analysis. In the end, this paper will add to the body of critical research that helps us to understand media behavior surrounding transitioned athletes in sport. In so doing, it will contribute to the body of knowledge on gender and sport, sex testing and sport, and media and sport.

JUDY DAVIDSON, JAY SCHERER, & RYLAN KAFARA, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
A Decolonizing History of Arena Building in Edmonton, Alberta

In March 2014, ground was broken on the eastern edge of downtown Edmonton, Alberta, as construction commenced on a new ‘world-class’ arena and entertainment district—a controversial public-private partnership between the City of Edmonton and the owners of the Edmonton Oilers (the Katz Group) to house the city’s National Hockey League (NHL) franchise. The city’s substantial financial obligation (local taxpayers are committed to providing public money for almost 2/3 of the total cost) spurred wide public debate before the deal was finally approved. Predictably, the site of the new arena is in one of the poorest neighbourhoods in Edmonton, characterized by high levels of economic poverty, homelessness, and a density of (arguably underfunded) social service providers. This community is home for many urban Indigenous people. In this paper, we start to historicize this space, the site of Edmonton’s new arena district. We will do this through two main themes that weave together into a decolonizing historical analysis. First, we will trace the development of various sporting and entertainment venues throughout this city’s roughly 130-year history as a settler colonial formation (Betke, 1983, Chivers, 1984). The theme of local boosterism and the reconsolidation of local business and political elites is repeated through more than a century of various developments. Second, we will explore the site of what is currently called Edmonton as a space that was radically disrupted and traumatically changed by European settlement. Settler colonialism replaces indigenous people with new settlers from somewhere else, and this is an ongoing and systemic process (Wolfe, 1999). In Edmonton, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the inhabitants of that space were forced off their ancestral lands by a group of prominent white businessmen and politicians who removed a treaty band and sold off land to expand the boundaries of the city (Donald, 2004, Johnson, 2013). The paper ends with a reading that suggests the development of sporting venues in this city was made possible by these types of ‘expansions’ or
forcible removals. It follows a consistent pattern, and is a logical outcome of the apparatus of settler colonialism. We will argue that the building of the new Katz arena is yet another form of ongoing genocidal displacement in twenty-first century form, yet again repeating history and removing Indigenous people from their lands.

**Tycho de Boer, Saint Mary’s University of Minnesota**

“Is It Pure Accident that More Races Are Held on Sunday Mornings than at Any Other Time?”: Running as Seeking in 1970s America

The running boom of the 1970s is typically understood as an outgrowth of technological innovations in running gear, the attendant marketing campaigns of companies like Nike, and the athletic successes of their immediate beneficiaries—runners like Frank Shorter and Steve Prefontaine. The legend of the long-haired and mustachioed Prefontaine, who died in a car crash in 1975, has since given the running boom an air of rebelliousness in the spirit of Alan Sillitoe’s *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner*, while sports historians like Benjamin Rader have placed the running boom in the context of an emerging culture—and cult—of “new strenuousness.” This paper places the running boom in the context of 1970s America’s religious culture, which was marked by, on the one hand, great religious diversity and, on the other hand, a growing emphasis across the religious spectrum on spirituality, mysticism, transcendence, the expansion of individual consciousness, and the discovery and renewal of the individual self. In the realm of running and jogging, this seeker movement found its guru in George Sheehan, whose *Running and Being: The Total Experience* articulated the philosophy that once the runner understands “that he is not made for the workaday world,” he “can surrender to his self . . . and become, in the puritan sense, the ‘free man.’” As Sheehan saw it, “while a world composed solely of runners would be unworkable, a world without them would be unlivable.” Runners described themselves as “mystics,” their activities as “sort of holy,” “sacred,” and “monastic,” their approach to running as “holistic”—to the point where Joel Henning called running “a kind of worship involving holy breathing, obtestation, propitiation, atonement, sacrifice, exorcism, karma, asanas, and meditation.” The running culture of the 1970s was awash in such philosophizing and evangelizing, and as such represents, far more than merely a development in American sports history, the growing emphasis on the individual and inner self as the measure of everything and the central focus of an increasingly confessional American culture. If Robert D. Putnam’s *Bowling Alone* lamented this development, *Runner’s World* embraced it, quoting, in a piece entitled “The Transcendental Runner,” a psychiatrist’s observation that “for the profoundest questions the seeker himself is the essential instrument of the seeker.” In other words, the high runners sought in the 1970s was clearly much more than a physical phenomenon—but more cosmic than communal, yet more narcissistic than marked by self-abnegation.

**Ari de Wilde, Eastern Connecticut State University**

Re-Presenting “Ghosts of the Garden:” Six Day Bicycle Racing and Digital Sport History
In 2009, I converted an image I found of a 1908 Madison Square Garden Six Day Bicycle Race in the Library of Congress’ digital photo archive into an interactive visualization. In this paper, I examine the process I followed to produce this project and the possibilities that exist today, six years later.

As David Staley illustrated in his book, *Computers, Visualization and History*, computer-aided visualizations can serve as powerful forms of historical scholarship. Historians can use visualizations to break the chains of linear written scholarship and provide completely non-linear perspectives on the past.

In the case of Six Day Bicycle Racing, a popular format of professional bicycle racing at the turn of the century, I wanted to bring the experience of a Six Day into a visceral (virtual) reality. At the time, I was pleased to discover Apple’s QuickTime Virtual Reality software. With a little research and some training, I was able to take my 1908 picture and make it “Cubic.” The effect was that viewers could, on a simplistic level, experience a Madison Square Garden Six Day Race in 1908. I also used Adobe’s Flash software to make the work interactive. After creating working prototypes, Ohio State’s *Ehistory.com* published my project as “Ghosts of the Garden” and it remains on the website to this day.

Today, mobile computing is king. Apple’s iPhone and Android systems are ubiquitous. As a result, developers have strengthened mobile applications tremendously. Thus, when it comes to historical visualizations, digital histories must consider both the big and small screen. Therefore, in this paper, I explore digital sport history visualizations and their potential future.

**ANDY DOYLE, WINTHROPE UNIVERSITY**

The Rise and Fall of the Centre College Praying Colonels:
Athletics and Academics in Southern Football, 1919-1926

The Centre College football became one of the unlikeliest powers in American history in the years following World War I. Its 6–0 defeat of powerhouse Harvard in 1921 was and remains one of the biggest upsets in college football history. This paper will examine three elements of the rise and fall of Centre football that have received minimal academic scrutiny. First, it will examine the growth plan for the university advanced by a president and athletic director who used football as a means of student recruitment and endowment growth. Secondly, it will study the impact that the maturation of sports coverage in daily newspapers had on the rise of Centre’s team to national celebrity. The sports departments of major dailies had become an increasingly important part of the business model of newspapers by the 1920s, and they were constantly hunting for new celebrity stories to capture the attention of a fickle public. A sports columnist for the *Boston Post* personally arranged the Centre game with Harvard authorities, visited Centre for ten days prior to the game, rode the team train to Boston, and published a nationally syndicated column each of those days. His actions made national celebrities of the fresh-faced innocents from a school of 300 students in small southern town who actually prayed before every game. The remarkable rise of tiny Centre and the Praying Colonels was an irresistible David versus Goliath story, but their fame was no
accident. It made compelling copy in the dead zone between the end of the World Series and the big games that were played later in the season.

The core analytical aspect of the paper focuses on what is arguably an extreme overreaction by authorities at other southern universities. In contrast with Centre, their games with northern football powers usually ended in a lopsided defeat and minimal national publicity, and they were also angry that Centre was now a rival for primacy in the South. While evidence of player subsidization is almost always sketchy, Centre pretty clearly broke those unrealistically restrictive rules—just like every other big-time football program in the nation. The appropriate athletic conference, in this case the Southern Athletic Conference, always meted out punishment to the offending athletic program. In Centre’s case, however, the Southern Educational Association took the unprecedented step of denying Centre academic re-accreditation due to the sins of its football program. Centre had been accredited since 1904, and it was one of the more academically demanding and financially stable liberal arts colleges in the South. Its graduation rates for athletes were as high or higher than those of other southern schools. The SEA remained firm, however, and Centre would remain unaccredited unless and until it fired its athletic authorities and effectively returned Centre football to the mediocrity in which it had languished prior to the First World War. In an explicit quid pro quo, Centre received reaccreditation in 1925, after its football program had posted its first losing record in over a decade.

This paper will be based primarily on a wealth of archival documents from the archives of Centre College, primarily presidential papers and trustees’ reports and minutes. It will also examine published sources ranging from major metropolitan daily newspapers and local newspapers in Kentucky.

Austin Duckworth, University of Texas–Austin

Cold Hard Cash: The Influence of Commercialism and Politics on Amateurism in Track and Field

Track and field athletes in the United States competed under the amateur ideal for a majority of the twentieth century. In order to compete at the Olympic Games, athletes had to be certified amateurs under the United States’ governing body for track and field: the Amateur Athletic Union. Over the latter half of the twentieth century, professional athletes began competing at the Olympic Games under the guise of amateurism.

Previous interpretations of amateurism’s decline in American track and field identified the efforts of athletes to change their sport as the primary cause for the eroding of amateur rules. The economic impact of the explosion of jogging during the 1960s and 1970s on the decline of amateurism receives some treatment from scholars but this process played a much larger role than previously argued. Scholars also have not analyzed the influence of Cold War politics on amateurism in track and field as a whole.

This essay argues economic and political influences following the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City played the decisive role in the fall of amateurism in American track and field. The 1968 Games were the first Games where shoe companies attempted to outbid one another for athletes. As jogging exploded in the United States, companies producing running products skyrocketed in value.
As these companies utilized their economic leverage to gain control of the sport, Cold War politics entered the fray. The Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies attempted to sustain the ideals of amateurism in order to maintain their edge over the West. The goal of this paper is to show that the ending of amateurism in track and field owed more to factors outside of the control of athletes.

MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
A Farewell to Color Lines? Remembering and Forgetting at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics

Perhaps the most memorable moment of the 1996 Atlanta Olympics took place at the opening ceremonies when Muhammad Ali ceremoniously lighted the Olympic torch in front of tens of thousands of wildly cheering fans in the stadium and millions of television viewers around the globe. The media widely interpreted Ali’s signature moment as a sign that the “American dilemma” of race relations had, in the heart of the Deep South, entered a different epoch. “America is a far different place from the one he represented 36 years ago as Cassius Marcellus Clay Jr., still imperfect, still impoverished, yet dedicated to be a better land than the one that once so discouraged a young prizefighter from Louisville that he hurled his gold medal into a nearby river,” declared a correspondent in the Los Angeles Times. Another commentator in the same newspaper proclaimed that Ali’s symbolic act “means that what was once called the ‘color bar’ in American life is for all intents and purposes finally and irrevocably dead.”

Indeed, the media relentlessly played on the Southern motifs in coverage of the Atlanta Olympics, from race, slavery, and civil rights to secession, lost causes, and religious fundamentalism.

Remembering various Southern pasts seemed to be what the Atlanta games were all about. Anticipating Atlanta’s spectacle shortly after the city won the bid, the editors of the Boston-based national daily the Christian Science Monitor proclaimed that “[i]t will be the first Olympiad held in the American South,” adding that “the urgency to bring it all off successfully is as palpable as a summer thunderstorm.” A host of other media outlets played up this “first” Southern Olympics angle.

For all the focus on Atlanta as site of regional, national, and global memories of race and region, however, the claim that the 1996 Olympics were the first held by a city with roots in the American South represents an amazing case of historical amnesia. That distinction belongs to St. Louis in 1904, a city where color bars and segregations shaped the landscape regardless of whether Olympic mythology touted equality. At this first Southern Olympics the fundamental dilemma of race occupied a central place in the narratives that emerged, a lineage that runs through all the standard American Olympic narratives to Atlanta and beyond.

Nor was St. Louis an aberration. Southern cities harbored Olympic dreams during the nine decades between St. Louis and Atlanta. Sometimes, as New Orleans did early in the twentieth century, they dreamed of staging lily-white Olympic spectacles. Sometimes, as Dallas did in the 1930s when city boosters imagined that if a Southwestern boomtown like Los Angeles could get the Olympics “Big D” stood a pretty good chance too. They tried to hide Jim Crow under a thin veneer of color-line-free pretense that only covered the playing fields while leaving the rest of the brutal machinery of segregation intact. More inclusive bids, though now long-forgotten, were launched in
the 1970s when both Atlanta and New Orleans entered the bidding race for the 1984 Olympics eventually won (again) by Los Angeles.

By the 1990s when the Atlanta games took place, collective amnesia had set in. The American South was widely touted as a unique and original Olympic site that had never before been considered as a host region. In this essay, drawing on burgeoning scholarship in sport history and other fields about how and why cultures remember and forget, I excavate a more complex history of race and regional identity in American narratives of the Olympics through drawing on a wealth of print and television media accounts of the “Southern motif” at the 1996 Olympics. My history dredges up memories now forgotten of Southern Olympic designs and assaults and defenses of color lines in the long road to Ali’s supposed immolation of the final barricades of the “color bar.”

Lars Dzikus, University of Tennessee
This is Amerika: The Super Bowl and German Imagination

Based on interviews with “founding fathers” of American football in Germany and analysis of German media accounts, this paper examines the Super Bowl’s central role in the diffusion of American football to Germany and the construction of traditional German Amerikabilder—images, ideas, and symbols associated with America. Whereas English newspapers and radio coverage of college football’s Thanksgiving Day Game pre-dated a later focus on the NFL’s Super Bowl (Dzikus, 2005), German media rarely covered American football until the 1970s. At the initiative of Holger Obermann, German television brought Super Bowl highlights to German viewers in the late 1970s. Formerly a professional goalkeeper in Germany, Obermann had done “pioneer work” in American soccer in the 1960s and was motivated to do the same for American football in Germany. ARD, at the time one of only three channels available to most German viewers, showed a 45-minute summary of Super Bowl XI late on Wednesday January 12, 1977. Despite the three-day delay and the late hour, the program “received enormous response,” according to one newspaper. In 1979, Obermann hosted the ARD’s second Super Bowl highlight show. Over twenty years later, several of Germany’s football pioneers remembered vivid details of the game between the Pittsburgh Steelers and the Dallas Cowboys and described these first images as instrumental to their getting involved in American football. One referred to Obermann as “the midwife of American football in Germany.”

The origins of Germany’s first American football clubs in the late 1970s shared several common elements, including the proximity of American military bases and watching Super Bowl highlights on German television and the American Forces Network (AFN).

The period between the mid-1950s and 1980s marked the NFL’s ascent from a marginally profitable enterprise to a leader in the sporting industry. The NFL’s financial muscle astonished German observers in the late 1970s when the economic figures of professional team sports in Germany paled in comparison to those of the NFL’s premiere showcase, the Super Bowl. In Germany from the late 1970s forward, annual news about the entertainment spectacle of the Super Bowl depicted football as a modern model for the German sports industry. The stories about the NFL’s larger-than-life economic portfolio added to the traditional marvel about America’s
materialism. In the process of covering the Super Bowl, German journalists also reproduced and reinforced Germany’s double-headed Amerikabild: America as a model of modernity on the one hand, and as a violent, cultureless society on the other. The press further invoked historical clashes between German Kultur and the dreaded Zivilisation of the West.

The concluding discussion of the Super Bowl’s reception in Germany draws on Appadurai’s (1997) understanding of cultural globalization, migration, and electronic mediation. It analyzes the historical developments applying the concept of Appadurai’s five global cultural flows: (a) ethnoscapes, (b) mediascapes, (c) technoscapes, (d) finanscapes, and (e) ideoscapes.

**Sarah Jane Eikleberry, St. Ambrose University**

“Eyes Right” in Des Moines: Rearing Race Relations at the Blue Triangle YWCA, 1919-1950

Groups affiliating with the National YWCA emerged from a patchwork of women’s spaces. Faith groups, colleges and universities, established urban cityscapes, and emerging commercial and cultural centers provided fodder for the development of associations, branches and chapters. The movement to bring a variety of women together for spiritual development, health education, recreation, career services, and housing was not without its own tensions. Despite Christian and familial rhetoric, exclusive ideologies significantly impacted the governance and programming advanced by local YWs. Region and community demographics greatly hampered many YWCAs’ abilities to adequately develop and advance a unified political consciousness along lines of racial justice. This paper explores how Protestant notions of individualism, national YW policy, and regional Jim Crowism impacted internal race relations between black and white women at the YWCA in Des Moines, Iowa.

By World War I, Des Moines had become the home of many African Americans. Before World War I, the proximity to the racially integrated mining community Buxton provided a temporary pipeline of white and black teens seeking a high school education, and thus temporary lodging. Additionally, the establishment of a black officer training camp at Fort Des Moines brought many African American men to Iowa, albeit temporarily. Impressed with the Midwestern city, many of these college-educated men brought their families, many of whom were living in the south, to the Hawkeye State. By 1919, this migration pattern was well established and the cultural invigoration of the historic Center Street neighborhood was underway as was the establishment of a small YW branch for black women and girls. This project is guided by three questions. First, what were the national and regional factors that shaped the practices of segregation, biracialism, and integration in Des Moines. Second, in what ways did the National YW challenge the operations of the Des Moines Association? Last, how did the 1946 Interracial Charter impact interracial work and programming in post-war Des Moines?

Initially treading lightly on integrated offerings, the Des Moines YW moved to support interracial dialogue and leadership opportunities for teens and young women through a variety of means, further differentiating their organization from their competitors, the YMCA. The concern and need for programs preserving and developing race consciousness were threatened by the 1946 Interracial Charter, a resolution mandating racial integration. For a short while, the Des Moines
Association served as a coxswain for political action, incorporated black women into positions of power, and attempted to enrich the lives of teens and adults in Des Moines into the early 1950s.

In addition to secondary works that address working-class leisure, women’s organizations, and the YWCA and YMCA, I examine Des Moines-area newspaper coverage including the African American publication *The Bystander*, YW publicity materials from the national organization, oral histories, and literature, reports, and correspondence produced by the national organization, Des Moines Association and Blue Triangle Branch. A majority of the primary material under examination was gathered from the YWCA of Greater Area Des Moines collection at the Iowa Women’s Archive.

**CHRIS ELZEY, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY**

*No Enmity: The 1962 American-Soviet Track Meet at Stanford University*

The popular belief about athletic competition between the United States and the Soviet Union is that it was a fierce struggle characterized by animosity. Athletes on both sides of the Iron Curtain, motivated by anti-American or anti-Soviet attitudes, furiously competed against one another. US and USSR fans despised the others’ team. Governmental leaders in both countries intensified the acrimony by politicizing sporting victories. Above all, American and Soviet athletes were seen as enemies.

This paper suggests that was not always the case. For some US-USSR sports competitions, the prevailing spirit was not one of hostility but rather friendliness. The 1962 track meet between the Americans and Soviets at Stanford University illustrates this point well. During the competition, US and USSR athletes interacted freely with one another. They resided in the same dormitory and shared meals. Practices were staged jointly. Stanford authorities contributed to the goodwill by sparing no effort to make the communist visitors feel at ease. Local residents treated the Soviets as if they were family. Attendance over the two days of competition topped 153,000. Nearly everybody raved that it was the finest US-USSR meet at the time. Making the competition even more extraordinary is the fact that it occurred during a period of elevated Cold War tensions.

A handful of track’s marquee figures competed: sprinter Wilma Rudolph; shot putter Tamara Press; high jumpers John Thomas and Valeri Brumel; and long jumpers Ralph Boston and Igor Ter-Ovanesyan. The rivalries between Thomas and Brumel, and Boston and Ter-Ovanesyan, especially, underscored the competitive yet friendly atmosphere of the meet. The success of the competition went a long way in confirming the Bay Area as one of the nation’s leading regions for track and field.

The paper is based on primary and secondary sources. The J.E. Wallace Sterling Papers at Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, contains many documents relevant to the 1962 meet. Information is also drawn from newspaper accounts in the *Palo Alto Times*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *San Francisco Examiner*, as well as from other mainstream dailies, including the *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, and *New York Herald Tribune*. The Stanford Athletics Photograph Collection, also at Stanford Library’s Special Collections, has more than 200 photos of the meet.
The 1928 and 1984 Olympic Games are two important moments in women’s track and field history. The 1928 Games, held in Amsterdam, opened track and field for women at the Olympics for the first time, including an event for distance runners (albeit a relatively short race)—the 800 meter. Controversy arose when, after the world-record-breaking race, journalists reported that nearly all the women (news accounts varied in their accuracy and depiction of the race) collapsed at the finish line. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) used this to demonstrate that women were too weak to compete in endurance running and excluded women from races longer than 200 meters in future Olympic events, until the reinstatement of the 800 meter in 1960.

Fifty-six years later, athletes from around the globe competed in the inaugural Olympic marathon for women at the 1984 Games in Los Angeles. Again, the collapse of a female runner caught the attention of the press. This time, Switzerland’s Gabriela Andersen-Schiess, suffering heat exhaustion, staggered through the final lap at the Olympic Stadium and collapsed across the finish line. In contrast to the media’s perspective in 1928, by 1984, many journalists wrote about Andersen-Schiess’s performance as a courageous accomplishment. Her collapse did not incite the IOC to banish future marathon events.

These two specific Olympic events share similarities, not only as markers for new endurance running opportunities for female athletes, but also as moments of vulnerability for the future of women’s track and field. In some ways, the 1928 and 1984 Olympic Games show the progress of sport for females throughout the twentieth century. In other ways, they demonstrate the precarious place of women’s sport, where single events purportedly illustrate the capability (or incapability) of an entire gender.

In this paper, I will compare and contrast the attitudes toward women track and field athletes in both the 1928 and 1984 Olympics, specifically focusing on the 800-meter run and the marathon. Using primary sources, especially newspaper reports, and relevant secondary literature, I will address research questions such as: Does the rhetoric around distance running change from 1928 to 1984? Does this signal a change in how women’s sport is viewed more broadly? Were limits, based on mistaken ideas about physiology, for example, still placed on women’s sport? I will argue that while attitudes and ideology certainly shifted in the nearly 60 years between the two Olympiads, change was slow and incomplete. While Andersen-Schiess’s treatment in the media was much more supportive than that of the 800-meter runners in Amsterdam, women’s distance running still had more hurdles to cross.

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**John D. Fair, University of Texas**

Beach Muscle Bodies
“When 10,000 Biceps meet 5,000 Bikinis … you KNOW what’s gonna happen!” Uneasily situated between counter-culture images projected by James Dean in Rebel Without a Cause (1955) in the late fifties and the dawning of the “Age of Aquarius” with Hair (1967) a decade later, there emerged a motion picture interlude of innocence on the beaches of southern California. It was fostered by Gidget (1959) and thirty “surf and sex” movies which focused on young attractive bodies and beach escapades rather than serious social causes. The films, argues Kirse May, “created an ideal teenage existence, marked by consumption, leisure, and little else.” This study examines a notable film of this genre to determine how musclemen were deployed to exhibit this playful spirit and attendant images of physical culture.

Muscle Beach Party (1964), starring Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello, was a sequel to the acclaimed Beach Party (1963), featuring a competition between surfers and bodybuilders for control of the beach and complicated by a romantic triangle between Avalon, Funicello, and an Italian countess played by Luciana Paluzzi. The zany plot is enlivened by comedians Don Rickles, Morey Amsterdam, and Buddy Hackett, the rockin’ rhythms of the Del-Tones and Little Stevie Wonder, and the twisting frenzy of Candy Johnson. Notable bodybuilders include Peter Lupus (Mr. Indiana); Larry Scott (Mr. Olympia); Chester Yorton (Mr. Universe); Gene Shuey (Mr. America), and strongman Steve Merjianian. In the ensuing mayhem, Avalon escapes the clutches of Paluzzi, the musclemen are vanquished by the surfers, and Lupus, their leader, is led away by the ear by creepy Mr. Strangdour, played by Peter Lorre, telling him he is too young for girls. It’s a counter-intuitive outcome where physical culture becomes a travesty and muscularity is trivialized.

Much fault can be found with this film. The New York Times described it as “a tangle of vigorous young people with beautiful bodies and empty heads.” Yet the film was a hit with young teens fantasizing about an idyllic life in the sun and sand of the golden state. It was also a box office success, owing to producer Sam Arkoff who already exploited the economic power of youthful moviegoers with I Was a Teenage Werewolf (1957). Oblivious to art and reputation, Arkoff’s philosophy was to make entertaining pictures that “bring in enough money to finance the next movie.” Perhaps the biggest payoff of Muscle Beach Party, was its social message to adults. With no overt sex, violence, or alcoholism, it placated largely white, middle class, suburban parents who had feared the specter of juvenile delinquency and were unaware of the drug culture looming on the horizon. But bodybuilders and surfers were non-entities and regarded more as props than stars. Muscle Beach Party illustrates how physical culture served other agendas and was of little concern for mainstream Americans.

This study, employing evidence from a variety of sources, including manuscripts from the Margaret Herrick Library in Los Angeles, and the film itself, shows how cinematic depictions of physical culture in the 1960s reflected the attitudes of a sensate culture where consumption and self-gratification were paramount.

Victoria Felkar, University of British Columbia
How Muscle Became Bad: Criminological Knowledge and the Muscular Body
For well over a century there have been inquiries into the relationships between body type and criminality, specifically addressing the notion that criminals tend to embody a mesomorphic or muscular physique. Although not the first to introduce the link between physique and delinquency, the work of constitutional psychologist William Sheldon (1898-1977) has had an important influence on the field of criminology with a lasting impact on contemporary culture. Even though Sheldon’s theories of somatotyping have long been refuted, new body typing research and continued efforts to establish links between biological or genetic factors and crime causation and the muscular criminal body continue to affect the field of criminology and criminal justice policies. In many other fields, frequent reports concerning body typing and “muscular profiling” sustain popular beliefs in longstanding correlations among criminality and mesomorphy. Profiling for muscle by associating muscularity with deviant behaviours, such as drug use, for example, is highly problematic and requires attention in order to better understand the development of modern sport. As well, Sheldon’s body somatotyping has leached beyond criminology into physical education and the health professions in a number of ways.

This paper will examine the profound impact of long held body typologies on the constitution of knowledge about the muscular body and the impact of these beliefs in contemporary thought and practice. It will provide a historical overview of key constitutional theories and literature on bio-criminality, body typing and somatotyping theory in order to highlight how the muscular body has increasingly come to be constructed as “deviant.” By examining how historical perceptions of the muscular criminal body have shaped current views of the muscular body, I will show how the modern pursuit of muscle has become “demonized” through allegations and the association with undesirable behaviors, including high levels of assertiveness and aggression, low levels of intelligence, illegal behaviors and mental illness.

Among my examples of twenty-first century “modern day” muscular profiling, I will draw attention to events in Scandinavia such as Sweden’s recent anti-doping initiatives which resulted in law changes that provide police with the ability to search, arrest, and conduct mandatory drug testing based on a person’s muscular physical appearance. My aim is to demonstrate the implications for linking criminal behaviour to muscularity and identify the stronghold that somatotyping has maintained on some aspects of the field of criminology, medicine, and physical culture more broadly.

Russell Field,

“Nothing Communicates Like Sport”: The Peace Corps and Sport as a Development Tool in the 1960s

In 1970, the Peace Corps—a US agency dedicated to international development through volunteerism started by President John F. Kennedy in the early 1960s—prepared a brochure entitled “Physical Education in the Peace Corps.” Intended as a recruitment tool, the text outlines the opportunities available to the sport-minded volunteer, who could be a “liberal arts major who last played sport in high school” or “the most qualified physical education major.” Indeed, “Physical education in the Peace Corps runs the gamut of experience from recreation on the village level to coaching an Olympic team.” Even within an organization that was less than a decade old, such
specific promotion of sport and physical education as a development tool was relatively new. Despite this, sport and recreation had been a component of some of the earliest Peace Corps interventions.

One Peace Corps volunteer in the 1960s noted that “every American overseas is supposed to teach baseball.” The purpose of this paper is to interrogate the multiple layers on which such a claim operates, to foreground the ideological and contested use of sport, especially Western sports, as a development tool in non-Western settings. Despite the public attention it garnered upon its inception, the significant interest it generated among US college students, and the extent of its network of programs throughout the developing world, the Peace Corps has received comparatively little attention from historians and virtually none from sport historians. A second Peace Corps volunteer, reflecting upon her time at a primary school in Tanzania, concluded: “Nothing communicates like sports—it’s an international language.” Such sentiments persist more than half a century later as sport-for-development programs are common and the focus of scholarly interest. Yet little of this research describes, contextualizes, or captures the breadth of the various historical underpinnings of sport-for-development, and the social and political implications of this history.

The focus of this paper is a short-lived (1963–65) Peace Corps program in Indonesia, which reveals the ways in which sport was framed as non-ideological. A request from the Minister of Higher Education for the Peace Corps to provide thirty to fifty math and science teachers was rejected by senior levels of the Indonesian government, who maintained that subjects such as these were inherently political. The corollary was that physical education was perceived as non-ideological, and by September 1963, seventeen Peace Corps volunteers were in place as sport coaches and physical education teachers. Ironically, this first group of Peace Corps volunteers in Indonesia, who often worked individually and were dispersed throughout the vast Indonesian archipelago, were hosted by the US embassy in Jakarta in November 1963. Among their activities was to attend the Games of the New Emerging Forces, an avowedly anti-colonial sporting event that was openly critical of US imperialism in the region. In such a context, sport was far from ideologically neutral.

**SARAH K. FIELDS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER & SHELLEY M. LUCAS, BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY**

**A History of Sport-Related Concussions as Represented in Film and Sports Illustrated**

As a medical concept, concussion is not new. The link between blows to the head and concussions as the result of sport is not new either; the *Journal of the American Medical Association* in 1928 warned of brain damage in boxers that made them appear “punch drunk.” The article warned that the damage might be permanent with long term effects of slurred speech, shaking, and possibly dementia.

Sports films released after that article recognized that blows to the head occurred in many contact sports but often did not treat the occurrence seriously. For instance, in the 1931 Marx Brothers’ film *Horse Feathers*, an opposing player is tackled during a football game and is slow to rise. He rubs his head as if in pain, reviving only when Pinky (Harpo Marx) treats his finger like a hot-dog and bites it. In 1934, the Three Stooges short *Punch Drunks*, a boxing parody, ends with Curly knocking Moe unconscious.
Likewise, early issues of *Sports Illustrated* in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s tended to minimize concussions as slight or mild injuries. These references were comparatively infrequent, and often glorified the circumstances in which the concussion was sustained, such as the risks of the Indianapolis 500 and the violence of professional hockey.

Alternatively, reports of severe concussions were linked with less popular sports such as rock-climbing or referred to non-sport-related concussions. When an article prior to the 1990s referred to a severe sport-related concussion, it was usually a boxing story.

Representations of head injuries in sports films and the rhetoric in *Sports Illustrated* shifted in the 1990s and changed dramatically in the twenty-first century. This change mirrors the increased medical and social recognition that blows to the head (even in sports) posed long-term harms. The rhetoric in *Sports Illustrated* changed in the 1990s at the same time as the concussion-related retirements of several prominent athletes and, subsequently, generally became more compassionate and highlighted the risks of the injury. In the last decade, the word concussion appears much more frequently and concerns about the long-term impacts more common, particularly in articles about football players. Sports films also changed with multiple documentaries since 2011 warning of the dangers of head injuries in football, snowboarding, and wrestling, and a 2015 release of a Hollywood film depicting the story of a forensic pathologist studying football-related brain injuries.

This paper uses examples of sports film representation of head injuries and concussions from 1932 through 2015 and the use of the word concussion in *Sports Illustrated* from 1954 through 2015 to explore how representations of this injury have changed. We argue that although some films and some issues of the magazine took the injury seriously, more frequently the injury was portrayed as minimal or humorous. As more athletes beyond boxers, however, retired from sport because of concussions, *Sports Illustrated’s* rhetoric shifted. Sports films representations became more serious and critical as both the medical community and America became more concerned about the effects of concussions.

**JANICE FORSYTH, WESTERN UNIVERSITY**

Our home on Native land: Selling Aboriginal involvement in the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games

In this paper, I examine how the *Globe and Mail*, a major Canadian daily newspaper, covered Aboriginal involvement in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The 2010 Games took place from February 12 to February 28 in Vancouver and Whistler, British Columbia. The host organizers vigorously promoted Aboriginal participation in the Games as a unique selling feature for their event, using it as an example of Canada’s diversity and respect for its indigenous people. This message appeared to hold some truth with the formation of the Four Host First Nations Society in 2003, a group of local First Nations on whose land the 2010 Games were taking place. The Four Host First Nations’ overall mandate was to support Aboriginal involvement in the Games. However, not everyone accepted the straightforward narrative. There was substantial resistance by Aboriginal people and their allies concerning who was really benefitting from the Games, and how they were benefitting from Aboriginal support. At the fore of these issues were the environmental concerns that stemmed from
building new venues on protected lands, as well as the Games being an opportunity for private investors to encroach on Aboriginal lands for commercial gain. Given that the mass media plays an important role in determining what matters to broader society, this paper will identify and analyze what stories the Globe and Mail published and what stories they suppressed. In doing so, this paper will offer clear insights on how the public was taught to think about Aboriginal involvement in the 2010 Games, especially their role in facilitating mega-event development for private industry and government. To collect the data, an electronic search using the Globe and Mail’s online database will be completed using relevant keywords linked to the broader topic. The timeframe for the study will be determined by the results of the keyword search. However, the general timeframe is expected to range from 2002 to 2015 and should yield several hundred news items. A media-frames analysis will be used to assess the data. This will include a quantitative analysis of the data to identify the prevalence of the frames, as well as a qualitative analysis of selected frames, which will be determined in part by the relationship between the selected frames and the existing literature. This paper will contribute the growing body of literature on legacies and Olympic Games, the link between the commercialization of sport and the ongoing dispossession of indigenous people from their traditional lands, and the power of the media to shape our everyday understanding of the social and political realities for marginalized groups of people.

**SAMUEL GALE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON**

**Triumph and Tragedy: The Rise and Fall of Jesse Owens Through the Eyes of African American Journalists**

Although scholars have written extensively about Jesse Owens’ triumphant performance at the 1936 Summer Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany, this paper examines the often-overlooked struggles Owens encountered immediately after the Games concluded. In particular, it investigates how and why major African American newspapers’ coverage of Owens’ efforts to financially capitalize off of his newfound fame led to a dramatic reassessment of the Olympic hero. After winning four gold medals, Owens had become one of the most famous and marketable athletes in the United States. However, African American journalists became increasingly critical of the choices Owens made in pursuing potentially lucrative financial opportunities. This paper, thus, addresses the following questions: Why did African American newspapers’ treatment of Owens change so dramatically in the months immediately following the Olympic Games? And how did this shift illustrate broader attitudes among black journalists about appropriate behavior for prominent African American athletes in the 1930s?

This paper examines how major African American newspapers—the Chicago Defender, Pittsburgh Courier, New York Amsterdam News, and the Afro-American—scrutinized Owens’ actions during this time. Their criticism of Owens represented a dramatic shift in how black journalists treated the star black athlete. During the Olympic Games, African American sportswriters celebrated Owens’ achievements, arguing that he demonstrated to an international audience that, when given a fair opportunity to compete, black athletes could outperform the world’s best
competitors. His successes, therefore, signaled that the racial discriminatory policies that curtailed African Americans’ civil rights at home needed to end.

Once Owens began to pursue a number of questionable endorsement opportunities after the Games concluded, however, black journalists became increasingly critical of his actions. This disapproval intensified when Owens endorsed Republican candidate Alf Landon during the 1936 presidential election. For many African American journalists, stumping for Landon signaled that Owens had sacrificed his dignity and reputation in exchange for Landon’s money. More significantly, aligning with Landon, who many African American journalists argued had done little to support civil rights efforts, signaled that Owens’ endorsement threatened to undermine much of the political progress African Americans had already made.

By placing the black press’ harsh condemnation of the Owens-Landon alignment at the center of the investigation of Owens’ post-Olympic career, this paper demonstrates how many African American journalists’ opinions of Owens changed as a result of his efforts to capitalize off of his fame. Their attitudes, moreover, exemplified a broader shift within black politics away from the Republican party toward President Roosevelt and northern, eastern, and western Democrats, who many believed offered African Americans a better path to prosperity and racial equality. More broadly, through a detailed analysis of the black press’ intense scrutiny of Owens’ actions after the Olympics, this paper illuminates how many African American journalists expected Owens, and other prominent black athletes of the era, to act according to a set of standards and values in an effort to portray him as an upstanding, respectable African American that would help the broader struggle for racial justice.

Elysia Galindo-Ramirez & Matthew P. McAllister, Pennsylvania State University

Super Bowl Commercials and the Perpetuation of Spectacular Consumption

The Super Bowl is clearly a key event for the advertising industry, being by far the most expensive US televised event each year to place advertising and is a much discussed venue in the advertising industry. Much of the research on Super Bowl commercials focuses on their textual characteristics, including portrayals of gender, race and violence. But how have Super Bowl ads been influential as a form of culture? This presentation will explore the role and visibility of advertising during the Super Bowl over the years as a model for strategies of modern advertising and the resulting commercialization of US society. The paper uses using the concept of “spectacle” from Guy Debord, and more specifically the post–Debordian concept of “spectacular consumption,” to frame the event’s cultural influence. Such a framework emphasizes the visual nature of the phenomenon, its cultural pervasiveness and large scope, and its commodity orientation. Among the trends to be discussed include (1) the cultivation of “event advertising,” including the influential Apple 1984 commercial which is largely viewed as triggering the perception of the Super Bowl as the preeminent advertising event; (2) the news coverage of the economics and entertainment value of the commercials, including regular featured coverage like USA Today’s Super Bowl Ad Meter; and (3) the influence of Super Bowl commercials to cultural forms external to the event, such as theatrical films like Little Giants (1994) and Space Jam (1996), and television specials including Super Bowl’s
Greatest Commercials (airing in 2016 on CBS, the same network that will air the Super Bowl that year). The spectacular nature of the Super Bowl commercial and its surrounding cultural discourse, this presentation will conclude, was a forerunner of such post-millennial advertising strategies as branded entertainment and content marketing, all designed to integrate advertising as a legitimate form of entertainment culture and prevent the avoidance of advertising by viewers.

TAMIRAT GEBREMARIAM, DEBRE BIRHAN UNIVERSITY  
Sport History of Ethiopia: A Case Study of Ethiopian Women Athletics

Women in Ethiopia were and still are in a disadvantageous position in all respects. The patriarchal culture in Ethiopia has allowed mainly males to demonstrate their abilities in many sports in general and athletics in particular.

This paper explores the historical development of female athletics in Ethiopia under three governments (the Imperial, the Derg and the EPRDF). The central questions examined in this paper are women’s experience in athletics including challenges and opportunities in these periods.

The results show that females were challenged by legal and institutional problems, social norms and religious constraints and, as a result, they were unable to participate in various sports activities. In addition, the paper notes that the participation and achievement of female athletes has shown progress since the Derg period. In the period of EPRDF female athletics have made faster progress. Furthermore, this study makes clear that the police and armed forces sport clubs have played an important role for the development of female athletics. In addition, this paper indicates that despite legal and socio-cultural impediments, Ethiopian female athletes have had better achievements than Ethiopian male athletes in some selected prestigious international competitions.

TED GELTNER, VALDOSTA STATE UNIVERSITY  
I Was Standing There All the While: Jim Murray and the Rise of Sports in Los Angeles

Part crusader, part comedian, Jim Murray was a literary wunderkind who just happened to ply his trade on newsprint, right near the box scores and race results. Murray played a significant role in the development of sports in America. At the peak of his influence, Murray’s words were published in more than 200 newspapers. From 1961 through 1998, Murray penned more than 10,000 columns from his home base at the Los Angeles Times. His off-beat humor and unique insight made his column a must-read for millions of sports fans for decades. He was awarded the prize for Sports Writer of the Year an astounding 14 times, and his legacy was cemented when he became one of only four writers to receive the prestigious Pulitzer Prize for coverage of sports. Murray carved a fascinating path through the twentieth century. He spearheaded Time/Life’s launch of Sports Illustrated magazine, working hand-in-hand with Henry Luce in laying the foundation for the publication that would change the face of American sports journalism. But it was from his pulpit on the front of the Los Angeles Times sports section, where he would reside for nearly four decades, that he became a writer of national renown. For nearly half a century, he wrote eloquently about the most
important sporting events on the American calendar, the Super Bowl, the Kentucky Derby, the Masters, the World Series and all of the others, chronicling the moments of historical significance in his distinct style for millions of readers across the country. In Los Angeles, he became a celebrity and part of the fabric of the city. This paper examines his life, career, and influence on journalism and sports history.

**JERRY GEMS, NORTH CENTRAL COLLEGE**

**American Borderlands and the Transition in Gender Roles**

The historical study of borderlands in the United States has been underway for nearly a century; with particular attention given to the flow, the mixing, and sometimes the clash of cultures along national boundary lines. “Much of that scholarship is grounded in indigenous histories or in imperial pasts. It is also rooted in narratives of national expansion, migration, racialization, and the statecraft of border control and citizenship.” In this study my research and analysis takes a somewhat different approach by reconceptualizing borderlands as something more than a territorial boundary to include not only the physical but social and psychological barriers in the historical transition in gender roles.

I suggest that the transition in gender roles along the frontier is a more noticeable and remarkable occurrence, particularly noticeable in the lives of heroic women. As American families moved westward to farmland on the frontier, women had to assume new roles unfamiliar to urban dwellers in the East. They not only engaged in the expected roles of spouse, mother, cook, and caretaker; but had to assume traditional male duties, such as plowing the fields, tending to livestock, harvesting crops, bailing hay, and protecting the family when husbands were inevitably forced to travel to markets or elsewhere. They also had to hunt, and some proved better than their male counterparts in such roles. These were not ordinary women. They were hardy adventurers. They built log cabins and sod houses, endured bitter winter blizzards on the plains, searing summer heat waves, prairie fires, rattlesnakes, cyclones, and swarms of locusts. Under such conditions both social class and gender roles became blurred. Such women did not wait for change; they created it.

As such the frontier was/is a fluid concept. As a physical space, it was ever moving westward; but psychologically it continues throughout one’s lifetime. This study intends to illuminate such a process and the role of females’ physical prowess in the conquest of prescribed gender roles.

**MICHAEL GENNARO, GRAMBLING STATE UNIVERSITY**

**Boxing the Tropics: Boxing, Health, and State Sport Promotion in Nigeria, 1945-1960**

This paper analyses my recent research into the role of boxing and sport in creating “healthy” bodies, white and black, in Lagos, Nigeria from World War II to Independence in 1960. As colonial worries over strength and energy of the labor force and young peoples increased after the war, so did their attention to the various ways to combat the destructive effects of the tropical weather and diet that permeated Lagosian society. Using newspapers, advertisements, and oral
interviews, this paper will show how boxing and sport exploded in popularity after the war, how the state created and used sporting infrastructure to promote and discipline a healthy workforce, and how this was displayed in advertisements combining sport and “health” products, like Quaker Oats. By doing so, one can see the importance that the state placed on health, from creating a “useful” citizen, to curbing juvenile delinquents, to readying the labor force, to having a happy marriage.

**CARLA GERONA, GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY**

**Studio Classes: Teaching Museum Studies and History**

This presentation argues that teaching studio classes can enhance undergraduate education in history programs; at the same time, such classes are vital to improve the quality of public history. I will discuss my class, “Introduction to Museum Studies,” and share what I have learned from teaching this unusual hands-on class that culminates in student-curated museum exhibits.

I have taught the class four times in the past five years. The goal has been to introduce students to the vital role of public history, while also allowing students to research a historical topic in great depth. The class traces the museum’s journey from an elite preserve to a public showcase, focusing on the important role that museums play in the preservation of artifacts, manuscripts, books, and other documents. Our exhibit topics have differed every semester: they have ranged from the multicultural community that formed around the Vann Plantation in the early nineteenth century; to the creation of organized collegiate and professional sports cultures in the late nineteenth century; to the extensive travels of collector, book maker, and arts and crafts proponent, Dard Hunter, in the twentieth century.

In this presentation, I will discuss the four different exhibits that students created, and suggest ways others can put together a class that uses this studio model. I will then turn to problems encountered and successes achieved. My goal is to develop a list of best practices that will aid anyone trying to develop studio classes in history, and suggest the importance of doing so to the discipline of history. But my larger point is that one does not have to be trained in public history to engage students in public history.

**DENNIS GILDEA, SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE**

**Football and the Blacklist: A Study of Millard Lampell’s The Hero**

To claim that Millard Lampell (1919-1997) had a varied and productive career and led a life staunchly dedicated to underdog and leftist causes would be to engage in a whopping understatement. The lead paragraph to his obituary in the *New York Times* read as follows: “Millard Lampell, a screenwriter, novelist and songwriter who survived blacklisting to become an award-winning television writer, died on Oct. 3 at his home in Ashburn, Va.” To that list of Lampell’s accomplishments, the obituary writer could have added: journalist, writer of radio plays, World War II machine gunner, Appalachian folk music scholar, Emmy-award winner, supporter in 1947 of the
blacklisted Hollywood Ten, and high school and college football player. Lampell attended West Virginia University from 1936 to 1940 on a football scholarship.

While Lampell’s work as a musician and screenwriter has drawn some scholarly interest, little has been written on his 1949 football novel *The Hero*. The cultural historian Ronald D. Cohen briefly mentioned the novel in an article dealing with Lampell’s music and politics. “Drawing upon [Lampell’s] experiences, the story revolves around a working class football player from New Jersey who is injured while in college in the South and discovers the dark side of competitive sports…. [I]t includes little of Lampell’s politics.” Cohen, I argue, has not read the novel carefully. Lampell depicts football star Steve Novak’s growing awareness of the exploitative injustice of big-time college football in a way that parallels the plight of the worker in a capitalist society. To a great extent, I argue, Lampell was a forerunner to Dave Meggesey (*Out of Their League*, 1971). Both were working-class scholarship football players who were radicalized by their experiences in the sport and by their education.

In 1951, *The Hero* was made into a Columbia Pictures film titled *Saturday’s Hero* (screenplay by Lampell and Sydney Buchman), and in 1950 Lampell’s name appeared along with 150 other suspected subversives in *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television*, making him the victim, as he later wrote, of “belligerent patriotism, the growing government impatience with any dissent from official policy.” In 1954, the former college football player was subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities where he refused to name names, and he was blacklisted.

**JORDAN GOLDSTEIN, WESTERN UNIVERSITY**

The Political Nature of the Donation of the Dominion Hockey Challenge Cup: What does it tell us about the nineteenth century nexus of sport and nationalism?

This paper examines Frederick Arthur Stanley’s political beliefs as a motivating factor in his decision to donate the Dominion Challenge Cup. The paper seeks to determine answers to the following questions. What were Frederick Arthur Stanley’s political beliefs? How did he act upon them during his time as a British Parliamentarian and as Canada’s Governor General? What is the relation between his personal politics and the promotion of national sport? How does this episode inform on the relationship between the rise of nationalist sport and transformations in Anglo political thought in the late nineteenth century?

The study rests upon archival research conducted in England, specifically in Liverpool and Cambridge. It relies upon private correspondence between Lord Stanley and other high ranking Canadian and British statesmen including the Prime Ministers of each country, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the British Ambassador to the United States. The British Parliamentary Record, *Hansard*, provides evidence of Lord Stanley’s activities and speeches made in the British Parliament. This paper relies on the biography of Lord Stanley written by Kevin Shea and John Jason Wilson. It also relies on *The Idea of Greater Britain* by historian Duncan Bell and Carl Berger’s influential *The Sense of Power*. These two sources provide great insight into the ideas that shaped Lord Stanley in Great Britain and his ideological contemporaries in Canada.
The paper forwards that Lord Stanley’s political ideology legitimated state sanction of cultural activities to foster national identity, thus providing a political reason for Stanley to donate the Dominion Challenge Cup. This argument led to the conclusion that the rise of nationalist sport in the Anglo world in the later nineteenth century resulted in part from a retrenchment of Classical Liberalism as the mainstream of Liberal political thought. The paper argues that the rise of Progressivism effectively marginalized the Classical Liberal belief in limiting state power at the behest of the individual. Without this opposition in Anglo political thought, traditional Conservative and novel Progressive forms of collectivization explicitly through the nation-state provided the driving force in the late nineteenth century. Lord Stanley’s political career highlights this development in a microcosm.

This paper reveals a new angle on which to interpret the donation of the Stanley Cup. Many works have looked at the social, cultural, and economic angles on the rise of ice hockey in the Canadian context, but none have systematically examined that rise in a nationalist framework while relying on political interpretations. It examines the political aspects and investigates the impact of changes in political philosophy which led to a rise in nationalism, racism, and imperialism. It bridges sport history with political and intellectual history during this time period. Thus, the study opens a new dialogue in sport history concerning the nexus of sport and nationalism in the later nineteenth century by introducing the transformation of Liberal political ideology as a large influence in this process.

CRAIG GREENHAM, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR
The Grey Cup and Super Bowl in the Canadian Imagination

The United States and Canada have enjoyed a largely harmonious relationship and, while meaningful differences exist, common traits prevail and bond the neighboring nations. Shared experience of these peoples extends to the realm of professional team sport and three (National Hockey League, National Basketball Association and Major League Baseball) of the “Big Four” leagues have club representation on both sides of the border. Football remains the last holdout, segregated with a domestic league in each country—the National Football League (NFL) and the Canadian Football League (CFL). On some level, this separation appears curious. Unlike hockey, basketball and baseball, football (at least in the North American context of the word) does not have a global presence and is mainly the preserve of Americans and Canadians. If ever a sport was to be joined by two nations, football appears a likely candidate.

Support in Canada for its plucky national circuit, played under slightly different rules than the game to the south and with a mandated Canadian player quota, is symbolic of the latent anti-Americanism that bubbles close to the surface of Canadian nationalism. Its league title game, the Grey Cup, is largely devoid of glitz and glamour and stands in stark contrast to the NFL’s hype-heavy Super Bowl.

This paper explores the notion of the Grey Cup as Canada’s anti-Super Bowl. Complete with folksy traditions and understated pageantry, the Grey Cup is emblematically Canadian and its place within the national psyche has historically served as a sharp rebuke to American cultural imperialism.
and excess, represented so perfectly by the Super Bowl. Like many aspects of Canadian-American relations, however, the Canadian Super Bowl experience is not a simple narrative. Many Canadians have long been fascinated with the American entertainment industry, of which sport is part, and have not only integrated the Super Bowl into their sporting calendars but prefer it to the domestic product. This paper examines the growing cultural influence of the Super Bowl north of the border that made national headlines in 2015 when ratings revealed that more Canadians, per capita, watched the Super Bowl than Americans. Ultimately, this study uses the Grey Cup/Super Bowl experience in Canada as an allegory for Canadian-American relations from a Canadian perspective.

AARON L. HABERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO
Escape and Pursuit: Contrasting Visions of the 1970s Long Distance Running Boom in American Popular Culture

During the 1970s, the United States experienced a long distance running boom that included participation by an estimated 30 million people. Not just a sport’s phenomenon, running found its way into popular literature and film, notably in William Goldman’s best selling novel and its Hollywood adaptation (for which Goldman wrote the screenplay), Marathon Man, and in the cult sensational novel by John L. Parker, Jr. Once A Runner. The two stories present vastly different takes on running and its values, neatly indexing larger socio/cultural divisions in the nation. Historians of the era have debated the extent to which Americans largely soured on the nation itself and instead turned more inward for satisfaction and meaning. A close examination of Marathon Man (novel and film), Once a Runner, William Goldman’s papers, and contemporaneous reviews of the novels and film, provide a useful vantage point for historians to tease out the various ways that Americans understood and coped with the challenges of the decade.

Marathon Man fits perfectly within the “disaster” genre of books and movies that populated the early 1970s, including The Poseidon Adventure, Towering Inferno, and Jaws. As the historian William Graebner has argued, such stories reflected the simultaneous foreboding of American decline brought on by the Vietnam War and the onset of stagflation and the existential boredom that Americans felt in response to those challenges. According to Graebner these films suggested that Americans at best hoped to escape and survive their problems. Marathon Man is essentially a spy thriller in which a history graduate student and avid marathoner named Thomas Levy must allude several ex-Nazis involved in a jewel heist in New York. Running gives Levy the fortitude to withstand his attackers and eventually, and literally, enables him to out run them to safety. Running offers no special rewards or spiritual meaning for Levy, but rather is just a means of survival in a hostile world.

In contrast, Once a Runner reflects the larger cultural movement of the 1970s toward self-actualization and authenticity. As Bruce Schulman has shown, countless 1970s Americans sought to find their more true selves through self-help books, participation in so-called scream therapy, or the exploration of eastern religions. While these pursuits flowed from a larger cynicism with traditional sources of authority, they also represented a kind of hopefulness for the future that came with self-discovery. Quenton Cassidy, the protagonist of Once a Runner, is a collegiate miler,
whose quest to win Olympic Gold, gives meaning to his life. He does not run from any demons, but rather to pursue personal greatness. And even where he falls short, the fact that running achievement is measured in specific times or finishing places in a race, allows him to always know exactly where he stacks up against other humans, and thus to know, in a deeper sense, his true self.

Evan J. Habkirk, Western University
Civilizing Bodies: Cadet Drill in Canadian Indian Residential Schools

In the 1830s, the British government began developing residential schools for Aboriginal people in colonial Canada. Most of the financing to build and maintain these institutions came from private donations, missionary societies, and the Canadian government. By the 1870s, residential schooling became the government’s preferred method for Aboriginal education, and would remain so until the 1950s. For more than one hundred years, the church and state attempted to assimilate Aboriginal youth into the dominant culture by changing the way they moved their bodies. One such method was the use of cadet (or military) drill for male students in the residential school system.

The cadet drill was not unique to the Indian residential school system. Beginning in the 1890s, especially with the rise of imperial militarism leading up to the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, cadet corps became a common and fashionable activity for Canadian male youth. Through the cadets, they learned the admirable qualities of teamwork, fairness, social responsibility, and British and Canadian patriotism. However, when this system was applied to Canadian Indian residential schools, it took on distinct racialized tones, as it was used to control and socialize Native children into civilized Euro-Canadian society. Although the federal Department of Indian Affairs promoted the use of these drills as a positive method for dealing with the ongoing and alarming health issues in the schools, the military basis for such activities served a broader civilizing agenda.

In light of that backdrop, this paper will address the following research questions: Why were Native children subjected to military-styled discipline, and what did the administrators of these schools hope to achieve by subjecting the children to this regimented lifestyle? Data for this paper will be drawn from material collected from the National Archives of Canada, the Anglican General Synod Archives, the Archives of the Diocese of Huron, and the Woodland Cultural Centre. By utilizing the theoretical frameworks of surveillance and disciplinary power, as proposed by Michel Foucault, I will show how, through retraining body movement and conditioning, the military structure, although providing a limited physical education program within the Canadian Indian residential school system, was also used to socialize and assimilate Aboriginal youth into a subordinate position within the Canadian state well into the 1990s.

Aboriginal responses to the civilizing agenda will also be discussed. This paper will contribute to various branches in the sport literature, including how colonization was enacted upon the body, as well as race and nationalism.

Yuxiang “Andrew” Hao, University of Texas-Austin
The Way Back into the Olympic Games: The Reinstatement of Tennis and the Acceptance of Professional Players

Tennis returned to the Olympic Games in 1988 after sixty-four years’ exclusion because of the divergence of the International Tennis Federation (ITF) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) on the eligibility of athletes and several other matters. The eligibility issue was still the center of the ITF’s seven-year-long campaign for the reinstatement of tennis in the 1980s. Since 1988, professional tennis players have been allowed to participate in the Olympic Games on several conditions that can be easily fulfilled.

This article is intended to throw light on this historical process from an integrated perspective, using sources including IOC Session and Executive Meeting minutes, biographies, and news coverage on related events. It is argued that the reinstatement of tennis resulted from the withering support for amateurism within the IOC, the great efforts made by the ITF and other key figures, and non-negative response from the professional players. The process is examined on the following three levels.

Ideologically, it was a consequence of the waning amateur ideal of the Olympic Movement. Though it was claimed that the Olympic Games were still closed to professionals, the rules became more tolerant of athletes accepting compensation for athletic activities. The debate of professionalism and amateurism in tennis was over in 1968, sending the sport into the Open Era. Thus, the openly professionalized sport was brought conceptually closer to the Olympics.

Practically and procedurally, it was a long battle to push for changes and win support inside the IOC. Tennis gained victory thanks to the huge contribution of Philippe Chatrier, the president of the ITF, and Juan Antonio Samaranch, the president of the IOC. Besides persuading the remaining amateurism supporters, tennis proponents also designed specific requirements to accommodate professional players within the supposedly amateur framework. The Commission for Eligibility of the IOC paid great efforts to ensure that professional players only needed to meet easy requirements to participate.

In terms of participation, the top professional players, though suspicious, showed support or at least indifference. With the commitment of some of them, the Games were able to gather the world’s best players, or the reinstatement of tennis would have had much less significance. In turn, the ITF was able to promote the sport via the platform of the Olympics, especially in the countries where the Olympic Games were a priority in sport development.

Overall, the return of tennis followed the megatrend of sport development, but could not be attained easily without the pains taken by the ITF and other supporters. This article fills the blank of this topic in the literature of sport history, which needs academic scrutiny, especially now that the Olympic tournament has gained much more significance and a special prestige in the tennis world. It also presents the Olympic Games’ final departure, in action, from the amateur ideal.

HAOZHOU PU & HANHAN XUE, FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
Green as the New Governmentality: The Construction of “Green Olympics”
in the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games

The environment has become an integral component of modern Olympism while being declared as the third pillar of the Olympic Movement by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Accordingly, the issue of protecting and sustaining environmental development has been identified as one of the top concerns when cities around the world—such as Beijing in China—bid for, plan, and organize the Games.

China’s rapid economic growth in the past decades has created serious environmental problems. In the capital city of Beijing, air pollution, mostly due to weak regulations in industries and vehicular emissions, has resulted in severe public health crises. Besides deteriorating air pollution, Beijing is also suffering from a severe water shortage. Beijing hosted its first summer Olympics in 2008 and is poised to host another Winter Olympics in 2022. Both bids emphasized the urgency of addressing environmental issues and showcased the city’s dedication to organizing “Green Olympics.” Against such a backdrop, this paper provides a critical review and examination of the environmental initiatives implemented for the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Back to the beginning of the new millennium, Beijing’s 2008 Olympic organization committee launched an “Olympic Action Plan” under the guidance of three core concepts of “Green Olympics,” “High-Tech Olympics,” and “People’s Olympics.” The “Green Olympics” emphasizes building environmental sustainability and containing key environmental problems. To do so, the government invested $12.2 billion in developing green initiatives and introduced a series of solutions including raising emissions standards, banning vehicles from streets, and relocating high-polluting factories (Greenpeace, 2009). Some solutions and environmental regulations sustained through being embedded in normative practices of governance in the post-Games era (e.g., road space rationing and displacement of factories and neighborhoods). The introduction of provisional regulations for the Olympics therefore is reminiscent of Agamben’s “state of exception.” In other words, these legislative, executive and juridical exceptions, conceptualized as provisional solutions to the environmental problems, were later subject to the opening of “camp” where “the state of exceptions become the rule” (Agamben, 1995, 2005).

The adoption of these exceptional regulations helped Beijing dramatically improve environmental performance—particularly increasing air quality—during the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. The public coined a phrase of “Olympic blue” by referring to the rare clear blue skies that came with the Olympics. The rationality behind “Olympic Blue” or “Green Olympics” is the interventional role of mega-events in effectively solving environmental problems. Beyond state regulations, the government also highlighted the environment in its mass Olympic education programs to raise public awareness and encourage public participation in environmental protections.

The paper, therefore, seeks to explore the mechanism by which the Olympics was identified as a “treatment” to environmental problems. To do so, official Games report, government documents, archives, and press articles were collected and a historical analysis was conducted in order to investigate the production and circulation of “scientific” knowledge on environmental protection and its corresponding policies and programs delivered through the 2008 Beijing Olympics.
The paper concludes by suggesting that the construction of “Green Olympics” leads to the emergence of “environmentality” in which governments’ representations of the “Green Olympics” become internalized by self-regulating subjects who recognize the mega-event as a feasible approach to contain environmental problems and consequently accept and comply with the exceptional regulatory policies. Built upon historical revelations, the paper also provides insights into the emerging environmental discourse surrounding the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics, which we term as “Green Olympics 2.0.”

**ROBIN HARDIN, JESSICA SIEGELE, ALLISON SMITH, ELIZABETH TAYLOR & JAMES BEMILLER, UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE**

Creating Opportunities: The NCAA and Emerging Sports for Women

The purpose of this research is to develop a deeper understanding of the history of the National Collegiate Athletic Association’s (NCAA) program on Emerging Sports for Women in order to gain a better understanding of women’s sports in the NCAA. The research will provide how these sports became Emerging Sports for Women and then trace the history of sponsorship or lack of sponsorship of each sport. The research will enable scholars and administrators a better understanding of women’s participation in the NCAA as well as provide a history of the sports within the NCAA.

The passage of Title IX in 1972 had a ripple effect throughout society, and its impact on sports has been dramatic. Title IX’s focus was on gender discrimination in general but it has perhaps had its greatest impact on sports (Crowley, 2006). The number of girls participating in scholastic sports in 1972 was less than 300,000 but that number had grown to more than 3.2 million by 2014 (National Federation of High Schools, 2015). Increases at the collegiate level also followed as approximately 16,000 women participated in sports at the collegiate level in 1972 but that number had grown to more than 200,000 by 2014 (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014).

The NCAA’s history with women’s sports was basically to ignore it during the first 70 years of the organization. The latter half of the 1970s though saw an increase in the discussion of women’s sports within the NCAA with much debate among members and legal counsel in regards to sponsoring them. Legislation eventually was passed at the 1981 NCAA Convention to incorporate women’s sports in all three divisions of the NCAA and to sponsor championships for women’s sports (Crowley, 2006).

This recognition of women’s sports eventually led to the establishment of the Gender-Equity Task Force in 1994. A result of that task force was the creation of Emerging Sports for Women. This allowed an outlet for sports to be introduced as possible varsity sports and to gauge the interest of member institutions in sponsoring them. Sports are now introduced through legislation as Emerging Sports for Women with set criteria as to how those sports can become NCAA sanctioned sports. The general rule is the sport must become a championship sport within 10 years which requires 40 NCAA programs to sponsor the sport (NCAA Academic and Membership Affairs Staff, 2015).

Twelve sports have been introduced as Emerging Sports for Women since 1996 with five of those sports earning championship status (rowing, ice hockey, water polo, bowling, and sand
volleyball). Four sports (archery, badminton, team handball, and synchronized swimming) did not receive enough support during the 10-year period to become NCAA sports, and there are currently three sports in the test phase of adoption (rugby, triathlon, and equestrian) (NCAA Academic and Membership Affairs Staff, 2015).

PHIL HATLEM, SAINT LEO UNIVERSITY
Honoring Past Influence: The curious case of Stan Sheriff

In our sport industry, there are many ways to honor past events or significant figures. Many college football stadiums and fields carry the name of a former coach or player or donor. The oldest on-campus stadium in the NCAA’s Division I Football Bowl Subdivision is Bobby Dodd Stadium at Historic Grant Field, honoring both a former coach—Bobby Dodd—and the original stadium benefactor—Hugh Inman Grant (Haws 2010). And then there are statues popping up at everywhere, honoring those “great” figures of the past (and the not so past). Auburn University decided that it should follow the example of the University of Florida and erect statues of their former Heisman Trophy winners. During a trek through SEC country, you can admire statues of Heisman honorees Tim Tebow, who won the trophy way back in 2007, and Cam Newton, which will help you reminisce about that long-ago 2010 season (McGrath, 2011). However, Smith (2012) cautioned us about maybe being too quick to honor figures with statues, as the saga of the Joe Paterno statue demonstrated.

Should these honors go to anyone who somehow contributed to the glory of their school? And should it only be to those who are well known? And what are we to make of a mostly unknown football coach and athletic administrator who has his name on facilities at two different schools?

Stan Sheriff was the Head Football Coach at the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls, Iowa, from 1960 through 1982, as well as doing double-duty as Director of Athletics for many of those years. During that time he tirelessly pushed through the concept and completion of the “UNI-Dome,” a roofed, multi-purpose stadium. This was extremely rare in cold, snowy climates at the time. He then went on to serve as Director of Athletics at the University of Hawai‘i, again championing the creation of a new facility, this time a multipurpose arena (Sullivan, 2014).

By investigating the archives and news accounts surrounding Sheriff’s efforts at both schools, the author will attempt to determine who is this person that is now honored with “Sheriff Field” in the UNI-Dome, and the “Stan Sheriff Center” in Honolulu? Can his story shed some light, and maybe some sanity, on the current trend to rush to honor sport “heroes”?

MICHAEL HEINE, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
“Esquimaux Races on the Midway”:
Aboriginal Cultures at the Pan-American Exhibition, Buffalo, NY, 1901

Recent sport historiography documents that the “exhibitionary complex” of Worlds’ Fairs and technical expositions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was designed to inscribe narratives of nationing and western Imperial superiority into a three-dimensional story space that emerged for the Fair visitor physically moving through the different segments of a space turned narrative of civilizational progress. The normative power of such narratives relied in part on the circulation of complementary oppositional significations constructing non-European, and in particular North American indigenous, cultures as the atavistic other of civilization, of human progress, and western superiority.

A distinctive example of such narrative positioning of the western other is provided by the Pan-American Exhibition staged at Buffalo, New York, in the summer of 1901. Technically not a World’s Fair, but rather a hemispheric exposition, the Pan-Am offered up a triumphal celebration of the United States’ rise to global prominence, constructing a narrative that emerged as the intertextual topos of several narrative strands serving to circumscribe a space for the representation of Indigenous—“primitive”—cultures, be they, in the words of the Pan-Am’s promotional material “Arctic Esquimaux, people from darkest Africa, or the forty-two tribes of the Indian Congress,” the latter hired to stage, on the hour, “sham battles” to project images of their own conquest.

This paper examines the symbolic topology of the Pan-Am’s physical arrangements and the corresponding story themes constructing the “primitiveness” of aboriginal cultures as the foil necessary to foreground, in the public imaginary, the topos of western civilizational superiority.

Data sources used for this paper include newspaper reports, files left by Pan-Am administrative personnel, and memoirs and diaries created by Pan-Am visitors. The paper contributes to our understanding of the historical importance of exhibitionary narratives in the representation of non-western cultures in the public imagination.

CHRISTOPHER HENDERSON, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
Two Balls Is Too Many: Stadium Performance, Gender and Queerness 
in Portland’s Rose City Riveters Supporters Club

The National Women’s Soccer League (NWSL) will open its fourth season in 2016. As such, it has outlived the two most recent attempts to establish a professional women’s soccer league in the United States. However, the teams affiliated with the league maintain a precarious existence, as their financial investors chase an economic growth model that will ensure profitability. More significantly, teams have struggled to establish the cultural resonance necessary to persist in the absence of financial stability. Soccer historian David Goldblatt argues that teams are meaningful institutions only when infused with cultural capital by fans, who are “chorus, commentator and essential components of the spectacle and ritual that makes soccer the global game.” This paper explores the potential of NWSL fans establishing a fan–team affiliation that is rare in the United States, but common in world soccer, in which fans are not mere consumers, but vital agents in the
cultural resonance of the teams that they support and in the process ensuring the long-term viability of their chosen club.

To make this argument, I utilize case studies of the NWSL’s most popular franchise, the Portland Thorns and its least popular team, Sky Blue FC in New Jersey. The case studies use oral history from fans and data analysis to evaluate whether or not fans become hardcore fans by establishing multiple ways of interacting with their chosen team. The studies will briefly touch upon the marketing strategies of the teams in order to establish who the league believes are its fans.

The paper measures eight potential indices of fan-driven involvement that indicate the strength of club culture and identity and thus associative and affiliative bonding amongst fans and with the team. The eight indices include (1) attendance at games, (2) consumption of mediated games, (3) gameday fan organization and stadium atmosphere, (4) consumption of merchandise and personal branding, (5) establishment of fan organizations outside of official channels, (6) attendance at official non-gameday events, (7) direct contact with the front office, and (8) actual monetary investment in the financial entity that governs the team. With each index, I will measure the level of fan-generated and fan-driven action versus team-generated and league-driven strategies. The case studies provide a historical context of NWSL fans’ relationship with their selected teams and the transfer of established popular interest in soccer to the nascent NWSL team identities.

**DAWN J. HERD-CLARK, FORT VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY**

The Tigers and Tigerettes Meet the World: International Recognized Athletics at Dorchester Academy

Founded in 1868 at the request of freedmen in Liberty County, Georgia, Dorchester Academy, an American Missionary Association school, became one of the premier educational institutions for African Americans living in the southeastern part of the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The school, founded by the American Missionary Association, evolved from a one room unaccredited schoolhouse to an accredited A rated school from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Dorchester Academy’s athletic program was influential in helping to secure community support, which brought much needed revenue to the institution. The school’s athletic program began in 1926 when it competed in its first track meet. By 1940 the Dorchester Academy Tigers and Tigerettes had evolved into a football, men’s and women’s basketball, and men’s and women’s tennis powerhouse. Using oral history interviews, newspaper clippings, and American Missionary Association archival records, this paper will explore what led to the school’s success on the field, allowing them to compete for national championships and secure international students. By exploring the role of the Tigers and Tigerettes scholars have a unique look at how a rural African American school used athletics to build an international reputation for the school both athletically and academically.

**JOSHUA HIGGS, FORT VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY**
The Atlanta Black Crackers: Baseball in the Jim Crow South

Championship baseball in Atlanta did not begin with the Braves in the 90s, but with a team made up of predominantly African American players during a time when Jim Crow Laws and segregation ran the South. The team was originally called the Atlanta Cubs, but they later changed their name to the Atlanta Black Crackers to gain some recognition on the coattails of the White team, the Atlanta Crackers. The Atlanta Black Crackers played in what is recognized as the Negro Leagues. This was a group of baseball leagues that allowed African Americans and other minorities a chance to play professional baseball, even though none of the leagues were ever recognized as professional leagues or clubs. A group of local Atlanta businessmen helped to organize the original team made up of college and Atlanta area players. Through the years the team suffered major ups and downs, ranging from financial struggles to production on the diamond, but overall they were a good team that brought out a strong fan base, both white and black. The Black Crackers had one of the highest attendances of white patrons in the Negro Leagues, especially of those clubs who played in the Deep South. Using newspaper articles and oral history interviews, this paper will show how the Atlanta Black Crackers had a major effect on race relations during the mid-twentieth century in Atlanta.

MATTHEW R. Hodler, University of Iowa

The $100 Million Man: Michael Phelps, USA Swimming, FINA, and abandoning “amateurism” to commodify athletes and commercialize the Olympics

In 2001, at the age of 16, Michael Phelps signed a contract with a swimwear corporation becoming, in effect, a professional swimmer. He was still eligible to compete in the Olympics and even won the 2003 Sullivan Award, which is annually given to the best amateur athlete in the United States. This ironic instance of a swimmer winning the award “honor[ing] the outstanding amateur athlete in the United States” (aaurusullivan.org) less than three years after signing lucrative endorsement deals helpfully illustrates the ideologies surrounding Olympic-centric sports like swimming as pure and ideal that obscure the capitalist and/or neoliberal economic and social policies at the root of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century Olympic games (Boykoff, 2013; Kidd, 1997; Lenskyj, 2000). Examining the structures of elite swimming will help us further unpack this irony, and see how shifting notions of eligibility allow for the neoliberal practice of commodification of self that places the individual as primary and the “free” market as the site for determining and earning one’s worth, “the ability, and indeed the perceived requirement, of individuals to define themselves within and through their forays into the consumer marketplace” as buyers, sellers, or both (Silk & Andrews, 2012, p. 4).

This paper explores the interdependent relationships among the processes of commodification, commercialization, and modern sport. In it, I use Michael Phelps’s status as a professional swimmer who swims in the Olympics to explicate the roles sporting structures have played in the commercialization and commodification of the Olympics specifically and elite sport in general. I discuss the relationships between sport and commodification and offer a summary...
comparison of how Michael Phelps became a professional swimmer eligible to compete in the Olympics while Mark Spitz lost his eligibility the moment he sought to capitalize on his amateur performances. I then trace the eligibility rules of the national sporting federation (USA Swimming) to demonstrate how Michael Phelps’s career coincides with a reformation of the meanings of eligibility that shifts away from the oppositional amateur/professional binary and towards questions of drug use and personal conduct.

An examination of these rules also demonstrates how definitions of eligibility have changed since Mark Spitz’s historic Munich games. Ideals have shifted from concerns over amateurism enforced by centralized sporting bureaucracies to responsibility for self-governance under notions of “eligibility” and “codes of conduct” that occurred during an expansion of Olympics as televised spectacle and the rise of neoliberalism. In a sense, swimming eligibility has followed the logics of late capitalism in being understood first as a public issue, but transforming into a personal trouble (Ingham, 1985; see Mills, 2000).

ANNETTE R. HOFMANN, LUDWIGSBURG (GERMANY) UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION & ANNE WESSEL

The Health Movement of the German Priest Sebastian Kneipp (1821-1897)

Presently there are about 100 sports or sport-related organizations and federations under the umbrella of the German Olympic Sports Confederation. Their sizes vary between 20 to almost 7 million members, the latter being the German football association, DFB. One of the smaller federations is the Kneipp-Bund with a little more than 90,000 members in about 600 clubs spread all over Germany. This organization goes back to the ideas of the priest Sebastian Kneipp (1821-1897) from Bavaria, Germany, who reached fame through his hydrotherapy. Apparently, Kneipp was one of the most famous Germans in the U.S at the beginning of the twentieth century. His fame even reached the Vatican, where he treated Pope Leo XIII in 1893.

Kneipp’s hydrotherapy, still well-known in Germany, goes back to earlier movements which focused on water for medical reasons, among them those of Sigmund Hahn (junior and senior) (1664-1742; 1696-1773), Eucharius Oertel (1765-1859) and Vinzenz Prießnitz (1799-1851). Kneipp first reached success by healing several cholera patients through hydrotherapy.

Besides various kinds of water treatments and special nutrition, Kneipp included physical activity in his method, which is still central to today’s Kneipp Vereine (clubs), the first of which was founded in 1890. Although Kneipp was active in rural Bavaria, his movement spread when industrialization was starting in Germany, a time when the turner movement that also focused on physical activity was already well-known all over the country.

This paper will give insights into Kneipp’s life and ideas and how his health movement was able to spread all over Europe and to the U.S., where it is still acknowledged today. It will be put into the context of the time and in relation to other health-orientated physical activity movements of the time. Among the sources used are Kneipp’s publications and the Kneipp Blätter, first published in 1891, the Phytokompass and the Kneipp-Journal.
MICHAE L H O L M E S, A TL A N TA RESIDENT AND S ON O F A LFRED “T U P” H O L M E S  
The History of Holmes v. Atlanta, “Tup” Holmes and the Desegregation of Public Golf

This presentation offers an “insider’s” account about the desegregation of Atlanta’s public golf courses offered by Michael Holmes, the son of Alfred “Tup” Holmes. This account draws from numerous sources including historical documents and newspaper accounts stored in the Holmes family archives as well as oral histories passed down through the family. This presentation focuses on the Holmes family’s role in desegregating Atlanta’s public courses and features discussions about Tup Holmes, the most talented player among the family members who filed suit to desegregate Atlanta’s golf courses. According to family, friends, and historians, Tup Holmes was not only a talented golfer but also a “rabble rouser.”

A fantastic collegiate and amateur golfer, Tup Holmes was able to play some municipal golf courses while living and working in Detroit, Michigan. However, when he returned to his hometown of Atlanta, he could only access the black owned and operated Lincoln County Club due to the legacy of Jim Crow segregation laws. In 1951, Tup Holmes, his father Hamilton M. Holmes and brother Oliver W. Holmes, along with family friend, Charles T. Bell attempted to play Atlanta’s Bobby Jones Golf Course but were denied access. This set off a series of negotiation attempts with the city that eventually resulted in Tup, Oliver, and Hamilton Holmes filing a lawsuit. The NAACP and lawyer Thurgood Marshall, a future Supreme Court Justice, would eventually join the case greatly contributing to the favorable 1955 Supreme Court decision.

The Supreme Court’s historic Holmes v. Atlanta ruling was consistent with their landmark 1954 decision in Brown v. Board of Education which overturned the legality of “separate but equal” state education laws. Thus it is important to note that Holmes v. Atlanta was among the first cases to extend this precedent beyond education into other public accommodations and arguably had a more immediate impact. Fittingly, Tup and Oliver Holmes along with Charles Bell played the North Fulton golf course on December 24 and the Bobby Jones course on December 25, 1955, thus desegregating Atlanta’s public golf courses.

50 Years of “Superbowning”: The Voice of the People as a Strobe Light on an American Holiday

Ten years after Peter Hopsicker and Mark Dyreson published “Super Bowl Sunday: An American Holiday?” in Len Travers’ Encyclopedia of American and National Holidays (2006), the penultimate act of the National Football League’s season continues to garner both national and international interest as a “social spectacle.” Indeed, as Hopsicker and Dyreson argued, the appeal of Super Bowl Sunday as an American “holiday” has evolved from the challenges of creating competitive parity in a championship game resulting from the merging of two professional American football leagues in 1966 to ovations of “conspicuous consumption” measured less by the winner of that championship game and more by the record-breaking television ratings and shares, the burgeoning advertising rates and ticket prices, and the fiduciary impact on economic development
and civic boosterism. The last ten years of Super Bowls have solidified its place in political campaigns, commercial culture, social patterns, and palpable patriotism.

For the past fifty years, and in very concrete ways, Super Bowl Sunday has served as what Travers (1997) metaphorically calls a “strobe light, illuminating at regular intervals the variety of ways in which Americans understand and enact their political culture at a specific time.” Simply, through the contiguous examination of Super Bowls I to L, opportunities to examine the changes in the role of this sporting event in broader culture, and the impact of happenings in culture on the Super Bowl, can be identified.

This presentation will build upon the work of Hopsicker and Dyreson by bringing together a half-century of what New York Times columnist Robert Lipsyte (1969) called “superbowling”—the post-game editorials that include off-the-wall psychiatric evaluations and epic gloating by football fans, political reactions and sociological analyses concerning the game’s effect on the nation’s institutions as well as the often hasty generalizations by alarmed moralists and university professors all of which, when scrutinized over fifty years, create the Super Bowl’s illuminating strobe light at specific points in time in US and world history.

Primary sources will include not only national newspapers, but in contrast to Hopsicker and Dyreson’s previous work, this presentation will also take advantage of the variety of on-line commentary significantly more prevalent and pervasive than a decade ago.

**JOSH HOWARD & ELIZABETH CATTE, MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY**

“A Secret Fascination”: Professional Wrestling, Gender Non-Conformity, and Masculinity

We propose to present our paper which analyzes the historical relationship between professional wrestling and popular presentations of masculinity, sexuality, and gender non-conformity. Our analysis primarily focuses on performers who presented alternative expressions of male sexuality and masculinity through their wrestling personas, such as Gorgeous George, Adrian Street, and Goldust. We argue that there was not a direct “evolution” of these types of characters from the 1940s to today, but instead a rapid shift in presentation once the WWE became standard bearer for the industry in the 1980s.

When Darren Young—a professional wrestler employed by World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE)—came out as a gay man in August 2013, journalists quickly connected Young to historical professional wrestlers with “different” sexualities. A few ambitious authors connected Young to scholarly works and noted, as Sharon Mazer once did, a historical range of professional wrestling masculinities “between the flamboyantly feminine to the lumpen macho.” While these popular discussions of Darren Young’s “coming out” disengaged from more theorized frameworks, what they did share with scholarship was a tendency to view all of professional wrestling’s non-heteronormative masculinities as part of an evolving genealogy that began in the 1940s with Gorgeous George and continued into the present-day with Dustin Runnels’s sexually ambiguous Goldust persona.

We argue that placing WWE performers (from about 1980 to the present) with limited artistic agency on the same spectrum as older, self-made performers like Gorgeous George
obscures the fact that, for at least twenty-five years, the WWE suppressed rather than celebrated alternative expressions of male sexuality and masculinity. The artificial spectrum from Gorgeous George to Goldust obscures an important shift in professional wrestling from a loosely connected and managed enterprise to the singular entity of Vince McMahon’s WWE. Analysis of the long history of pro wrestling beyond Vince McMahon offers a glimpse into a world where diversity was more often celebrated than abused.

We have presented and written on this topic recently, although our research has developed significantly since. We presented our findings at the 2015 Summit of the International Association for Communication and Sport and then shared our argument on the Sport in American History blog in a post entitled “‘A Secret Fascination’: Professional Wrestling, Gender Non-Conformity, and Masculinity.”

BRAD WILLIAM HUMMEL, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
A Peculiar Inclusion: Tennis on the Olympic Program at Athens, 1896

The addition of lawn tennis to the program of the 1896 Athens Olympics raises several questions with respect to it being the only ball game on the program, and having no direct ties to the ancient Olympic games or to the athletic traditions of contemporary Greece. The nearly anecdotal nature of tennis’s presence, and the relatively inferior quality of the competition in comparison to major tournaments at Wimbledon, Newport, and other elite clubs in Europe and America, causes one to inquire as to which persons or interests sought to have the sport incorporated at the inaugural games. Reflecting on previous scholarship including the research and papers of John A. Lucas, along with related work by Richard D. Mandell, Heiner Gillmeister, and E. Digby Baltzell, it will be argued that lawn tennis made the 1896 games primarily because it satisfied the tastes of Pierre de Coubertin and the Olympic organizers.

Coubertin and the members of his fledgling International Olympic Committee, formed at the Second Sorbonne Congress in 1894, mutually supported a late Victorian definition of amateurism which emphasized the uncompensated gentleman sportsman as the ideal athlete. Lawn tennis, a sport traditionally contested by members of the leisure class, warranted Olympic status on the grounds that it cultivated the sophisticated clientele Coubertin’s coterie hoped would participate in the Athens games. Moreover, the royal family of Greece, which played a surprisingly direct role in both the organization and officiation of the inaugural competitions, defended the same concept of amateurism presented at the Sorbonne gathering, suggesting that tennis satisfied both of the Olympic organizing parties’ conceptions of amateur sport. Although relatively little was written on the tennis tournament itself, primary accounts from tennis participants John Pius Boland and George Stuart Robinson, as well as other Olympic athletes and patrons seem to support the genteel atmosphere of the gathering. The amateur nature of tennis’s inclusion is further supported by the notable exclusion of other sports—chiefly boxing—considered to be too violent or plebeian for the competition. In the absence of a definitive primary text explaining the creation of the 1896 Olympic program, satisfaction of the ideals of amateurism appears the most logical reason for lawn tennis’s
peculiar inclusion. This conclusion further confirms the profound influence of amateur ideas accompanying the emergence of international sport in the late nineteenth century.

**JANE E. HUNT, BOND UNIVERSITY (AUSTRALIA)**

*From pre–Title-IX tennis to triathlon:
Women and the personal experience of finding freedom through multisport*

I seek, through a broad project on histories of women in triathlon, to contribute to knowledge about women in sport. Contemporary women and sports advocacy bodies such as Australian Womensport and Recreation Association are interested in identifying the ‘push and shove moments’ in the campaign for gender equality in sport. I argue that triathlon in many ways appears to have presented opportunities for gender equality, or at least a greater rate of inclusion according to the various measures that advocacy groups tend to rely on, but that there are inherent vulnerabilities within the sport as well.

One of the questions I am interested in exploring is whether women have gained ground within the sport of triathlon largely due to the work of specific individuals, rather than some innate feature of the sport.

Exclusive focus on notions of measurable equality at the institutional level may provide only a part of the explanation for triathlon’s apparently strong score card on gender equality. Drawing (with consent) on unpublished interviews and manuscripts, I seek to explore two remarkably similar stories of personal empowerment, expressed by two well-off American women from opposite sides of the country, Celeste Callahan and Dottie Dorian. Both described themselves as ‘pre–Title IX–women’ and independently expressed their experiences of boredom and restlessness as housewives engaging in regular rounds of tennis. Both embarked on journeys that they interpreted as liberating and life-changing, when they took up running. From running both extended themselves and took up triathlon in the first half of the 1980s. Setting the bar of physical achievement ever higher both subsequently competed in Ironman Hawaii, an iconic ultra-distance triathlon held at Kailua-Kona on Hawaii’s Big Island. And both went on to participate in initiatives aimed at involving more women in the sport.

Naturally the scholarly field of research regarding women in triathlon is a fairly narrow one. However, a 2008 paper in *Leisure Studies* reported on a survey of participants at a women-only triathlon training camp (Cronan & Scott). The study found that through their ‘communal physical experience’ they reinvented sport as ‘a supportive, collective and non-competitive activity’. Potentially this relates to the pre–Title IX women in my case study, but not in such a simplistic, feel-good manner. In the first half of the 1980s rates of female participation were low, providing minimal opportunity for women triathletes to share the triathlon journey with other women. That changed at Kona, where nervous women anticipating their upcoming physical ordeal found each other and began a lasting tradition, the women’s breakfast. Yet the notion of ‘collective and non-competitive activity’ does not uniformly apply to women triathletes. Extensive evidence (published and unpublished interviews, triathlon media accounts, autobiographies, etc.) exists to suggest that many pursued performance goals that they measured in terms of placement in their age group or
professional categories. I argue that Dorian and Callahan’s rejection of tennis and its tendency to fuse recreation with social and cultural codes relating to appearance and behaviour, provides evidence of the value they placed on individualistic, goal-driven physical endeavor. It is possible that for Callahan, Dorian and many others, triathlon offered opportunities to resist normalizing discourses about female recreational activity and capacity, and the freedom to achieve self-determined physical objectives.

**Brian M. Ingrassia, West Texas A&M University**

Better than Indianapolis: Atlanta’s New South Auto Racing Aspirations, 1909-1913

When the Atlanta Automobile Speedway opened in Hapeville, nine miles south of downtown Atlanta in November 1909, the bustling New South metropolis was seeking to become a major automobile manufacturing city. The “Gate City” was then hosting the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers (NAAM) annual convention, and Atlanta’s two major newspapers were also sponsoring Glidden Tour-style automobile endurance contests intended to inspire the building of good roads throughout Georgia and beyond. Before construction on the new race track even began, the Atlanta Automobile Association proudly announced that the 2-mile, $400,000 facility would be better than the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. The Atlanta track’s planners even worked with the city engineer and Standard Oil representatives to devise a paving compound that would be safer and faster than the surface at Indianapolis. Atlanta’s desire to compete with Indianapolis was not unique: the Hoosier track, which quickly set the gold standard for auto racing venues when it opened in summer 1909, inspired the building of similar “autodromes” throughout America. This mimicry was an early example of the phenomenon of modern cities building sports venues to attract both publicity and money. When completed, the Atlanta Speedway seated over 25,000 in the grandstands and 15,000 in the bleachers. It was designed for spectator safety and convenience (with below-grade tunnels for crowd control) as well as commercial appeal. This paper tells the story of the construction of Atlanta’s speedway and its races, as well as its demise. After hosting automobile races—and even some aeronautical spectacles—the surface was deteriorating and the Atlanta Automobile Association could not repay its debts. Coca-Cola President Asa G. Candler foreclosed on the property in 1913. The land sat dormant until the 1920s, when it became Candler Field, today known as Hartsfield-Jackson International Airport.

This paper situates the Atlanta speedway’s obscure history within the context of early-1900s automotive racing, urban boosterism, and progressive reforms. By trying to outdo Indianapolis, Atlanta’s automobile enthusiasts established a place where New South automobile enthusiasts could be proud of their city’s accomplishments—while comfortably observing the exciting, space-annihilating potential of innovative automotive and paving technologies. This paper is significant for sport historians not only because it helps us understand an obscure chapter in the history of early automobile racing, but also because it shows that such venues were already becoming a way to boost cities in the early 1900s. The paper employs primary sources from the *Atlanta Constitution* and *New York Times*, as well as the Emory University Archives. The paper engages scholarship by Randal L. Hall, Mark Douglas Lowes, Howard L. Preston, and Robert C. Trumbour.
I plan to present an argument which centers on a relationship between the expansion of women’s sporting opportunities and the growth of big-time college sports. In the 1970s, dramatic economic, social, and political changes forced the NCAA and member institutions to focus much effort on the financing of intercollegiate athletics.

Title IX, or the legislation which required schools to expand opportunities for women in educational programs, including sports, represented only one of the new pressures athletic and university officials confronted to figure out how to finance intercollegiate athletics programs as costs escalated. An economic recession, challenges to the NCAA television structure, and accusations of exploitation and violations of academic integrity also must be considered when attempting to understand many athletic officials’ increased anxiety and (often emotional) resistance to Title IX. In addition, at some universities, the context of broader political resistance to civil rights legislation must be considered. Some university officials interpreted Title IX as an example of federal government overreach and a violation of institutional autonomy.

Placing Title IX in its proper historical context helps facilitate a better understanding of the growth of big-time college sports. I assert that the social justice issue of expanded women’s sporting opportunities and the social (in)justice issue of the exploitation of predominantly African American male basketball and especially football players are inextricably linked. While the commercialization of (men’s) intercollegiate athletics has a long history which precedes the 1970s, most scholars identify the 1970s as the decade in which the degree of commercialization and professionalization crossed an invisible threshold to become big-time college sports.

Officials never explicitly linked the two, or made the conscious decision to increase the pressure on football and basketball programs to generate revenue so that more women could gain the opportunity to play. At the same time, however, this has been an unintended consequence of Title IX because of the way in which athletic and university officials determined to comply with the law, and because of the refusal to make reductions in football and basketball expenditures. The development of broad and expansive non-revenue sports programs for women—and men—has served as a shield for the NCAA and member institutions each time they confront new accusations of exploitation or academic cheating scandals. The intercollegiate athletics system works for the vast majority of NCAA athletes, particularly women. This success story also has helped to mask the increasing pressures on football and basketball players to prioritize athletic over academic roles and responsibilities as the emphasis on winning and revenue generation has increased in importance since the 1970s.

My presentation will draw from the Department of Athletics records of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The Tar Heels serve as a valid case study because of the school’s commitment to academic excellence, big-time sports, and women’s intercollegiate athletics. UNC’s history includes academic scandals and accusations of racial exploitation, as well as a much-celebrated commitment to an expansive women’s athletics program which officials claimed went far beyond “mere compliance with the law.”
GARY JAMES, MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
Methodology and the Origins of Soccer—Manchester as a Case Study

The advent of digital newspaper archives has provided researchers with the opportunity to access material at an increasing pace and at great volume. This has aided research significantly, and allowed researchers to use vast amounts of material located through digital archive research to strengthen or develop their arguments. In recent years this has led to conflict within academic circles, particularly within the origins of soccer debate prominent in the United Kingdom with articles published in international academic journals such as the International Journal of the History of Sport. Instead of establishing a common theme this digital evidence has led to competing theories on how the sport began, with some historians taking an ‘orthodox’ perspective, believing that the public schools played the lead role in the development of soccer. Others subscribe to a ‘revisionist’ position, arguing that the public schools were not as influential as traditionalists believe and that the lower-middle-classes were more relevant in the game’s ultimate development. This debate has seen the views of some historians become entrenched with efforts being made to find any word, such as ‘football’, connected with the sport without assessing what the actual use of the word meant or indeed the context of the piece. This paper is an attempt to move the debate forward by considering an alternative way of viewing the history of sport. This paper considers how to utilise the evidence provided within the existing debates, and the material yet to be uncovered, to establish a new framework which will, it is believed, work the evidence and views outlined during the orthodox-revisionist debate into an all-encompassing framework. The methodology proposed is based on the work of Fernand Braudel, and is being utilised in the research of the origins of association football in Manchester. Using findings produced during that research, the author provides examples and evidence which, it is hoped, will help this methodological approach become a model for the sport, and potentially for other sports in the forthcoming years.

This paper will provide an example of how the methodological approach proposed can be utilised to develop an all-encompassing view of a sport’s origins. It also suggests how the vast amounts of digital material now available can be considered and used to establish a sport’s historical truth.

Research for this paper has focused on the works and criticisms of Fernand Braudel, papers published on the origins of soccer debate and the research of the author into methodologies and the birth of association football in the Manchester region. The author is currently writing a monograph on the origins of soccer, utilising Manchester as a case study.

The argument is that some historians active within the soccer origins debate are focusing on the identification of references to a sport to support their argument, rather than considering how best to interpret the vast amount of data identified. This paper concludes that by utilising the proposed methodological approach, a stronger all-encompassing narrative of the game’s development can occur. This is highly significant to the origins debate and may prove to be the model for other sports research in future years.
KATHERINE M. JAMIESON, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, GREENSBORO
Bodies, Borders, and Brownness in Sites of Sport

This paper offers a sociohistorical reading of three significant sites of sport in the US, analyzing their deeply contingent relations to broader social issues, policies, and national imaginaries. The sites, brought into view through Munoz’s concept of a “sense of brown,” are Chavez Ravine—the neighborhood that was razed in order to build Dodger Stadium in the mid-1950s; Indian Wells—the tennis club host to a WTA major where a racially white atmosphere showed itself publicly in 2001; and Pinehurst Country Club—site of USLPGA golfer Michelle Wie’s US Open victory in 2014. Focusing on acts of “disidentification” and political agitation at these sites, the author seeks to unveil the common practices of producing and displacing bodies through sporting spaces. This analysis intentionally cross-reads these historical, spatial, and cultural moments in order to generate a sport-informed “sense of brown,” or a sense of the daily political agitation that takes shape in multi-racial, yet Whitened sites of sport. Such analytics may raise new questions about less-spectacular forms of agitation and displacement that occur in and through sites of sport. As well, such analyses are especially timely as Neoliberalism sees to it that human physical activity is moralized, space is privatized, power is contingent, and consumption is celebrated.

SCOTT R. JEDLICKA, WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

In his 1977 inaugural address, President Jimmy Carter declared to the American people that “[b]ecause we are free, we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere. Our moral sense dictates a clear-cut preference for those societies which share with us an abiding respect for individual human rights.” While most listeners likely interpreted this comment as a reference to Cold War politics, Carter’s foreign policy consistently exhibited a broader concern for and deeper understanding of human rights beyond containing Communism. Despite these forward-thinking and ostensibly noble intentions, the Carter administration often found itself pulled into realpolitik approaches to policymaking, especially when dealing with the Soviet Union. Arguably, the combination of an ambitious international human rights agenda with more traditional (and constraining) approaches to U.S.-Soviet relations contributed to the Carter administration’s push to boycott the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow.

The existing historiography of the Moscow Olympics identifies the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as the genesis of the boycott decision. While the relative importance of the processes and factors that ultimately led to the boycott are debatable, the scholarly (and popular) consensus characterizes the boycott as a response to what was understood to be a specific, overt act of Soviet aggression. While the significant role of the invasion is not disputed here, this paper considers the boycott within the broader context of the United States’ human rights-oriented foreign policy preferences during this period. Nearly two years before the boycott was carried out, an adviser on Carter’s National Security Council (NSC) raised the possibility of leveraging “the true Olympic
spirit” to exploit a potential dissonance between the values of Olympism and Soviet domestic policy, and in doing so further American human rights interests. Around the same time, President Carter as well as Secretary of State Cyrus Vance were listening closely to concerns about (and considering potential responses to) the treatment of Jewish emigrants in the Soviet Union before and during the Olympics. The potential value of the Olympics as a foreign policy lever was seemingly understood by presidential advisers and perhaps by the president himself well before 1980.

Drawing on administration documents available in Foreign Relations of the United States, from the Carter Presidential Library, the American Presidency Project, and the International Olympic Committee, as well as memoirs of relevant individuals such as President Carter, Secretary of State Vance, and former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, this paper will argue that the seeds for the U.S.-led Moscow boycott were planted years before Soviet troops crossed into Afghanistan. While avoiding any direct reconsideration of the boycott’s political effectiveness, this paper argues that the boycott decision was not simply the hasty, irrational, retaliatory response it is often assumed to be, and that the Carter administration possessed a more nuanced understanding of the Olympics’ potential political uses than it is often given credit for. More generally, this paper reassesses the notion of Olympic sport as an attractive political tool, especially in ideologically-charged contexts such as the Cold War.

TANYA K. JONES, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON
The Struggle for Reconciliation: Douglas Roby, Apartheid Politics, and the Olympic Games

On April 24, 1968, Avery Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), announced that South Africa would not be permitted to participate in the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games. This decision was made due to the “explosive conditions throughout the world and the ugly demonstrations, rioting, and other violent happenings in many different countries during the last sixty days, there was actual danger if a South African team appeared at the Games.” South Africa’s prevailing apartheid policies transformed the Olympic Movement into a battlefield of political agendas, and precipitated collaboration amongst newly formed African nations to boycott the 1968 Olympic Games. South Africa’s discriminatory statutes prohibited the creation of racially mixed South African teams, and even outlawed direct international competition against racially mixed teams from other countries. This presented a problem for international sport federations such as the IOC that were founded on the fundamental principle that sport should be available to all irrespective of race and ethnicity, gender, religion, or political affiliation.

Under Brundage’s leadership, the IOC appeared conflicted with which course of action should be taken. Expelling South Africa would cause the IOC to make a decision based on political affiliation; on the other hand, allowing South Africa to participate in the Olympic Games would violate the fourth fundamental principle in the Olympic Charter, “The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practising sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play.” A number of U.S. organizations, administrators, and private citizens
sympathized with Brundage and the IOC’s predicament. Some, like Douglas Roby, president of the United States Olympic Committee and a U.S. representative to the IOC, even pledged their full support for South Africa’s inclusion in the Games by emphasizing his desire to keep politics and sports separate. Like Brundage, Roby argued that if South Africa were to be expelled based on its governmental policies, the Olympic Movement would be doomed to failure.

Based upon previously unused documents from the Douglas Roby papers housed at the University of Michigan, as well as materials from the Avery Brundage Archives, the Olympic Studies Centre, as well as public debates in the leading national and sporting newspapers and periodicals of the time, this paper will examine the role that Douglas Roby played in trying, albeit unsuccessfully, to ensure South Africa’s participation in the 1968 Olympic Movement in the face of an emerging U.S. anti-apartheid movement bolstered by the support of the “Olympic Project for Human Rights.”

KOHEI KAWASHIMA, MUSASHI UNIVERSITY
The Super Bowl as the Epitome of American Business and Culture: Continuity and Discontinuity in Japanese Views and Interpretations from 1975 to 2015

A perusal of Japanese writings on the Super Bowl, including news stories, journal articles and books, which have been published during the past four decades (1975–2015), helps explain the extensive Japanese interest in the spectacle. For example, an analysis of news stories with the term “Super Bowl” in the headings and contents, published on Japan’s four major newspapers, Nikkei, Asahi, Yomiuri, and Mainichi, is revealing. The news stories of the four sources, which began to appear in the late 1970s, each reached numerical peaks in the late-1990s and early-2000s, and stayed at high levels in more recent years, suggesting the continuing popularity of the Super Bowl and of American-style football more generally. The number of Japanese players who compete in American football on the teams of secondary and higher education and corporate levels also highlight these trends.

An analysis of the press coverage reveals that the Japanese see the Super Bowl as a stage for the “American Dream.” Japanese fans loved to read success stories in the career of spotlighted players, such as when Penn State’s Kerry Collins, having overcome alcoholism, made his debut as the New York Giants quarterback, or when Mike Tomlin, the Pittsburgh Steelers first-ever African-American head coach, led his team to the 2008 season title, or when wide receiver Santonio Holmes from the same Pittsburgh team who as a teenager had been a drug trafficker, won the Super Bowl MVP award.

The Japanese media also find Japanese interest stories. For instance, Ariko Iso, the Steeler’s first-ever female trainer, served during the championship seasons of 2005 and 2008 and major coverage from the Japanese press. Despite a contemporary rugby boom as a result of its national team’s amazing feats in the most recent world cup, the Super Bowl continues to fascinate Japanese viewers as the symbol and embodiment of American business and culture.
Based on extensive research in Japanese media accounts of the Super Bowl, this essay chronicles the evolution of Japan’s interest in the game and will advance our understanding of the Super Bowl as a global phenomenon.

DAVID KILPATRICK
The Original Cosmos: New York Soccer in the 1890s

When a new soccer club was formed to begin competition in the North American Soccer League for the 1971 season, the name “Cosmos” was selected as an abbreviation of “cosmopolitan” in the same manner as New York’s team was dubbed the “Mets” when National League baseball returned to Gotham a decade prior as shorthand for “metropolitan.” Whereas baseball did so with a nostalgic nod to the sport’s history in the city, none associated with the soccer club were aware their identity choice had a legacy link going back to the nineteenth century as well. Amnesia plagues American soccer, which still struggles against the notion that the global game is a foreign influence, its marginalized status on the sporting landscape a prized example of cultural exceptionalism. While many know that association football arrived in Brazil in 1894, few acknowledge that year is when professional soccer began in the United States, and that the Laws of the Game, established by the Football Association in 1863, were first published in New York just three years later, edited by none other than Henry Chadwick, better known in American sporting history as “the father of base ball” for inventing the box score and popularizing writing on the emerging national pastime. When Naismith invented basketball in 1891, he used, of course, a soccer ball—an object much in use throughout the northeastern United States, belying the notion that soccer arrived when Pelé joined the Cosmos.

The purpose of this paper will be to provide an antidote to the amnesia obscuring our awareness of soccer’s pioneers in the United States in the early years of the game’s global growth. Playing their first match against Americus at St. George Cricket Club, Hoboken, New Jersey on 4 November 1890, the Cosmopolitan Association Football Club—nicknamed the “Cosmos” as early as 6 Dec 1890 by The New York Sun—quickly gained a reputation strong enough to promote their games in the local media. A surprise win against an all-star team from Philadelphia on 30 November 1893 was enough set off a surge of interest in the kicking game, emerging as a more aesthetically thrilling alternative to the violence of the college gridiron game drawing increasing scrutiny. This directly resulted in the owners of the six eastern National League baseball clubs to launch the American League of Professional Foot Ball Clubs in October 1894. The effort failed in less than a fortnight and professional soccer would not be revived in the United States until the 1920s, the Golden Age of pro soccer in the US. The failure of the pro league seemed to have a negative impact on the Cosmopolitan AFC, who struggled to survive over the next few years until fading into the mists of time.

This paper will share what is known about this club—its players and playing space, opponents and supporters—to refine our understanding of soccer’s place in the late nineteenth century New York sporting landscape.
Richard Kimball, Brigham Young University  
From the Brooklyn Bridge to Bugs Bunny: Reinventions of Steve Brodie, Bridge Jumper

In 1886, Steve Brodie gained renown as the first man to jump off the Brooklyn Bridge and live. Although the actuality of the jump remains controversial, the celebrity that surrounded Brodie was real, if undeserved. Nearly from the moment that Brodie was plucked out of the East River, he began to fashion a heroic narrative for himself and spent the remainder of his life refining and re-inventing his story in order to stoke the flame of fame. In story, song, and on stage, Brodie dramatically retold the tale of his courageous leap. But no celebrity, not even extreme athletes like Brodie who seemingly do the impossible, can control how history and the power of mass culture will re-define a reputation in the long run. This presentation will analyze how Brodie established the themes of his public persona and how later interpreters re-fashioned his memory. Through stage plays like On the Bowery, songs like “My Pearl is a Bowery Girl,” and the performance art that Brodie performed daily in his saloon on Bowery Street, Brodie became the embodiment of the stereotypical Bowery Boy—rough-edged, street smart, and a little exotic to out-of-towners.

After Brodie’s death in 1901, others assumed the responsibility of perpetuating Brodie’s story and interpreting his cultural importance. Most notably in films like The Bowery (1933) and Samuel Fuller’s Park Row (1952), Brodie remained the iconic Bowery Boy but reflected a different cultural sensibility from the flesh-and-blood Brodie of the 1890s. Perhaps the most memorable rendering of Steve Brodie in the twentieth century came from an animated short produced by the Warner Bros. Studio. In the seven-minute film Bowery Bugs (1949), Bugs Bunny befuddles Brodie at every turn—and even manages to sell the Brooklyn Bridge itself. Steve Brodie may have briefly “owned” the Brooklyn Bridge by mastering its heights but he was always more interested in selling himself and his story—and he wasn’t the only one. The bridge was merely a prop.

George Kioussis, California State-Northridge  
A “Fancy Dream” Dashed: The Untapped Promise of the International Soccer League

Historian David Wangerin has aptly called America’s soccer history one of “missed opportunities” and “lost causes.” A cursory glance at the ventures that came to naught over the course of the twentieth century—ASL, ASL II, NPSL, NASL, MISL—provides a glaring reminder of the game’s developmental struggles. Lost in this alphabet soup is the International Soccer League, a quasi-professional circuit that entered the U.S. “sport space” in 1960 before coming to an ignominious end five years later.

The purpose of this paper is to shine a light on the oft-neglected ISL, a league that came to fruition under promises of high-class players, much-needed publicity, and “large sums of moneys.” More specifically, it traces the fractious relationship between its principal organizer, William D. Cox, and the United States Soccer Football Association. An entrepreneur who, for all his sporting passions, built a reputation as a businessman first and foremost, Cox sought to make his product marketable by importing high-profile teams. The resultant lack of American entries put him at odds with members of the national body, who increasingly saw the project and Cox’s political
maneuverings as a neglect of the grassroots. The result was considerable tension, made more acute by ambiguous contractual obligations and personal spats.

The research here fills a gap in the historiography of American soccer, given the paucity of research on the ISL. In so doing, it draws from a rich collection of archival sources, including USSFA meeting minutes and annual reports, that have been underutilized by scholars to date. These materials provide new insight into the closed-door conversations that shaped the fate of the league itself and the American game more broadly. They also shed light on the colorful cast of characters that was, to borrow from a New York Times report, “dreaming fancy dreams” of the country’s soccer future.

Matthew Klugman, Victoria University
‘There is No Necessity for Converting A Manly Game into a Nuisance By Excessive Devotion’—Late Victorian Anxieties Regarding the Emasculating Nature of Watching, Rather than Playing, Association Football

In the mid-to-late 1800s proponents of the associated ideologies of Muscular Christianity and rational recreation celebrated the new ‘scientific’ forms of football and other modern sports for the way they helped boys grow into strong, disciplined and courageous men. More recently football codes around the world have been critiqued along similar lines for upholding hegemonic versions of aggressive masculinity that valorize powerful men who bruise and batter their opponents and are, in turn, bruised and battered. Yet in Great Britain the growing popularity of Association football (soccer) in the late 1800s and early 1900s was accompanied by concerns regarding the masculinity of those men who were regularly watching, rather than playing, the game of football.

This paper explores this largely uncharted phenomenon by way of the digitized newspapers that make up the British Newspaper Archive. In particular, I will trace the way both Christian ministers and secular commentators expressed anxieties that watching the manly spectacle of Association football might be an emasculating experience. At issue for these commentators was not only the wellbeing of individuals, but also the modern project linking athletics to national health. An underlying question here, is whether Association football—and perhaps male spectator sports in general—might foster a more heterodox masculinity, one that involved men not being courageous and manly themselves, but rather becoming excited by, and devoted to, those men who performed bravely for their entertainment. And this raises further questions regarding the gaze of these male spectators who could become so excited by watching these (other) men play.

Bobbi A. Knapp, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale
Linda Jefferson: (Re)Introducing the SuperStar of Women’s Football

The sport of football has toppled baseball as the most popular sport in the United States, but even before it reached its current level of popularity, William Arens (1975) described football as a symbol of U.S. culture. Scholars such as Messner (2002) and Nelson (1994) suggest that the rise
in football’s popularity is linked to fears of the increased feminization of U.S. society as women have continued to move beyond the home sphere. Although football has been understood as a reparatory field for boys to learn gender normative behavior (Sabo & Panepinto, 1990), girls and women also have a history of playing the game.

The documenting of women’s football history is an ongoing process. Thus far, the earliest documented women’s involvement in football is of women’s teams that played during the halftime of men’s games (Oriard, 2001). The following decades saw an ebb and tide of women’s involvement on the gridiron with the 1970s marking the beginning of major leagues for women’s football that stretched across the nation. The league that dominated women’s football at that time was the National Women’s Football League (NWFL).

One of the teams in the NWFL was the Toledo Troopers. The Troopers were founded in 1971 by Ken Dippman who co-owned the team with 9 other people. The Troopers were one of the charter members of the National Women’s Football League which was started in 1973. Bill Stout coached the Troopers from 1971 to 1978. Under his tutelage, the Troopers only lost one game and had a winning streak that stretched for five seasons. Additionally, the Troopers recorded seven straight championships making them the most dominant team in women’s football during this era.

Central to the Troopers’ success was Linda Jefferson. Jefferson was one of the most prolific scorers in women’s football history. It was said for every 3.3 times Jefferson touched the football her team recorded a touchdown. A publicity release from the Troopers in 1978 noted that Linda Jefferson was number one in career touchdowns with 140 compared to 126 for Jim Brown, 113 for Lenny Moore, and 105 for Don Hudson. She was also listed in fifth place just behind Jim Taylor in pro football’s all-time ground-gaining.

Linda Jefferson is a key piece in the history of women’s professional football and as such is the central focus of this paper. This paper will explore the rise of women’s football in the 1970s and its ties to the success of Linda Jefferson and the Toledo Troopers. Specifically, it will examine what impacted the growth of women’s football at this time and the ways in which the experiences of Linda Jefferson and the Toledo Troopers were representative of this growth.

Evidence used in this study includes an interview with Linda Jefferson, archival materials, and an analysis of mediated representations of the team. As there is yet little research examining women’s experiences in football, this paper will significantly add to our current level of understanding in an area that is ripe for further exploration.

**ROBERT KOSSUTH, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE**

*Indigenous and Colonial Physical Culture: Sport, Contact, and the Settlement of Canada’s Southwestern Prairie Frontier*

The role of physical culture as a site for establishing communities is often not considered when examining the process of colonial settlement. On Canada’s prairie frontier at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, physical recreation represented among the first social practices and spaces to emerge as migrants settled communities including Lethbridge and Fort Macleod. Some of the
earliest interactions between Indigenous peoples and white migrants occurred in this cultural sphere. Viewing the processes of community building through this lens suggests physical recreation practices served not only as sites of conflict between Indigenous and colonial cultures, but also as points of contact that at times disrupted the colonial narrative. Through a critique of the historical evidence located at the intersections of gender, ethnicity, and social rank, it is possible to reassess this ordered vision of the past.

In the context of the colonial-era Canadian west the concept of intersectionality provides a means to address ongoing relations between those who settled the region and Indigenous peoples who were removed from the land as a result of prevailing government policies. Intersectionality, in this context, addresses dynamics of difference and sameness mitigated by power relations that exist in structures of inequality. The first reserves were created in southern Northwest Territories following the signing of Treaty 7 in 1877. The Kainai Nation (Blood Tribe) and Piikani Nation (Peigan Tribe) were included in Treaty 7 as members of the broader Blackfoot Confederacy. Indigenous athletes living on these reserves were able to compete in sport competitions in nearby settler communities, however this participation occurred at the discretion of the Indian Agent in charge of each reservation. An example of an Indigenous athlete who negotiated the intersections of colonial relations at this time is Tom Three Persons who, through his participation in rodeo demonstrated agency not available to most First Nations men. Despite being lauded for his victory at the 1912 Calgary Stampede by Euro-Canadians in nearby Fort Macleod, Three Persons’ future and identity remained tied to his Indigenous status and the reserve.

Sports in the southern regions of the Canadian prairies became sites where settlers distinguished themselves and built their nascent communities. At times, however, Indigenous athletes disrupted this frontier masculinity tied to athletic prowess. In a social context that relied on the cultural forms of honor and skill to form hierarchies built largely on racial/ethnic and gender differences, the ongoing relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples were punctuated by moments of connection. However, prevailing relationships continued to advance the interests of colonial settlers often at the expense of their Indigenous neighbours.

ALEX KUPFER, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Football Fundamentals Visualized: Non-Theatrical Exhibition, Sports Films, and Knute Rockne’s Lost Movie

While motion pictures have long been a central concern to the field of sports studies, scholars have concentrated on a relatively small number of canonical titles, typically fictional Hollywood features. In the past fifteen years, Michael Oriard (2001), Dan Streible (2008), and others have opened up new avenues for studying sports movies by examining overlooked cinematic genres such as serials and newsreels alongside the more widely studied features. Yet, scant attention continues to be been paid to non-theatrical films, or ones shown predominantly in spaces outside of movie theaters, encompassing both educational and entertainment contexts (including coaches’ offices, alumni gatherings, and schools), encompassing forms such as sponsored movies, educational shorts, and training films. This is due in part to the fragmentary archival preservation of noncommercial
movies of all genres which has resulted in the disappearance of the vast majority of sports movies produced in the interwar decades.

The issue of non-theatrical sports film exhibition, as well as their subsequent exclusion from sports media history, leads to a number of questions that I plan to answer in this paper: What role did non-theatrical exhibition play in defining the uses of sports films? How were motion pictures used by league officials, coaches, and fans in different exhibition spaces to further institutional, pedagogical, and cultural goals? How did the different conceptions of the cultural capital associated with non-theatrical versus theatrical cinema reinforce the perception of sports films as “lowbrow”?

To answer these questions this paper examines the distribution and exhibition of *Football Fundamentals Visualized* (1924), an instructional short that was the first movie in which Notre Dame football coach Knute Rockne appeared. Despite Rockne’s eventual mythic stature within college football and sports culture, the movie has been overlooked by sportswriters and historians. Even though the film can no longer be seen, through an analysis of correspondence in the Notre Dame Archives and other archival materials, *Football Fundamentals Visualized* is an important text for understanding how exhibition spaces influenced the relationship between sport and media during this period. Upon discovering that the film was going to be distributed to theaters, Rockne threatened to sue the production company, and insisted that the picture be marketed as an educational text and exhibited only in churches and schools. As a result, the picture was quickly pulled from national circulation and seems to have been exhibited in only two Ohio towns and received limited distribution to schools by the Bureau of Visual Instruction at the University of Wisconsin.

Although neither digital databases nor archival research provides a full conception of *Football Fundamentals Visualized*’s exhibition and circulation, the film offers a case study to rethink the dynamic of knowledge production which has limited the field’s conception of the full range of sports films which were made and exhibited throughout the twentieth century. This paper contributes to our understanding of sports history by providing a more nuanced conception of not only Rockne’s persona and the development of Notre Dame football into a “national” program, but also the convergence of sport and media industries starting in the 1920s.

**ROBERT J. LAKE, DOUGLAS COLLEGE**

Historical Constructions of an Imagined Community in British Tennis

Recent sociological research (e.g. Lake, forthcoming; Wagg, 2015) has examined contemporary social constructions of Englishness (i.e. English national identity) at the All England Lawn Tennis Club (AELTC) and its Wimbledon Championships, primarily through media representations and marketing, which uses “banal nationalism” (Billig, 1995) to flag English/British identity, create an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991) of British tennis fans, and invoke nostalgia for the sport’s amateur past. This presentation aims to uncover the roots and critically examine the historical development of this phenomenon since the early years of tennis in the mid/late-Victorian era to the present day. Its main objectives are: to examine the earliest connections between (lawn) tennis and both English and British identity, in relation to the lingering sentiments
of British imperialism, and the southern-English public-school derived amateur ethos; to examine the conflation of English and British national identities at Wimbledon within broader cultural and political contexts over time, related specifically to notions of supposed post-war English decline and ongoing devolution for Scotland and Wales; to examine shifting attitudes toward English and British national identity through an analysis of the banal nationalism invoked in press reports of British performances both at Wimbledon and in the Davis Cup; and, to examine the continued celebration of amateur ideals in professional players who conform to what the public regard as quintessentially English behavioural ideals, i.e., sportsmanship, magnanimity, honesty, modesty, courage, pluck, etc., with the manic public support for Tim Henman (“Henmania”) in the late 1990s and early 2000s serving as a key example. Among other case studies, this paper will examine also the ironic continued celebration and commemoration of Fred Perry—the last great British champion of the 1930s, who was initially treated as an outsider by the AELTC for his lower-middle-class background and unfailing will to win—which among other more tangible customs is an example of an “invented tradition” (Hobsbawn, 1983) used by the press, public and the AELTC itself to invoke nostalgia for past British successes and celebrate inclusivity, in the face of public condemnation of wasted funds in British talent development, and elitism in the nation’s most prestigious club. Set in the context of Andy Murray’s recent successes at Wimbledon and in the Davis Cup, this paper aims to offer a broad and comprehensive look at the historical development and social construction of British national identity in tennis over the last 140 years.

RITA LIBERTI, PROFESSOR, CALIFORNIA STATE-EAST BAY & MARIA VERI, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY

“As Welcome as Lunch at the Ritz”: A History of Tailgating Culture in the U.S.

Tailgating at sporting events in the United States has become a widely practiced and increasingly celebrated aspect of American culture. While it wasn’t until 1962 that the first definition of tailgating appeared in the Oxford English Dictionary—“the action or practice of hosting or attending a party where food and drink are served at the tailgate of a motor vehicle before a sports event (typically a football game)—various sources point to the first intercollegiate football game in 1869 as the origin of this practice (with the back of a horse-drawn carriage as the precursor to the tailgate). The sources, however, tend to cite one non-scholarly source, Drozda’s (1996) Tailgater’s Handbook. Moreover, there is remarkably little, if any, scholarly attention paid to the history of the evolution of this pervasive ritual.

In this paper, we endeavor to address this omission in the historical record by situating tailgating, specifically within a football setting, within a broader socio-cultural context. We are interested in not only piecing together tailgate history, but also understanding men’s place in the rise of this cultural practice. At the center of tailgate festivities is food—everything from the more pedestrian fare of hot dogs and hamburgers to increasingly complex menus which feature entire roasted pigs and gourmet accompaniments. In many ways cookery has been defined as an appropriate activity in which female can/should engage. Yet, football has been/is integrally linked to men and masculinity. Within this apparent contradiction, we ask how historical narratives
around tailgating inform our understanding of the ways in which masculinity was constructed? How does the tailgating ritual, long associated with football, provide spaces where different and possibly more expansive definitions of manhood are in evidence? Given football’s deeply entrenched and valued cultural status over more than a century, such a pervasive associated ritual warrants our attention.

ANDREW D. LINDEN, ADRIAN COLLEGE

Writing in 1975, sociologist Michael R. Real argued that the Super Bowl disseminates American values while “strengthening and developing the [nation’s] larger social structure.” Indeed, that “great American timeout,” as Time magazine labeled the three-hour winter contest in 1977, has become a way for U.S. citizens to reflect on what it means to be an American. At Super Bowl I in 1967, for example, from Los Angeles’ Memorial Coliseum, the University of Arizona marching band played the Southern Dixie anthem “Waiting for the Robert E. Lee,” while the historically black Grambling State University marching band watched on the sidelines. In 1993, activists protested the Super Bowl in Arizona because of the state’s law against the Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday. And in 2010, Tim Tebow, known evangelical athlete, promoted his pro-life stance during a Super Bowl commercial.

These instances, and many others, demonstrate how since the beginning, social politics have been imbedded with the big game. In this paper, I analyze the various ways that the Super Bowl included manifestations of social politics from 1967 through 2016. First, some political moments were openly displayed; for example, the patriotic pageantry before Super Bowl XXV in 1991, at the outset of the Persian Gulf War, clearly aligned with pro-American and pro-war causes. Second, some political demonstrations were more covert; for example, the inclusion of the band “Up With People” at Super Bowl halftime shows in the 1970s and 1980s tacitly aligned with socially-conservative ideology and anti-counterculture propaganda. Third, and more recently, grassroots social activism infiltrated the Super Bowl, particularly through social media. Hashtag activism and Super Bowl commercials created a synergy between football and twenty-first century social politics; for example, in 2014, the #LikeAGirl campaign—an initiative hoping to dismantle gender stereotypes in sport—combined its Super Bowl commercial with Twitter to spread the movement’s message.

The Super Bowl has become the secular winter holiday, as journalist Allen St. John describes, and it remains an important component of the American public sphere. However, groups and individuals have promoted vastly differing political agendas during the spectacle event each year. Therefore, how does the Super Bowl reflect competing values of Americanism? Does the inclusion of political agendas at the Super Bowl challenge larger cultural contexts, or merely reinforce conventional American attitudes? Does the game continue to be, as Real posited in 1975, a “collectively celebrated. . . spectacle of American ideology”? In answering these questions, I show how because of the popularity and mass appeal of the Super Bowl, the game has become one of the largest disseminators of social politics in the United States.
CHARLES LITTLE, LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
‘It’s the SANFL Wot Won It’: Sport as the Foundation of Rupert Murdoch’s Political Influence

In April 1992, John Major’s Conservative Party unexpectedly retained power in Great Britain’s General Election. The following day, the front page of the Rupert Murdoch-owned *Sun* tabloid claimed credit for this result, trumpeting “It’s the Sun Wot Won it” as its banner headline. Whilst the reasons for Major’s victory in the 1992 election remain contested, the backing he received from what was Britain’s highest circulation newspaper was clearly an important factor. In doing so, this also revealed the power that Murdoch himself had come to possess within the political process, not just in the United Kingdom but globally.

This paper will focus on the roots of Murdoch’s power, highlighting the paramount importance that sport has played in gaining him this influence. Despite having little personal interest in sport, the paper will argue that Murdoch’s most important insight was understanding the importance that sport could play in determining media ascendency in the late twentieth century. It was sport that delivered Murdoch his readers and viewers, and it was this audience that delivered him his political influence.

Although Murdoch’s use of sport to launch his television companies in the United States and United Kingdom has received some academic attention, this paper will highlight how Murdoch utilised this strategy from the very birth of his media empire in 1950s Australia. Beginning with coverage of the local Australian rules football competition (the South Australian National Football League [SANFL]) in Adelaide’s *News* (the newspaper he inherited from his father), sport would remain at the forefront of Murdoch’s media expansion, initially in Australia and then globally. Bound not by loyalty to any particular sporting code, Murdoch-owned newspapers aggressively targeted whichever sport was most popular in his target markets, be it rugby league (Sydney), association football (United Kingdom) or American football (the United States).

MATTHEW P. LLEWELLYN & TOBY C. RIDER, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY-FULLERTON
Extending the Flag of Convenience: The Zola Budd Affair, Apartheid Politics, and Thatcher’s ‘Firm’ Commitment to Gleneagles

On March 24, 1984, South African teenage running sensation Zola Budd boarded a KLM flight in Johannesburg bound for Southampton. Through the commercial maneuverings of the *Daily Mail* newspaper, Budd fled apartheid South Africa for the opportunity to compete on the international stage under the representative colors of Great Britain. Sir David English, chief editor of the *Daily Mail* and a personal friend of Home Secretary Leon Brittan, applied considerable pressure in facilitating the Home’s Office’s swift decision to grant British citizenship to the bare-footed runner. Ignoring the repeated warnings of Secretary of State Geoffrey Howe, Sports Minister Neil MacFarlane, as well as British embassy and consulate officials in posts throughout South Africa, Leon Brittan used special discretionary powers to award Budd citizenship after a waiting period of just 11 days.
The “exceptional treatment” afforded to a white South African, coming just days after the English Rugby Union’s vote to send a touring side to South Africa, represented a significant blow to the Gleneagles Agreement and the Commonwealth’s commitment to isolating Pretoria from the international sporting realm. Labour MPs rallied in opposition to the Government’s decision in the House of Commons, while the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement mobilized its members to denounce Budd and the oppressive apartheid regime they believed she represented. In the months leading up to the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles, Labour Party-controlled district councils even used their political resources to prevent Budd from competing in races necessary to her securing a spot on the British Olympic team.

Drawing upon recently declassified British governmental documents, as well as materials from the National Archives, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Olympic Studies Centre, and public debates in the leading national and sporting newspapers and periodicals of the time, this paper will argue that the Home Office’s decision to grant British citizenship to Zola Budd exposed the ideological rift within the Conservative Party on the issue of South African apartheid. In the broader context of Thatcher’s foreign policy of “peaceful reconciliation,” the Zola Budd affair appeared symptomatic of Thatcher’s reluctance to isolate South Africa diplomatically, economically, and culturally. In particular, this episode revealed that Thatcher’s platform support for the Gleneagles Agreement failed to match her Government’s policy-making.

CATHRYN LUCAS, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
Going Stealth: Passing, Racialized Gender, and Trans Narratives in Sport

While the discursive shift from transsexual to transgender has created space for more and different gendered embodiments, a dominant trans narrative still shapes cultural understandings of trans lives. Notions of being born in the wrong body, along with cross-gendered identification and behavior, give shape to stories of trans people becoming men/women. And because sex/gender is marked visibly in/on the body, trans people must first be visible as trans, then undergo transition, and finally become invisible as their “new” sex/gender. This requires an understanding of trans as metaphorical movement and mobility—the embodiment of liminality itself and of movement through liminal space.

The success of transition depends on the ability of a trans person to pass as their “new” sex/gender. Indeed, endocrinologists and surgeons refused (and continue to refuse) to provide trans related health care to people they believe will not pass in their “new” sex/gender. Of course, their ideas of what counts as masculine, feminine, and trans are shaped by the dominant trans narrative, which in turn, is sustained by the medicalized pathology of gender dysphoria.

Sport, like other institutions and sites for cultural formation, co-produces our notions of sex, gender, and sexuality. Athletes are encouraged to challenge governing bodies for access to sport by coming out, asking trans people to become visible. This creates a problem for sport’s hierarchical gender order, and trans athletes’ bodies again become the physical manifestations of imagined spatial and temporal distances between male and female, men and women.
This formulation of trans embodiment discursively re-produces sex, gender, and sexuality as separate from race where masculinity, femininity, and their embodiments are imagined through a white racial frame. The history of racial passing is either ignored or, alternately, used to demonstrate the separateness of race and gender. In this presentation, I explore the ways in which sport works institutionally and discursively to produce situations where trans athletes must pass.

Furthermore, I examine the work done by trans narratives and rhetorics of passing to re-produce spatial and temporal distances between not only male & female, but also gender & race. As queer and trans studies have become disciplinary fields of study, they have been taken to task for their inherent and un-critiqued whiteness. As scholars of sport history continue to examine trans experiences within sport, we have the opportunity to examine race alongside, in, and through trans embodiment.

EMMANUEL MACEDO, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON
“No to Pissing in Test Tubes”: Voices of Dissent in Anti-Doping Discourse

On 29 June 1966, cycling legend Jacques Anquetil and the rest of the Tour de France cyclists chanted, “No to pissing in test tubes,” as they protested the first drug test in cycling’s greatest race. The vulgar chant represented the working-class roots of the cyclists as they defended what many professional riders considered their right to use doping to do their job. Such protests illustrate that anti-doping occupied contested spaces throughout its history. Recent historical works on gender testing, women’s physical activity, and sports medicine explore how sport, science, and policy coalesce to reflect society’s contested spaces. At the same time, these works remind readers how power and cultural hegemony can silence minority or dissenting voices. However, the history of anti-doping has yet to receive such critical treatment. Though anti-doping policies emerged and have existed near policies on gender testing and sport medicine, historians have mostly focused on documenting doping scandals and the creation of the anti-doping policies.

Though often an unpopular position, a minority of athletes, sporting organizers, and medical professionals objected to the increasingly strict and punitive anti-doping policies that developed throughout the twentieth century in sport. The few historians who have examined the voices that broke with the growing cultural acceptance of anti-doping policies provided little work beyond noting these dissenters. As such, historians have yet to offer critical insight into why such resistance largely passed unnoticed by the policy makers in sport as they increasingly developed a comprehensive anti-doping system. Without such critical inquiry, scholars ignore what these dissenting voices represent—a culture that is coerced into what Maria Lugones has discussed as abnegation of itself.

By combining archival material, including various media, with existing historiography, the opposition to anti-doping will provide counterpoints for key moments in anti-doping policy development. Such opposition will include athletes’ stated desire to use performance-enhancing substances, protests over drug testing, and later opposition to athletes’ abilities to appeal anti-doping rule violations. At the same time, the sporting organizations dismissal and rejection of
dissenting views reveals important cultural attitudes and assumptions about elite athletes that have largely passed unnoticed by sporting administrators and unexamined by historical investigations.

**Malcolm MacLean, University of Gloucestershire**

Ironic and satirical: popular culture, historical sources and the anti-apartheid in sport movement.

Many of the canonical literary texts—*Gulliver’s Travels*, the oeuvre of Jane Austen and Charles Dickens or the poetry of John Donne—rely on there being much more to their meaning than the surface texts suggests. Irony, the driving trope of these works, as Claire Colebrook notes, “lies in the tensions of language” (19) and is inevitable and always already there in the text. Historians have constructed elaborate mechanisms to manage the always already present irony of our sources, the source verification and hermeneutic modes of analysis to explore if not the truthfulness then the veracity of our sources. This paper considers a case where deliberately ironic, satirical sources provide insight to an emerging structure of feeling, to a tectonic shift in political outlook, by taking to moments of popular cultural performance to examine the ideological context of the emerging anti-apartheid in sport movement.

The formation in London of the Boycott Committee and then the Boycott Movement during 1959 provided a sense of structure and coherence to the emerging international solidarity movement working to isolate apartheid-era South Africa. At the time the international movement was scattered and disparate, while the internal activist groups and liberation movements were working in conditions of increasing repression and schism. The terms of the emerging international anti-apartheid movement were also in flux and during the 1960s the campaigns included a protectionist approach to restrict the impact of the racial ideologies underpinning apartheid. By the end of the decade the anti-apartheid movement had united around a demand for the total isolation of the apartheid state and its régime. Whereas activist campaigns emerged across a range of issues including economic and military sanctions, sport focused activist campaigns were the most high-profile in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This paper explores the terms of the shifts in these “anti-apartheid in sport” campaigns by analysing two satirical texts associated with campaigns opposed to sporting contact with South Africa during 1959/60 and 1969/70. These texts, the first by the US satirist Tom Lehrer written in 1960, the second by New Zealand writer Murray Ball in 1967 encapsulate the shift in outlook. The paper argues that an analytical focus on the institutions and politics of the rugby focused anti-apartheid campaigns risk glossing the shifting structure of feeling these campaigns link to and form part of, and in doing historians and others under-rate the affective significance and impacts of these movements.

**Scott G. Martyn, University of Windsor**

IOC Crisis and Reform: The International Olympic Committee’s World Study on the Image of Olympism

Following the revelations reported by Salt Lake City’s ABC 4 Utah (KTVX) in November 1998, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) found itself enveloped by a seemingly endless
barrage of negative press in December 1998, and the early months of 1999. Although the original allegation focused on a “gift” of a college scholarship granted to an IOC member’s daughter prior to the organization’s Budapest Session when Salt Lake City secured host privileges for the 2002 Olympic Winter Games, the media soon focused its attention on shopping sprees, medical care, and vacation packages received by friends or relatives of other IOC members. Despite knowledge of the alleged corruption reported by the media widening beyond simply the Salt Lake City bid committee and certain IOC members, the organization’s independent research agency, Sponsorship Research International (SRi), continued their commissioned program of research to examine the imagery of and attitudes towards the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games.

Identified as the most comprehensive research analysis ever undertaken on the Olympic Movement, this study formed the basis for an overall strategic marketing communications program designed to communicate the attributes of the Olympic Movement and what makes the Olympic Games “special.” The first phase of this study took place in mid-1998 and was comprised of qualitative consumer research, in-depth interviews with members of the Olympic Family (athletes, IOC members, and representatives from the National Olympic Committees and International Federations), Olympic marketing partners, and the media, followed by a quantitative consumer study in eleven countries involving some 5,500 respondents. The second phase was conducted in September 1999, and was comprised of a smaller scale quantitative project. Intended to validate the results of the first phase in light of the crisis enveloping the Olympic Movement, the second phase incorporated six of the original countries and Australia, site of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games.

The reported findings of these studies indicated a remarkably high and enduring appreciation for the principles and values purported to encapsulate Olympism. According to SRi, the results were consistent across all age groups, income levels and transcended all cultures. It was further suggested that the study validated the basic findings of two multi-country public opinion surveys conducted for the IOC in February and March 1999, as well as polls conducted by the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) during the same period.

Utilizing a wide array of primary source documentation, including an in-depth examination of the IOC archives in Lausanne, Switzerland, and the personal archives of Richard W. Pound, this paper will examine the methodology employed by SRi and the key findings of the IOC’s “worldwide study on the image of Olympism.” Aligning the Salt Lake City bidding scandal and resulting reform chronology with the SRi study conclusions, this paper will demonstrate that while the public was justifiably disappointed with the IOC as an institution, they continued to hold the Olympic Games, the athletes, and the Olympic movement’s principles and values in high regard.

**Richard V. McGehee, University of Texas at Austin**

‘Guatemalan Presidential Birthdays, Sport, and the Maya Marathon of 1939-1943

Guatemalan presidents Manuel Estrada Cabrera and Jorge Ubico, the two Guatemalan dictators of greatest longevity in power during the twentieth century, enjoyed exhibitions of support by their subjects, such as extensive celebrations of their birthdays, which included many sporting events. An important sporting festival in 1917 was a five-day program celebrating Estrada Cabrera’s
birthday. It included soccer games, horse races, bull fights, and an acrobatic demonstration. Celebrations of Estrada Cabrera’s birthday, including parades, bullfights, soccer and baseball games, and horse, motorcycle, bicycle, and car races, continued in 1918 and later years.

In 1931, Jorge Ubico became president and, with the backing of the police and army, kept himself in the presidency, and his opponents in the penitentiary, until 1944. Ubico’s birthday served as occasion for the most important national celebration of the year, including many sport activities. Some years the competitions lasted the entire month of November. In addition to a grand parade of sport clubs, there were soccer, baseball, and basketball games, shooting competitions, and horse, bicycle, and motorcycle races. During the years 1939-1943, the most spectacular event was a 300-kilometer run by Maya Indians from the province of San Marcos.

The race began at an elevation of 4,212 meters in the crater of the volcano Tajumulco. Three days later the runners arrived at the presidential residence in Guatemala City, where they presented a document written in the Quiché language to Ubico, congratulating him on his birthday. The runners were accompanied by an ambulance and police motorcycles, with aid stations set up at distances of 20 kilometers along the route, and daily reports of the runners’ progress and condition were telegraphed to the capital. Beginning in 1942, several municipalities conducted training sessions and selection trials, and a medical exam was given all aspirants to determine their acceptability. In 1943, the run began on November 9 and was accomplished in only two days. The winners’ rewards were minimal, so motives of the Maya runners for participating in such a strenuous activity are not obvious, but President Ubico was apparently appreciated among the indigenous population, and perhaps they truly wanted to express homage to him through their efforts.

This paper documents early uses of sport by governments, including an extremely demanding long-distance race associated with birthday celebrations for Guatemalan president Jorge Ubico. Principal sources were Guatemalan newspapers from the periods of the presidencies of Manuel Estrada Cabrera and Jorge Ubico. The paper is dedicated to Joan Paul, who introduced me to NASSH over 30 years ago, and to Joe Arbena, who encouraged my work in Latin American sport history for over 20 years.

ANDREW McGREGOR, PURDUE UNIVERSITY
Piecing the Story Together: Digital Sport History Exhibits in Collaboration and Pedagogy

Each semester students synthesize hours of research into essays for an audience of one. Their work is read, graded, and returned, but rarely shared beyond the classroom walls. This wasted labor, however, has the potential to become something more. Student research, when blended with technology, is ripe for establishing collaborative digital history projects that tell larger stories. These projects, in turn, provide important hands-on experience and instruction in technoliteracy for the twenty-first century sport history student. This paper offers models and considers ways to create collaborative digital history projects while teaching technoliteracy and research skills to sport history students.

Digital history exhibits provide the opportunity for collaboration with various history organizations and sport history students. Local museums, archives, schools, or historical societies
often contain a wealth of sports related information and artifacts, providing resources for students to tell a community’s story.

Collaborative sport history exhibits can also focus on specific individuals, universities, or events, with each student contributing a piece of the larger story. This paper offers two collaborative models for building digital history projects based on undergraduate research focusing on University Archives.

The first model is the Nevada University History exhibit created by a public history course at the University of Nevada, Reno and their Special Collections and University Archives, where students researched and wrote short articles and selected images to be a part of a collaborative University History website. The second model is the digitization of a major research paper or senior thesis into its own online exhibit. This requires in-depth individualized research at a local archive or historical society, collecting and digitizing visual materials, and designing and organizing the information for digital consumption.

Both of these examples provide ways to make online exhibits an integral part of undergraduate teaching. First, they require the skills of historical research and writing—much like the traditional essay. Next, they challenge students to think creatively in selecting media and designing page layouts as both producers and consumers of information. Finally, online exhibits help illustrate the utility of a history course/degree and give students something tangible to show prospective employers.

These projects are also integral to local communities because they help local archives, museums, schools, or historical societies make sense of and share their own history. Because sports and history are often central parts of community identities, these collaborations also strengthen a sense of community between students, universities, historic societies, or museums. Finally, because digital exhibits are dynamic, they allow for the creation of larger histories where new students can continue these projects by plugging research gaps and adding new pieces of the story.

TAYLOR MCKEE, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
The Rink and the Stage: Melodrama, Media, and Canadian Hockey

A pervasive fiction has permeated a particular historical narrative regarding hockey’s history in North America. This narrative suggests that violence is woven tightly into the fabric of hockey, due to the prevalence of violent incidents in the history of the game. Many authors, especially those writing for popular audiences, have argued that simply because violent incidents have been recorded throughout the history of hockey, violence must have been condoned in the past, and therefore should continue to be a part of the game. In early hockey history, violence is said to have been far more malicious and, by comparison, hockey violence seen in the twenty-first century is often considered to be mere child’s play. However, many of these arguments fail to appreciate the way in which violence was received by those who observed hockey in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century. These arguments often fail to present violence as controversial and, in so doing, characterize the reception to hockey violence in the past as acquiescence. For many in the media, the violence observed in hockey games from the early years of organized hockey was repulsive, often leading reporters to advocate for violence’s removal from hockey altogether. The purpose of this talk
is to examine the early history of hockey violence by evaluating media reactions to violence, as published in western Canadian newspapers from 1875 to 1911.

This presentation, comprised of research from a larger paper, evaluates the relationship between melodrama and hockey reporting during the first years of organized hockey in western Canada. To conduct this appraisal, specific attention is paid to the language used by reporters to characterize violent play, a lexicon shaped by sensationalist trends in Canadian media that mirrored the theatrical tradition of melodrama. The types of source materials used are newspaper reports from western Canada from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I argue that through the lens of performativity, newspaper reporters demonstrated an active resistance to violence present from the first days of organized hockey in North America.

**Johanna Mellis, University of Florida**

*Athletes as Heroes in Socialist Hungary in the 1950s and 1960s*

Scholars have begun to analyze how the various Eastern European Communist nations used and depicted elite athletes as heroes for broader society. Yet their studies focus largely on athletes in the two most infamous socialist sport regimes: East Germany and the Soviet Union. This paper will examine the construction of athletes as heroes in a country that saw a different and much more relaxed type of socialist rule after the mid-1960s: Hungary. In a country where interwar and so-called “bourgeois” sport traditions greatly influenced athletes’ huge successes in the 1950s, how did sport leaders cultivate the image of athletes as socialist heroes? How did the Hungarian public perceive their athletes, particularly after momentous events like the massive loss at the “Miracle at Bern” in 1954 and the failed 1956 Revolution? My analysis will answer these questions by using a combination of archival material, oral histories and film footage. The presentation will demonstrate that on the one hand, the socialist state in Hungary went to great and sometimes fascinating lengths to create specifically “socialist heroes” of their athletes. On the other hand, Hungarians quickly developed their own understandings of their athlete-heroes, and expressed those ideas in very interesting and sometimes public ways. By discussing the construction of athlete-heroes in socialist society, my study highlights the gap between state-driven and societal understandings of modern sport.

**Louis Moore, Grand Valley State University**

*Race Man and Running Back: Levi Jackson and the Meaning of Manhood in Post World War II America*

The grandson of a slave, and the son of a butler, Levi Alexander Jackson was the “American Dream.” He was college football’s Jackie Robinson and Joe Louis, a man, a black man, that in one swoop, one fleet-footed run down the sidelines, could remind America about the promise of democracy while blinding the nation to the reality of racism. Born in 1926 in New Haven, Connecticut, Jackson grew up under the shadows of Yale never dreaming he could attend school
there, because, after all, he was the son of an undereducated man who butlered for Yale's faculty and students. But Jackson had athletic gifts, and in 1946 he had a G.I. Bill to pay for his college, and the local sepia sensation signed to star at Yale. He became the first black football player in the school's history. And he shined. His freshman season he was the third leading rusher in the nation, and was voted the best college player in the New England area. In 1947, however, he missed most of the season with a concussion, and the following year he was hampered by a bad hamstring. But then, at the end of the 1948 season, his white teammates made history. They voted him captain of the team. Jackson's selection was the most important sports story in 1948, celebrated by black and white columnists across the country. Jackson received more than 2,000 letters congratulating him. But this story is more than just a jaunt into jubilation over Jackson.

Through retelling the story of Levi Jackson and his selection as Yale captain, my paper will discuss the role of black athletic manhood in post World War II America and the fight for democracy and integration. What role would the black male athlete play in integrating post World War II America? White teammates claimed they did not select Jackson because he was a Negro; they picked Jackson because he demonstrated democratic values. Hard work, grit, dedication, all values that helped a man succeed on the football field and the game of life. In their telling of the story, the white press imagined Jackson as the ideal black man. Humble, he never pushed his blackness on whites, instead waited for their acceptance. In other words, most whites detached his blackness from his manhood. He was safer that way. For them, that was the only way integration could continue. But the black press looked at Jackson as a black man first, a race man at that. He was one of them. He had the same pressure Louis and Robinson had, he had to represent the race as a black man. His blackness was distinctly tied to his athletic feats against white foes and the manly qualities he extolled. His captaincy constituted a crippling blow to Jim Crow and a victory for black men.

DOMINIC G. MORAlS, TRINITY UNIVERSITY
Muscle Confusion: Changing the Strength & Health Brand Image During the 1950s

Sport studies scholar Stephen Hardy and others published an article in 2012 titled “Toward a History of Sport Branding.” The purpose of the article was to identify a number of historical sport topics that the authors believed deserve more scholarly attention in order to potentially help inform contemporary sport marketing literature. Although the piece was well researched, it mentioned little related to physical culture. In reality, scholars have shown that the physical culture field is ripe for studies related to marketing and branding. As such, this paper seeks to add to this scholarship by analyzing how Strength & Health, one of the most prominent muscle magazines in America's history, altered its brand image in response to cultural changes brought on by the Cold War in the 1950s.

Published by Bob Hoffman, owner of the York Barbell Company at the time and often recognized as the “Father of American Weightlifting,” Strength & Health attempted this shift by paralleling the U.S. government’s increased emphasis on physical fitness as a way to help combat Communism. Whereas the magazine promoted being active in the Iron Game as an end in itself before this shift, the new message of “physical fitness” resulted in the Iron Game being viewed as a
means to an end. Additionally, Americans turned to the nuclear family as a way to shield themselves from communist ideology at the time. *Strength & Health*’s inclusion of columns such as “Boys Club” and Vera Christensen’s “To the Ladies!” represented an attempt to capitalize on this cultural change. The former offered a hobby that fathers could use to instill American values in their sons, while the latter encouraged housewives to integrate light weights into their lifestyles in order to better fill their family role. Although this new image of *Strength & Health* opened the magazine up to a broader market, it also eroded its core group of readers.

This paper will benefit sport history scholarship in multiple ways. First, it will contribute to our understanding of sport branding through its analysis of a change in brand image as a response to sociocultural changes. Additionally, sport scholars have been vocal about a need for sport history scholarship through a business lens. This paper heeds that call. Finally, the paper will bolster scholarship on physical culture, specifically in augmenting our understanding of Bob Hoffman’s brand and his influence on American weight training in the twentieth century.

Benjamin H. Nam, & Takuya Hayakawa, University of Tennessee & Sang Back Nam, Hanyang University

Korean Marathon, 1912-1943: Exploring the athletic lives of the Nam brothers under Japanese colonial rule

This paper examines the careers of two Korean marathon runners and the geo-political events that shaped their careers during the 1930s and 40s. Whereas scholars have recently studied histories of long-distance running in such countries as England (Bale, 2006, 2012; Krüger, 2006), Kenya (Bale & Sang, 1996), and Finland (Bale, 2012; Nathan, 2012; Vettenniemi, 2010, 2012; Viita, 2012), comparatively little research is available on the phenomenon in south-east Asia. This study expands on the work of Dyreson (2008, 2010), who called attention to the role of marathon running in the construction of Korea’s national identity between the 1930s and 1950s.

Based on interviews with relatives, members of the Korean and Japanese athletics federations, and examination of Korean and Japanese historical newspapers, we discuss historical events reflected in the lives of brothers Seong Yong Nam and Kim Yong Nam. Seong Yong Nam earned a bronze medal at the 1936 Olympic Games, while the younger Kim Yong aspired to participate in the 1940 Games in Tokyo. Several researchers have studied Seong Yong Nam (An & Song, 2015; Choi, 2006; Lee, 2010; Son & Lee, 2007), who is well remembered in Korea. Hampered by the Second Sino Japanese War and World War II, however, Kim Yong’s career has widely been forgotten, though he won several marathon championships representing Japan.

Leading up to the performance of Kee Chung Sohn (gold) and Seong Yong Nam (bronze) in Berlin, previous Korean marathoners Eun Bae Kim and Tae Ha Kwon participated in the 1932 Olympics. Kim came in 6th place and Kwon finished 9th. Their participation in the Olympics greatly motivated younger Korean marathoners, but colonization forced these runners to represent Japan. At the time, Koreans expressed their national identity and pride by excelling in international sports (Dyreson, 2012; Ok, 2007). Koreans considered their medals to be honors for the Korean nation even though they ran under the Japanese flag. Following suspension of Korean
marathon running during the Second Sino Japanese War and division along the 38th parallel, South Korean marathon flourished again under the influence of the United States military government in Korea. Yoon Bok Seo won the 51st Boston marathon in 1947 and Ki Yong Ham, Gil Yong Song, and Yoon Chil Choi placed 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in 1950. All competed as citizens of independent South Korea. Although these athletes accomplished their athletic goals, many athletes did not have similar opportunities during the 1930s and 40s.

Dyreson (2010) and Ok (2007) discussed Korean marathon history during Japanese colonization and independent S. Korea which identified cultural imperialism and nationalism. Therefore, our recent research identified a lost piece of Korean marathon history during this time frame linking the gaps between the 1936 Olympics and the 1947 and 1950 Boston Marathon. This study shows a prime example of how an occupation has the power to remove opportunities and prevent athletes from reaching their goals. An unknown story like this need to be told in order to educate historians, to contribute to sports history, and to prevent such behavior from reoccurring.

MURRY NELSON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
Attack of the Gophers: The 1972 Big Ten Race and the Fight that Defined It

This paper will explore and discuss the 1972 Big Ten basketball season with a most specific focus on the attack of the Ohio State basketball team by the University of Minnesota players and fans near the end of the contest in Minneapolis on January 25, 1972, before a crowd of over 17,000. The two teams were both rated in the top 20 in the nation at the time and were both unbeaten in conference play. Ohio State was led by Alan Hornyak and Luke Witte, both All-Big Ten players and returnees from the Big Ten champions of the prior year. Minnesota had signed a number of top junior college players as well as a new coach, Bill Musselman, who would arouse controversy wherever he went.

With 36 seconds left in the game and OSU up by six points, Witte was fouled and knocked to the floor by Corky Taylor and, in ostensibly aiding Witte to his feet, Taylor kneed Witte in the groin. This set off a melee that brought at least one player off the bench to stomp on Witte’s head while other Gophers, aided by fans, pummeled at least two other players. All this was done with the Big Ten Commissioner, Wayne Duke, in attendance. After the court was cleared, the game was awarded to OSU and, within the week, penalties on various Minnesota players were meted out, but none to the coach or the team.

Ohio State never fully recovered, physically or mentally, and Minnesota, even without their suspended players, who sought relief in various legal venues, won the Big Ten title and went on to the NCAA tournament, where they lost in the Mideast Regional Semifinals.

Major questions to be addressed in this paper include: Why were there no penalties for the coach or the Minnesota team? Why was the role of the NCAA in this penalty phase non-existent? Were there larger issues on recruitment, comportment and integrity that should have been addressed even prior to this contest? Sources include interviews with players on the OSU team, newspaper accounts from both Minneapolis and the Big Ten paper of choice as “mouthpiece,” the Chicago Tribune. A short video of the fight involving Witte, Taylor and Ron Behagan, will be shown.
Evidence seems to show that the Minnesota team should have been more thoroughly penalized and, certainly not allowed to be the Big Ten representative in the NCAA tournament. Knowledge of this “event” is not well-known, as evidenced by, e.g., Dave Winfield being honored as a legend of the Big Ten, despite his obvious and unpunished involvement in the pummeling of an OSU player. A poor regulatory response to all of this made even greater violence inevitable in the future in college basketball.

**Ornella Nzindukiyimana, Western University**

**Early 1910s Racial Discourse on Black Canadians: The Case of Immigrants versus Athletes**

For the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games, Canada’s team included, seemingly for the first time, a Black athlete. John Armstrong “Army” Howard, a medal hopeful, was a skilled track runner from Winnipeg who had done well in national meets. While there would be plenty of support for Howard through the press, it should be noted that the early 1910s were among the lowest points in Canadian Black/White relations. Without drafting an official anti-Black immigration policy, a campaign meant to discourage Blacks from heading north (especially to the prairies) was nonetheless launched in the US, especially in Oklahoma. This was despite a call for settlers able to work the land that had been made from the Canadian Prairie Provinces. White European immigrants were perceived as more capable of integration, and as such, they were given priority. And in 1911, the last year of Canadian Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier’s government, *MacLean’s Magazine* printed an article titled “The Black Canadian.” The article described how unfit Black immigrants were for Canada and employed racist stereotypes that depicted Blacks as morally corrupt and unfit for Canadian weather. In the midst of the ‘immigration crisis,’ there was a Black Canadian population with deep roots in Canada, a portion of which had arrived centuries before. Army Howard’s home town of Winnipeg was among seven cities in which almost half of the Canadian Black population could be found. In those seven cities (e.g., Montreal and Toronto) and beyond (e.g., Ottawa), successful Black athletes were being applauded for their skills in local newspapers. Through the lens of competitive sports in the early 1910s, this study aims at exploring similarities and differences between media depictions of Black immigrants and those of Black Canadian athletes. Using a comparative approach will allow us to determine how sport offered a relative reprieve for Black Canadians even as it was argued that Blackness did not fit into Canada’s national narrative.

**Thomas P. Oates, University of Iowa & Tara Keegan, University of Oregon**

**Wikipedia, Women’s Sport, and Feminist Interventions**

This paper examines the links between sport fandom and the availability of historical records, and theorizes how that link might be mobilized as a site for a feminist intervention. Following recent research on sports fans, it argues that the easy availability of detailed narratives of past performances and accomplishments by sports teams are a key way in which fan interest is built and maintained. After theorizing the link between relatively low fan interest in women’s sport on
one hand and the paucity of popular historical material on the other, the paper asks how this disparity might be addressed. It proposes organizing digital activism to grow the visibility of women’s sport in an accessible and influential venue: Wikipedia.

Wikipedia is a widely available online, peer-edited encyclopedia. It is also the source of a wealth of information on men’s sports. Most professional and major college men’s sports teams have pages, and many have specific pages documenting individual seasons for a given team. However, with only a few exceptions, women’s sport history receives scant attention. While keeping with trends in corporate media that favor coverage of men’s sports over women’s, Wikipedia’s content is not similarly dictated by industry produced understandings of what audiences want to see, and thus provides an opportunity for intervention.

Bryce Peake’s ethnographic work on Wikipedia’s editing processes illustrates that this resource is nevertheless circumscribed by power. Peake describes a “misogynist infopolitics” of Wikipedians—both men and women—that shapes “the ways in which ‘factual information’ is defined and consequently produced through struggles concentrated around defining, preserving, and protecting a form of masculinity—male privilege and misogyny—that is always already defined in counterpoint—if not outright hostility—to a concept of femininity-as-inferior.”

Thus, efforts to address the paucity of information on women’s sport as part of a larger effort to produce more and stronger fan interest must be carefully planned. This essay concludes with some possible ways forward. The ultimate aim of this paper is to theorize how scholars might effectively expand the reach of historical knowledge of women’s sport in ways that contribute to raising the visibility of women’s experiences in competitive sport. To do so, it grapples with questions about how historical information is managed by gatekeepers to diminish women’s place in history.

CHRISTINE O’BONSAWIN, UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA
Who Has the Right to Play?:
Indigenous Identities and Indigenous Sport Spaces in Canada

Indigenous communities throughout Canada have rich sporting traditions and practices. In his work on First Nations hockey in Canada, Michael Robidoux provides detailed histories of hockey experiences in various communities in northern Ontario and the interior of British Columbia, and considers dimensions of ‘coloniality’ as manifested through specific cultural practices. For many Indigenous peoples and communities, hockey has become an important site for cultural expressionism and exchange. By the mid-twentieth century, Indigenous sport spaces emerged, whether it was hockey, soccer, or basketball. These spaces certainly provided important and meaningful opportunities for cultural exchange and practices, as well as opportunities for Indigenous peoples and communities to exercise principles of self-determination. These Indigenous sport spaces were, nonetheless, entrenched within dimensions of ‘coloniality’. This paper considers how state-imposed constructions of Indigenous identities, as a dimension of coloniality, was implemented and ultimately experienced within Indigenous sport spaces.
It is argued that despite serving as important sites for Indigenous cultural expressionism and exchange throughout the twentieth century and beyond, the identity of Indigenous peoples within such sport spaces has remained bound within dimensions of coloniality. Accordingly, this paper historicizes the emergence of Indigenous sport spaces in the mid-nineteenth century and considers the importance of such domains to Indigenous peoples and groups. Second, this paper considers how the imposition of state-imposed Indigenous identities eventually became internalized within Indigenous mind frames, and further considers how identity was defined and understood within these spaces. Finally, this paper examines alternative ways of understanding Indigenous identities, and considers community-centred and culturally grounded approaches to recognizing, and thus respecting Indigenous identities within these sport spaces.

This paper draws from oral histories as well as athlete experiences within Indigenous sporting domains to contextualize the history of Indigenous sport in Canada, and to conceptualize Indigenous perspectives regarding the importance of Indigenous sport spaces. Primary sources, such as government documents and court records are utilized to historicize the imposition of state-defined Indigenous identities and further consider Indigenous opposition to the imposition of such identities. Finally, this study is supported by a growing body of literature exploring Indigenous identity and Indigeneity, as well as secondary sources on the history of Indigenous sport in Canada.

LAUREN OSMER, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

Media Coverage of International MLB Players as Related to Racialization Narratives

While the historical narrative of the game of baseball places its roots in the United States, since the mid-1800s the sport has truly been a global game. As the international reach and impact of the sport has spread throughout the world, baseball in the U.S. has seen the results of this through an increasing number of international players participating in the U.S. major leagues. Of course, this participation does not come unattached to historical and social meaning; U.S. attitudes towards migration, immigration, and acculturation of foreign citizens and workers have been complex and changing and have affected the experiences of both native-born U.S. and international players. The historical racialization of racial and ethnic groups has been varied, with different groups having diverse historical meanings attached to their migration and acceptance (or lack thereof) into the United States. Therefore, this paper compares U.S. media coverage of the influx of Latin-American players to Major League Baseball (MLB) with coverage of the influx of Japanese players to MLB. Using various popular media sources, this paper conducts a content analysis to determine how the coverage of these two racial groups compared to the historical racialization narratives of both groups in the U.S. These specific periodicals represented much of the major national coverage of Major League Baseball and should provide an accurate reading of the general coverage of the sport. This paper will address the question of whether media coverage of these immigrant players aligned with or diverged from the traditional U.S. narratives of racialization of the players’ racial and ethnic groups.

There has been much scholarly work done in the fields of ethnic studies, history, and sociology on the racialization of racial and ethnic groups in the U.S.; however, application of this
research to sport or baseball in particular has not been as expansive. Therefore this paper will not only address the dialogues of racialization as applied to sport migrants but also examine broader media coverage of transnational sport migration, specifically through a baseball-focused lens. This paper will draw primarily from popular media sources available through holdings of both the University of Texas libraries and the Stark Center collection (including *Sports Illustrated*, *Baseball Digest*, and *Sporting News*), along with secondary sources addressing historical racialization narratives.

**Gary Osmond, University of Queensland**

*‘But he Plays Football’: Ian Roberts, Sport, and the Challenge of Homosexuality to 1990s Masculinities*

Deliciously, Ian Roberts was a manly, Manly footballer when he came out as gay in 1995: he played for the Manly-Warringah Rugby League Club in Sydney, Australia, and was recognized as one of the team’s more masculine players. One might expect that his coming out would have been socially cataclysmic. He was a famous athlete, nicknamed ‘The Body’ and praised for his physical prowess and aggressive tactics. Few other elite athletes had ever come out, and fewer still footballers across all codes internationally. Homosexuality had only been legalized in New South Wales for a decade. AIDS was a scourge, and ‘poofter bashings’ were rampant in Sydney. But this was also the home of the bacchanalian Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras and a more accepting metropolis than many other cities. And Roberts didn’t out himself in one sudden, dramatic revelation. He had come out obliquely, teasing it out for over a year in interviews, nude photoshoots and appearances at public gay events. In the gay community and among his closest football fraternity, his was an open secret long before he confirmed his sexuality to a weekly popular magazine. Yet while the impact of his announcement was more muted than it might have been, the reverberations for understandings of dominant masculinity were nonetheless significant. 

By coming out, Roberts troubled hegemonic masculinity in at least two obvious ways: as a gay man playing a masculine team sport—‘But he plays football’, spluttered one incredulous observer—and as a gay man who was rugged, strong, powerful, physically dominant and violent—a ‘shit-load of raw physical power’—in a sport that valued these qualities. Yet the shock of impact was not uniformly felt. This paper will examine the various and varied contemporaneous responses to Roberts’ self-outing, focusing on the nuanced disruptions of masculinity as experienced and expressed by key groups: the mainstream news media, the wider public, the gay community, and the institution of Rugby League. My research, focusing on key newspapers, letters to the editor, the gay press and football spokespeople, will contribute to understandings of the historical intersections of homosexuality, masculinity and sport.

**Victoria Paraschak, University of Windsor**

*Hope for the Past: Making Information Available on Elite Canadian Aboriginal Athletes*
Champions are socially constructed and have an impact on their communities (Maguire, 2009). However, information about ‘champions’ within the elite sport arena is not equally accessible to their communities of interest, to researchers, or to the general public. The Strengths and Hope Perspective (Paraschak, 2013) acknowledges that sport history can provide ‘hope for the past’. To provide this ‘hope’, information about sporting ‘champions’ needs to be easily available. Sport historians can act as a resource ensuring others have information—for example about Aboriginal elite athlete successes. This information can then be used for consideration in Halls of Fame, for generating pride in one’s heritage and/or as role models for possible ‘preferred futures’ by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. In this paper, I lay out a process of incorporating disparate sources of information tied to Aboriginal sporting success into one location that is publicly accessible—Wikipedia. I then provide examples of how this information might be generated and packaged for easy access by others.

Murray Phillips (2015) has been involved in generating a process to get Australian Paralympians onto Wikipedia and thereby to enhance their public image. Building on his expertise and learnings to date, I will replicate his intention and create Wikipedia pages for Elite Aboriginal athletes who are award winners or who have achieved national level achievement (e.g., attended Olympic Games). Newspaper articles that depict the accomplishments of these athletes will be made available so that others can learn about the athlete biographies in more depth. Materials about each athlete will be organized in keeping with the nominations criteria for the Canada Sports Hall of Fame: 1) outstanding athletic achievements/contributions, 2) demonstrated critical social values during their journey that all Canadians can be inspired by, and 3) positive influences on their sport, community, and country. This format aligns with the Strengths and Hope Perspective, and ensures that athletes’ accomplishments, holistically understood, are recorded.

Elite Aboriginal athletes within Canada have accomplished a myriad of sporting achievements, and have been recognized through a variety of awards, such as the ‘sport’ category in National Aboriginal Achievement Awards (1994–present); Tom Longboat Awards (1951–present); and various Halls of Fame. Janice Forsyth has identified 22 Aboriginal athletes representing Canada at the Olympics (1904–2014), and one Aboriginal Paralympian (2000 and 2004 Olympics). All these athletes have a footprint (however minor) on the internet, but there is no current systematic manner in which they can be identified as a collection of outstanding Aboriginal athletes and/or that their numerous accomplishments (within and outside of sport) are documented for easy public consumption. I will outline a process whereby these various athlete accomplishments can be brought together on Wikipedia, and demonstrate this process with athletes I nominated for the Canada Sports Hall of Fame last year—Ross Powless and Bill Isaacs. This paper thus extends previous research by Forsyth and Phillips, who have both recognized and worked to produce a publicly accessible record of the accomplishments of outstanding yet largely unknown elite Aboriginal and Paralympic athletes.

Gertrud Pfister, University of Copenhagen
Women excelling in men’s sport—a case study of wrestling
As in other martial arts, wrestling was and still is regarded as a man’s domain. Whereas men’s wrestling was a part of the Olympic program already in 1896, it took until 2004 before women could take part in Olympic wrestling competitions. The gender order in Western societies and the myth of the strong and the weak sex excluded women not only from political rights and academic positions, but also from many sports which depend on strength, power, and aggressiveness. However, the focus of many scholars on organized sports obscured the feats of performers who competed outside of the Olympic arena, e.g. in the circus or in vaudeville.

In this paper, I will present American female wrestlers, who worked at the end of the nineteenth century in “showbiz” where they earned their livings and also a measure of fame. A focus will be on the biography of Hattie Leslie, one of the best-known athletes of the time and “champion” in boxing and wrestling competitions.

I will not only explore Leslie’s story and her feats as a wrestler, but use her example to investigate women’s roles in vaudeville and in the society as a whole. A focus will be on the question if and how women’s performance in show business had and still has an impact on women’s situation in the “real world.” Sources are newspaper articles and genealogical information and documents provided by ancestry.com.

LINDSAY PARKS PIEPER, LYNCHBURG COLLEGE
“Wolves in Skirts?”: Gender and Sexuality in Cold War Women’s Sport

This paper proposes to examine the tensions surrounding gender and sexuality in the Cold War, and how these tensions resulted in sex/gender testing. The Soviet women’s remarkable achievements in track and field first convinced the International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF) that all female competitors needed to prove their womanhood prior to participation. Tellingly, many in the United States scapegoated the Soviet women as causes of the verification measures. “If the Commies hadn’t been guilty of substituting men for women in the first place, the new rule of the IAAF wouldn’t have been necessary,” complained journalist Frank True in a piece titled “Red ‘Wolves’ in Skirts.” The introduction of sex/gender testing therefore reassured the American public that only “real” women—those who upheld normative notions of heterofemininity—could compete. This allowed the United States to defend its conventional gender roles in sport, preserve a gendered hierarchy, and regain authority in international competitions. Finally, the legacy of sex/gender verification in the Cold War served to limit women’s advancement in sport by casting muscular victors as suspicious cheaters (highlighted as recently as the 2012 Olympics in the infamous case of South African runner Caster Semenya, who was subjected to gender verification testing). This disparaging treatment helped root overt displays of femininity as a necessity for success in women’s sport, a prerequisite that has persisted as the IAAF and IOC continued testing beyond the conclusion of the Cold War.

IAN PLENDERLEITH, FREELANCE WRITER
Too Far Ahead of its Time: The North American Soccer League in the 1970s
The North American Soccer League (NASL), which was the first professional, coast-to-coast soccer league in the US, ran from 1967 to 1984. After its spartan, low-key early years, the league came to national and global attention with the rise of the Warner Communications-owned New York Cosmos and the signing of the world's biggest stars, such as Pelé, Franz Beckenbauer, and Johan Cruyff. It expanded too quickly and spent too much, causing it to soar, then burn and crash.

History wrote it off as a failure, and a decade later its successor—Major League Soccer—eschewed all associations with the defunct entity. Yet an examination of the NASL raises a trail of questions. Would soccer have become so massively popular in the US today without it? Why were numerous European teams and leagues so interested in the way that the NASL sold itself? And if the NASL was such a bust, why does its template almost perfectly match that of soccer’s two most commercially successful club competitions—the English Premier League and the European Champions League?

The parallels are too obvious to ignore. The NASL aimed to entertain by signing the biggest names in sport at a time when most players stayed in their home countries. It treated the fans as kings and customers (not hooligans) in multi-purpose, all-seater arenas—in stark contrast to the rest of the world. It recognised the power of the check book, and the importance of broadcast deals in securing a league’s long term survival. And it recognised the need to innovate with the game’s rules, its uniforms, its marketing and its presentation in order to nurture new fans and kick the sport out of the moribund stasis that had led to violence, tactical negativity, and decreasing popularity in Europe.

As several people who played or coached in the NASL have attested, the league really was ahead of its time. Hubris, bad timing (just a few years too soon for cable TV), and poor management led to its demise, but the areas where the league got things right had a huge influence on the sport over the subsequent decades. While many claim that soccer is not a truly American sport, there’s no doubt that the many visionary facets of the NASL helped to point the way forward for the game in the twenty-first century.

**Benjamin Pollack, University of Texas at Austin**

“Mail-Order Muscle”: Advertising Physical Culture Correspondence Courses, 1889-1929

Today, many are familiar with the famous image of the “ninety-seven-pound weakling” popularized by advertisements for Charles Atlas’s muscle-building courses in the 1940s. Fewer are familiar with the content of the courses themselves. However, Atlas’s courses and advertising for those courses are historically significant as reflections of the masculine values of diligence, temperance, and fortitude that characterized Depression-era American culture. Several studies have, in fact, credited Atlas as a founding figure in modern fitness marketing. I argue, however, that Atlas’s advertising was neither unique nor original. Mail-order muscle authors had sold their products in precisely the same way for decades before Atlas. This is significant because modern fitness course advertisements are not always reflective of Atlas’s. There now exists a competing narrative—one that promises, as does popular fitness course P90X, that you can go from “flab to
firm fast,” with just 30 minutes of exercise a day for two weeks. P90X and the many similar products offered today clearly favor values appealing to a society oriented towards leisure and consumerism, rather than the penuriousness necessary during the Depression. This competing, and arguably dominant, narrative can be better understood through a study of the mail-order muscle authors and courses that preceded Atlas.

This presentation therefore considers courses published between 1889 and 1929, including those by Anthony Barker, Earle Liederman, Lionel Strongfort, Henry Titus, Siegmund Breitbart, Ottley Coulter, George Jowett, and others. In making these arguments, this paper will draw on a wide breadth of archival evidence, including the courses and advertisements of Liederman and other mail-order muscle authors; articles published in muscle magazines, including Alan Calvert’s *Strength* and Bernarr MacFadden’s *Physical Culture*; government documents, including Federal Trade Commission records from the National Archives; newspaper articles; and more. It will also use a number of the collections made available through the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sport at the University of Texas, including the scrapbooks of Ottley R. Coulter and correspondence between him and George F. Jowett, both of whom were involved in the publication of a less successful mail-order muscle correspondence course in the mid-1920s. Finally, it will incorporate scholarship in history, American studies, sociology, and management to help interpret the social, cultural, and entrepreneurial forces that contributed to growth and evolution of Liederman’s business in the early twentieth century.

**Dilwyn Porter**

‘Two separate trees from the same seed’: reciprocal US-UK soccer tours, 1926-30

It was unusual in the early twentieth century for teams from England to tour in the USA; it was even more unusual for American teams to tour in England. The intention here is to discuss tours undertaken by teams sponsored by the Worcester (Massachusetts) County Sportsmanship Brotherhood to England in 1926 and 1929 and reciprocal tours in 1927 and 1929 when teams representing the Worcestershire Sports Fellowship visited the USA. Some useful documentary evidence has survived in archives held in Worcester, England, as part of larger collections of papers kept by the managers of the 1927 and 1930 tours. These relate, not just to matches played, but to various civic occasions—dinners, picnics, factory visits etc.—at which the visiting parties were entertained. In general, the tours appear to have been amicable affairs, enjoyed by players and officials, but cultural differences became apparent on and off the field. The reflections of Percy Harper, a top referee in England, who accompanied the 1927 tourists, are especially interesting in this respect.

**John E. Price, Pennsylvania State University-Harrisburg**

“The Jackie Robinson of Football”: Doug Williams, Super Bowl XXII, and Shifting Masculinities in the Murder Capital
In 1988, Doug Williams became the first black quarterback to play in, start, win, or be named MVP of the Super Bowl when he led the Washington Redskins over the Denver Broncos in a 42-10 rout. The event was much more than a football game, however; Williams had taken on the NFL’s “black quarterback syndrome” and won. But it was a pyrrhic victory. In an era where Super Bowl MVPs annually became overnight celebrities, Williams was ignored by corporate sponsors who wanted nothing to do with the man Eddie Robinson called football’s Jackie Robinson. The NFL’s race issues do not begin or end with Williams, but he is perhaps its biggest mystery as the entire story seems counterintuitive and leads to a litany of questions that sadly suggest an obvious answer. In Williams’ own words: “Black quarterbacks are always going to be controversial in the NFL.” But it is not simply race that factored into this turn of events; Williams had disrupted the image of football’s masculinity. And it is in this role, as a flashpoint of America’s shifting perception of masculinity, that Williams becomes a reflection of American culture—both good and bad.

To Washingtonians, Williams was a fan favorite who embraced the role of leader with subtle confidence and physical toughness. He provided a stark contrast to the inflammatory personality of their mayor, Marion Barry. Barry’s story mirrors Williams’, although with a much more tragic twist. A civil rights pioneer, Barry was steward of the city as it declined into a drug and murder spiral, eventually becoming the “Murder Capital” before Barry was sent to prison on drug charges. Both Williams and Barry seemingly offered Washington’s youth a view of successful black masculinity, but neither realized their potential as national role models. Even now, the Pro Football Hall of Fame spends a considerable amount of wall-space lauding civil rights and integration efforts, and yet Doug Williams gets little of that attention. Ascribing Williams’ legacy to racial bias seems obvious, but is incomplete. In many ways, Williams both supported and subverted his multiple competing identities as a football player, as a quarterback, and as a black quarterback. He was not flashy or out-spoken, and yet remained controversial; he worked hard and won on the field, and yet is still questioned today. It is necessary then to look at Williams as a symbol of masculine identity in order to evaluate football’s, and by extension, America’s relationship with hypermasculinity.

This paper is derived from my dissertation and utilizes the rhetoric of newspaper accounts and commentary, as well as some ethnographic research to place Williams and Barry in a historical and cultural context of 1980s masculinity. Specifically highlighting the role of Doug Williams in the evolution of football’s history of performative masculine identity allows for insights into the shifting values of American culture itself and the various levels of competing tensions between sports, race, consumerism, and masculinity.

Raja Rahim, University of Florida
King of the Court: John B. McLendon and the Origins of Black Basketball at North Carolina College during Jim Crow Segregation, 1937-1952
This research explores the audacious efforts of John B. McLendon who as head basketball coach of North Carolina College for Negroes spent the first fifteen years (1937-1952) of his coaching career introducing mainstream America to black basketball. Ushering in a new style of play, McLendon used basketball as an instrument to fight the system of segregation and to challenge the pervasive notion of black manhood. Arriving at NCC in 1937, McLendon created and implemented the fast break and two-in-the-corner offenses coupled with the match-up zone defense, playing an intricate role in the athletic development of black men and the modernization of the game of basketball in the era of Jim Crow. During the 1940s, McLendon and the Eagles not only defeated black teams but also white opponents, performing at such a high caliber that they physically dominated and outscored their competition. As a founder of the Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association tournament, McLendon’s Eagles dominated the CIAA conference for a decade, which eventually led to the first black athlete signing a contract with the National Basketball Association. As a basketball powerhouse, NCC established itself as not only the best black collegiate basketball team but also as one of the best college basketball programs in the country.

SUSAN J. RAYL, SUNY-CORTLAND
Killing History: The Senseless Death of the Renaissance Ballroom

On March 30, 2015, the Renaissance Ballroom felt the first blow of many by the wrecking ball that dismantled, crushed, and eventually destroyed the once glorious and now run-down and deserted building. Built in 1922 on Seventh Avenue and 138th street, just down the block from the newly completed Renaissance Theatre in Harlem, NY, the facility served as one of only a few that people of African descent built and owned. In addition to hosting dinners, galas, dancing, and various social events, the Renaissance functioned as the home court for the New York Renaissance professional black basketball teams from 1923 to 1948.

Arguing that a building can play a tremendous role in preserving the cultural heritage of a community, this paper will present a history of the Renaissance Ballroom and the events which led to its destruction in the spring of 2015. Several questions will be addressed. What types of events occurred at the Renaissance and which famed people frequented this establishment? How did the New York Renaissance basketball team and owner/manager Bob Douglas come to be affiliated with the ballroom? How important was the Renaissance Ballroom to the citizens of Harlem? Why did the Abyssinian Development Corporation, led by the Reverend Dr. Calvin O. Butts, work against gaining “Historic Registry” status for the Renaissance in the 1990s and then quietly sell the building in the spring of 2014 to BRP Development?

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

• The Renaissance Theater and Ballroom were developed and built by the black (West Indian) owned Sarco Company and owned by William Roach.
• The Renaissance Ballroom became Harlem’s social and cultural hub for African Americans when the Manhattan Casino on 155th Street closed in the early 1920s.
• The Renaissance closed in 1979 after a fire and was never restored.
• The Abyssinian Baptist Church, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Calvin O. Butts, organized a real estate group, the Abyssinian Development Corporation (ADC), in 1989 and within a few years gained ownership of the Renaissance Ballroom.
• In the Spring of 2014, the ADC sold the Renaissance Ballroom to BDR Development, a black-owned real estate investment group.
• Despite an initial outcry and then weekly protests from community members who had been misled for several years into believing the Abyssinian intended to restore the Renaissance Ballroom, BRP Development began demolition of the building on March 30, 2015.

Information in this paper is significant to our understanding of the role that a building can play in the preservation, or destruction, of history.

Primary sources used for this paper include newspapers such as the New York Amsterdam News, the New York Daily News, and the New York Times, personal interviews, and archival information from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in Harlem, NY. Secondary sources include magazine/journal/internet articles and books on Harlem history.

DANYEL REICHE, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT
The history of Lebanon’s sporting boycott of Israel, 1955–2015

This paper investigates the history of Lebanon’s sporting boycott of Israel. The question addressed in the paper is: What are the reasons and consequences of Lebanon’s sporting boycott of Israel? Apart from a review of the academic literature and press articles on Lebanese sports as well as Lebanese-Israeli relations, the evidence to be used for this work comes from interviews, including those with former Lebanese participants at the Olympic Games and members of the Lebanese National Olympic Committee; the head of Lebanon’s delegation to the 2016 Olympic Games; Lebanon’s member in the International Olympic Committee (IOC); representatives of Lebanese sporting federations; and journalists of Lebanese newspapers.

Sporting boycotts became a popular political tool after World War II. Examples include the boycott of the 1976 Summer Olympics in Montreal by African countries because of the International Olympic Committee’s refusal to ban New Zealand from the Games, after the New Zealand rugby team toured South Africa; the 1980 Games in Moscow boycotted by the United States and most of its allies in protest of the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviets; and the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, boycotted by the Soviet Union and many of its allies in revenge for the 1980 boycott by Western countries. However, the sporting world has changed, and no major boycotts have occurred since the end of the Cold War.

What makes the topic of Lebanon’s boycott of Israel a significant contribution to our understanding of sporting boycott history is not only its unmatched duration of six decades (1955–2015), but also its unique application: Lebanon does not boycott participation in the Olympics in general, as other countries such as the African nation-
states did in 1976 at the Montreal Games. Apart from the 1956 Summer Olympics, Lebanon has participated in all Summer and Winter Olympic Games. Lebanon’s sporting boycott of Israel means that the country only refuses to directly compete with Israel at international sporting events. Lebanon’s sporting boycott of Israel goes back to the Anti-Israeli Boycott Law that was passed by the Lebanese parliament in 1955, and is still valid today. An outcome of the law is Lebanon’s refusal to issue visas for Israeli citizens. For this reason, international sporting federations do not award global sporting events to Lebanon. While some Middle Eastern countries like Iran follow the Lebanese example, others such as Qatar have developed a more pragmatic approach, allowing Israeli athletes to participate in sporting events in their countries, and directly competing with them.

Cha generally notes in his book *Beyond the final score: The politics of sport in Asia* (Columbia University Press, 2009) on boycotting mega-sporting events, “Sport’s high profile is often deemed an effective medium for getting a message out to a wide audience. It also symbolically conveys one’s political intentions. Furthermore, sport is relatively costless to the government relative to other means of statecraft such as war or economic sanctions” (9). Accordingly, my argument is that as long as the Lebanese government is unable to defend its people against foreign threats and provide the population with basic goods such as water, electricity, and waste management, a sporting boycott is a welcomed opportunity for policy makers to distract from the real problems. Therefore, I conclude that Lebanon’s boycott of Israel is unlikely to change.

**STEVEN A. RIESS, NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY**

**The Return of Thoroughbred Racing to Chicago in the 1920s**

The sport of horse racing nearly died by 1910 when horse racing (and more precisely, betting on races) was banned in virtually every major racing state except Maryland and Kentucky, though New York resumed racing in 1913 by circumventing state laws that permitted gambling with bookmakers. The sport enjoyed an enormous revival in the 1920s at a time when the American standard of living rose, morals seemed to loosen, and people wanted a good time. Between 1918 and 1920 purses more than doubled and nearly doubled again by 1926, drawing great horses like Man o’ War. The number of thoroughbreds doubled and there was a 60 percent increase in the number of races, mainly in established racing centers.

One of the most important developments in the business of racing was the restoration of flat racing in Chicago, then the second most important site of racing after New York until the local government closed up the tracks in 1905. In the meanwhile, Chicago continued to be a center of off-track gambling, and the home of the racing wire. I argue that Illinois’s resumption of racing encouraged other states to follow, especially in the Depression, when in 1933 alone ten states legalized racing to raise revenues for local governments. I will also show that prior research incorrectly credited the Lager Act of 1927 that legalized pari-mutuel gambling at thoroughbred tracks did not restore the turf in metropolitan Chicago because four tracks were already operating legally because of local court decisions that legitimized the employment of oral betting at the track.
with bookmakers. The Lager Act led directly to the opening of the elite Arlington Park Racetrack and provided a model for the national growth of racing elsewhere.

The resumption of Chicago racing was actually propelled by Chicago politician Tom Carey, who bought the suburban Hawthorne racetrack in 1909, and ran brief experimental meets off and on for a number of years. He ran a twelve day meet in 1922, and two years later, Judge William L. Lindsay’s seminal legal decision legitimated oral betting. By 1926, there were four thoroughbred tracks in the metropolitan area, owned and operated by politicians and politically connected businessmen.

The Lager Act was backed by urban ethnic Democrats who had no qualms about gambling, and by a few rural downstaters seeking revenue for state fairs. It empowered the Department of Agriculture to charge major tracks $2,500 a day to operate, and collect a 20-cent admissions tax. The sport remained unregulated, and in 1932, Sportsman’s Park opened on the site of Al Capone’s Hawthorne dog racing track. One year later the Illinois Racing Commission was established to supervise the sport. Five years later a sixth race course opened.

The project is based heavily on primary sources, mainly the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Examiner.

PAULINA RODRIGUEZ, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY-FULLERTON
Lifting the Bar: A History of Inclusion, Empowerment and the Rise of Women’s Olympic Weightlifting

On November 14, 1996, the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) and the Executive Board of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) met in Cancun, Mexico, to discuss an array of administrative and participatory issues regarding the upcoming Atlanta Olympic Games. On the agenda in Cancun was one issue that had persistently afflicted the Olympic Movement for over a century: gender inequality. Based on prevailing pseudo-scientific theories of physical vulnerability, as well as the founder of the Olympic Movement, Pierre de Coubertin’s own patriarchal attitudes towards female athleticism, women were originally excluded from Olympic competition. Despite decades of intensive lobbying and the gradual dismantling of the walls of exclusion, female athletes still fell far short of full equality in the Olympic arena. The Cancun meeting would help to change this scenario as the IOC Executive Board, boasting the full support of the ANOC, voted on the inclusion of women weightlifters to the Olympic program. Officials also pledged their commitment toward increasing efforts in promoting the participation of women into administrative and executive roles.

For women weightlifters, the IOC Executive Board’s decision marked an end they had been anticipating for some time; the goal of competing in the grandest of stages had been attained. With support of previously unused archival sources acquired from The H.J. Lutcher Stark Center at the University of Texas, Austin, the United States Olympic Committee archive in Colorado Springs, Colorado, the IOC Archive and the LA84 Foundation archive in Los Angeles, this paper will investigate the process that led to the inclusion of women’s weightlifting to the Olympic program prior to the 2000 Sydney Games. The paper will argue that the International Weightlifting
Federation (IWF) included women weightlifters as a gambit to draw attention away from the doping scandal plaguing the sport. This paper situates the push to include women weightlifting as part of a bigger movement for gender equality in the world of sport.

**TOM RORKE, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY**

Wettstone’s War: The Muscle Gap, the AAU, and the Birth of the United States Gymnastics Federation in Cold War America

In 1962, iconic Penn State gymnastics coach Gene Wettstone initiated the process of freeing competitive gymnastics from the control of the American Amateur Union (AAU). In that year he played a leadership role in the formation of the United States Gymnastics Federation (USGF), which then launched a bid for official recognition from the Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique (F.I.G.) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The decade-long bureaucratic squabble that ensued between the AAU and the USGF largely followed the mid-century pattern of sports federations extricating themselves from AAU control. The catalyzing ingredient—that turned lingering annoyances into vital emergencies in the 1960s—was the tense political climate of the time, which took the form of heightened “muscle gap” rhetoric about the physical abilities of American boys and their capabilities as Cold Warriors.

President Kennedy stressed, in the summer of 1962, “the importance of physical fitness to our national strength.” Scholars such as Jeffrey Montez de Oca have shown how Cold War rhetoric about a widening “muscle gap” between Soviet and American youth influenced social thought about physical education. Olympic defeats fueled anxieties about whether “soft” Americans would be able to stand up to Soviet challenges in both sport and in world affairs. Athletic heroes and heroines from track and field, tennis and swimming were held up as paragons of American achievement, but the threat was even more acutely perceived in sports such as gymnastics where the Soviet and their allies dominated the Olympic podium.

Based on documents archived in Wettstone’s personal papers, this presentation shows how Cold War anxieties amplified earlier critiques of AAU control, and how Gene Wettstone effectively used “muscle gap” rhetoric to build support for the USGF campaign against the AAU.

**DANIEL ROSENKE, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS-AUSTIN**

Dr. Robert Kerr: “The Steroid Guru”

Sports physician Robert Kerr (1935-2001) was a polarizing figure in the 1980s. From his California-based practice, Kerr claimed to have provided banned hormones to more than 4,000 athletes from 19 different nations, including 20 medal winners at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games. Anointed by his contemporaries, athlete-patients, and the news media as “the steroid guru,” Kerr was a popular figure in the doping discourse of the 1980s. A willing advocate for physician-assisted, safe steroid use in sport, the controversial doctor seemingly had a benevolent side, reflecting “athlete-centered” values. In the aftermath of a doping scandal at the 1983 Pan American Games, and revelations of drug-related improprieties among American athletes the following year, the media
seemed to defer to the physician for his expert opinion on what athletes were using, and how they were using it. Kerr changed allegiances in 1985 citing his inability to trust athletes as a key reason, after which he joined the anti-doping movement in a limited capacity. Importantly, the story of Dr. Robert Kerr has yet to be told. Although he frequently appeared in various forms of media, periodicals, and anti-doping affairs, the breadth of his impact has yet to be understood. This paper endeavors to historicize Kerr’s life and times, and his impact on the elite sporting milieu of the 1980s.

MACINTOSH ROSS, KEYSSTONE COLLEGE

The Press, Professional Boxers, and Interpersonal Violence: Reinforcing Hegemonic Masculinity in Interwar America, 1919-1941

This paper explores historical instances of interpersonal violence by male professional boxers against both men and women during the American interwar years, focusing on how the style of reporting differs depending on the sex of the victim. The motivation for this research project, however, stems as much from contemporary incidents as their historical counterparts. Over the past twelve months, violent crime involving professional athletes has been increasingly scrutinized by news media and scholars alike. Dallas Cowboys’ defensive end Greg Hardy, for example, was given eighteen months probation and suspended for ten games by the NFL for attacking his ex-girlfriend. The victim later dropped the charges against Hardy, but the ensuing media storm raised serious questions about professional athletes, interpersonal violence, and the media’s treatment of such events. As a historian and former practitioner of boxing, the Greg Hardy incident and others like it led me to reflect upon the prevalence of violent offences committed by professional boxers. Over the last year, several professional boxers have appeared in criminal and civil proceedings for acts of interpersonal violence.

This paper focuses on comparable events in a historical context and serves two purposes. First of all, through a rigorous examination of interwar newspaper and magazine reports, I construct a narrative of boxers and violent crime in America from 1919 to 1941. Secondly, I use R.W. Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity to explain differences in reporting style based on the sex of the victim, highlighting the press’ role in the maintenance of violent, dominant masculinities in American society.

AUSTIN E. ROTH, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

Athletics Canada—Athlétisme Canada: Reviewing the Foundation and Implementation of their Sport Funding Framework and Strategic Plan
This project examines the performance based funding structure previously employed by Sport Canada (SC) and how it was accessed by Athletics Canada (AC), the National Sport Organizations (NSO) for track and field in Canada. The Sport Funding and Accountability Framework (SAFA) funding program, now in its fourth edition, was reviewed in detail to identify and highlight what principles were used to create and dictate how performance-based sport funding in Canada was accessed and distributed. The three sections of the SAFA are the Athlete Assistance Program, which is the national athlete carding program, the Sport Support Program, which is the main operating funding stream for NSOs, and the Hosting Program, which is the funding stream for bidding and hosting sporting events. These were furthered examined in order to gain a better understanding of how these principles were employed and integrated into the SAFA and accessed by the NSO. Finally, a historical examination of AC’s use of the SAFA was conducted to quantify their success in accessing the funding made available by SC through the SAFA funding program.

The purpose of this paper was to examine how well a NSO, specifically AC, can access the funding made available by the federal ministry that oversees all sport in Canada. An analysis of the systems, procedures and theoretical principles that have been created and employed by SC was needed in order to establish the framework for this analysis. The significance of the study to sport history is that it allows us to understand the reasoning for funding decisions in the present and how they will have long term implications on sport in Canada.

A vast array of primary sources has been employed to pursue this examination. These sources include the 2009–2013 SC Contribution Reports, AC Strategic Plan, SAFA NSO Assessment Weighting Grid, the SAFA application package and the personal files and correspondence of key historical actors, such as 2010 Commonwealth Games Decathlon Champion Jamie Adjetey-Nelson and 2012 Olympian and Canadian high jump record holder Derek Drouin. Secondary sources were used in the production of this paper.

Soroosh Sadeh, University of Texas-Austin
A Historical View on Zurkhanah, the Iranian Traditional Gymnasium, and Life of Pahlavan Mahmud Khawrazmi (Purya-yi Vali)

Iran, or Persia, is one of the oldest countries which has always done particularly well in sports such as wrestling and weightlifting. Moreover, Iranian notable athletes have always been true examples of sportsmanship in worldwide competitions. This act of sportsmanship is even considered more valuable than just being a champion for Iranian people. In order to be successful in stiff competitions such as the Olympics, Iranian athletes have constantly been able to meet the high physical and mental demands of these individual sports. More importantly, they try their best to be role models for the youth by applying every detail of sportsmanship in their approach towards competition.

Varzish-I Bastani, which means ancient sport, is a practice of both mental and physical strength and is practiced in specific buildings called zurkhanah (house of strength). Throughout the history of Iranian sports there have been a considerable number of Varzish-I Bastani athletes who are true examples of sportsmanship. Most famously, Purya-yi Vali in fourteenth century who had a large number of followers in his era and Mr. Gholamreza Takhti who is a great example in the contemporary era and took zurkhanah’s values to wrestling and went on to become an Olympic gold-
medalist. Takhti, a true follower of *Purya-yi Vali*, was the most popular Iranian athlete in the twentieth century and a heroic figure to many Iranian people because of his chivalrous behavior and sportsmanship.

The origin of *zurkhanah* is not completely clear as some scholars believe in an ancient pre-Islamic origin while others link its emergence as a sport to Islam and Islamic culture. In order to shed light on this matter, the primary goal of this study is to investigate the origin and history of *zurkhanah* and *Varzish-I Bastani* and its development as an Iranian traditional sport through the years. The main focus is on rituals and spiritual concepts of *zurkhanah* which probably have inspired Iranian's successful wrestling performances in international competitions such as the Olympics. Moreover, the life story and ethics of *Purya-yi Vali* who is the most influential figure in the history of Iran's *zurkhanah* and *pahlavani* wrestling will be discussed. He was a true example of the Persian term *pahlavan*, which means a champion with characteristics such as chivalry, generosity, humbleness, bravery, and courage. His legacy, the principal reference for the spiritual, physical, and mental lessons and exercises of *zurkhanah* and wrestling is also reviewed. The ethical lessons and moral values most emphasized include but are not limited to having full respect for veteran athletes, never using abusive words, never telling a lie, etc.

**Patrick Salkeld, University of Central Oklahoma**

Ronald Reagan and the 1994 World Cup Bid

This paper argues that during the Cold War, Americans viewed immigrants and Communists with disdain, but President Ronald Reagan helped the United States Soccer Federation (USSF) generate sufficient interest in soccer using nationalism and patriotism in order for the Federation International de Football Association (FIFA) to give the United States the opportunity to host the 1994 World Cup. It addresses questions, such as: What role did Ronald Reagan play in the American soccer rebirth? Why did he promote soccer, a typically European and ethnic sport? Why did FIFA not choose the United States for the 1986 World Cup? Why did FIFA choose the United States to host the 1994 World Cup?

To answer these questions, the author accessed archival material from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and the LA84 Foundation, secondary sources like David Wangerin’s *Soccer in a Football World* and government documents like *Hosting the 1986 World Cup: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Commerce, Transportation, and Tourism of the Committee on Energy and Commerce* and the United States Soccer Federation’s (USSF) abstract of its application to host the 1994 World Cup. Aside from these documents, little information exists. The USSF archives remain inaccessible because of the National Soccer Hall of Fame’s closure in 2010, which forced the archivists to pack the materials and send them to a EuroSport Warehouse in Hillsborough, North Carolina; once they find a new home, researchers will once again be able to study this trove of information.

The majority of Americans fail to understand soccer’s extensive history in the United States starting in the late nineteenth century, and few secondary sources detail Ronald Reagan’s involvement in the attempts to host a World Cup. As the conservative movement leader, he campaigned under the slogan, “Let’s Make America Great Again,” and touted a return to American...
values and culture after the New Left uprisings of the 1960s and 1970s. Even though Americans at the time (and many to this day) discredited soccer and called it un-American, Communist, and foreign, Reagan saw the sport’s benefits to international relations and the global economy, so he fully supported both the 1986 and 1994 World Cup Bids by the USSF and even surprised the global community when he wrote a letter to Joao Havelange, the FIFA president.

Jennifer L. Schaefer, Emory University

Showing Argentina’s Best Side: Technological Development and the 1978 World Cup

Preparations for the 1978 World Cup in Argentina transformed the social and physical geographies of the capital city Buenos Aires. The event also prompted technological development with the introduction of color television broadcasting capabilities. In the context of Argentina’s last military dictatorship (1976-1983), these changes reflected the government’s interest in portraying Argentina as a developed nation, especially on an international stage. As the military government rushed to finish constructing and renovating the stadiums that would welcome international spectators in Argentina, they also considered how the arenas, especially the large facilities in Buenos Aires, would appear on the color television broadcasts shown around the world.

Though engineers outfitted the stadiums with lights to support color broadcasting, Argentines could not purchase color televisions domestically. One advertisement for the Phillips lights that would illuminate the stadium illustrates the tension between fans in the stadium and television spectators, touting that the lights allow “players, referees, spectators and television audience around the world to enjoy a colorful and brilliant spectacle.” It explains that, “Phillips fulfilled its promise to the country. In this way, Argentina will show its best side.” Failing to note that most Argentines would watch the game on a black and white television, the advertisement reveals the distance between the image of Argentina that the military and business interests wished to portray abroad and the local reality.

Examining stadium construction and the transformation of a space dominated by popular classes into a modern arena fit for an international color television broadcast, this paper considers how analyzing technology in stadium construction and renovation offers insight into the distance between the image of Argentina portrayed abroad and the local experience of the 1978 World Cup. Drawing on advertisements, planning materials, newspapers, satire, and cartoons, the paper argues that while the military government showcased construction projects to demonstrate their authority both domestically and internationally, their unintended consequences allowed critics to voice concerns about the authoritarian government’s legacy.

Drawing on scholarship examining ownership of public space during international sporting events, the paper considers the relationship between technological development, stadium construction, and control of urban spaces. This approach underscores how international and local experiences compete and shape each other in the construction of memory and historical narratives around large international sporting events such as the World Cup. It also shows how sports history can offer insight into broader historical questions of social, political and economic inclusion and exclusion.
SAM SCHELFHOUT, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS-AUSTIN
Lifting ’Round the World: The Political Impact of the USA Weightlifting Team’s 1955 Goodwill Tour to the Middle East

Following their first State Department-sponsored tour of Russia, Lebanon, Iran, and Egypt in the summer of 1955, members from the United States Weightlifting Team were warmly received in the White House by Vice President Nixon, who praised the lifters and told them that they were able to “build more good-will in a few days than our officials have done in years.” The United States was in the midst of what John D. Fair called the “Golden Age of American Weightlifting,” and the team’s trip to Russia captured the attention of not only the weightlifting communities of the countries involved, but it was also significant enough to impact the political barrier between the hegemonic powers of the United States and the Soviet Union.

As a result of their ambassadorial accomplishments in the Soviet Union, the State Department notified the team that they were to leave on a second good-will tour to the countries of Iraq, Afghanistan, India, and Burma within a week of their return from their first trip. Bob Hoffman, president of the York Barbell Company and the officially designated “Father of World Weight Lifting,” documented the trip across several issues of his magazine *Strength and Health*, where he references both his experiences and his motivations for embarking on the good-will tours. According to Hoffman, “victory in weightlifting was tantamount to victory over communism and a verification of the American way of life.” This second trip to neutral Middle East countries reflected the Cold War ethos of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who asserted that psychological warfare through cultural mediums such as good-will tours and sport would be the greatest tool to keep neutral countries from succumbing to communism.

In the context of international diplomacy, this trip by the United States weightlifters (and good-will tours in general) was generally insubstantial. Regime changes in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Burma created too volatile of a political environment for the United States to retain stable diplomatic relations, while the newly-independent state of India, along with Afghanistan, would not align with the United States largely due to close ties between the U.S. and Pakistan. However, Hoffman’s goal of delivering awareness of weightlifting to every corner of the world was realized. While his goal first and foremost was to prove to Vice President Nixon that his group would be the “best ambassadors of good-will this country had ever seen abroad,” the rapport that the group built with the top representatives of each country was beneficial not only to promote American weightlifting abroad, but also to sell the idea that the American way of life trumped the competing Soviet way of life.

This essay ultimately argues that while formal relations between the United States and the countries visited by the USA weightlifting team were unaffected by the team’s visit, this cultural exchange was one of the first trips taken by United States athletes that the Eisenhower administration saw as a legitimate form of propaganda to stimulate a positive image of the United States abroad while attempting to restrain Soviet political ideology in states that were vulnerable to political upheaval.
JAIME SCHULTZ, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
Feminisms, Martial Arts, and Physical Competence in the 1960s and 1970s

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a feminist martial arts movement grew out of women’s experiences with self-defense trainings. This project explores that history and especially the theories and practices of women who committed themselves to developing “physical competence” through various fighting disciplines. One of the first steps in this process involved recognizing the ways that “traditional gender-role socialization” contributed to women’s passivity, fear, and susceptibility to violence. In overcoming the stereotypes associated with conventional femininity, women began to address the corporeal deficiencies related to their second-class status in America. Because they had historically been denied athletic opportunities, assessed one karate instructor in 1975, the “physical growth of females has been stunted. Their human potential denied to them.”

As activists across the country established dojos, collectives, and unions dedicated to women’s martial arts instruction, Cell 16 was perhaps the first feminist organization committed to the enterprise as a political strategy. In their records and publications, especially the journal No More Fun and Games, members argued that learning the skills to fight was “an absolutely necessary step in eradicating male supremacy and dominance.” This presentation will focus on the ways that Cell 16 and other groups made active bodies central to 1960s and 1970s feminisms. What began as a series of self-defense tactics designed for women to survive an isolated physical attack developed into an assertive and potentially revolutionary commitment to martial arts made part of a broader political strategy in women’s liberation.

PIERRE-OLAF SCHUT, UNIVERSITY PARIS-EST MARNE-LA-VALLÉE
Role played by the French State in the development of outdoor sports since 1965

The Union of Outdoor Centres (UCPA in French) was created in France in 1965 on the State’s initiative. It resulted from the merging of two entities: the National Union of Mountain Clubs and the French Water Sports Union. At a time when youth movements were disintegrating, this organization offered a unique model to spread outdoor activities for young people both in the mountain and on the coast. This paper aims to present the setting up of this association and the place of the State in its governance. Demonstrating this involves highlighting the role endowed to the UCPA to develop the practice of outdoor sports and the means used to carry out that mission.

This study relies on the unpublished archives of the association and more specifically the minutes of the meetings between its leading bodies. Further information was obtained from the archives of the State Secretariat for Youth and Sports in the national archives.

This research shows that the State greatly supported the UCPA, allocating it human resources and entrusting it with Centres previously funded by the State. Still, the activity of the UCPA resembled that of emerging tourist associations which were beginning to focus the tourist experience on sport, as with Club Med. However, the State’s investment in a sector partially pertaining to the
business sector was justified by the educational vocation of the UCPA, while its economic model aimed at making sport accessible to the greatest number. Nonetheless, as time went by, the “providential State” model crumbled due to various economic crises and the necessity to cut public expenditures. Therefore the UCPA progressively changed its operating model which became closer to that of a business enterprise. However, in such conditions, can it sustain its value system which relies on an educational mission pertaining to public service? Does the State still have a legitimate place within the association board of directors? The latest developments of the UCPA raise questions as to the limitations of the present public service.

**AMANDA N. SCHWEINBENZ, LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY**

**Repetition of Marginalization: An Examination of the Introduction of Para Rowing into the World Championships**

In 2002, the international rowing federation (FISA) hosted events for para athletes at the Adaptive World Rowing Championships in Seville, Spain. The event was held over one day and situated during the 2002 World Rowing Championships, but this event was considered completely separate to the main championship regatta. The event was intended to be inclusive; males and females raced against one another and persons with varying disabilities were encouraged to participate. Two events were on the program, the Legs Trunk and Arms Mixed Four with Coxswain (LTAMix4+) and the Trunk and Arms Mixed Single Sculls (TAMix1x). Australia won the LTAMix4+ event and the United States captured gold in the TAMix1x). While FISA’s intent was to support diversity and inclusion in an arguably exclusive sport, the international federation unfortunately othered an already marginalized population. Similar to the introduction of women’s rowing in 1954, FISA placed arbitrary restrictions on the abilities of the athletes involved rather than on evidence. Primarily, the racing distance was and continues to be only half of the able-body’s racing distance, thus reinforcing the marginalization of participants. Crews are mixed gender and while this was intended to support the development of para rowing for both men and women, it continues to be a limiting factor for participation. The equipment that the athletes use is bigger and heavier than their able-bodied counterparts, thus making their races slower. Finally, the classification model that was implemented was intended to provide opportunities for a wide variety of people with disabilities; however, what has resulted is a history of restriction. Using data collected from FISA meeting minutes and para documentation, I argue that the history and development of para international rowing has not fully supported a high-performance model, but rather marginalizes para athletes and minimizes their performance and sport participation.

**CHAD SEIFRIED & KWAME AGYEMANG, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY**

**‘Coopetition’ and College Football: A Case of Strategic Alliances over the History of the Tangerine Bowl**
Traditionally, relationships established between firms are recognized as either competitive or cooperative; however, some scholars show organizations can do both concurrently in what is called ‘coopetition’ (Pieters, Knoben, & Pouwels, 2012; Walley, 2007). Calagione (2014) promoted coopetition as the process whereby firms create strategic alliances to support competition and cooperation with each other and possibly other firms in an effort to increase their success. Although there is considerable anecdotal evidence that coopetition occurs, research in this area is limited with respect to how coopetition is established and maintained over time. Within this point, several scholars (e.g., Bouncken, & Kraus, 2013; Peng & Bourne, 2009; Ritala, 2012; Walley, 2007) proposed it would be useful to study strategic patterns of coopetition and implored such research to be conducted longitudinally.

Interestingly, the public record of college football bowl games show they exist as cultural goods capable of demonstrating coopetition through the relationships they established with various organizations to overcome environmental challenges (Seifried & Katz, 2011; Seifried & King, 2012; Williams & Seifried, 2013). As an example, regarding competition, bowl games regularly compete for participants, spectators, television contracts, competition dates, and title sponsors (Seifried & King, 2012). With respect to cooperation, several bowl games share the same stadium as a host site, are operated by the same administrative offices and staff, and promote each other’s contests (Seifried & King, 2012). Overall, ‘coopetition’ provided an opportunity for the survival of bowl games during the winter holiday season and through a variety of environmental shocks.

This project aims to look at coopetition through examining the collective history of the Tangerine Bowl (i.e., Florida Citrus, Capital One, Buffalo Wild Wings Citrus) from 1947 to 2015. The Tangerine Bowl is a certified bowl game for the Division I (Football Bowl Subdivision) by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). Primarily focusing on strategic alliances and their accompanying financial payouts, this longitudinal research on the Tangerine Bowl identifies conference tie-ins, television network agreements, and title sponsorship as active examples of coopetition. Given that coopetition research is in its early stages, this work contributes toward previous research in this area by offering an enhanced understanding of the boundaries of coopetition and what manifests from it. For instance, ‘coopetition’ is found in this case study as helping to create interesting diversity amongst bowl games (e.g., top-tier, middle-tier, and low-tier) based on the number of resources they secured. Further, coopetition is recognized as capable of helping the Tangerine Bowl elevate its status from a low-tier to a middle-tier contest.

To complete this work, several different primary and secondary sources were analyzed using a historical institutionalism perspective. Primary sources included newspapers, organizational reports, letters and/or memorandums from various administrative personnel, and game programs from the NCAA archives. Secondary sources involved the identification of a variety of scholarly books, journal articles, and newspaper articles from media publications such as the New York Times, Chicago Tribune, and Washington Post. Additional primary and secondary sources emerged from archives of the Tangerine Bowl and online public databases regarding bowl games.
Sport and physical activity have long been connected to wider goals of liberation and women’s sexual politics. Specifically, previous sport research has examined the reconfiguration of existing gender relations by transforming conceptions of the female body from weak and passive to strong and capable. Within physical feminism, the body is understood as a critical site in which gender and power are inscribed, and aimed to transform normative conceptions of femininity as vulnerable through physical prowess.

Especially visible in the US during the 1960s and 1970s, corporeal techniques, particularly self-defense that incorporated martial arts, boxing, or wrestling, were thought to empower women’s bodies and minds and challenge the status quo. Rhetorically these techniques were positioned as necessary to fight political disfranchisement, domestic violence, and violent stranger assaults. The latter concern of rape made women’s physical activity and self-defense particularly appealing to the broader public.

However, a close reading of the historical record reveals that rape prevention strategies have never been simply limited to the body proper, but have also incorporated material extensions. Throughout the twentieth century, a series of inventors developed wearable “sexual armor,” designed to rebuild the feminine body as a more productive and capable form.

These anti-rape technologies have varied across the century and, for example, employed bionic, futuristic, and sport-related features such as sophisticated locking mechanisms, Kevlar, and COOL WAVE™ fabrics. Not only a technological object, sexual armor potentially operates as a technology of the self, purporting to enhance the wearer’s psychology and agency. Foucault suggested that technologies of the self are the individual practices in which a subject regulates his or her bodies, thoughts, and conduct—aimed at undoing structural subordination, or technologies of domination. As sexual armor is hidden—worn under clothing—it potentially transforms the wearer’s self-conception of her body, from of a position of subordination to one of agency. Quite explicitly, these anti-rape technologies attempt to extend, and in some cases replace, the role of physical feminism and self-defense movements.

In this paper, I first briefly trace the history of sport activism, including the call for self-defense classes to counter sexual violence, calls that began in the late 1800s and reached broader audiences in the 1960s and 1970s. Then, looking at U.S. patent files and descriptions, advertisements, and crowd-sourced funding campaigns, I examine the relationship between the use of sexual protective armor and physical feminism, and explore how these bolster discursive mythologies of sexual violence—particularly the narrative of the “stranger rape.” Lastly, I contrast these technologies to feminist conceptions of justice, focusing on the interactions of technologies of self and domination. In sum, this research is situated within the historic legacy of physical feminism, examining how pivots in the history of technology have affected the perceived necessity of sport and physical activity, while offering insights for the future of bodily empowerment.

JASON SHURLEY, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY-TEXAS
“The Rise of the Machines”: The Evolution of Commercial Strength Training Machines
In a 2007 New York Times article describing the impact of inventor and fitness entrepreneur Arthur Jones, author Kirk Semple commented that the Nautilus strength training machines Jones invented “made weight lifting more attractive to a broader range of people and helped move the activity from the male-dominated domain of bodybuilders in dank YMCA basements to today’s well-lighted fitness megacomplexes.” While Jones’ inventions undoubtedly broadened the appeal of strength training for many in the 1970s and 1980s, the machines were really descendants of a long line of pulley-based resistance training apparatus dating back centuries.

This paper will discuss the evolution of strength training machines from single pulleys, which soared in popularity in the late nineteenth century, to today’s more complex multi-pulley, single-plane machines. It will trace the “rise of the machines” back to the pulleys designed by physical educator Dudley Allen Sargent to enable even the most poorly conditioned individuals to gain strength. The marketing of Sargent’s machines by the Narragansett company in the 1880s, combined with his own summer courses which demonstrated their use, helped make the pulleys staples of gyms across the country through the first decades of the twentieth century. After the Second World War, strength machines became increasingly diverse as bodybuilding became a stand-alone sport and health clubs began to appeal to a wider clientele. Bodybuilders designed new machines to train muscles in different ways and from different angles in a persistent quest for a perfect physique. Gym owners readily incorporated these machines as a means to keep patrons interested in training and to make strength training accessible for those too unskilled or uninterested to take up barbell or dumbbell training.

In addition to bodybuilders and individuals seeking improved health, machines also spurred the acceptance of strength training as an adjunct to sport performance. Harold Zinkin’s Universal Machine, a multi-station that could be used by as many as eleven athletes at one time, was integral in convincing coaches to make weight training a component of their programs because it was nearly impossible to perform the exercises incorrectly.

This paper will argue that, although the appearance of strength training machines has changed dramatically since their ascent to popularity in the nineteenth century, their utility remains the same now as it was then. Sargent used pulley weights for individuals not experienced enough to perform more difficult exercises or to train very specific movements. Contemporary machines are typically a point of entry into strength training for novices or a tool used by individuals seeking to train very specific parts of their physiques. Further, it will discuss the association between larger trends in health and fitness, including the rapid expansion of gym chains in the decades after the Second World War, and machine design. Sources for this work will include a host of physical culture texts and magazines available at the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sport at the University of Texas at Austin or through the Concordia University library.
Unlike the standard essay, which measures a student’s ability to adhere to a standard form of writing, digital projects have the potential of promoting a greater sense of ownership among students as they work on complex and content-rich projects. This form of engagement requires purposeful design with identifiable goals. Incorporating the concept of “backward design” championed by education specialists Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe, as well as games and media theory by Marshall McLuhan, this paper examines how digital tools empower students to produce engaging forms of scholarship that take advantage of multimedia platforms resources. It presents case studies from sports history courses taught at two universities between 2014 and 2016. Although the primary focus here is on digital storytelling (DST), this paper will also address how students eventually use a variety of web tools that inform and compliment their production of short, persuasive films on sports history.

Why digital storytelling? Developing a DST project—from the initial project proposal to the eventual screening of the film—challenges participants to rethink their approach to historical research. They begin to ask new questions, view sources from different perspectives, understand copyright issues, and, ultimately, convey their argument in a dynamic multimedia presentation. In short, participants develop a new appreciation for producing historical analysis. For instructors, incorporating DST in the sports history curriculum presents two challenges: to establish a clear rationale for its use, and to clearly articulate the end goal for students (what they should achieve in their final products). With these end targets in mind, instructors can begin to work backwards in order to develop the necessary framework, resources, activities, and lessons that can instill confidence among students.

One problem instructors discover when incorporating digital storytelling in their curriculum is that trepidation and DST projects go hand-in-hand; most students become anxious about the prospect of posting their short films online. However, the benefits of using DST in a sports history course outweigh such concerns. The public nature of DST films forces students to consider audience—a critical type of awareness when producing historical narratives. Moreover, their film projects become a type of performance in and of itself: carefully crafted, peer-reviewed, yet easily disseminated and consumed online. Thus, as daunting as this proposition seems to students, the process of developing a DST project merits serious consideration.

The “digital turn” in the humanities has brought greater awareness among historians that research can be, and should be, produced in new ways that take advantage of digital media and the vast online community. As McLuhan points out, electronic media moves us away from social isolation; instead, we become intricately tied to each other like the Web itself. As producers, we all pitch in, consume, create, and participate. The purpose of this paper, then, is to analyze the ways in which DST promotes authentic engagement among students. But it also explores DST’s potential for invigorating instructors, particularly those who are interested in greater multimedia narrativity in sports history courses.

Andrew R.M. Smith, Nichols College
To Preach What We Practice: Teaching Sport History Online
The “Digital Turn” opened new avenues of inquiry, increased the accessibility of sources, and allowed for alternative modes and media of presenting research in sport history. But it also created opportunities to teach in the field. Recent data suggests that enrollment in online courses and programs across the country, even in longstanding and well-endowed brick-and-mortar institutions, significantly exceeds that of traditional student enrollment. The competition for this growing market of prospective students extends beyond tuition rates and advertising. Surveys indicate that “program fit” is the strongest determining factor for online students choosing a postsecondary institution, and new mandates for increased student choice in curricula are designed to let students take more ownership of their program and forge their own “fit.” To that end, departments are increasingly willing to offer courses in online formats that are broadly appealing—and few topics enjoy the widespread popularity of sport.

Traditionally, many practitioners in the field have “done” their sport studies outside of class time, and returned to teach the introductory, foundational, or survey courses required in their home discipline. The proliferation of online education, however, can create the space for many sport scholars to finally preach what they practice—if they are willing to take their own digital turn. This paper utilizes data from third-party surveys of four-year institutions and students engaged in online education; current research in the pedagogy/andragogy of online education; instructor experience in online sport history courses; and student evaluation data from online sport history courses at three different institutions in three different states; in order to share a snapshot of the current state of teaching online sport history and to suggest strategies for success in the virtual sport history classroom.

I argue that embracing the digitization of history affords sport historians an opportunity not only to teach specific courses in their research area, but also that the careful construction of those online learning environments can encourage students to “do” their own digital sport histories and engage with the community of sport scholars in the Digital Present.

In an online sport history course where students are supported and engaged, instructors can promote digital sport history by asking students to post and reply to the myriad sports-centered blogs and social media sites that host digital communities of sport scholars; or by assigning projects that ask students to seek and retrieve digital sources and artifacts of sport history in order to craft a multi-media presentation. Online formats for teaching sport history, then, become fertile soil for not only preaching the work that we practice, but encouraging more students to do and exchange new digital sport histories well beyond the boundaries of their virtual classroom.

MAUREEN SMITH, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY-SACRAMENTO
Mourning in Black and White: America’s Sports Pages Respond to the Assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Chris Lamb, in his introduction to *From Jack Johnson to LeBron James: Sports, Media, and the Color Line* (2015), suggests “one cannot truly appreciate or truly comprehend the story of civil rights in the United States without an appreciation of what was happening in sports in the United States” (p. 6). In this paper, I examine the nexus of sports and the civil rights movement by analyzing the sports pages of American newspapers and their coverage of the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4, 1968. King’s death occurred in the week preceding the start of the new baseball season and his death was on the front pages across the nation, as well as reacted to in the world of sport. Only four years after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the response of the sports world was varied. Not wanting to repeat the mistake of the NFL playing their games only two days after Kennedy’s death, but still believing that sport could serve in some healing capacity, professional leagues were faced with how to properly respond in a country whose race relations had continued to worsen since Kennedy’s death. Major league baseball postponed their traditional opening day games, and NBA and NHL playoff games were postponed, along with a host of other sporting events. Moreover, riots occurred in a number of American cities, including many with professional sport franchises. King’s death, his funeral, and the riots were reacted to by sports columnists, professional teams and leagues, as well as individual athletes, who expressed their own sorrows on King’s violent death. In the days following King’s death, track legend Jesse Owens said of African Americans, “The one part of the paper they believe without reservation is what they see on the sports pages.” My examination will include mainstream newspapers from major league cities, as well as Black newspapers and Spanish language newspapers in the United States.

**Kylee Studer, Houston Baptist University**

Female Runners: Is half the distance really twice the fun?

American women are running and competing in races more than ever before. According to Running USA’s 2014 U.S. Race Trends, women made up 57% of race finishers from the 5k to the marathon distances. This is a 32% increase over the past 24 years. These female participation rates have seen some of their greatest numbers at the half-marathon distance; women were 61% of the half-marathon finishers in 2014. Even though more women are competing in the marathon than ever before, this participation number does not fall in line with those of the half-marathon. That is, in 2014 women only made up 43% of the marathon finishers.

This paper seeks to consider the reasons why women’s participation rates in the marathon do not fall in line with the other distances, especially the half-marathon distance. Why do so many women run the half-marathon distance and yet do not compete similarly at the marathon distance? In examining the reasons why women are not running this distance, this paper first considers what women are running the other distances, and why those same women are not running the longer marathon distance. On the other hand, it will also be important for this paper to consider why fewer men compete at the half-marathon distance but exceed women at the marathon distance.
In order to answer these questions, this paper will utilize the data from Running USA’s annual reports, which draws from U.S. race participation results and data from Athlinks and active.com, along with the current literature on the topic.

Ultimately, this paper will maintain that women do not compete at a similar rate at the marathon distance because of the cultural barriers that prohibit women from general sport participation. That is, the same factors that historically have prohibited young girls from sport participation and later, adult women from organized sport and physical activity will be evident in showing the reasons why women do not run the marathon distance as regularly as their male counterparts. In the end, the goal of this paper is to continue to bring to light the barriers that have historically prohibited women from sport competition and provide ways these barriers can be broken down to offer more women the opportunity to go the distance, the marathon distance.

**DAVID E. SUMNER, BALL STATE UNIVERSITY**

**Bear Bryant’s and Wally Butts’ Scandalous Telephone Call**

The *Saturday Evening Post* published “The Story of a College Football Fix” in its March 23, 1963, issue. At the time, Wally Butts was the embittered ex-football coach of the University of Georgia and Paul “Bear” Bryant was the legendary University of Alabama coach. The story alleged that Butts revealed valuable player and strategy details to Bryant in a telephone conversation a week before the September 22, 1962, game. The story’s primary source was Atlanta insurance salesman George Burnett who, while dialing the phone number of a public relations firm, was accidentally cut into and overheard the telephone conversation between Butts and Bryant. Butts sued Curtis Publishing (owners of the *Saturday Evening Post*) for $10 million in libel damages. Bryant filed a separate suit. On August 20, 1963, a federal district court jury in Atlanta returned a libel judgment of $3 million in favor of Butts, which was later reduced to $460,000. In 1967, the Supreme Court upheld the verdict in a narrow 5-to-4 vote.

This paper argues why the story was true. Three Georgia coaches, the president of the university, and four members of the athletic board testified against Butts. Butts had disclosed Georgia play details to at least one other coach during the same season: Bill Peterson of Florida State. Butts and Bryant perjured themselves on the witness stand in evidence this paper will present. Whistleblower George Burnett passed two lie detector tests and several witnesses testified to the validity of his notes about the conversation. Both Bryant and Butts were investigated by the FBI and found to have a record of gambling on football games (although there is no direct evidence they bet on this particular game). Curtis Publishing lost the case because (1) the story contained some minor factual errors and a sensationalized title; (2) Butts’ attorney was far more skilled in legal strategy and his knowledge of football than Curtis’s attorney, (3) the judge, who was arguably biased, set parameters for admissible evidence in pre-trial hearings so narrowly that it would have been difficult for Curtis to win under any circumstance.

This paper draws on primary source documents from (1) the papers of former University of Georgia President O.C. Aderhold at the university archives and (2) depositions from trial witnesses and the complete transcript of the trial from the National Archives and Record Administration.
Atlanta division. It also relies on documents obtained from the FBI regarding its investigations into Wally Butts and Bear Bryant.

This paper is significant because it challenges conventional wisdom about the Butts–Bryant verdict that has been widely misreported in sports, legal, and media history books. Because Butts won his case all the way to the Supreme Court, most writers assume that he was completely vindicated of the charges. If “actual malice” had been the legal standard for public figures in 1963, Curtis Publishing would have won the case.

**RYAN SWANSON, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO**

*Stopping the “Fight of the Century:” Theodore Roosevelt, Jack Johnson, and the Limits of the Bully Pulpit*

The “Fight of the Century,” pitting black champion Jack Johnson versus “The Great White Hope,” Jim Jeffries, offended Theodore Roosevelt. The bout took place on July 4, 1910, and Johnson won in a rout. The reaction to Johnson’s victory was ugly; race riots ensued. Within days, Roosevelt signed on to an effort to stop circulation of the fight film due to the fight’s role in heightening race tensions.

Subsequently, Roosevelt took one of his most radical stands on athletics: he called for a nation-wide ban on prizefighting. Roosevelt did not object to violence but rather to the “enormous” and “demoralizing” money prizes and to the rampant gambling associated with boxing. Headlines trumpeted Roosevelt’s new cause: “Roosevelt Hopes Reno Killed Prize Fighting,” wrote the *Atlanta Constitution*. Roosevelt later joined a Massachusetts’ effort to keep prizefighting out of Boston clubs. But prize fighting did not die out in Boston, the United States, or elsewhere. This paper examines the limits of presidential persuasion in the arena of sport, particularly when dealing with racial issues. Despite Roosevelt’s urgings, professional boxing boomed over the next fifty years. Jack Dempsey, Joe Louis, and Sugar Ray Robinson—professional boxing champions all—became national celebrities in the first half of the twentieth century. Thus the warnings of a very popular former president went unheeded.

This project draws upon the extensive letters of Theodore Roosevelt, early twentieth century newspapers, and boxing promotion materials. While boxing, and Jack Johnson in particular, have been much studied, connecting both to a broader narrative on leadership on racial issues represents a step in a new direction. We know that racism existed in early twentieth century America, but less has been written focusing directly on how leaders (such as the President of the United States) attempted to shape racial norms in the world of sport. When do political leaders get involved in sport-related racial decisions? How effective are politicians at guiding effective racial progress in the world of sport? This project focuses precisely on such relevant and pressing questions.

**SETH S. TANNENBAUM, TEMPLE UNIVERSITY**

*Baseball and Entertainment: New Ballparks as the Solution to Age-Old Problems*
When Oriole Park at Camden Yards opened in Baltimore in 1992, it initiated a trend in ballpark construction of nostalgic references to baseball’s traditions and history. At the same time this new wave of ballparks, twenty-one have opened since Camden Yards, are starkly different from ballparks and stadiums of the game’s past and the fan experience at a game is vastly different than it was 75 years ago. My paper examines the seeming contradiction between nostalgia and new experiences at the ballpark in an effort to answer how Major League Baseball (MLB) teams managed to expand their fan bases in the last 25 years without driving away long-time fans. My paper also examines the tensions MLB teams had to navigate in order to expand their fan bases.

To be both profitable and competitive, baseball teams must draw fans who go to games for a variety of reasons. For example, teams must draw both diehard baseball fans and people who simply want to be entertained. In this paper, I argue that baseball team owners and executives found the solution to appease both groups in the retro-inspired ballparks that followed Camden Yards. Diehards were closer to the action in distinctive ballparks that inspired nostalgia and felt connected to the team’s home city and its past. Entertainment-seeking fans encountered new foods, new games, new views, and new mascots to keep their interest if the game on the field was not entertaining enough. These diversions from the game did not turn off diehard fans because they were housed in structures that referenced the game’s past. New ballparks resolved the tension in the stands between fans who came to games because they primarily cared about which team would win and fans who came to the games primarily to have a good time by offering something to both groups. The evidence for the novelty of this solution rests in the history of ballpark design and location as well as explosion of non-baseball activities at the ballpark. Additionally, food concessions played a big part in satiating both types of fans as hot dogs, peanuts, and beer remained as a link to the game’s past, but ballgames also became a destination for foodies.

The tension between die-hard baseball fans and those who were just looking to have a good time was not new to the post-1992 era, but the solution pioneered by Camden Yards was. That tension was part of a long-standing problem in MLB history of attracting an ever-larger audience without driving away the fans teams already had. As all professional sports rely on fans for their existence, it is valuable to examine the tactics Major League Baseball teams used to draw more fans and fortify their financial futures in order to better understand the relationship between fans and professional teams.

KATHARINE TAYLOR, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY

The recent appointment of Jen Welter to a coaching internship with the Arizona Cardinals and Sarah Thomas to the role of an NFL official has thrown the spotlight onto the participation of women in this highly masculinised sport. This paper seeks to explore the very earliest participation of women in the sport, focusing predominantly on the role of players. It seeks to answer questions relating to the level of participation by women in the sport including what opportunities for participation there were and where, geographically speaking, this participation is found. The paper
also seeks to answer questions regarding the reaction that these players received. This will include discussion of the language used in reports covering these games and explain how and why these may have changed throughout the time period covered by the research. Digitised media reports from both local and national newspapers are utilised to allow reports deemed worthy of both national and local importance to be identified and represent accessible sources for a researcher in the UK. Those include reports from the Library of Congress’ Chronicling America resource as well as that of the New York Times. The paper argues that participation by women was more extensive than initially thought and that while initial evidence points to participation close to the origins of the collegiate game that swiftly spread to other regions of the country. While slower to be taken up in some areas, there is evidence of participation across large regions of the U.S. In addition, the paper discusses the changing language used in the reporting of women’s participation throughout the time period and contends it is likely linked to women’s changing role in society but that also the different stylistic reporting methods utilised by differing papers also contributed to these changes in reporting style. This paper represents the filling of a significant gap in the historiography of women’s sport by revealing a hitherto unreported aspect of women’s sporting history but also that of the highly masculinised sport of football. A greater awareness of their historic participation in football may assist females today in taking part in a sport so often presented as a masculine enclave.

**DAIN TEPoEL, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA**

**Endurance Activism: Transcontinental Walks in the United States and the Politics of Movement Culture**

Long-distance walks, hikes, and marches that cross hundreds of miles or more present a legitimate form of physical culture for sport history. Transcontinental walks provide scholars with extraordinary examples of human movement involving strength, stamina, persistence, commitment and resiliency that test the limits of mental and physical exertion. As with elite and professional athletics or sport, walks across the country operate as mechanisms of physical expression intentionally designed to generate attention and circulate as newsworthy events. Its history is rife with significance in presenting opportunities to examine alternative conceptualizations of the link between physical culture and political activism. Moreover, endurance walks offer an innovative site to examine the contested terrain of identity markers and their intersection with uncharacteristic examples of sport or physical culture.

Suffragette hikers in the early 1910s provide an historical example of what Jaime Schultz refers to as “physical activism, or the articulation of physical activity and political activism.” In response to Schultz’s call for further consideration of the ways the body operates as the “most fundamental and perhaps most underestimated possibility for enacting change,” I conceptualize transcontinental walks for sociopolitical change as a form of “endurance activism,” an analytical frame and concept I develop that illustrates how the body’s engagement in sustained physical exertion becomes entangled in alternative ways of living, and possibly intertwined with lifelong commitments to social change. Additionally, a focus on walking widens the scope of the field to
include those who might otherwise be excluded from participating in sport based on structural barriers and cultural ideologies across interlocking axes of power.

In this paper, I use national and regional newspapers, journals, and periodicals to reconstruct a concise narrative history of US long-distance (hundreds of miles, across multiple states) and transcontinental walks. Long-distance walks and treks, covering a large portion of or attempting to cross the United States, date historically to the early nineteenth century. I analyze their emergence within unique historical contexts, which range from turn-of-the-century processes of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration to the rise of neoliberalism since the 1970s as the dominant organizing principle of governance and the economy.

Writers, journalists, and scholars have re-created transcontinental walks by Edward Payson Weston and Helga Etsby in the late nineteenth century, for example, using newspaper accounts, diaries, and other limited primary sources. Though the impetus for many walks in the earlier period share an element of gambling or wagering, why else did transcontinental walks take place? How did individuals and groups sustain endurance walking as a phenomenon imbued with cultural meanings well into the twentieth century? By exploring the cultural significance of transcontinental walks, and highlighting the historical forces that helped produce them, this paper examines the racialized and gendered bodies and values that circulated through media coverage and other accounts of the walks. In doing so, it also maps the linkage of walks to political movements, such as the suffragette hikes and the civil rights march in 1965 from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

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

A History of Sports in the U.S. West through the Collections of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture

When the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of African American History and Culture opens in the fall of 2016, it will contain a 5,300-square foot exhibition that focuses on the importance of sports. One of conceptual challenges that the museum faced is how to organize the 200 objects, 300 graphics, and 17 videos that were selected to appear in the inaugural exhibition. After careful consideration, the museum decided to organize this space into several smaller galleries that will be sport-specific, and highlight the sports that have been most transformative in the African American fight for full equality. As such, the exhibition will have dedicated spaces for football, basketball, baseball, boxing, the Olympics, and a combined case devoted to golf and tennis. The design of the exhibition has profound implications for which histories are told, and how they are told.

What if the sports gallery had been organized by place, rather than sport? This paper will explore how an organizational structure based upon physical geography and imagined communities associated with specific, multiple, and intersecting communities could potentially provide alternative renderings of our understanding of the importance of the U.S. West in African American sports history. By looking at some of the most important artifacts in the museum’s collection, this paper will offer an interpretation of how the U.S. West is positioned against other places nationally and globally,
and how an engagement with the history of sports in the U.S. West helps us understand the larger African American struggle.

**JAN TODD, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN**  
Dumbbells, Pulleys, and Muscle: American Gymnasiums and Weight Training in the Pre-Civil War Era

As historians Clifford Putney and William J. Baker have documented, the rise of Muscular Christianity in the mid-nineteenth century led to the development and expansion of team sports, the invention of new forms of exercise, and the opening of a variety of public and commercial gymnasiums. In these new gymnastic edifices many men, and some women, engaged in purposive exercise, training to enhance their physiques, improve their health, and build endurance and strength. Some did German-style gymnastics—climbing ropes and ladders, swinging on parallel bars, and using the pommel horse. Others followed the prescriptions of Boston's advocate of the “New Gymnastics,” Dr. Diocletian Lewis, and met in virtually empty rooms for sessions of bean-bag throwing, marching, and group exercise employing wooden dumbbells, wands, and Indian clubs. Still others—apparently including Higginson—spent part of their time lifting heavy iron dumbbells, using large Indian clubs, and training on an array of primitive weight-lifting machines—machines inspired by the same drive toward industrialization and efficiency that built the cities of the nineteenth century.

Although still somewhat rare at the time Higginson wrote “Gymnastics,” progressive weight training would emerge by the end of the nineteenth century as the most popular form of gymnasium exercise for men. Boxing gymnasiums, dance studios, gymns in which one practiced German or Swedish gymnastics, gymns associated with schools and colleges, and, of course, a growing number of YMCA gymnasiums, all existed by the turn of the twentieth century. However, for an adult male to say he was training, or practicing physical culture, meant a significant portion of his purposive exercise came from weight training. More than a century later that statement still holds true only now, women as well as men are equally familiar with the benefits of resistance exercise. In fact, according to the International Health, Racquet and Sportsclub Association, more than 63 million Americans trained in a gym or health club in 2014, and males and females are now equally represented as health club members.

This essay examines the American origins of several of the more popular forms of strength-building equipment: dumbbells, barbells, and pulley machines. The essay does not seek to address a comprehensive history of these pieces of equipment, but presents an exploration of the early emergence of these training aids within an American context.
As is well known, the controversy surrounding the 1936 Olympic Games, organized in Berlin, Germany under the aegis of Adolf Hitler’s regime, led to an unprecedented “protest movement of international scope mounted against a designated host city.” To date, the literature contends that the international campaign to boycott the event encompassed the United States, where it originated, had ample support, and was on the verge of succeeding, Canada, Britain, France, and Spain. However, there was at least one country outside Europe and North America that also crusaded to oppose sending a team to the 1936 Olympic Games: Argentina.

The purpose of this presentation is to explore the attempt in Argentina to boycott the controversial 1936 Olympic Games, the reasons why the effort failed, and the country’s subsequent participation in the event.

This presentation demonstrates that the attempt in Argentina to boycott the controversial 1936 Olympic Games was led by leftists and Jewish groups openly opposed to the Nazi regime. These groups were aware of the international campaign to boycott the event and mounted a parallel campaign in Argentina. Their crusade though did not capture the public’s attention. Ignored by both mainstream media and Olympic officials, who strongly favored Argentine participation in Berlin, the attempted boycott was doomed to fail. The story of such failure not only shows the variegated political and social reaction in Argentina to the Nazi regime but also that the country was fully attuned to the intricate globalization of sport in the 1930s.

By providing a thorough account of the previously unknown Argentine failed attempt to boycott the 1936 Olympic Games, this presentation fills a gap in the literature and constitutes an important contribution to the understanding of sport history. The Biblioteca Nacional, Comité Olímpico Argentino, CeDInCI, Archivo Histórico de Cancillería, and Deportea, all institutions, libraries, and archives in Argentina, were visited to identify and review the source materials (newspapers, magazines, and reports) used in this presentation.

**Mercedes Townsend, Sarah Lawrence College**

‘Venus to the Hoop,’ but Not to the Bank: Gender Inequity in Professional Basketball

In the forty years since the passage of Title IX, more American women have played basketball than any other sport. Women’s intercollegiate basketball is among the most celebrated women’s sports in the United States today, and the Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA), is currently the longest running professional league for a women’s team sport in American history. The league boasts a multi-million dollar television contract with ESPN, a multi-million dollar marquee sponsor in Boost Mobile, and games in world-renowned sporting arenas such as Madison Square Garden in New York City and The Staples Center in Los Angeles.

Despite the gains of the WNBA, professional sports in America continue to be plagued by gender inequity that can be seen most prominently when considering professional athletes’ pay. Today, a six-season veteran of the WNBA can make, at most, $107,500 a season, while the minimum salary for a rookie in the National Basketball Association (NBA) is $507,336. Using the
WNBA’s New York Liberty and NBA’s New York Knicks as cases in point, this paper investigates and discusses the causes and implications of this profound pay inequity.

I argue that the wage gap that exists between the WNBA and NBA is not due to the WNBA’s relative youth or the small number of teams that compose the league, but can instead be attributed to the league’s marketing efforts. Through an in-depth analysis of league marketing materials, media coverage, endorsement deals, and player interviews, this paper analyzes the effects of sports marketing and media on fan perception, the effects of fan perception on the cultivation of sustainable markets for professional sports leagues, and the effects of sustainable league markets on player pay. By addressing the ways in which hegemonic ideologies of gender have been both resisted and reinforced in the marketing of the WNBA since the league’s 1996 inaugural season, I argue that the WNBA’s preoccupation with gender norms—as opposed to its players’ athletic ability—is the chief factor limiting its players’ pay. In doing so, this paper also addresses the question of how this reliance on gender norms has stalled the success of women’s basketball not just during its time as a professional sport, but since the sport’s emergence in 1893.

Drawing on sports history, feminist theory, economics, and marketing scholarship, this interdisciplinary study offers insight into the complex relationship between gender ideologies and the structuring of labor and consumer markets in professional sports, illustrating the ways in which “value” has been created and presented in the history of professional women’s basketball.

**Laura Troiano, Rutgers University–Newark**

*Find Another Place to Play: Community Activism in the Stadium Building Era*

It was all planned; there would be a sports complex in Newark, NJ. The complex would include a 6,000-seat baseball stadium for a minor league team; it would be a new team, but one with deep Newark roots. It would have twenty luxury skyboxes; it would need to accommodate all the new corporations coming into the city. It would have the ability to expand by another 15,000 in portable seating for special events, concerts, and graduations. Alongside the baseball stadium, another stadium would be built. This one would be a 12,000-seat soccer stadium, soon to be the home field for the Jersey Dragons, a member United States Interregional Soccer League. There was going to be sports complex in Newark, NJ; it was all planned. It was all planned until the residents of the neighborhood where that sports complex would be built found out about it.

It was the early 1990s in Newark. The city, as described by its then mayor Sharpe James, was in the midst of its renaissance. As part of its emergence as a renaissance city, Newark, as was the case in many cities across the country, was investing in downtown redevelopment. One of the anchors of this redevelopment plan was the building of a sports complex. This paper will be a discussion of what happened when stadium building, as part of a larger downtown redevelopment plan, met community activism. It will be an attempt to understand some of the consequences of city officials and developers attempting to determine the value of space.

Looking at the fight to save Riverbank Park, the proposed site for the stadiums, helps us see the successes and failures of using stadiums as urban redevelopment projects, the place a stadium has, or is desired to have, within a community, and how one could understand community activism.
within the stadium building paradigm. This paper will draw from interviews with members of the activist group, transcripts from city government meetings, substantial newspaper reporting, and other archival material.

**Bob Trumpbour, Pennsylvania State University-Altoona**

George Turner Kirksey and His Role in Houston’s Push to Join the Major Leagues

George Turner Kirksey was a leading figure in Houston’s push to achieve major league status. Although not the most prominent or well-connected Houstonian, Kirksey was arguably the most vocal and energetic individual in the quest to bring a major league team to Houston. This research will focus on George Kirksey and his role in bringing Major League Baseball to Houston as well as his subsequent failed attempt to entice a National Football League team to Houston after American Football League owner Bud Adams refused to sign a lease to play in the Astrodome after it was unveiled in 1965. Kirksey was a nationally known reporter for United Press International (UPI) who returned to Houston after World War II to found a public relations firm. He tried to leverage his contacts in the sports world as a prominent sports journalist to bring a major league team to Houston. The research will chronicle his failed attempts as well as his successes, while offering a comprehensive look at this quirky and enigmatic man whose energy and enthusiasm helped to shape the direction of Houston’s sports history during the 1950s and 1960s.

**Wray Vamplew, Manchester Metropolitan University**

Promotion, Products and (Possibly) Profits: Sports Entrepreneurship Revisited

There are a multiplicity of outputs that can be labelled sports products and no consensus on what is a sports entrepreneur. This paper builds on Hardy’s seminal work on commodification and entrepreneurship [‘Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians’, *Journal of Sport History* 13.1 (1986), 14-33] and centres on redefining the sports product and those who promote its creation and distribution.

In the light of sport history research since Hardy’s proposition and the emergence of work from a coterie of economists and business academics specialising in sport, it is proposed that new definitions of both the sports product and sports entrepreneurship be adopted. A tripartite sport product is suggested which comprises the player product (equipment and costume, facilities, and clubs), the spectator product (actual attendance or viewing via various media), and the service product (items such as sports magazines which are marketed to both or either of the player product and spectator product purchasers).

Most work on the history of sports business has taken place within the confines of the concept which sees entrepreneurs as profit-oriented individuals. Yet such activities need not be the exclusive province of individuals with profits as their major goal. The concept of the ‘social entrepreneur’—again there is no consensus but it is about seeking social returns rather (or as well as) operating surpluses—is in common parlance now, so perhaps it is time to redefine the sports entrepreneur. It is proposed that they be considered simply as those persons who act as change
agents in the supply of sports products by attempting to increase the output of the industry or improve the consumer experience by such means as developing new markets and creating new products. To bring some focus to what might appear too broad a definition, two typologies will be suggested, one relating to motivation, the other to function. Hopefully these revised definitions might encourage more sports historians to venture into the economic history side of the subject.

CATHY VAN INGEN, BROCK UNIVERSITY
Stabbed, Shot, Left To Die: Historying Christy Salter Martin and Violence Against Women

Christy Martin was the face of women’s boxing when it captured the public’s attention in the mid-1990s. The only female boxer to make the cover of *Sports Illustrated*, Martin (49-7-3, with 31 knockouts) is often credited with legitimizing the sport. Martin resurfaced in the public eye in 2010 when she was shot, stabbed, and left to die by her husband and boxing trainer, Jim Martin. This study engages in ‘postmodern-type’ historying and seeks to understand the past in new and different ways. Using court transcripts, in-person interview material, media coverage including newspaper and magazine articles, and personal narratives based on work with boxers who have experienced gender-based violence, this paper engages history, not as an act of discovery, but, in the words of Munslow (2015), as an authored and fictive construal. It will foreground history as representation and contribute to understandings of the past in new and different ways. Specifically, the paper will search for adequate ways to study the sporting past and violence against women by engaging what Britzman (1998) refers to as “difficult knowledge” and by taking detours and exploring the fissures between what once was and what it can now mean.

PATRICIA VERTINSKY, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Extending the British female tradition in physical education: movement education comes to Western Canada, 1950-1970

When *The National Fitness Act of Canada* was passed in 1943, with a renewed influence upon health and fitness on a national scale, it was a preliminary to future efforts to operate organised sport at the national level as well as an early catalyst for the development of degree-granting physical education programs focusing on scientific functionalism, measurement and fitness. Yet the post WW2 years, especially the 1950s through the 1970s, were also characterized by what has been called the transnational influence of the “female tradition in physical education,” especially numbers of visiting and immigrant British physical educators, many of them women, who brought their favored methods of child-centred teaching and a movement education focused curriculum to schools and post-secondary institutions in Ontario and other provinces in Canada. It was an innovation which had a number of impacts upon approaches to physical education in Canada, particularly at the elementary level, but which ultimately would be challenged by renewed phases of national and provincial fitness, sport and health policies, and directives from the late 1970s which were increasingly sustained into the twenty-first century. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine the nature
and impact of a number of British physical educators who came to work in Canada, especially in British Columbia, and the movement education approaches in physical education they brought with them in the decades following WW2. “These were not faddists, but well-balanced, widely educated women who were bringing to their jobs humour, understanding and vision,” said Joyce Plymtre Tyrell, a representative of the Canadian Association for Physical Education and Sport (CAPHER) in 1953, adding “watch Britain.” Among the very few studies examining this phenomenon are those of Lathrop and colleagues who focus on the Ontario experience. Their view was that these movement education initiatives were marginalized by virtue of a triple indemnity: the perceived relevance only to elementary education, the strong alliance with modern dance, and the gendered endorsement of professionals who were primarily women. With these claims in mind we will examine the experiences of Western Canada, especially British Columbia, in order to investigate more deeply those (often gendered) conflicts which developed around movement education and its place in the school as well as in higher education.

Evidence for this paper is drawn from a series of interviews with female and male physical educators who moved to Canada during these years and introduced movement education to Western Canada, as well as a wide variety of primary sources including curricula, letters, reports, and policy documents, and secondary sources related to the histories of education, physical education and movement education, journal articles etc.

**Michel Vigneault, Université du Québec à Montréal**

Sport and the Quiet Revolution in Québec: How to Reform Provincial Sport Organizations

The Quiet Revolution transformed the Québec of the 1960s, mostly for its social aspects, such as health institutions and education, but also for its economy, where the provincial government got more involved. Since the Second World War, the Duplessis government (1944-60) let the Catholic clergy take charge of the social spheres, while letting foreign companies dominate the local investments in natural resources in particular. With the Lesage government (1960-66), the provincial state took over the social aspect while pushing for more local companies and investments to set a new economy. In the early 1960s, sport was less under clergy dominance and became more secular, and English sport organizations had to be more open to French people. Then, how were these two different systems able to set up a new sport governing body? What was the exact role of the Québec government in this merger?

In this presentation, I want to explain how Québec sport, which was run by two different systems, faced the new ideas from the Quiet Revolution. French sport was organized by the Catholic clergy under the «Oeuvre des Terrains de Jeux» umbrella, while the English side was set up through the Canadian sport associations. They were two independent systems that almost never met on the sport fields—except for hockey of course. With increasing provincial government involvement, these two systems had to become one by sharing multiple sport federations (one for each sport), all now being under the new government institution, Haut-commissariat à la jeunesse, au sport et aux loisirs (HCJSL). Since most of the sport federations were created by the English side of Québec before 1960, these now had to incorporate their French fellows who took over by their majority membership
in a very short time. Thus sport was not anymore a local affair, but was now organized for Québec to take its place on the Canadian scene. This Quiet Revolution in sport ended when Montréal hosted the Olympic Games of 1976.

By using government reports, such as the Laroche Report (1961), the Belisle Report (1964), the Parent Report (1964), and the Beauregard Report (1975), we can see the evolution of sport organizations and how the government planned to set up a new system of organized sport in the province. Also, the archives of Gilles Houde, a politician who pushed the government to be involved in this department and helped set up the HCJSL in particular, give a great inside view of the government debates on the subject.

Being different culturally from the rest of North America, this example shows how modernity following the Second World War made such an impact on the Québec society that had been insulated, just opened up to the rest of world with Expo 67 and the Olympic Games of 1976; and sport being a part of the culture, was then one of these elements that were involved in the great changes and debates during the Quiet Revolution.

TRAVIS VOGAN, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

The Racial Politics of Monday Night Football’s Emergence and Persistence

In 1970, the American Broadcasting Company’s sports division, ABC Sports, teamed with the National Football League to launch Monday Night Football—a series of professional football games packaged for a prime-time audience. The program soon established itself as a must-see “TV event” that disrupted traditional viewing habits and suggested that live sports television—a genre commonly relegated to weekend afternoons—could attract a broader viewership. Monday Night Football built this prime-time audience by packaging pro football games as entertaining spectacles. It included three announcers in the broadcast booth as opposed to the standard two, featured celebrity guests at halftime, and unveiled a battery of technological innovations to cull “casual fans” who may not otherwise take an interest in football.

As part of its efforts to attract a crossover audience, Monday Night Football had to confront professional football’s potentially polarizing racial politics. Indeed, Monday Night Football was one of the only prime-time television programs to feature prominently interracial subject matter. These black and white bodies—whether collaborating or competing—were steeped in the broader racial tensions taking place in the United States during the 1970s. ABC took measures to contain these implicit and explicit racial tensions to preserve Monday Night Football’s mainstream appeal. For instance, in 1971 it debuted the made-for-TV movie Brian’s Song alongside Monday Night Football. Organized around Gale Sayers and Brian Piccolo’s interracial friendship, the melodrama depicts football as a realm that builds masculine bonds with the potential to transcend racial difference. Along different lines, in 1974 ABC briefly hired former NFL player Fred “The Hammer” Williamson to serve as one of Monday Night Football’s commentators. Williamson is an African American who achieved modest stardom after his playing career by acting in a number of Blaxploitation films. ABC terminated Williamson’s contract before the 1974 season even began in part because of his outspoken and racially polarizing persona.
Employing archival research that illuminates these and other examples, this presentation will examine how ABC built and preserved *Monday Night Football*'s success as a mainstream spectacle in part by enforcing a vision of racial harmony within professional football and suppressing voices that might contradict this commercially driven image. In doing so, it will demonstrate the racial politics underlying how one of sports television’s most prominent and longstanding institutions gained—and has maintained—its iconic status and ability to attract an exceptionally broad audience.

**Katherine Walden, University of Iowa**

“Our Baseball Nine”: Race, Sport, and Southern White Masculinity at Vanderbilt University, 1893-1912

The college campus has long operated as a site where social structures and identities are contested and mediated, and in the Civil War’s aftermath, young white men in the southern United States faced particular uncertainties. Using Vanderbilt University as a case study, this paper draws on student-generated media sources to explore how college sport was used to mediate and represent Southern white masculinity in the post-Reconstruction period. Primary source material includes Vanderbilt University student newspapers and yearbooks from 1887 (the earliest archived yearbook) through 1912 (when student newspaper and yearbook publications no longer demonstrated clear connections to Civil War and pre-war Southern society), as well as the university biographies written in 1946, 1978, and 1985. Using the illustrations and textual content contained in these sources, this paper addresses how students during this period were using media to communicate particular cultural ideologies. Much sport history written on Southern collegiate football and basketball tends to use the twentieth-century as a forward-facing origin point for historical narratives and focuses largely on the Civil Rights era. This paper looks to antebellum, Civil War, and Reconstruction influences to seek a deeper historical foundation for the continuing controversies and competing narratives surrounding Southern collegiate sport, integration, and race relations, considering historical tensions that continue to influence how (re)imagined Southern traditions are interwoven with Southern collegiate athletics.

The combination of student newspaper and yearbook content highlights how Southern white male students responded to the anxieties and threats they faced surrounding their role on campus, as well as their position in society-at-large. The messages and ideologies contained in and communicated by the case study’s representative examples demonstrate a mediated connection to a potentially falsely-idealized antebellum past and highlight how an imagined Southern pre-war idyll was in many cases used to critique increasingly progressive shifts in Southern society. This yearbook and student newspaper content sheds light on how students responded to the multiple threats changing social structures, gender roles, and race relations, especially the privilege Southern white male college students sought to maintain.

Hailing from Southern states, these students were familiar with post-Civil War and Reconstruction political tensions, but their connection to antebellum society was mediated by the dramatic social restructuring and generational logics that limited these students’ understanding of
antebellum society to the narratives they received from older relatives or community members, whose memories and retellings were likely influenced and motivated by particular ideologies and perspectives. Students during this period responded to threats to Southern white masculinity by reconceptualizing pre-war Southern society. Just as much as the illustrations and textual content in student publications work to reimagine or recreate an idealized version of antebellum society, they also communicate responses to newly-introduced, then-contemporary threats to Southern white masculinity, calling into question the blur between the imagined or romanticized and the real.

JARED WALTERS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

“Two men enter, one man leaves”—The history of the political and legal struggles during the founding of mixed martial arts in North America

This paper explores the political and legal struggles of mixed martial arts (MMA) during the early history of the sport’s creation, from 1993 to 2001. Federal, state, provincial, and municipal governments across North America banned, criminalized, or altered the sport of MMA (then known as no-hold-barred fighting), while the MMA organizations fought to resist these actions or made compromises to survive.

This paper will investigate the history of the sport in relation to the political and legal struggles of MMA. The motives and actions on both sides of this contest were results of perceived excessive violence, on the one hand, and legislators’ moral panic, on the other. The overt celebration and promotion of violence by MMA organizations led to early financial success with fans, but harsh reactions from political figures at all levels. As a result of the marketing strategies that glorified spectacularized violence and even the possible death of competitors, a moral panic was created. Politicians and media companies reacted to the panic through the criminalization and banning of the sport. In response, MMA organizations simultaneously attempted to avoid constraining and create positive government regulation through what Elias has called a ‘sportization’ process, leading to regulation of the sport, alterations of rules, and superficial changes to the representation of the sport. Ultimately, the sport of MMA moved into a period referred to in the sport as the ‘dark ages’, making MMA illegal or at best, unregulated across North America. This phase ended in 2001, with the purchase of the UFC by Las Vegas hotel owners, Lorenzo and Frank Fertitta and the future president of the company, Dana White.

The significance of this paper resides in its contribution to the study of spectacularized violence in a sport that has received little attention from sport historians despite the obvious social and political importance this sport continues to enjoy in North America, and increasingly across the world.

The evidence used in this paper was gathered through popular media sources written on the sport, traditional media sources, and MMA blogs and websites.

JIM WATKINS & GREGG TWIETMEYER, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY

Success and Failure to Curtail Collegiate Athletics in the City of Birmingham
De-escalation in collegiate athletics is uncommon, but in the city of Birmingham, two academic institutions have experienced attempted de-escalation in recent history. Birmingham Southern College successfully de-escalated when the college announced its intent to reclassify from Division I to Division III in 2006, after only three years of competition at the Division I level. In 2014, the University of Alabama-Birmingham announced that it had cut its football program. An athletic program competing at the Division I FBS level had not cut its football team since 1995. Both attempts to drastically change their school’s athletic programs were met with resistance.

The purpose of the study is to examine why Birmingham Southern was successful in de-escalating when Alabama-Birmingham was not, and if reclassifying to Division III was a success for Birmingham Southern. To answer these questions, the authors will use press releases, media guides, and school newspapers from the institutions. The authors will also interview internal stakeholders from both institutions, such as athletic department employees, faculty, and students. In order to examine perceptions from the external environment of these institutions, the authors will use articles from the local media, as well as websites and blogs that cover college athletics. The authors will argue that Birmingham Southern was able to de-escalate because it reclassified to a level of competition with institutions with a similar liberal arts college identity, while Alabama-Birmingham failed to de-escalate because the campus community believed that having a football team was integral to the identity of their university. Factors such as athletic department resources, the desire to increase enrollment, the connection of athletics with the surrounding community, how institutions associate themselves with others, and the university mission will be examined. Also, the authors will argue that Birmingham Southern made a poor transition to Division III, but that over the long run, reclassification was a superior option to remaining Division I. Understanding why Birmingham Southern successfully met resistance to de-escalation, when Alabama-Birmingham failed, is a sport history topic that is worthy of study for two reasons. One reason is that college athletic programs will inevitably continue to attempt to reclassify their athletic programs and cut certain teams. This study should help university administrators understand the significant factors and risks of de-escalation when faced with the possibility. The second reason the study is important is that it provides insight on how internal stakeholders of a university perceive the identity of their institution. Understanding how students and faculty perceive the identity of their institution is an essential aspect of participating in any higher education entity with an athletic program.

**Carey Watt, St. Thomas University**  
Physical Culture, Sport and Cross-cultural Engagement: Eugen Sandow’s Tour of India, the Straits Settlements and China in 1904-1905

Sports and entertainment events can be interesting spaces for contact between different peoples and cultures. They can also reveal possibilities for dialogue, even in colonial contexts.  
Eugen Sandow (1867-1925) was a British strongman, physical culturist, and fitness entrepreneur who achieved international fame by 1900. There have been several studies of Sandow since the 1990s, but they have focused mostly on Europe and North America, where he is seen as the
founder of modern bodybuilding. However, Sandow was much more than that and his life, influences, and legacy extended far beyond Europe. He was a serious proponent of national, imperial, and global health initiatives and was the foremost advocate of a worldwide physical culture movement at the turn of the twentieth century. Thus, he was well known to colonial officials, settlers, and “local natives” in Africa and Asia. Yet very little is known about Sandow’s activities or his reception in these places. The proposed paper hopes to provide new information about Sandow’s activities and reception in Asia in 1904 and 1905.

The proposed paper will use maps, newspaper articles and photographs to explore the Asian segment of Sandow’s “world tour” of 1904-05. Over the course of eleven months he stopped in India, the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong and Shanghai, and he was often in-between European empires while traveling the circuits of South, Southeast and East Asia. He was also touring these regions at the height of the Russo-Japanese War, which saw the rise of Japan as an imperial power and signaled an “Asian Awakening.” Lastly, Sandow’s sensational shows, featuring vaudeville, circus and physical culture acts, served as fascinating sites of interaction with Indian, Chinese and Japanese athletes. Here, too, Sandow was often on the edge of empire when encountering kindred “strongmen” of other races and cultures. The results of such dialogue, exchange and negotiation were frequently unpredictable, highlighting the ambiguities of the colonial encounter.

STEPHEN R. WENN, WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY
The Cornell Connection Strikes Gold: Robert Kane, Barber Conable and the USOC’s Path to Financial Prosperity

Robert Kane’s tenure as President of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) is likely best remembered for his need to navigate the USOC’s interests during the tumultuous times surrounding the American Olympic team’s decision to stay home for the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games and his work involved pushing forward the USOC’s priorities when Congress established the Amateur Sports Act. Less well known is the manner in which he stayed connected to the U.S. Olympic Movement following his term as USOC President, and lobbied for the USOC’s receipt of U.S.-generated Olympic revenue from television rights fees paid by American broadcasters. For an organization long-challenged on the revenue side, his diligence assisted in establishing a fruitful and steady stream of money in support of the USOC’s mandate (commencing in 1986).

Robert Kane was a Cornell man, through and through, having earned a Bachelor of Science degree in 1934 and served as the university’s Director of Athletics (1944-1971), and later its Dean (1971-1976), as well as having offered his talents to the school’s Board of Trustees. A three-year member of Cornell’s track and field team, he once held the school’s 200m and 400m records (the former until 1977). Kane began his career in U.S. Olympic administration in 1951, culminating in his election to the presidency in 1977. As USOC President, Kane firmly believed that too much U.S.-generated Olympic revenue was leaving American shores, and he believed that the execution of the USOC’s mandate was impeded as a result. In the aftermath of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, Kane pressed U.S. television companies for the 1988 Olympics to direct 10% of the value of their contracts to the USOC. The networks feared the effects of such an action on their relationship with the
International Olympic Committee, and declined to act. Undeterred, Kane contacted his friend and fellow Cornell alumnus, Barber Conable, a recently retired member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the state of New York, in hopes that he might aid him in enticing Congress to take action on behalf of the USOC.

This paper explores the manner in which Kane and Conable collaborated to bring federal legislation before Congress that would have granted the USOC a 10% excise tax on all U.S. Olympic television contracts, in conjunction with USOC efforts to negotiate directly with IOC officials for the same consideration on the basis of the terms of the Amateur Sports Act. Their collaboration paid handsome dividends for the USOC’s financial bottom line in the mid-1980s, and continues to do so today. This analysis, which shines historical light on a less well known aspect of Robert Kane’s contribution to U.S. Olympic affairs, relies on correspondence housed in the IOC’s archives in Lausanne, Switzerland, as well as Robert Kane’s personal papers at the USOC headquarters in Colorado Springs. I have recently reached out to the archivists at Cornell University in the hope that material pertinent to this investigation is in Conable’s personal papers that reside at that institution.

Danielle Wiggins, Emory University
Playing for the Other Team: The Particular Politics of the Republican Black Athlete

Just a few months before the 1972 presidential election, Republican nominee President Richard Nixon had a private meeting with then-actor Jim Brown, formerly a fullback of the Cleveland Browns. At their meeting in the Oval Office, Brown and Nixon presumably discussed the Black Economic Union, an organization that Brown founded to help African Americans open businesses. The organization was in line with Nixon’s own initiative, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, which offered special small business loans to black entrepreneurs. Shortly thereafter, Brown endorsed Nixon for the presidency, arguing, “This administration has emphasized ‘Black Capitalism’ and economic development. I believe this administration will follow up on their promises.” He continued, “I have said I will travel for the President, talk with athletes and blacks all over the country and work to re-elect President Nixon.”

Jim Brown was not the first or last black athlete to endorse a Republican candidate or Republican policies. Jackie Robinson was an active member of the Republican Party and campaigned for Nixon in 1960. Even as African Americans left the Republican Party for the Democratic Party, Robinson believed the Grand Old Party was as committed to African American rights, particularly economic rights, as it was to American ideals of liberty, democracy, and equal opportunity. More recently, outspoken former NBA-all star Charles Barkley entertained the idea of running for governor of Alabama as a Republican, before becoming an Independent. Barkley still maintains many of the conservative views of the Republican Party, for example, criticizing the protestors in Ferguson as “crooks” and “scumbags” in 2014.

Recently, scholars have unpacked the fraught relationship between African Americans and the Republican Party. They examine the complex and evolving ideologies of Republican African Americans in the post-FDR era, specifically analyzing the role of black appointees in Republican
administrations, Republican outreach to African American voters, and intersections of Black Power ideology and the Republican Party platform. This paper argues that black athletes’ politics sheds light on the complexities of black Republican and conservative political ideology in the civil rights and post-civil rights eras. African American athletes’ politics invoke a patriotic and entrepreneurial spirit that harkens to American liberal ideals of rugged individualism, meritocracy, and economic freedom. Their narratives depict black athletes as quintessential Americans, overcoming great odds and advancing up the socioeconomic ladder through hard work, tenacity, and independence. Using newspaper articles, letters written by athletes, press releases, and athletes’ statements, this paper will outline the evolution of a particular conservative politics of the black athlete, beginning with Jackie Robinson during the civil rights era, continuing with Jim Brown during the black political convention era, and concluding with Charles Barkley in the Obama era. It will illustrate the ways in which sports history, a significant and still understudied component of African American history, explains the development of African American political culture beyond the narrative of discrimination and desegregation in the civil rights era.

DIANE WILLIAMS, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
(Un)Intended Consequences: Title IX, Race, Sex, and Sports

Though not intended to remedy athletic inequalities, Title IX has been roundly heralded for expanding opportunities for young women over the last forty years. However, the story is far more complicated. In this presentation, I explore the context in which Title IX passed, the limited scope of civil rights remedies for social injustices, and the impact of this law on high school and college sports. I explore the lived realities of young people in the competitive and elite sport culture that caters to an increasingly white and privileged population. I address the serious decline in women coaching, and the recent firings of successful female coaches and the heteronormative undertones of these actions. Additionally, I draw on recent student organizing against sexual assault on campus, in which Title IX violations have been cited. Through exploring the intended and unintended consequences of Title IX on sport and culture, I look beyond the staggering participation statistics to the positive and negative realities on the ground level. In addition to studying recent legal challenges and media coverage, I am also interested in the deeper discourses of race, sex, sports, and society. How have the voices of scholars, physical educators and student-athletes raising these issues been sidelined and silenced, and why? Who is benefiting currently from Title IX “enforcement” and what would it mean to truly enforce this law? As a one-dimensional remedy to multi-dimensional challenges for sport and educational equality, what can we learn from the (un)intended consequences of Title IX in order to imagine a more dynamic and socially just approach to sport and social justice in the future?

These questions are important to consider as we confront a sport culture that continues to reinforce stereotypes and injustices of the society at large. It is essential that we look to alternative traditions and philosophies of sport to enable us to imagine a sport culture that lives up to the ideal of non-discrimination, inclusion, participation, and democracy.
**KEVIN B. WITHERSPOON, LANDER UNIVERSITY**  
America’s Team: The Nashville Business College “Nabucos” Confront the Soviets, 1958-1969

The American and Soviet men’s basketball teams squared off in a high-profile series of basketball exchanges beginning in 1958, which the American team dominated until the late 1960s. Attracting much less notice was a series of games between the nations’ women’s teams, often concurrent with the men’s contests. While the American men’s team was comprised of the top college players and amateur talent available, the women’s team—in the interest of saving money and time—was often simply the reigning Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) champion. Thus, the team that confronted the Soviets more than any other was the dominant AAU team of the era, the Nashville Business College “Nabucos.”

From 1958 to 1969, a period in which they won the AAU championship ten times, the NBC women’s team participated in several tours of the Soviet Union along with several series against the Soviet National Team on American soil. While the results were mixed, and on the whole the Soviet team had the better of these contests, the games highlight the different views of gender promoted on each side. This paper, based on archival research, government documents, and a review of media coverage of the games, explores the organization and execution of the athletic contests, along with the implications for gender relations on the home front. As the NBC team evolved over these years, the women’s movement escalated, contributing to a much different social climate at the end of the period. As this paper argues, the NBC women’s team—by taking the court and competing against an opponent that was often physically dominant—played a role not only in the evolution of women’s basketball and women’s sport as a whole, but also as one relatively small piece in the much larger women’s movement.

**JOHN WONG, WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY**  
From Rat Portage to Kenora: Death of a (Big-Time) Hockey Dream

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, observers and fans alike bemoan the fact that hockey at the elite level, notably in the National Hockey League (NHL), is the preserve of wealthy capitalists, who locate their franchises in major metropolitan areas. Especially for many Canadians who see hockey as part of the national birthright, the heavy financial requirement to operate “big-time” hockey means that small population centers in Canada will be forever deprived of an NHL team even as these same locales continue to produce top talent for the league. Until the recent collective bargaining agreement between the league and the players’ union, many pessimists had been predicting that the NHL clubs in Calgary and Edmonton would soon follow those in Winnipeg and Quebec City, which migrated south of the border, in 1996 and 1997 respectively, for bigger markets. These laments almost always hint at a nostalgic view of the sport in a mythical past. However, the refrain on the loss of hockey’s innocence where ordinary people participated for the joy of the sport in all corners of the Dominion only to become the exclusionary investment portfolio of powerful corporations is not new.
This paper investigates the history of hockey in a small population center, Kenora, Ontario, between 1891 and 1907. Kenora had won the much-coveted Stanley Cup in 1907, the last small-town team to have done so. In other words, big-time hockey for small population centers had died long before the creation of the NHL in 1917.

Based on local newspaper reports and other secondary sources, this paper seeks to address the development of hockey in Kenora between the founding of the first organized club in 1891 to its Stanley Cup victory in 1907. Specifically, it examines the decisions of local hockey entrepreneurs to participate in and to withdraw from elite-level competition in the context of the economic development of the town and its surrounding region. There have been few studies on hockey in small urban centers. This paper attempts to shed light on hockey outside the familiar metropolitan nexus during a time of nostalgic pandering.

MICHAEL T. WOOD, TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
James H. Kendrigan: “Tropical Knute Rockne” or International Man of Intrigue?

My paper will pose the question: “Who was James H. Kendrigan?” From 1923 to 1953, Kendrigan served as athletic director and coached baseball, basketball, American football, and track at the University of Havana. During his tenure, he built competitive teams on a local level and pursued international contests against North American teams, even though student activism from the late 1920s through the 1940s complicated the status of sports at the University of Havana. He often faced school closures, protest rallies, arrests, bombings, and assassinations of his athletes. In those turbulent times, Kendrigan maintained close relationships his former athletes and offered them sanctuary when needed.

In addition to his association with the University of Havana, he also became well known among the North American expat community in Havana, serving as an “unofficial ambassador” to visiting journalists and sport figures, sharing drinks and stories with Ernest Hemingway, and forming a close friendship with playwright J. P. McEvoy. Events took a turn in the late 1940s. In 1947, Kendrigan played a minor role in a filibustering plot to overthrow the government of Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. In the days prior to the invasion, he entertained members of the Flying Tigers, the famed U.S. air squadron from the Pacific theater in World War II, during their stay in Havana. Even though the expedition failed, Kendrigan admitted his involvement in interviews a year later. So, again, who was James H. Kendrigan? Was he the “Tropical Knute Rockne” Ted Shane describes in his 1941 The Saturday Evening Post profile? Or was he an “international man of intrigue” who helped student protesters in Cuba and participated in an ill-fated scheme?

Drawing from U.S. and Cuban media interviews and accounts, memoirs, diplomatic records, journal articles, and other relevant secondary sources, I will provide a biographical sketch of Kendrigan that considers his coaching and administrative career, his life in the U.S. expat community in Havana, and his participation in multiple conspiracies. For many people this will be the first time they will become aware of Kendrigan. Nothing substantial has been written about him. I view this as a chance to make their first impression of him more than just that of a North
American who coached in Cuba or an old man meddling in international affairs. I will attempt to show the different sides of Kendrigan’s life and career, place them in context, and give the audience a complete view of him.

**ANDREW ZONDERMAN, EMORY UNIVERSITY**

“Boxing is the peculiar Faculty of the English Nation.”

The Rise of Boxing and English National Identity in the Eighteenth Century

This paper will examine how the maturing sport of boxing became closely associated with a constellation of English ideals and symbols over the course of the eighteenth century—egalitarianism within a stable social hierarchy, the masculine independent man, even the consumption of beef. Moreover, the paper will also explore how such linkages helped the sport persist despite growing criticism from evangelicals and industrialists, and the withdrawal of royal patronage and protection. Against this chorus of opposition, English men and women (as well as foreign visitors to Britain) came to view fisticuffs on the street as well as prizefights as part of the national character and culture.

Using contemporaneous newspaper stories, journal articles, boxing manuals, poetry, and political literature, this paper will challenge the current historiography of boxing in Britain that situates the linking of national identity and the sport during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. Rather, the paper argues that the rhetoric previous scholars have identified as emerging at the end of the eighteenth century had already developed and matured generations earlier. It will also challenge the sport’s periodization, especially the narrative of decline in the sport from the mid eighteenth century until the French Revolution. Instead, this paper argues that the sport expanded in popularity and in geographical scope during this period thanks to boxing’s link to national identity and its role in inculcating perceived English values like virility, honesty, martial prowess, fairness, and honor. Through this examination of boxing in eighteenth-century England, the paper highlights how even in preindustrial societies and before the rise of mass leisure, sports became intertwined with national identity and nationalism. It explores how this interconnection of nationalism and athletics enables sports, including modern-day boxing, to persist as popular, culturally relevant, and economically viable in the face of growing waves of criticism coming from elite and influential segments of society.