

Carly Adams, University of Lethbridge

[“Narrating the Postwar History of Canadian Nikkei in Southern Alberta Through Sport, Recreation and Leisure”](#)

This paper comes out of the ‘Nikkei Memory Capture Project: Narrating the Postwar history of Canadian Nikkei in Southern Alberta,’ a community-based oral history project that initiates the narration and analysis of the cultural and social history of Canadian Nikkei (people of Japanese descent) between the 1950s and 1970s in Southern Alberta, Canada. Through this project we seek to record memories of everyday life from this formative period when Nikkei communities, devastated by state-driven racist wartime persecution, were built anew. The larger project focuses on themes articulating everyday life: work, school, home, leisure; inter-racial intimacy, animosity; and what Nikkei identity was, is, and might be.

Following the systematic incarceration and evacuation of some 22,000 Nikkei (93 percent of all Nikkei living in Canada, most of whom were Canadian citizens) and the forced dispossession of property, Nikkei civil rights were not restored until 1949. The cultural and eugenic implications of this program have led the ‘evacuation’ to be labelled a “cultural genocide.” Southern Alberta was a central point of intra-Canadian transit and residence for thousands of Nikkei between 1942-1949. Culturally and socially, Nikkei identity in Southern Alberta is shaped by a distinctive environment: relative isolation from metropolitan Canada, rural consciousness, distance from Japanese export channels, and the dispersal of Nikkei across farms and small towns.

To this end, I examine physical activity and leisure practices as a strategy that enabled individuals to challenge social exclusion, shape one’s sense of place and to look away from or even overcome the humiliations of the past. To do this, I draw on oral history interviews with community members that reflect on the place sport, recreation and leisure played as Nikkei re-established themselves and in turn how these practices were a gateway to community integration and how they contributed to shaping a postwar identity among displaced Japanese-Canadians.

Sheldon Anderson, Miami University

['How bout dat, you turkey necks!' Ethnicity and Gender in Twin Cities Wrestling](#)

This paper explores ethnic stereotyping and gender-bending roles that were standard themes in creating ring rivalries in the heyday of pro wrestling in the Twin Cities after World War II.

Wrestling promoters played to two big ethnic communities in Minneapolis, Native Americans in the Phillips neighborhood and Poles in Northeast. Promoters were reluctant to adopt Hollywood’s portrayal of cowboys in white hats fighting wild Indians, so wrestlers who purported to be Native American, such as Billy Red Cloud and Gene “Wahoo” McDaniels were almost always good guys, fighting tough hombres like “Black Jack” Lanza and “Black Jack” Mulligan.

Pro wrestling was most popular in Northeast Minneapolis, an enclave of Polish Americans. The favorite wrestler in “Northeast” was Reggie Lisowski from Milwaukee, known in the ring as “The Crusher.” As a dim-witted, beer guzzling, inarticulate tough guy, he played up every Polish stereotype. He punched up his interviews with a gravelly “How ‘bout dat!” Chomping on a big cigar, the Crusher bragged that after he finished off some “turkey neck” he was going up to Northeast for some beers and “dollies.”

The cold war made for good wrestling storylines, especially for Polish Americans. Polish Americans hated the Germans, but they loathed the Russians. Promoters all over the country hired commie bad guys. Twin City promoters had several “Russians” in their stable, including the brutal Bolshevik Nikita Koloff, whose real name was Nelson Scott Simpson from suburban Minneapolis.

The former Axis powers provided some villainous characters too. The image of the rampaging Prussian-German Nazi was invoked by the goose-stepping, sadistic “Baron” von Raschke, actually former teacher James Raschke from Omaha. Hawaiian native Mitsu Arakawa was one of the many wrestlers who adopted the role of the supposedly sneaky, diabolical Japanese. After tossing some ceremonial salt over his shoulder -- paying homage to sumo wrestling -- Arakawa threw the rest of it in the eyes of innocent, unsuspecting opponent, obviously invoking comparisons to Pearl Harbor.

The Iranian hostage crisis in 1979 ushered in yet another ethnic bad guy – the Middle Eastern Muslim. Khosrow Vaziri played the role of the Iron Sheik. Jerry Blackwell made a miraculous conversion to the Sheik Ayatollah Jerry Blackwell. When the United States went to war with Saddam Hussein in 1991, the Iron Sheik dropped that persona in favor of Iraqi Colonel Mustafa.

Wrestlers also pandered to fans’ gender prejudices. For example, platinum blonde bad guy Ric Flair from Edina, Minnesota, billed himself as a “Nature Boy.” Minneapolis native Jim Janos copied “Superstar” Billy Graham’s colorful act and became the bleach blonde-haired Jesse “The Body” Ventura from San Diego, whose shtick included denigrating Minnesotans. The Crusher dubbed the tag team of Larry “Pretty Boy” Hennig and “Handsome” Harley Race the “Dolly Sisters.” In one promotion Hennig and Race had to wear dresses after they lost a match.

Robert K. Barney, Western University

### [The Diary of Dr. Lewis Campbell and the grand ‘All-Ontario’ Lacrosse Tour 1907](#)

For half a century (1870-1920) Field Lacrosse captured more attention in the Canadian sporting press than any other single sport, with perhaps the sole exception of professional baseball in “across-the-border” United States. Lacrosse’s popularity was highlighted by riveting accounts of periodic “supreme moments” in the sport’s history. Of these, few were more glorious than the great tours of teams across Canada and beyond, across the Pacific and Atlantic, to Australia and England. Perhaps the crowning glory was achieved in England in 1908 when Canada won the gold medal in lacrosse at London’s Games of the 4th Olympiad. An important preliminary lacrosse event to that Olympic achievement was a 1907 lacrosse tour of an All-Ontario team to

the Canadian West, and further, to Australia. One of the most important historical records of that tour is a detailed diary recorded by Dr. Lewis H. Campbell, a prominent player on the 15 member team. Written over a period of four and a half months (June 4 to October 23), Campbell's 1907 diary tells us much about important subjects of context---social class, "athlete class," race, and nationalism as each played out at times during the years of the early 20th century. The study, presented in narrative/analysis perspective, argues that Campbell's diary stands as empirical evidence of an important event, one which has taken its rightful place in the annals of Canadian lacrosse history.

Janet Beverley, The University of Queensland

### [Australian Women's Masters Field Hockey: the embodiment of 'communitas'](#)

Field hockey has been a popular sport for women and girls in Australia since its introduction more than a century ago. Over the past four decades masters sport has grown remarkably around the world, including Australia, not only in the number and age of athletes participating, but also the range of sports available. Mature-aged women field hockey players were early actors in this phenomenon. The genesis of women's masters field hockey in Australia was the formation of the Novos over-35 team in 1979 that played in the A2 grade competition in Newcastle, New South Wales (NSW). This was followed by an invitational women's masters tournament in Newcastle in 1981, which attracted 10 teams from other NSW cities. At the national level a women's master's field hockey invitational tournament was held in Canberra in 1984; in the following year the first Women's Masters Australian Championship was held in Melbourne under the auspices of the Australian Women's (Field) Hockey Association with 12 state teams participated in two divisions. From its beginning in Newcastle in 1979, to the current competitions at the state, national and international levels, tens of thousands of mature-aged Australian women have enjoyed playing field hockey in masters-specific events. This presentation initially will address the growth of women's masters field hockey in Australia over the past four decades and then, more importantly, will focus on why it became an integral part of the field hockey continuum and what important needs it filled.

The presentation builds upon the work of Litchfield and Dionigi, who explored the notion of 'communitas' within women's master field hockey in NSW. Litchfield and Dionigi drew on Victor Turner's concept of communitas; however, this presentation draws on Edith Turner's more recent definition of communitas, that is, "a group's pleasure in sharing common experiences with one's fellows." Specifically, I will employ the concept of communitas to explore the enjoyment, the friendships, the fun and the awards that have become integral characteristics of the women's masters field hockey experience in Australia, and which motivates mature-aged women to continue to play the sport. Where appropriate, examples will also be drawn from Canadian women's masters field hockey experiences.

Zachary R. Bigalke, Independent Scholar

### Overcompensating for Color: Evaluating Early Afro-Brazilian Soccer Stars and the Myth of Racial Democracy in the Amateur Era

The ideology of racial democracy cast a long shadow over twentieth-century race relations in Brazil. First popularized by influential Brazilian scholar Gilberto Freyre, this theory presumed a level racial playing field that was paradoxically dependent on the whitening of the populace. Rather than helping to drive the country toward a multiracial future, racial democracy shrouded the structural issues that remained as a legacy of Brazilian slavery. The realm of Brazilian soccer was no exception, as Freyre used soccer as a foil for his theories of racial democracy throughout the course of his career. He assigned certain attributes such as surprise, skill, cleverness, speed, and spontaneity on a racialized basis even as he tried to claim syncretism. Journalist Mario Filho furthered this discourse in his 1947 book *O Negro no Futebol Brasileiro*. Freyre and later Filho lionized certain players while glossing over others to create the myth that soccer exemplified multiracial harmony within Brazil's racial democracy.

This presentation evaluates Filho's book in the contexts of two early Afro-Brazilian players: Francisco Carregal in Rio de Janeiro and Arthur Friedenreich in São Paulo. The stories of their respective careers and historical representations illustrate the extent to which the myth of racial democracy was contingent on the process of whitening. Beyond providing greater clarification about the role of Afro-Brazilian players during the amateur period prior to the 1930s, we can also learn general lessons about how soccer came to be integrated into the narrative of racial democracy. Far from providing an example of racial inclusivity, the stories of early Afro-Brazilian players indicate a degree of racial stratification that has long been obfuscated by the discourse of racial democracy.

Players of this era, like so many other Afro-Brazilians, adopted white sociocultural norms when they worked their way into organized soccer. As Freyre and Filho both subconsciously recognized throughout their treatments of soccer, racial democracy was predicated on whitening not just future generations but acculturating present ones to Eurocentric cultural norms of dress, work, and leisure. In this way, the whitening process was also a battle against the feminized descriptions of Afro-Brazilians that was at the heart of the master/slave dichotomy in Freyre's ideology of racial democracy.

To evaluate Filho's claims in a new context, I utilize contemporary newspaper accounts as well as secondary research in the fields of soccer history as well as in the field of Brazilian racial discourse to position these players within a broader discussion about race and Brazilian society. These early trendsetters paved the way both for future generations of Afro-Brazilian soccer players as well as for the development of Freyre's racial democracy theories that came to pervade both the sport and, by extension, Brazilian society. By filtering Filho's writing through the lens of contemporary reports and this broader narrative of race relations in Brazil, we can track the concretization of

the myth of racial democracy as well as the holes that potentially exist within that narrative.

Mathieu Boivin-Chouinard, Université du Québec à Montréal

### Soccer as an antifascist weapon: the Basque national team tour in the Soviet Union during the Spanish Civil War

In the summer of 1937, while the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and the worst of Stalin's terror were going on, a selection regrouping the best soccer players of the Basque Country made a memorable tour of the USSR, playing nine games in five Soviet cities losing only one of them. Despite the fact that the tour incrusts in the memories of Soviet soccer fans, historiography has neglected the event, treating it only in a factual perspective. This paper, adapted from a master degree dissertation based on the analysis of a broad selection of archival documents found in diverse Russian archives repositories, aims to rectify the situation by examining the political, cultural and social aspects of an important sporting event that took place in a crucial period of Soviet, Spanish and world history.

While replacing the tour in its context, the Soviet diplomatic and sporting isolation and the Basque desperate need to draw international attention and collect money for the republican war effort, the first part of the presentation will tell the fascinating story of the events that punctuated the Basque's visit in USSR, reflecting the major changes occurring in Soviet sport. The only Soviet team that defeated the Basques, even though some unsportmanship measures were put in place to facilitate it, was Spartak Moscow, a sporting club that was enjoying a special place in Soviet sport ecosystem and who relied on its 6-2 triumph to construct its myth and fan base. Broader than the sporting dimension, it will then be demonstrated that the immense popularity of the tour gave the opportunity to promote in the eyes of the Soviet population and the international opinion the Soviet policy of support to the Spanish republic and the antifascist union it seeks to build with progressive forces in European countries. Furthermore, a massive media and artistic offensive was established to picture the Basque players in conformity with the official cultural model, ascribing to the players the New Soviet person attributes it wished to diffuse. However, the great political and social complexity of Stalinist Russia caused distortions in that campaign. Soccer, by its competitive, unpredictable and sometime violent nature, was not suitable to univocally promote a political alliance with sporting opponents and the official values of order and civility. In that way, the signification of the tour was partly deviated from its official meaning by uncontrollable events whose interpretation have been mediated by values proper to the mainly working class audience. Despite the propagandists' efforts, spectators made sense of the event relying on their own cultural codes that never have been fully controlled by the political leadership.

By analyzing the case study of the 1937 Basque national team tour of the USSR, this paper will demonstrate that even though a political regime can try to transform a sporting event in a tool of socialization and indoctrination, sport can also constitute a

vehicle of promotion of alternative values, distinct and concurrent of those officially promoted by the official discourse.

Chris Bolsmann, California State University, Northridge and Dil Porter, De Montfort University

### Rebranding the Corinthians: English gentlemen, amateurism

Recent work on the early phase of soccer globalization has identified the significance of transnational connections made by soccer tourists. Corinthian FC, England's most famous amateur club, was especially active in this respect, touring extensively in South Africa (1897, 1903, 1907), Canada and the USA (1906, 1911, 1924), and Brazil (1910, 1913), as well as visiting European countries almost every year from 1904 to 1938. At first, they viewed themselves as 'missionaries' preaching the soccer gospel in countries where the game was relatively undeveloped, or as 'masters' of the game who could be relied upon to demonstrate English superiority. They also saw themselves as embodying the civilising virtues of amateurism as practised by English gentlemen and this became increasingly important as their capacity for winning matches diminished over the years. However, these aspects of 'Corinthianism', as we shall argue, were always something of an illusion and do not stand up to close scrutiny.

Our research in this area, however, has also led us to reconfigure the Corinthians, the soccer that they played and the amateurism that they professed as a commercial brand, actively developed and assiduously promoted by 'Pa' Jackson, the club's founder, and his successors who were very astute in exploiting niche situations in the market for soccer entertainment at home and abroad. There was money to be made by posing as the champions of amateurism and playing against professionals or as English masters taking on foreigners. As the Corinthian brand and what it had to offer became marginalized at home, the club turned increasingly to touring overseas where, at least until the mid-1920s, it retained sufficient credibility to generate the financial guarantees necessary to underwrite touring in the style to which English gentlemen were accustomed. An Austrian newspaper welcomed the Corinthians to Vienna in 1925 as 'the most prominent representatives of the amateur idea in sport'. As soccer experienced commercialization and professionalization, amateurism was the club's unique selling point.

Mike Brenneman and Jan Todd The University of Texas at Austin

### Intercollegiate Strength Associations: Testing and Measuring Human Performance in Fin de Siècle American Universities

Today intercollegiate sport competition is ubiquitous within the American landscape. The NCAA, founded as the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States (IAAUS) in 1906 and given its current name in 1910, currently oversees an estimated \$995 million dollar sporting industry. Despite this, intercollegiate sport had

relatively humble beginnings. It is generally accepted that intercollegiate athletic competition began in August 1852, when Harvard's Oneida prevailed over Yale's Shawmut by two lengths on the waters of Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire.

This singular contest is recognized as the catalyst for intercollegiate sporting competition, and soon thereafter the first intercollegiate sports association formed when Yale, Brown, Harvard, and Trinity founded the College Regatta Association in 1858. What started as a mere boat race led to a state where currently the NCAA sponsors more than twenty different sports with an estimated 400,000 male and female athletic competitors.

Historian Allen Guttman highlights the difference between ancient and modern sport, and suggests modern sport evolved in the early 19th century. It is fitting then that this inaugural boat race fits within the structure of several of Guttman's characteristics of modern sport, given the magnitude of its label as the first intercollegiate sporting competition.

Since antiquity, despite the pre-modern absence of Guttman's modern characteristics, sports have revolved around competition. Man is ever enamored with, and strives for, elite performance and dominance. The matter, reasons, methods, and measurements of performance have varied from culture to culture over the centuries, but the goal remains: to be the best. One unique area where this pursuit and subsequent focus on quantification and measurement is heightened is strength. More than speed, agility, and other performance markers, strength is seen not only as a staunch marker of masculine virility, but also a vital component of ancient survival. This is highlighted by the fact that of all the events of the ancient Olympics three of the most popular: boxing, pankration, and wrestling, all required great strength. While strength is a constantly sought after attribute in both ancient and modern sport, it is curious that until the late 1880s, its quantification was far from standardized. Perhaps the individual most responsible for the standardization was Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent. Dr. Sargent was largely singularly responsible for the development of early intercollegiate strength associations and the means by which strength was measured—largely through the use of dynamometers.

This presentation and paper examines the development of intercollegiate sporting competition generally, with an emphasis on intercollegiate strength associations specifically. Additionally, the methods used to objectively quantify strength and the integral role of Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent in creating and standardizing the means by which strength was measured in these competitions is also highlighted. Possible Session Topics: History of Strength; Intercollegiate Sports; Measuring Strength and Performance

[Douglas A. Brown, University of Manitoba](#)

[Skating on a Frozen Pond: Cultivating Canadian Identity Between Reality and Nostalgia](#)

The image of skaters on a frozen pond is pervasive in Canadian culture. It is employed as a signifier of Canada and Canadianness by marketers, governments,

public institutions, artists and social commentators. Scholars have considered the ubiquity of the image of skaters on a frozen pond. Mary Louise Adams critiques the frozen pond as a national fairy tale. For historians like Renée Hulan, Daniel Francis, Shelagh Grant and Dave Brown, the repetitive use of this image might be considered within the broader historical narrative that attempts to explain Canada and Canadianness as a product of northern geography and climate. While these critiques are sound, they do not effectively take into consideration how images or descriptions of skaters on frozen ponds may have generated different meanings for different Canadians at different times. My previous research has revealed that the image or idea of skaters on a frozen pond has been a source of cultural reflexivity for Canadians since the mid 1800s. This paper aims to provide a deeper analysis of how this image operates as a sign of Canadian identity at different points in Canadian history. The analysis is informed, principally, by recent scholarship on nostalgia. Concepts such as mythologies, modernity, modernism, and affect also influence this research. My research questions are informed by Linda Hutcheon's writing on irony and nostalgia in postmodernity. Hutcheon emphasizes that nostalgia "is less about the past than about the present." Nostalgia is a longing for something in the present that never completely or authentically existed in the past. This paper asks the following questions: Has the image of skaters on a frozen pond evoked nostalgia at different points in Canadian history? Has the focus on loss and longing associated with that nostalgia changed over time? Drawing on a large collection of text and visual sources retrieved from several Canadian archives, this paper considers how the practice of skating on a frozen pond became a source of cultural reflexivity in three distinct time periods: the late 1800s and early 1900s, the mid 20th century, and the early 21st century. I argue that some references to skating on a frozen pond from all periods were, indeed, cultural expressions intended to evoke nostalgia and that the focus of loss or longing has changed or shifted over time. It is, however, significant to highlight that many references from the late 1800s and early 1900s were not at all nostalgic. It is equally significant to point out that although some contemporary references to this image seem to be explicit examples cultural production intended to evoke nostalgia they do, in fact, function more ironically within the context of contemporary Canadian culture. This ironic twist is effective because the image of skaters on a frozen pond is not necessarily a past, lost or historical reference to Canadians. It reflects a tension between nostalgia and reality as many Canadian do, in fact, pass time skating on frozen ponds in the Canadian landscape.

[Kalin Bullman, University of Victoria](#)

[‘The course itself was a revelation to us’: Golf, Landscape and Nature in 1920s Victoria, British Columbia](#)

This paper will explore the question of how certain local landscapes of Victoria, British Columbia, were transformed by white settlers into specific idealized spaces of colonial leisure and sociability, through the creation and maintenance of golf courses on unceded Indigenous lands. Within these created sites of leisure were certain notions and concepts about the role of nature within sport, athletics and the outdoors. I will interrogate these ideas by examining the establishment of one of the largest and oldest

golf courses in British Columbia, the Royal Colwood Golf Course, situated in Victoria. I draw on evidence from the Royal BC Museum Archives, the BC Sports Hall of Fame Archival Collections, the BC Golf House Society Archives, as well as the Victoria newspaper *The British Colonist*. These archival collections and sources include correspondence between golf members, golf club paperwork and finances, records of the clubs' general meetings, news clippings, and promotions as well as ads from the clubs and from golf suppliers and manufacturers. Using these sources, I will argue that the upper-class members of the Colwood Golf Course had a complex relation to nature as they understood it and their surrounding landscape. Their ideas of nature were related to British notions of landscape usage and had Romantic era concepts attached to these concepts of nature. The members and the club also used many new types of technology to help create and maintain a certain constructed idea of nature on the fairways and holes of the course.

The significance of this paper to our broader understanding of sport history is twofold: First, it helps further link the discipline of sports history to the works of ethnohistory and landscape studies, through this study's use of ethnohistorical and landscape methods and theories. Second, it builds on many of the ideas put forth by sports historians that focus on the landscapes of sport, including John Bale, and proves the significance of these sites towards the building of specific colonial identities and specific ideas of nature.

Neil Anthony Carpenter, Pennsylvania State University

#### "The Racial Dynamics of Penn State Sports, 1918-1940"

A geographic area such as central Pennsylvania carries with it a few preconceptions and ideas related to race relations. Penn State has often been touted as a proprietor of racial equality and progressivism, conflicting with the general social understanding of rural central Pennsylvania. In the early twentieth century, a handful of African American students attended Penn State along with thousands of white students who held varying racial attitudes and beliefs. Among those few African American students were Daniel Taylor, Herbert Nipson, and James Redmond, three athletes who spent their collegiate careers navigating the tumultuous social landscape of the Penn State College, a progressive harbor in a less liberal region. Their academic, athletic, and extracurricular achievements highlighted a path in which future minority students could follow.

In general, what were the lives of these three athletes like at Penn State? Did being an African American student athlete create more acceptance from an otherwise-disdainful white population? How did Penn State foster activism and social change for minority students, and how did it hinder them? How do the athletic and professional lives of Taylor, Nipson, and Redmond compare to similar notable athletes, both white and black?

The archives at Penn State provided substantial evidence with sources such as *The Daily Collegian*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Chicago Defender*, and other historical

documents. In addition, the Penn State Special Collections Library provided copies of *La Vie*, the Penn State yearbook, along with student profiles and other helpful materials.

Taylor, Nipson, and Redmond were all crucial to the development of racial relations at Penn State. They were able to use academic and athletic success as a tool for social activism, changing perspectives on minorities and demonstrating social equity. Taylor was a founding member of the Penn State branch of Omega Psi Phi, a historic fraternity aimed at promoting equality and civil rights. Nipson was a notable journalist and contributor to *The Daily Collegian*. Redmond was a tremendously successful and popular athlete, and used his athletic celebrity as a platform for civil rights. All three student athletes were either founders or members of the Penn State branch of the NAACP and found various other ways to be socially active and create change. In a harsh environment these student-athletes thrived by taking action, to the benefit of all minority students at Penn State who followed.

The significance American culture places on sport strengthens its utility as a lens through which we can look and understand our society. In this particular case, the context of Taylor, Nipson, and Redmond as athletes provides an understanding of why and how they were able to create a conversation for social change at Penn State. The importance of athletics in the U.S. allowed these athletes to have a larger voice than other students, providing a platform from which they could promote freedom and equality. This contribution advances our understanding of the role of sports in the history of American race relations.

[John Carvalho, Auburn University](#)

### [Taming the Monster: The 1929 Carnegie Report on College Athletics](#)

In 1929, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching issued a report, *American College Athletics*. The publication, written by staff member Howard Savage, sought to address the growing alarm within the higher education community toward the emergence of sports (particularly football), and its diluting of the academic mission of colleges and universities. The report received extensive media coverage, coinciding with similar investigations by the U.S. Department of Education and the Associated Press.

As college sports transitioned from a student-run extracurricular activity to a more complex venture administered by institution professionals, college administrators wondered whether sports truly benefited their students, physically as much as academically. The report went so far as to criticize the colleges for “a negligent attitude toward the educational opportunity for which the college exists.”

This paper will look in particular at Chapter 11 of the report, “The Press and College Athletics,” for a critique of how sports journalists of the 1920s covered college athletics. Sports journalism was at the end of a raucous decade in which Jazz Age sports journalists seemed promoters more than reporters. To the Carnegie Foundation, they contributed to the overemphasis on college sports as much as the colleges themselves. In both cases, college and newspaper, the motivation to emphasize college athletics was the same – an enhanced profile leading to financial gain. And in both

cases, the Foundation found such a motivation to be beneath the higher aspirations of either institution.

The Carnegie Report resulted in extensive media coverage – spurred in part by newspaper editors skeptical of overemphasizing sports on their pages. The report also resulted in a spirit of reform on many college campuses, where presidents were eager to wrest authority away from the popular coaches and powerful alumni who were drawn to big-time college football. A historically based content analysis of coverage related to the Carnegie Report will examine the extent to which the sports media of the era supported the Report and its priorities.

Derek C. Catsam, University of Texas of the Permian Basin

### [Wrestling With Apartheid: Sport and the Anti-Apartheid Movement at a Northwestern University](#)

In the early 1980s the anti-apartheid movement on American campuses was virtually brand new where it existed at all. And what might inspire a local anti-apartheid campaign could be quite specific to any given school. As evidence of this is the spark that kindled the anti-apartheid fire that grew at Oregon State University in Corvallis. Beginning in 1980 the Oregon State wrestling program, especially its celebrated head coach, Dale Thomas, found itself embroiled in an unexpected controversy that swept up a considerable portion of the university and local community. In 1980 Thomas led a clinic of wrestling coaches that included several coaches from apartheid South Africa. In 1981 Thomas had scheduled a South African tour for his Oregon State wrestling team. These events took place as awareness of apartheid was growing locally and nationally. An OSU historian, Ed Ferguson, took the lead in opposing the wrestling team's engagement with the South Africans. This paper will place that controversy within the larger contexts of the growing OSU anti-apartheid movement, the growing national campus movement, and the ongoing sports boycott of South Africa.

David Chapman, Independent Scholar

### [Strength and Stealth: Physique Films and the Alibi of Sport](#)

Physique films refer to short movies aimed at a gay audience; they showcased athletic, muscular men and were produced in the mid-twentieth century. Physique films used the vocabulary of sport, health and fitness, but they emphasized a sensual rather than a purely athletic focus. These films clearly emerged from the posing and muscle-control movies used to record and celebrate mainstream bodybuilders, but they quickly developed their own characteristics, conventions and audiences. The male models in these films posed, wrestled and performed in very brief attire which displayed as much of their anatomy as was then permissible. This presentation will trace the history of physique films from their rise in the late-1940s to the mid-1960s when the genre declined and disappeared.

The most obvious difference between bodybuilding and physique films is that the latter feature subjects who are muscular but not as massive as major bodybuilders. Their (not very hidden) goal was to rev up viewers' libidos, but in order to escape the dictates of censorship, the films had to maintain the illusion that their purpose was to encourage viewers to emulate the athletic actors who performed in them. Another difference was that these brief movies (most were under ten minutes in length) were frequently narrative films—with lots of campy humor thrown in. The stories were absurd and the acting was execrable, but this allowed the films to entertain as they enticed. Producers of physique films often mined popular culture for their themes and subjects; peplum films, cowboy movies, juvenile delinquent dramas and monster movies all came in for the physique treatment.

Masculinity itself became central to these films since the genre decreed that all the participants had to be aggressive, totally masculine in behavior and (at least superficially) heterosexual. One of the disadvantages of being the focus of the audience's gaze is that, ironically, it makes the muscular men often seem less manly. When a man becomes a potential object of beauty to be observed, appreciated and perhaps lusted after, he unwittingly assumes a traditionally feminine role. In order to circumvent this threat to his virility, a man must behave in aggressively masculine ways (fighting, boasting, riding motorcycles, flexing muscles, etc.).

The history of gay-oriented still photography has been well documented; likewise, the presence of gay themes in mainstream cinema has been told before, but few have examined physique films as a distinct phenomenon. I will use primary and secondary sources, show clips and use other illustrations to demonstrate how the vocabulary of sport and fitness was used as an alibi for these brief films. Physique films ended around 1967 when most censorship restrictions were thrown off, and thereafter anything went. After that, the era of the physique film was effectively over. This presentation can be included in sessions which address issues of eroticism and sexuality in sport, cinema and sport, or masculinity/gender studies. At last year's NASSH conference I was given an extra ten minutes for my presentation on peplum films because of the many clips that I showed. I wonder if this might be possible once again.

Phillip Chipman, University of Ottawa

### Flexing at the Gates: Strength and Physical Development in the Eyes of Quebec Catholicism

Although strength seems to be entrenched in Quebec's origin and present throughout most of its history, the notions of strength, performance, and muscle building were frowned upon by one of the highest towering entities in the province – religion. The strongmen were shun due to strength's implication with satanic abilities, while bodybuilding and its French Canadian leader Adrien Gagnon were considered anti-clerical due to its connotations of apparent vanity and the use of images of near nude men to endorse the sport. However, when both strongmen tales and bodybuilding

began displaying feelings of nationalism, the Catholic clergy shifted their narrative to a more promotional approach.

While some clerical scholars still remained opposed to physical culture due its risk-bearing activities and high focus on the body's appearance rather than on its transcendence, others seemed to become lenient to their practices. Strongmen were displayed as symbols of national heroism and given awards by clerical groups, while Gagnon himself received high praise from several Church leaders for promulgating the importance of a healthy nation.

The goal of this presentation is to display this double narrative and to demonstrate its implication on both the strongmen and the sport of bodybuilding in Quebec. With an in-depth analysis of the strongman myth, it will become clear that, when first strength was frowned upon, it quickly became a characteristic that the Church wished on all its patrons, to not only ensure the survival of the Francophone race but also to guarantee transcendence into heaven. Historical narration of Adrien Gagnon's periodicals will also showcase this change of heart. Gagnon, who began his publication by simply promoting weight lifting and healthy eating to gain a beautiful body quickly integrated religious doctrines into his periodicals, either because he was a fervent believer, or he thought the support of the Church would prove fruitful for his magazine. A similar turnaround appeared with the Church. At first denigrating Gagnon's practices, Church leaders, noticing that Gagnon was promoting the advancement of the race began accepting the various bodybuilding practices.

To conclude, Adrien Gagnon's implication in the realm of bodybuilding was already discussed in a previous presentation. However, the narrow focus on religion and its relation to bodybuilding will further the literature on Quebec physical culture as it related to national beliefs. At the same time, the Quebec strongmen, who already hold a vast space in Quebec sport literature, have not yet been given such a treatment. By combining Catholicism to the strength athletes and their myths, this presentation will further advance the importance of such men for the betterment of an oppressed French Canadian nation who strove to retain its language, culture, and, most importantly here, its faith.

[Katrina Cohen-Palacios, York University](#)

#### [Sport & the Heritage Minutes: Inclusivity, sidelined but warming up in 60 second narratives](#)

The Heritage Minutes (HM) are a series of short films produced to build Canadian nationalism through the formation of a collective memory while also evoking a public interest in Canadian history. Sport occupies one of the nine categories of the over sixty HM released since 1991. The ten minutes demonstrate the elevated status of several historical sporting narratives as moments of national pride.

Studies on the HM have yet to delve deep into the analysis of the dissemination of Canada's sporting history. In addition to contextualizing the provenance of each vignette's production, this presentation will critically analyze the inclusiveness, or lack

thereof, within the minutes. While Canada self-identifies as a multicultural nation, the representation of multiculturalism is rather superficial in the HM. Successive series of released HM engaged with diversified representation but continued to employ narratives that bench the activities of people of color.

For example, recent sporting HM recount the story of immigrant, women, and para-athletes but all three diversified storylines do not include people of color. As well, with narratives dominated by hockey, baseball, and basketball, a minute describing the Indigenous origins of Canada's official summer sport has yet to be produced.

As historians contribute towards investigating and recovering the contemporary erasures of multicultural contributions to sport, public history can facilitate (or hinder) the dissemination and incorporation of those stories into the collective memory. Initiatives, like the HM, that attempt to shape and define a Canadian national memory use sporting events and commemorative anniversaries to capitalize their ad increase the promotional reach of disseminated narratives. For example, the three previously mentioned HM (the Winnipeg Falcons, the Edmonton Grads, and Terry Fox) were debuted during the 100th anniversary of World War One, the 2017 International Women's Day, and the 35th anniversary of Terry Fox's Marathon of Hope.

More broadly, this presentation will use the sporting HM as a case study to review the engagement of sport history narratives with public history that fosters national identities and how the dissemination of selected of narratives impacts the representation of multicultural contributions.

[Nevada Cooke, Western University](#)

### [Gerald Ford and the President's Commission on Olympic Sports](#)

The President's Commission on Olympic Sports was established in 1975 by President Gerald Ford. It was tasked with investigating the domestic squabbling that had, for decades, eroded America's once-dominant international sporting effort. Central to the problem were the various amateur organizations -- NCAA, AAU, USOC, etc. -- each of which claimed jurisdiction over athletes and preeminent sanctioning authority. The resulting inter-relationship -- the "amateur issue" -- was an untenable entanglement of various amateur sport governing bodies which often resulted in the United States failing to field its best, most competitive teams. With the emergence of the Soviet Union in 1952, fielding a competitive (and successful) American Olympic team took on a renewed and greater importance -- not only for the country, but for the Olympic Movement as a whole. By 1972, a long-precipitous situation had reached its zenith and external intervention was demanded. Prompted by Cold War hostilities and cognizant of the amateur issue and the resultant decline in international athletic (and non-athletic) standing, the White House grew tired of inaction and ordered executive intervention. Never before had a President's Commission, formed via executive order direct from the highest office in the country, been formed to investigate something as "trivial" as sports. The results of the Commission's investigation, out of which grew the watershed Amateur Sports Act of 1978, revolutionized the way America composed, treated, and trained its teams for international and Olympic competition.

Russ Crawford, Ohio Northern University

### True World Champions: Team USA and the IFAF Women's World (American football) Championships, 2010-2017

Many American teams claim to be the world champions in their sports. However, for teams and sports not included in the Olympic Games, these titles are misleading.

Not so for Team USA, the national women's tackle football team. They have competed in all three of the championships sponsored by the International Federation of American Football, and they have earned first place each time. In winning in Sweden in 2010, Finland in 2013, and Canada in 2017, Team USA has dominated the world of women's football. Over the course of nine games in the three championships, they have scored 171 points, while giving up only 16.

Players such as quarterback Sami Grisafe and wide receiver Liz Sowers can claim the legitimate title of world champions in football, based on actual head to head competition. Few, if any, NFL players can do the same, making the women's Team USA the only world champions of American Football to have won that title in international competition.

Adam Criblez, Southeast Missouri State University

### Pitching Patriotism: Baseball and the Fourth of July in the Late Nineteenth-Century

Both baseball and the Fourth of July are all-American institutions. And both developed into more modern forms during the late-nineteenth century as the game extended west from New England and the holiday evolved into a commercialized event centered on leisure and recreation. In this context, Independence Day baseball became an important feature of July Fourth commemorations as professional teams scheduled doubleheaders to maximize profit and amateur squads arranged to meet local rivals for bragging rights.

Baseball spread rapidly in the 1860s thanks to soldiers returning home from fighting in the American Civil War. Interest in the sport grew quickly and soon every village from Allegheny to Walla-Walla had its own picked nine, drawn from local boys and athletic young men. These town teams became a source of civic pride and, in the early days of professional baseball, the bottom rung of a ladder leading all the way up to the major leagues. Unsurprisingly, matches between town teams often grew heated, drawing on long-standing feuds, and soon local tournaments or rivalry games became as important as picnics on the holiday calendar.

At the same time, Americans were celebrating Independence Day differently than they had in years past. Most antebellum commemorations followed a predictable pattern: an artillery salute at dawn, parades through city streets, and long-winded speeches by local dignitaries. By the end of the 1800s, however, that style of

celebration was an outdated relic: late-century revelers made merry with fireworks, picnics, and – of course – games of baseball.

Using a variety of primary and secondary sources, including Spalding's Base Ball Guides and contemporary newspaper accounts, I argue that baseball games played on the Fourth of July in the late nineteenth-century fostered community-building, encouraged assimilation and Americanization of immigrants, and created heated debates about the proper form of celebrating the patriotic holiday. Many traditionalists resented the changes made to Fourth of July celebrations over the course of the century as it was no longer a time for somber reflection and civic-sponsored oratory. In fact, the holiday was increasingly celebrated with the most gusto by immigrants, eager to prove their patriotism through participating in the day's festivities, highlighted by America's national pastime played out on a dirt diamond. Connecting baseball to the Fourth of July allows for a nuanced examination of the power of sport to bring together groups in a shared communal event.

Mike Cronin, Boston College

### Vere St Ledger Goold: Wimbledon Finalist and Murderer

In 1879, Vere St Leger Goold won the Irish Tennis Championship, and later that summer would go onto Wimbledon where he was beaten in the final. Goold was a brilliant all round athlete, and a man born into Anglo-Irish privilege in County Waterford. However, it would all go wrong from Goold. He became addicted to alcohol and gambling, and also married a domineering French woman, Marie Giraudin. Having shifted between London, Montreal and Liverpool, the Goold's finances were in a disastrous state by 1907. By that point Maire was convinced she had developed a fool proof method for winning in the casino. Restyling themselves Sir Vere and Lady Goold, the pair traveled to Monte Carlo to win their fortune. The plan failed, and the pair fled the city having accrued yet more debt. Prior to leaving they had deposited a suitcase at Marseilles train station, that was to be forwarded to them in London. A porter found that the suitcase smelt badly, and called the police. When it was opened the decapitated body of a woman, Emma Levin, was found inside. The Goolds were arrested and charged with murder. It appeared that they had owed money to Levin, and killed her when she visited to reclaim the debt. The Goolds were found guilty and sentenced to life in prison. Vere St Leger Goold would commit suicide on Devil's Island, French Guiana, in September 1909.

This paper will explore the Goold story, and will probe the competitive character of the former sportsmen to understand how he came to murder. In understanding Goold psychologically, and assessing how sport forms character, the paper begins to assess whether what is learnt through sport can often develop deeply flawed humans.

Shaine Danbeli, California State University, Northridge

### The Internationalization of Refereeing: Stanley Rous and the Development of the Referee Course

As the game of football underwent a mass diffusion along the British trading and educational routes from Europe to South America, Asia, Africa and the Americas, the sport took off both in terms of popularity and growth. For example, using Britain as a case study, the spread of football and the movement of players were closely connected to larger streams of migration. I can speculate that with referees as well. Historians have contributed relatively steadfast to the considerable scholarship that now exists on football and its players, but referees seem to be only included with scant details, if any. Referees started off as umpires selected from participating teams, then slowly transitioned into neutral referees selected to officiate important matches.

Stanley Rous was instrumental in organizing referee clinics and courses that would start in Europe, and eventually across the globe. Rous' vision to maintain a consistent game according to the Laws of the Game was evident through the creation of referee education courses. Rous saw the importance of education as his primary role and decided to move forward with this project. From the first worthwhile mention of a referee overseeing a Football Association Challenge Cup in 1871, fast forward to the inaugural referee course held in 1952 in Macolin, Switzerland, this begs the question, how did refereeing become an internationalized product?

The aim of this paper is to investigate the trajectory of referee development from the start of the first referee course in 1952 until the end of the FIFA presidency of Stanley Rous in 1974. Drawing from the FIFA Referee Committee minutes, official documents such as FIFA News, Technical Committee Reports, Technical Study Group Reports, along with the Times (London) and other relevant publications, a historical analysis will be constructed to understand the significance of the role Rous played in the development of international referees. This project will contribute to the growing field on the scholarship of soccer refereeing, and help us understand the impact Rous had on the internationalization of refereeing.

Ari De Wilde, Eastern Connecticut State University

### “What happened to female bicycle racers in the United States?: Fin de Siècle Memory, Men, and Truthiness”

In recent years, there has been a veritable explosion in the historiography of cycling and bicycle racing. Scholars have focused the majority of their energies on men's cycling. The historiography boom in cycling continues with the impending release of two books, written by my co-presenters, focused specifically on “bicycle era” women's bicycle racing. These texts contrast greatly with the continued shaming of women's racing by national and international cycling governing and promotional bodies. They have inspired me to examine the flawed memory of female bicycle racers during and after the turn-of-the-twentieth century. Indeed, as my co-presenters highlight, female bicycle racers helped to build the fin de siècle industry of bicycle racing. From the first

women's bicycle-only six day race at Madison Square Garden in 1889 to the international exploits of Louise Armaindo, women racers in both the high-wheel and safety eras participated and competed in amateur and professional bicycle races. While racing fell off for some time in the early twentieth century, women's cycling accomplishments were varied and numerous. Yet professional track cycling, and road racing such as the Tour de France, were (and still are) held up by most sportswriters and historians as stereotypically masculine endeavors. In this paper, I examine the popular history and historiography of women's cycling during the early twentieth century and the motifs and motives of depicting bicycle racing as a masculine sport.

Heather L. Dichter, De Montfort University

### Canadian Speculation: Back-Up Host for the 1962 IIHF World Championships or NATO Ally?

In response to the creation of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, the western-controlled Allied Travel Office imposed new travel restrictions on East Germans wanting to visit any western country. All NATO member states also implemented this travel restriction, which included a ban on athletes and teams representing the German Democratic Republic. These new travel restrictions quickly impacted sport, with the 1962 International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF) World Championships set to take place in Colorado Springs, Colorado, in early 1962. As it began to look like East Germany would not be able to participate in the tournament, rumors began to spread across the ice hockey world that powerhouse teams from Europe – the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and perhaps even Sweden – would all withdraw from the tournament, leaving a decimated field and weakened tournament.

Wanting to prevent the marquee international ice hockey event from turning into a debacle, Canadian ice hockey leaders pleaded with the Canadian government to take action within NATO. Canadian Amateur Hockey Association President Jack Roxburgh even called on Prime Minister John Diefenbaker “to prevent one of the worlds few remaining avenues of friendly international association from being completely wiped out.” Many within the Canadian hockey community even sought to transfer the tournament north of the border. Yet, these desires to contest Canada's favorite sport at the highest level stood in direct opposition to the country's role as a NATO member state and its obligations to the multilateral organization.

Using government records and newspaper coverage, this paper will examine the complicated path which the Canadian government navigated during a tense period in the Cold War. This paper will demonstrate how Diefenbaker's government attempted to balance the country's enthusiasm for all things ice hockey with Canada's international obligations – which included remaining vague on the exact nature of the East German travel restrictions. Ice hockey was typically an area in which Canada could assert its role as a major international player, but the public response from Canadian ice hockey leaders regarding the location of the 1962 IIHF World Championships forced the Canadian government to tread carefully both within NATO and to the Canadian public.

Seweryn Dmowski, University of Warsaw

### Czestochowa '80: Football Hooliganism Behind the Iron Curtain

On May 9th, 1980 before the Polish Cup Final in Częstochowa the biggest and most fierce hooligan riots emerged between Legia Warszawa and Lech Poznań fans. The city was paralysed and both local and central communist authorities were neither expecting that events nor ready to prevent or fight them back. This was to first massive outbreak of football hooliganism in People's Republic of Poland and one of the first ever behind the Iron Curtain. It all happened just weeks before the general strike in Poland and emergence of "Solidarity" movement. Full censorship was implemented afterwards for almost any information about the riots, while the history of fighting on the streets of Częstochowa became a founding myth of Polish football hooligan subculture and an urban legend.

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct those events, as well as to analyse the reaction of political authorities, mostly the ruling Polish United Workers Party. It is a case study within the broader topic of political and social history of football behind the Iron Curtain. The particular subject of football hooliganism in Eastern Bloc, besides the case of East Germany, has not been academically researched yet. The paper includes a reconstruction of the events in Częstochowa based on in-depth interviews with eyewitnesses (both Lech and Legia supporters) and archival documents (a vast majority of which have never been published) from the Central Archive of Modern Records (AAN), National Archive in Częstochowa (APCz) and the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN). The paper aims to make a significant contribution to the general research on history of sport in the Eastern Bloc.

Peter Donnelly, University of Toronto; Nancy Bouchier, McMaster University; Bruce Kidd, University of Toronto

### Centennial Activity - Remembering 1967: A Sesquicentennial public history project

This paper describes the development of a public history project.

Canada's Centennial year (1967) is often noted as a key cultural moment for the development of sport and recreational physical activity in Canada. For example, Canada hosted the PanAm Games here in Winnipeg (only the second, and by far the largest international multi-sport event ever hosted); the Canada Games started with a Winter Games held in Québec City; the first nationwide schools- based fitness initiative was developed (the Centennial Athletic Awards); and the last major wave of public recreation facility construction was funded, resulting in Centennial arenas, pools and parks in urban centres across the country.

Organizations, communities and individuals were all encouraged to celebrate the Centennial in their own ways, and a significant number of those initiatives involved physical cultural activities (sport, dance, recreation, parades, and so on).

There is no systematic record of the official, the sponsored, or the unofficial Centennial projects related to physical activity and recreation. This project, Centennial Activity: Remembering 1967, represents an attempt to capture as many of those Centennial projects as possible, using text, images, film, and oral histories.

The project was motivated by the 2017 Sesquicentennial in Canada. And while the official, federally funded projects specifically precluded historical projects, we were able to receive a small amount of funding from the University of Toronto Sesquicentennial grant programme.

This paper will report on the progress of the project, and show the project web site: [centennialactivity.ca](http://centennialactivity.ca)

The work has been intriguing in historical terms in that the seeds of many current social issues in Canadian sport and recreation – e.g., gender relations, multiculturalism, indigenous-settler relations, disability-able bodied relations, class relations, and government funding for sport and recreation – can all be seen in the events of 1967. As Helen Davies (1999) noted, “Canadians, encouraged to celebrate in their own personal way, were not forced to express one vision of Canada or Canadian identity” – a comment that foreshadows our current Prime Minister’s characterization of Canada as the world’s first post-national state.

[Benjamin J. Downs, Louisiana State University](#)

### [Financing a New Igloo: Mario Lemieux’s Gamble and Pennsylvania’s Payout](#)

During the 2006-07 National Hockey League season, Pennsylvania Governor Ed Rendell, Pittsburgh Mayor Luke Ravenstahl, and Allegheny County Chief Executive Dan Onorato collaborated with the owners of the Pittsburgh Penguins, Lemieux Group LP, to secure a financing plan to build a \$290 million hockey arena to prevent the Penguins from leaving Pittsburgh for Kansas City. While government officials worked to keep the Penguins in Pittsburgh, political, economic, and sport facility realities in the city limited public financing opportunities. For example, Major League Baseball’s Pirates (i.e., PNC Park), the National Football League’s Steelers (i.e., Heinz Field), as well as the University of Pittsburgh Panthers (i.e., Heinz Field; Petersen Events Center), opened publicly funded sports facilities between March 2001 and May 2002.

The methods municipalities use to fund sport facility projects with public dollars have been dictated by changes in the federal tax code. Three laws directly impacted public funding of facilities. The Revenue Act of 1913 excluded interest income earned by holding a municipality bond. The Revenue Expenditure and Control Act of 1968 (RECA) extended the tax exemption to bonds to sports facilities where at least 25% of their services were used by a private tenant and at least 25% of the revenues from the facility were used to service the debt. Lastly, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 altered RECA by ending the sport exemption and restricting bond interest exemptions to public facilities with no more than 10% nongovernment use. These efforts resulted in the

contemporary public-private partnerships used to finance sport facilities and an increase in the utilization of revenue bonds (Williams & Seifried, 2013).

In consideration of this tax history and the practice of professional teams threatening relocation to secure favorable construction financing deals, this paper seeks to answer the following question: How did the Lemieux Group, LP leverage its position to secure a new, publicly financed hockey facility in Pittsburgh? The author utilized primary sources (e.g., government documents and contemporaneous Pittsburgh newspaper reports) to present the case of the development and financing of the new Penguins arena. Furthermore, this case provides an example of a city that did not construct a hockey or basketball arena during the nearly two decades that RECA offered the sports exemption. The Pittsburgh Civic Arena was planned and built between 1945 and 1961. The new Penguins arena was planned in 2007. Therefore, many of the public-private funding plans used in other cities since 1986 informed the funding of the facility.

In order to circumvent the financing challenges within the city, the new Pittsburgh hockey arena construction plan incorporated gaming revenue as part of the funding model. This project will provide insight into the utility of gaming revenue as a source of public financing. Ultimately, this paper will demonstrate Lemieux Group, LP leveraged a decade of on-ice success, poor front office business management, and a new facility (i.e., Kansas City's Sprint Center) to secure a new arena in Pittsburgh with the help of a previously unexplored source of public sport facility financing.

Austin Duckworth, University of Texas at Austin

#### “Decisive Political Ways:’ the 1988 Seoul Olympic games”

When the International Olympic Committee (IOC) selected Seoul, South Korea as the host of the 1988 Summer Olympic Games, fear existed that North Korea may attempt to disrupt the Games. In response to the North Korean threat, the IOC, national governments, and national Olympic committees worked together to provide security for the 1988 Seoul Olympics. These endeavors ranged in scale and scope from sharing information to providing the equipment necessary to secure the Games. Efforts to prevent a terrorist attack in Seoul included attempts to manipulate the relationship between the Soviet Union and North Korea. To handle the threat from non-North Korean terrorists, a system of information sharing and liaison was put into place between the national governments, the IOC, and the Seoul Olympic Games Organizing Committee. These efforts occurred as relations between the United States and Soviet Union slowly improved and protecting the Olympics factored into arms-control discussions between the two rivals. Simultaneously, despite a long-held aversion to politics interfering with sport, the situation forced the IOC to consider manipulating political ties to try and ensure a safe Olympic Games.

Mark Dyreson, Pennsylvania State University

“From Starring in the ‘Democracy Bowl’ to Dismissal as a (White) ‘Country’ Hamlet: Half a Century of Racial Narratives from ‘Happy Valley’”

In 1948, the national media touted number four Penn State’s match-up against number three Southern Methodist University in the Cotton Bowl as the “Democracy Bowl.” The press made those hyperbolic claims because Penn State played two African Americans in the game, integrating the gridiron on New Year’s Day in deeply segregated Dallas. The 1948 Cotton ensconced Penn State as a leader in the integration of intercollegiate sport and an institution fighting on the frontline of the emerging Civil Rights crusade. For more than half a century, the “Democracy Bowl” provided a backdrop for racial narratives that touted Penn State’s exceptionalism. In an eulogy to Penn State’s legendary football coach for much of that time, Joe Paterno, his son Jay proclaimed that the “players that came here to Penn State . . . because here was Martin Luther King, Jr.’s dream. Here was the place where black kids and white kids could hold hands in a huddle, where we could all be given a chance . . . an equal chance.” By 2012, when Jay Paterno spun that story, several competing narratives had developed including those that painted the Paternos’ beloved “Happy Valley” of racial equality as a clever ruse that covered up a legacy of racial animus on a campus dominated by whites. Indeed, when the coveted high school quarterback and Pennsylvania native Terrelle Pryor spurned Penn State in 2008 to sign with bitter rival Ohio State, he dismissed “Happy Valley” as too “country” for any self-respecting African American.

How did these divergent racial narratives emerge and develop over the course of the period between the Second World War and the early 2000s? How did local and regional patterns, and national and international dynamics, shape racial narratives that grew out of Penn State’s sports programs? Who told these narratives and for what purposes? What power have they exerted over the institution as it grew from a small regional school to one of the top one hundred universities in the world? These questions form the core of “Half a Century of Racial Narratives from Happy Valley.”

Drawing on archival materials at Penn State, including oral histories of athletes, coaches, students, and activists, as well as from national media accounts detailing Penn State’s role in Civil Rights issues and racial integration, this study argues that sport provides opportunities to inscribe a variety of racial narratives about social institutions and their roles in racial struggles--including competing and even bluntly contradictory accounts. As many scholars have contended, sport offers unique and powerful commentaries on race in American history. This study will help our understanding of how these processes emerge and develop.

Chris Elzey, George Mason University

## The Most Popular Sportsman in America: Edward Payson Weston and His 1876 Tour of England

During the 1870s, Edward Payson Weston may have been the best-known sportsman in the United States. Weston made a name for himself in the sport of “pedestrianism,” or race walking, one of the more popular athletic attractions of the Victorian era. Commenting on Weston’s fame, Harper’s Weekly noted in 1879: “A few years ago...the name of the pedestrian was upon nearly all lips, and his photograph in thousands of private dwellings as well in most public places. There were Weston shoes, Weston hats, and Weston coats; musicians composed Weston marches, and young ladies danced to Weston waltzes.”

Why was Weston so popular? This paper seeks to answer that question. Specifically, it focuses on a tour of England Weston made in 1876, in which he bested some of Britain’s finest walkers. The victories augmented Weston’s stardom back home, while exposing a burgeoning athletic rivalry between the United States and Great Britain.

Weston’s English tour is also notable for a “doping” dispute in which the American found himself entangled. A little more than a month after Weston’s initial competition, a British doctor divulged in the British Medical Journal that “Weston [had been] masticating...the dried leaf of Erthroxylon Coca”—a stimulant, cocaine is produced from the plant—while participating in that opening contest.[2] Weston did not deny using the leaves, but he claimed they provided no physical benefit. The dispute intensified the US-English rivalry, and served to focus even more attention on Weston and his exploits.

Much of the paper is based on information gleaned from major newspapers, such as the New York Times, Chicago Tribune, and London Times; from popular serials, such as Harper’s Weekly; and from the sporting press in both the United States and Great Britain, including Spirit of the Times, National Police Gazette, Sporting Life, Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News, and Turf, Field, and Farm. Medical publications—namely the British Medical Journal and The Lancet—played a critical role in the doping dispute. Attention is paid to these journals. In addition, the paper makes use of numerous secondary sources on Weston, including a handful of books that explore his life and achievements.

Colleen English, Pennsylvania State University, Berks and Heidi Mau, Albright College

## ‘Roller Till I Die & the Gorgeous Ladies of Wrestling’: Women and Sports in Reality Television & Scripted Reality Entertainment

As GLOW, a recent comedy series on Netflix, centering on the Gorgeous Ladies of Wrestling program of the 1980s shows, the line between sport entertainment and scripted reality entertainment is not always clear. Since the 1950s, the question of

whether or not professional wrestling was “real” has plagued this facet of physical culture. Viewers of the televised roller derby similarly questioned the reality of the sport. Other professional sports, such as baseball, American football, basketball, and ice hockey enjoyed status as “real” but also drew wide viewing audiences from television. In this presentation, we argue that the line between the entertainment aspects of traditional sports and the dramatic appeal of scripted reality overlap. This is exemplified by the questionable reality of both professional wrestling and roller derby. We are particularly interested in the gendered aspects of these sports and how the history of women and sport intersects with the history of scripted reality television.

Reality TV often aligns its history with direct cinema and cinema verite documentary traditions, expanding into structured and unstructured scripted reality programming. Some reality television scholars divide reality programming into as many as eight subgenres, including shows about games and competition, dating, renovation, makeovers, and “docusoaps.” Sport is notably absent from these categorizations. In this paper we will look at women and sports in reality TV and scripted reality entertainment created for television such as the original GLOW: Gorgeous Ladies of Wrestling television series (1986-1990), Entertainment Television’s (E!) Total Divas (2013-present), A&E’s Rollergirls (2006), and Rampage Studio’s Roller Derby Til I Die (2013) reality TV series, as well as footage from early televised women’s roller derby and women’s wrestling events.

Women’s involvement in professional wrestling and roller derby is a key element of their success as reality TV programming. The tension between the desire of female professional wrestlers and roller derby skaters to gain respect for their athleticism and the necessity of providing dramatic entertainment to draw attention to these types of physical culture demonstrates yet another struggle for legitimacy faced by athletic women in modern culture.

This history is significant because looking at women and sport in this way expands our understanding of both the role of women in physical culture and our understanding of the history of scripted reality entertainment in North America. This project uses a number of primary sources, such as reality television programming, documentary footage and interviews, online oral histories from participants, and journalistic sources. Secondary sources focusing on the history and study of reality television and scripted reality entertainment, along with sources on women’s sport history and critical engagement with the representation of women in athletics will also be utilized.

Tom Fabian, Western University

### [The Dave Pickett Story: Regionalism, Eligibility, and Adjudication in Canadian University Sport](#)

In 1975, standout quarterback for the University of Saskatchewan Huskies Dave Pickett unwittingly became the center of one of the most significant controversies in Canadian university sports history when he transferred to the University of Windsor. The

“Dave Pickett fiasco” played out in the Ontario Supreme Court and shed an indubitable spotlight on the provincial-national jurisdictional politics that have plagued countless Canadian national organizations since Confederation (1867). Even an institution as harmless as university sport was not immune to the divisive nature of regionalism within the Canadian collective identity.

Using the Pickett eligibility crisis as a case study, this presentation aims to analyze the history of student-athlete eligibility concerns in Canada so as to better understand the internal politics of the Canadian university sport system. Then known as the CIAU and currently as U SPORTS, the overarching umbrella organization for Canadian university sport has struggled throughout its history to appease the disparate viewpoints of its four regional members (Western Canada, Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes).

The 1973 Hec Crighton award-winner (university football MVP) during his three-year career with the Huskies, Pickett also played one year of varsity basketball for the university, bringing his total years of varsity eligibility to four. Under the CIAU rules at the time, student-athletes could no longer participate as varsity athletes after four years of university representation, regardless of the sport. Upon graduating from Saskatchewan, Pickett pursued a Master degree at the University of Windsor, which was a member of the Ontario University Athletic Association (OUAA), one of the regional members of the CIAU. Unlike the national organization, the OUAA’s eligibility rules permitted a five-year varsity career, thereby enabling Pickett to play one more year of football within Ontario conference league play. Subsequently, the 1975 football season was the University of Windsor’s best ever and the Lancers qualified for the national semi-finals, which were organized under the purview of the CIAU. The aforementioned discrepancy between regional and national eligibility rules thus figured prominently in a legal drama that overshadowed a historic season and unraveled a troubled history of regional disparities within the CIAU dating back to the early twentieth century.

This presentation will explore this unravelled history. Eligibility issues have marred each region respectively. Recruitment of American students in the Maritimes, the CEGEP (collegiate) system in Quebec, and the fight for athletic scholarships in the western provinces have all been – and in some cases continue to be – concerns for university administrators. The “Dave Pickett fiasco,” on the other hand, brought these concerns into the national-regional debate. By reviewing this 1975 Ontario Supreme Court case, not only will we better understand the history of student-athlete eligibility concerns but also the future discourse of Canadian university sport.

[John D. Fair, The University of Texas at Austin](#)

[From Tule Lake to Helinski: The Remarkable Rise of America’s Greatest Weightlifter](#)

At the centenary celebration of the International Weightlifting Federation in 2005 at Istanbul, President Tamas Ajan recognized Tommy Kono as the “Best Weightlifter of 100 Years.” In a competitive career that spanned three decades Kono, a Nisei American, surpassed all contemporaries, amassing eight consecutive Olympic and world titles and setting 26 world records in four weight classes. He also won two silver

medals and a bronze medal, garnered eleven United States and three Pan American titles, set 37 American records, and captured four international (world/universe) physique titles, all prior to the advent of steroids. Afterwards, he coached Olympic weightlifting teams for three countries. As physical culturist Terry Todd famously observed, “he was the complete package.” While athletes of Kono’s era were unable to take advantage of the superior coaching, nutritional aids, and up-to-date facilities available to current competitors, Tommy had to overcome far more serious disadvantages to athletic performance. He suffered from asthma, so severe that he missed one-third of his schooling and weighed only 105 pounds at age fourteen. No less debilitating to his youthful development was his family’s relocation to the Tule Lake Internment Camp during World War II. But the desert air at Tule Lake helped alleviate Kono’s, asthma, and his participation in the camp’s weightlifting and bodybuilding club enabled him to overcome his bodily weaknesses. Indeed, these early misfortunes only hardened his resolve to achieve significance in xenophobic America.

With steady gains in strength, technique, and bodyweight after the war, Kono competed in regional, then national, competitions with increasing success. After placing second in the 1950 and 1951 national championships, he won the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki with a 799-pound three-lift total that included a world record 259 snatch. What contributed to this amazing transformation was a spiritual uplift he received from his experience at Tule Lake where Tommy assimilated the cultural characteristics of Zen Buddhism, enabling him to discover the hidden potential of intense concentration and the power of positive thinking. These habits of mind were later reinforced by a meeting with Ohio coach Larry Barnholth and his protégé Pete George at the 1950 senior nationals in Philadelphia who likewise sought to utilize these unconscious resources through the conscious method of autosuggestion. At Helsinki, Kono found further strength of will to overcome the handicaps stemming from his years of confinement at Tule Lake and become the most patriotic American on the weightlifting platform. Arguably Tommy Kono, despite or because of his inauspicious origins, more than any other athlete of his time, maximized the Greek ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano* by engaging the immense powers of the human mind to perfect his body. This study, employing evidence drawn from the Tommy Kono papers at the Stark Center of the University of Texas, interviews with Kono contemporaries, and my own extensive holdings, provides insights into the human spirit as a critical factor to understanding sport history. This paper would be appropriate to any session relating to the body, weightlifting, bodybuilding, physical culture or ethnicity.

[Christopher J. Fauske, Salem State University](#)

[What don't they know of cricket? Local documentary evidence and the tale of the Alpha Cricket Club of Salem, Massachusetts](#)

“What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?” the Trinidadian Marxist critic, journalist, and renowned cricket philosopher famously asked.

C.L.R. James's aphorism is over-used both by critics and by those who would attach greater importance to the game than it perhaps merits. However, after some small tweaking, the question, "What don't they know of cricket?" highlights both the paucity of research into cricket in the United States prior to the rise of baseball and the inaccuracy of most of the assumptions made as a result of that lack of knowledge.

Accounts of baseball's rise would compare its fundamental "Americanness" with cricket's "English" nature to explain its success. But that was an ex-post facto argument driven by a variety of factors and motivations, most of them far removed from actual evidence. Even so, that story has, by and large, survived, despite some attempts at examining the local documentary evidence.

One enormously valuable but hitherto unexamined item of evidence is the "Record book of Alpha Cricket Club, 1865-78" held at the Phillips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. Compiled by a former member of the club—perhaps its last surviving member—who had at one time been a club director, it is one of the most complete match books of a U.S. cricket club of the immediate post-Civil War era surviving anywhere outside Philadelphia.

The book – which also includes the club constitution, by-laws, order of business, rules of debate, and lists of officers and of members – offers compelling evidence as to the nature of the game as played and who played it. With one largely unimportant exception, not one member of the club came close to meeting the mold of an "English" man abroad playing a familiar game.

Indeed, the Salem club was formed specifically to promote social and political ambitions very much in line with popular ideals that had come so quickly to be celebrated in the North at the end of the Civil War.

This paper will examine the textual evidence of the record book, consider two other startling pieces of archival evidence from Salem—a gilded cricket ball awarded to the victor of an 1866 Fourth of July challenge match, and a remarkable 1865 example of popular poetry broadside praising the Salem cricket club, apparently unknown to historians of U.S. cricket. The paper also considers the biographies of two people: the compiler of the record book, a music teacher; and the club captain through most of its recorded history, a florist. Their origins and their cricket careers demonstrate that the Alpha Cricket Club of Salem, which the Boston Daily Globe's cricket reporter later recalled as "a team that for many years ... carried everything before it," was very much a local and inclusive club quite unlike those often assumed to have populated the tented field of American cricket.

Victoria Felkar, University of British Columbia

### Pill, Periods, and Performance: Oral Contraceptive Use & the Practice of Menstrual Control in Sport

Since first developed during the interwar years, millions of women worldwide have used pharmaceutical preparations of the ovarian hormones, estrogen and progesterone. Although originally restricted to the treatment of menstrual disorders, synthetic preparations of these steroids are now often considered to be lifestyle drugs,

helpful for their cosmetic, recreational, discretionary or life-enhancing purposes. But, do these drugs also have a role in enhancing athletic performance?

Estrogen and progesterone are widely used by women in the sporting context, and have been used for decades to control menstruation with the goal of enhanced performance, but there is no comprehensive research concerning oral contraceptive use, or the practice of menstrual control in sport. Taken as a single compound or together - such as combined oral contraceptives – synthetic ovarian hormones are not perceived to be a risk to athlete health, or for the sporting domain more generally. While several physiological ‘advantages’ are known to be achieved from taking synthetic estrogen and progesterone to control female athletes’ menstrual cycles, these compounds are neither classified nor considered performance enhancing or ‘unnatural’ to consume. Although the IOC Medical Committee briefly banned a specific type of progesterone for five months in 1987, the use of synthetic estrogen and progesterone are allowed and even promoted by sport medicine authorities, regardless of warnings concerning serious and even deadly associated complications.

This presentation will examine the history of synthetic estrogen and progesterone use – specifically oral contraception – by female athletes, and explore why there has been so little discussion about their use in sport. Oral contraception has been used to control menstruation for competition since the early 1930’s; the synthetic estrogen “Pelanin” is believed to be the first recorded ‘steroid’ used in sport by female athletes at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics. This practice of ‘postponing’ an athlete’s menses when it coincided with the date of a competition occurred because menstruation was viewed as disadvantageous to athletic performance. However, controlling or manipulating a female’s menstrual cycle through the use of synthetic steroids, was not – and is not - considered to be “doping.” I will draw upon historical and contemporary medical and popular literature to trace the use of oral contraceptives by athletes since the 1920s, and explore the ongoing use of these compounds within sport to control female menstruation despite emerging knowledge about potential risks associated with their use. Furthermore, I hope to demonstrate how scientific, medical and sport-related understandings about the menstrual cycle and the role of hormones within the female body have influenced which substances and practices have overtime become defined as either beneficial or detrimental to athletic performance.

[Russell Field, University of Manitoba](#)

### [Whose History? A People’s History](#)

Sport matters. We are told it’s a universal language, a global practice, available to all and rewarding only the meritorious. It provides role models. History matters because it allows those assumptions to be interrogated and it provides the tools for voices that aren’t typically heard to have their stories told. This presentation is the beginnings of a people’s history of Canadian sport: a consideration of the interlocking systems of oppression that erect barriers to participation, of what stories might be told, and whose

voice should tell them. It is less a people's history than a reflection on the practice of people's history, based upon research in Nova Scotia and Manitoba.

Stephen Fielding, University of Victoria

### Popular Multiculturalism, Civic Branding, and Italian Toronto after the 1982 World Cup

In July 1982, Italy defeated West Germany to capture its first World Cup soccer title since the Great Depression. The largest celebration, however, was taking place in Toronto, Canada, where an estimated crowd of 250,000 pedestrians poured into St. Clair Avenue West, the city's largest Italian neighbourhood. This precedent-setting event moved soccer fandom, which had existed as a form of grassroots multiculturalism for nearly two generations, from the traditional male immigrant spaces of stadiums, soccer parks, sports bars, restaurants, and barber shops onto city streets and sidewalks, and particularly those in Italian neighbourhoods. It became the catalyst for a new ritual repeated by other ethnic communities during every World Cup and UEFA Cup tournament, when every community with a competitive national soccer team congregated in the streets, waving their own flags, choking city motorways with slow-moving caravans, and partying late into the night. " The events of 1982 ushered in a new period of civic participation through expressive ethnicity.

This paper explores how the biennial groundswell of pluralistic exchanges was appropriated by commercial interests and the City of Toronto. Local Italian businesses and multinational companies seized upon Toronto's new street-level soccer fandom as a marketing opportunity. Italian merchant associations, café and restaurant owners promoted their neighbourhoods and establishments as fan headquarters, and the City of Toronto rebranded itself in part by labelling the parties as "Toronto stories," most notably during the city's 1996 and 2008 Olympic Games bids. However, both business and political interests gave little attention to the fact that they had adopted a male-driven form of pluralism that categorized the urban environment by cultural differences that were often upheld and enforced by young men.

The unstable links in this competitive model of multiculturalism between rough immigrant masculinities, cultural distinctiveness, and claims to urban space threatened the bottom lines of entrepreneurs hoping to profit from soccer festivities and the rebranded image the City of Toronto wished to project of itself as a bastion of cultural inclusivity and harmony.

Jonathan Finn, Wilfrid Laurier University

### There is No Such Thing as a Dead Heat: John C. Hemment and the Origins of the Photo-Finish in Sport

From the 1850s, scientists, artists and photographic enthusiasts began to explore ways to capture movement in photographs and to reveal what the naked eye could not see. By the late 1870s and 1880s the dry-plate process enabled image-makers to easily capture hundredths of a second of movement in a single frame. The work of 'chronophotographers' Eadweard Muybridge, Ottomar Anschütz, and Étienne Jules-

Marey is synonymous with this period and significantly transformed how people understood and represented human and animal movement. Contemporaneously, a series of lesser-known instantaneous photographers experimented with photographing sport, gradually calling for the use of photographs to determine race results. This paper addresses the work of the most significant of these figures, John C. Hemment.

Hemment was a prolific photographer, publishing regularly with *Colliers Weekly*, *Harpers*, the *Illustrated Sporting News*, and the *New York Journal*. He was employed by the U.S. Government to photograph the Spanish-American War, published a book of his work in that capacity, and served as official photographer for the Red Cross during World War 1. He produced thousands of images of turn of the century horse-racing, car-racing and athletics and served as official track photographer for at least three horse racing tracks. Despite this, Hemment is almost entirely absent in sport history and the history of photography.

Hemment's work is fascinating for what it reveals about sport and sport officiating in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and for the ways it foregrounds contemporary debates about the use of technology in sport, particularly as a form of decision-making. Drawing from images in the collection of the Keeneland Library as well as nineteenth-century sports and recreation journals and news media, this paper outlines Hemment's work in photographing sport as it served in the development of the photo-finish. Hemment predicted that with photography there could be no such thing as a dead heat and that instantaneous photographers would replace judges at horse racing and athletic venues. While his predictions did not ultimately come true his work made many significant contributions to the histories of sport and photography.

Gerald R. Gems, North Central College

### "Fake News: Reconceptualizing the Aging Athlete"

This interdisciplinary study applies psychological, historical, and sociological analyses of the aging athlete. It examines the concept of aging over generational spans and its application by media, popular culture, and physiologists relative to athletic performance. Sport commentators currently question Tom Brady's decision to continue his professional football career beyond the age of 40; while others wonder how much longer LeBron James can continue his high level of performance. While the common belief in decreasing physical performance among the aging has some anatomical and physiological validity, there are copious and significant exceptions among both male and female professional and amateur athletes. A number of examples will be noted.

American culture, in opposition to other cultures, places particular value on youth. This study seeks to ascertain at what point in time did this value transformation occur and what did/does it mean for aging athletes. The analysis will also examine the role of social class in the perception and value of one's physicality, with particular emphasis on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The analysis will demonstrate that age, and to some extent sport, are social constructs with diverse meanings across social classes and different cultures.

Research sources will include published newspapers, magazines, secondary scholarly articles, and autoethnographic accounts to determine tentative conclusions.

Dennis Gildea, Springfield College

### [W.O. McGeehan's "Beatrice Buggs" Columns: Love Stories on the Sports Page?](#)

This essay offers a close textual analysis of a series of W.O. McGeehan columns that appeared in the New York Tribune in the fall of 1916 and January 1917.

McGeehan, an Aw Nuts! writer whom Paul Gallico described as a "dry, whimsical man with a sense of mischief and an untrammelled imagination," invented a character he named Beatrice Buggs, a young woman he always described as "the beautiful girl reporter." McGeehan's creation donned disguises by virtue of which she gained entry into a sports world that was, in reality and in McGeehan's journalistic fiction, becoming increasingly commercialized and taking itself far too seriously. Unfailingly, Beatrice got the story and got the goods on the individuals populating American sports. In short, Beatrice Buggs was a muckraking journalist, albeit a fictional one.

I argue that McGeehan's Buggs columns can be read on multiple levels -- as satires of big-time sports; as satires of American sportswriting and sportswriters; and as loving, teasing spoofs of the career and ambitions of the model for Beatrice Buggs, his wife, the writer Sophie Treadwell, whose greatest triumph to that point was disguising herself as a prostitute in order to expose religious hypocrisy in a newspaper series headlined "An Outcast at the Christian Door." Treadwell was a feminist, a member of the Lucy Stone League who in 1915 demonstrated for the women's right to vote, and who, despite being married to McGeehan, lived a separate and independent life. In fact, in the fall of 1916 she was having an affair with the artist Maynard Dixon. The average reader would have been unaware, but McGeehan, I argue, was using his most powerful tools -- his imagination and his words -- to express his admiration and love for Treadwell.

Roger Gilles, Grand Valley State University

### ['From a Pale Beauty into a Perfect Fright': Withering Portraits of 1890s Women Bicycle Racers](#)

The leading professional women bicycle racers of the "safety" era (1895-1902)—Tillie Anderson, Lizzie Glaw, Dottie Farnsworth, Helen Baldwin, and others—were pioneers of modern women's athletics. This presentation will focus on how these women faced, and to a large extent, overcame many of the same cultural biases women athletes continued to face through the twentieth and even into the twenty-first century. First, the women were often judged, especially in pre-race publicity and in the initial stages of a competition, on their outfits and physical looks rather than on their athletic abilities. Second, the competitive authenticity of the sport itself was often minimized (e.g., the women were presumed to be motivated by "female jealousy" rather than competitive

spirit) or dismissed (e.g., the events were presumed to be fixed—hippodromes or exhibitions rather than honest competitions).

And third, the women were often judged to be too frail to handle the rigors of the sport—or, alternatively, they were judged to be grossly “masculinized” by the sport. Despite these negative and limiting characterizations, women’s six-day races thrived during the era, and in city after city the sport drew thousands of spectators (and reporters) who gradually became convinced that the women were in fact athletes of the first rank—which indeed they were. The presentation will include photographs of the racers and the tracks, as well as visual illustrations from newspapers of each of the main points.

Sharony Green, University of Alabama

### Spatial and Racial Politics on the Florida Peninsula and “The U”

What often gets lost in discussions about the University of Miami football program’s legacy, which largely centers on a lasting bad boy reputation, is a query on the degree to space matters in the across time ability of oppressed groups to achieve certain victories in the state of Florida. Given Howard Schnellenberger’s reliance on roping off the state for recruitment purposes during the UM football program’s initial rise in the 1980s, it is worth examining how space and race figure into this team’s early success.

This paper is part of a larger project that uses the state of Florida as a site for exploring how the dominant culture seeks to contain bodies. From the era in which the U.S. military resorted to guerilla tactics in attempts to subdue the Seminole Indians through the efforts of turn of the century and New Deal-era policymakers to remove people of African descent, among them black Bahamians who taught early white settlers how to build on coral rock, from lucrative seaside neighborhoods in Miami, one is able to see the degree to space matters for oppressed bodies on the Florida peninsula. What are the implications for UM football during its initial rise?

Craig Greenham, University of Windsor

### Rose Colored Glasses: Competing Media Perceptions of the Pete Rose Betting Scandal

As legend has it, sportswriter Hugh Fullerton was stationed outside Chicago’s Cook County courtroom in 1920 when “Shoeless” Joe Jackson emerged from the building. Jackson had allegedly just testified in front of a grand jury about his knowledge and involvement in plot to fix the 1919 World Series. A young boy approached the tarnished baseball player and pleaded with him, “It ain’t so, Joe, is it?” Fullerton wrote that Jackson’s reply was, “Yes, kid, I’m afraid it is.” Over time the myth has morphed and the child’s query became a punchier, “Say it ain’t so, Joe.” It is widely accepted by baseball historians that Fullerton fabricated the quotation. No witnesses corroborated the scribe’s account of this encounter between a dispirited youth and the disgraced ballplayer and Jackson, to his dying day, maintained the exchange with the child never

occurred. Yet, reflected in Fullerton's conjured dialogue we see the sanguine lens through which the sporting public and press desperately wanted to view this fallen hero and this hope against all hope, represented by the child, that Jackson's virtue had not sullied by temptation and greed.

Almost seven decades later, the sporting press and public grappled with these uncomfortable notions once more as one of baseball's most prominent names, Pete Rose, was embroiled in a gambling scandal that threatened the integrity of baseball and his place within its lore. This research is a textual analysis of the print media's treatment of Major League Baseball's (MLB) investigation and subsequent suspension (that ultimately became a lifetime ban) of its all-time hit king. At the heart of this project are the concepts of media bias, trustworthiness of news sources as well as the topical concern of "fake news."

Of particular interest to this study is the press treatment provided by the Cincinnati Enquirer and Cincinnati Post and how the interpretations of those newspapers aligned with or challenged the interpretations from other markets. Rose had not only starred with the Reds for 19 seasons and managed the club until his suspension in the summer of 1989, but he was born and raised in Cincinnati and had strong civic connections with the community. Did the local media write about Rose in sympathetic terms given this bond? Did the local press believe Rose's protestations of his innocence and that he was the target of smear campaign? Was Rose judged harshly by the local media for bringing his team and, by extension, his city under national scrutiny? Did the Enquirer and Post differ at all in their approach to handling the reported sins of Cincinnati's favorite son? The Cincinnati media response will be contrasted with other news sources including the New York Times, a newspaper that had a clear affinity for Rose's adversary in this ordeal, MLB Commissioner A. Bartlett Giamatti.

Jennifer Guiliano, Indiana University-Purdue University

### [Lightning Talk: Making Sports Legends: Academic Connections & Public Narratives in the Museum Exhibit Design Process](#)

On Tuesday September 12, 2017, the Children's Museum of Indianapolis announced the subjects of over a dozen bronze statues that will decorate its \$35 million Sports Legends Experience, an outdoor activities zone children centered around a number of different sports. Honorees for the new statues include "basketball luminaries Larry Bird, Tamika Catchings, Bobby "Slick" Leonard, Reggie Miller and Oscar Robertson; golf-course designers Pete and Alice Dye; race car driver A.J. Foyt; soccer player DeMarcus Beasley; hockey player Wayne Gretzky; track-and-field star Wilma Rudolph; Indianapolis Colt Reggie Wayne; tennis advocate Barbara Wynne; and the Indianapolis Clowns of the Negro American League." In this 7-minute lightning talk, I will highlight three aspects of the development of the Legend's statuary: 1) the role of the advisory board, of which I served as a member, in the selection of these honorees; 2) an overview of the narrative articulated by the Museum regarding the selection of these individuals in light of public criticism regarding the omission of Peyton Manning; and 3) recommendations for sports historians to consider in working with museums that not

only illustrate that sports matters but that critical thinking around sport is vital to furthering public considerations of sport history.

Evan J. Habkirk, Western University

### White Nation: Physical Culture and Indigenous Bodies at World Fairs

Beginning with London's Crystal Palace in 1851, world's fairs became a common place to display colonized people as the "exotic other" to show either their primitiveness or rise to civilization at the hands of state sponsored programs. With the popularity of social Darwinism, the Indigenous body and its physicality was not only displayed, but during the Chicago and St. Louis Exhibitions in 1893 and 1904 respectively, Indigenous bodies were physically measured and tested through sporting competitions to chart where Indigenous peoples fit into the dominant colonial society. Although now considered unethical and meaningless scientifically, especially in the fields of physiology, biomechanics, and biokinetics, these tests created a popular image of the physical limitations of the Indigenous body, confirming that Indigenous people themselves were doomed to extinction.

These limitations, however, were countered at other displays at these fairs. Drill corps and sporting events at Model Indian School displays, dances and ceremonies performed at living displays and ethnographic villages, or in Wild West shows held in conjunction with the fairs showed the power, physicality, and athleticism of Indigenous people, however masked in civilized/primitive dichotomy.

Questions remain about why this dichotomy informed this popular image and why this image was so prevalent into the 20th century. By using secondary sources about World's Fairs, especially the 1893 Chicago, 1901 Buffalo, 1904 St. Louis, and 1915 San Diego and San Francisco World's Fairs, and utilizing theoretical frameworks proposed by Indigenous studies, world's fairs, and public and art history scholars, this paper will show how these ideas formed, continued, and went unchallenged by non-Indigenous people, and why many of these images, although denounced by the sports sciences, are still ingrained within the popular imaginary today.

M. Ann Hall, University of Alberta

### "From Muscle on Wheels to Beauty on Wheels: Women's High-Wheel Bicycle Racing in Nineteenth Century America"

The central question addressed in this presentation is whether the women's high-wheel racing in late nineteenth century American can legitimately be considered true, formal sport or were their performances nothing more than show business. Most of the high-wheel racers were incredibly athletic, demonstrating time and time again their strength, stamina, and skill. Certainly, some cycling events featuring them were risqué, commercial spectacles rather than meaningful athletic competitions, and "hippodroming" was not an unusual accusation in the press. Attendance was often

boosted through dishonest advertising and reporting. Tracks where the contests took place were far from ideal. The primarily male audience (although "ladies" were encouraged to attend to provide the pretense of respectability) was often more interested in gambling and betting than in the actual contest. On the other hand, these women earned their living (and a good one at that) as athletes, and in this sense they were no different to the early strongwomen, circus performers, pedestriennes, baseball players, and boxers. They were working-class, athlete-entertainers, who paved the way for women's safety racing era that followed (about eight high-wheel racers switched to the safety around 1895 and continued to race).

Andrew Hammond, The University of British Columbia

### Body pedagogies, swimming coaching, weight management, body stigma, and swimming performance (1920-1980) - Some Australian historical evidence

Recent research has shown that body pedagogies focused on weight, shape, body fat and performance permeate Australian competitive swimming culture. Research by Jennifer McMahon and colleagues has shown that coaches, their practices, beliefs and ideologies that surround individuals and the profession have been essential to re-enforcing and propagating body pedagogic discourses. While much of this ethnographic and autographic literature elevated and documented the lived experience and material effects of these body pedagogies, little research has traced the historical emergence of weight, shape and body fat discourses and body pedagogies in sporting cultures. It is undoubtedly unknown as to what extent discourses around the body concerning fatness and performance have changed or stayed the same relative to time. This paper, therefore, reports on preliminary findings that have sought to explore the relationship between the development of the scientific coaching approach with weight management, body stigma and swimming performance from a historical perspective. In this study, we draw on new sources made available through the initial scoping of the personal archive belonging to Forbes and Ursula Carlile. Of particular interest were the training logs that belonged to champion swimmers Shane Gould and Jenny Turrall where we found that weight management, fatness and body pedagogies were a vital focus of the Carlile's approach to coaching woman and explaining variance in swimming performance in the 1960s and 70s. Forbes' reports associated with his leadership of the Australian swimming team in the late 1950s and 1970s highlighted the gendered nature of this commentary as men, and their weight escaped commentary. In many examples, Carlile viewed that the Men's ability to control their weight as a critical reason why Men compared with Woman appeared to achieve personal best times at major international swimming meets such as the first world swimming championships at Belgrade. Further examination of sources beyond the archive traces the gendered nature of performance discourses in Australian Swimming as back as far as to the 1920s in the Australian popular press. The significance of this paper is that it shows from a historical perspective, how deeply embedded discourses of weight, shape and body fat are in Swimming sporting subcultures histories and coaching practice, despite the

longstanding lack of physiological evidence suggesting that these factors impact on swimming performance in any significant way. Implications for the history of coaching and kinesiology more broadly are discussed.

Y. Andrew Hao, The University of Texas at Austin

### Sport Exchanges between China and the United States, 1980-1984: Inevitable Politics and Excessive Strings

In the same year of 1979, the People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations with the United States, and the Beijing-based Chinese Olympic Committee replaced Taiwan's Republic of China Olympic Committee as the sole Chinese representative at the International Olympic Committee. The next decade witnessed a honeymoon period in both Sino-U.S. relations and in sporting exchanges between the two nations.

This conference paper focuses on the bilateral sporting exchanges between China and the United States during the first half of the 1980s and analyzes the events in the context of the Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations. The sport exchanges over the five-year span can be divided into four stages:

1. The 1980 Lake Placid Olympic Winter Games: the People's Republic debuted at the Olympics at these Winter Games and was warmly received by the hosts, the United States Olympic Committee, and Team USA.
2. A joint boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Summer Games: the Washington-led Olympic boycott earned Beijing's endorsement, with the latter even more heavily propagating the anti-Soviet position, and both nations actively hosted alternative international competitions.
3. Post-Moscow Games sporting exchanges and Chinese athlete Hu Na's defection in 1982: the asylum granted to the tennis star by the Reagan administration following Hu's disappearance halted the sport exchanges and damaged the two nations' diplomatic relations.
4. China's Summer Olympics debut at the 1984 Los Angeles Games: gradually recovering from the Hu Na incident, Sino-U.S. sporting exchanges returned to normalcy prior to the competitions, where the Chinese achieved an historic breakthrough.

Based on the thorough account of this history, this study further argues that the trajectory of Sino-U.S. sporting exchanges largely paralleled the course of their bilateral relations. It further contends that the major reason for this parallelism was, in addition to the inseparability of international sports and world politics, an over-politicization of sports by the two governments--especially by the People's Republic of China. This paper thus serves as a warning that excessive co-option of sports for political purposes risks backfiring.

Curtis Harris, American University

## The Big O and Senator Sam: The Unlikely Alliance Against NBA Owners and For Player Freedom

“The Big O and Senator Sam” seeks to explain and understand a portion of the struggle for player liberty in professional basketball. In particular, it will examine the strange alliance of a black man, reared in the unforgiving belly of segregation, with a white United States Senator from North Carolina, who believed civil rights were ultimately a perverse mutation of American liberty. Despite their wildly different upbringings and worldviews, Senator Samuel Ervin and Oscar “The Big O” Robertson nonetheless found unified ground in their opposition to monopolist basketball owners. The extent of their alliance was the peculiar nexus of what I consider a civil rights worldview of Robertson informed by racial injustice and a civil liberties worldview of Ervin informed by freedom of association. The strange relationship resulted in a significant victory for professional basketball players in their fight for free agency.

The Capitol Hill meeting of Ervin and Robertson during a 1971 hearing on a proposed merger of the National Basketball Association (NBA) with the American Basketball Association (ABA) was a culmination of labor strife in the pro basketball that had escalated since the early 1960s. Assuming leadership of the National Basketball Players Association (NBPA) in 1965, Robertson spearheaded and continued many confrontational maneuvers by players seeking improvement in a labor system they saw as exploitative. In 1970 the NBPA filed suit against the NBA to prevent its merger with the rival ABA where Senator Ervin chaired the hearing discussing the issue.

In another context, Ervin easily could have labelled Robertson “an outside agitator.” That he nonetheless became a staunch ally of the largely African American NBPA initially defies belief. The North Carolina senator rose to national prominence in the mid-1950s opposing court-ordered desegregation and continued opposing civil rights legislation throughout the 1960s. Despite his position on civil rights, Ervin nonetheless fiercely sided with the black basketball players as they fought for what they perceived as an extension of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. However, Ervin’s opposition to the NBA-ABA merger, and thus support of the NBPA and their ABA counterpart, the American Basketball Players Association (ABPA), germinated from a different ideological wellspring.

My paper seeks to understand the two men, their worldviews, and the state of professional basketball in the larger arc of American history by primarily examining the 1971 Senate hearing on the proposed NBA-ABA merger as well as autobiographies and oral histories of Robertson, Ervin, and contemporaries discussing civil rights, civil liberty, professional basketball, and race. Teasing out the historical and ideological forces that made the Big O and Senator Sam strange and temporary allies provides another piece of important literature in our continuing historical and contemporary attempt to understand the intersection of sports, labor, race, and politics.

Mark E. Havitz, University of Waterloo

### 'Fritz finally got me!' Sparty goes to war

Longstanding relationships between United States Armed Forces and many American colleges dates to the Civil War era Morrill Act of 1862 which established land-grant colleges and mandated teaching of military tactics at those institutions. This paper traces impacts of that and subsequent arrangements including mandatory ROTC programs on student athletes' lives at Michigan State College through the much of the 20th Century, with primary focus on a three decade span dating from 1915 through 1945. A central thesis is that the two World Wars disproportionately affected Michigan State vis-à-vis comparable institutions. Affected realms include overall institutional enrolment numbers (especially male), varsity sport programs (specifically season cancelations of its entire varsity program in 1943-44) and, in the case of cross country, cancelation of the 1943 NCAA championship competition. Michigan State cancelled cross country seasons during both WWI and WWII, and athletes from that sport will be featured. Using primary source material (personal correspondence) from University Archives and Historical Collections, interview transcripts from individual athletes and university publications including the student paper, yearbook, and alumni magazine personal stories are interwoven with aggregate statistics and critically examined contextually with, among others, issues related class, race and gender. Data collected to this point suggest that 30 cross country roster members served in WWI, over 175 in WWII, at least a dozen in Korea, and over a half dozen in Vietnam. At least 15, spanning those first three conflicts, made the supreme sacrifice. Harry Martin received the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism at Iwo Jima, one of just four Michigan residents so honored for the duration of WWII. In addition to Martin, stories of a dozen athletes will be profiled in detail, where possible, drawing linkages and parallels between their sport and military service which ranged from grudging enlistment to special forces' service; and draft avoidance to anti-war activism. One athlete, Walter Mack, achieved All-American status in 1941 before enlisting in the Marines and suffering a gruesome foot wound at Guadalcanal. Mack nevertheless persevered, earning All-American honors upon his return to college and to varsity competition in 1945. Among those who survived, intense combinations of intercollegiate athletic competition and military service often were harbingers of successful adult careers.

Jonathon Headford, Texas Tech University

### Enduring Faith: Football Fandom in Regina, Saskatchewan

The Saskatchewan Roughriders are the most popular professional football franchise and are in the top three sports brands in all of Canada. Current popularity and team standing illustrate an unquestionable admiration that is traced to the team's origins. The team operates as a microcosm of both the city of Regina and the broader province of Saskatchewan. The stubborn determination of the team, despite one of the worst playoff records in league history, and an abundance of scenarios when the team

may have folded due to financial shortfalls illuminate that the connection between the team and this fan group has secured permanence in Regina. The love affair between the Roughriders and their fans is unique in all of sports and continues unabated. This fan group holds an incredible tenacity to come to the aid of their team. Time and time again fans have embraced telethons, lotteries, pancake breakfasts, 200-dollar-a-plate dinners, giveaways, and meet the player nights.

This paper will illustrate the connection between an emerging city in a prairie province and the value of rugby football. By drawing on archival sources, local newspapers of record, and oral interviews, this story shows that the narrative of the team—the struggles and heart-breaking seasons—parallel the struggles and devastation that the city faced during its early years. Rugby spectators laid the foundation for support that would endure hardship, as prairie folk of Saskatchewan have since their earliest years. The intersection of sport with public identity served Regina during its younger years, empowered the local population to take pride in the fledgling city, and rebuke criticisms from more modernized Eastern cities that saw the prairie provinces as backwards. Therefore, the gridiron allowed Reginians to renegotiate their status with the East and navigate the construction of identity. Meaningful relationships have been forged through a close connection with the Saskatchewan Roughriders.

The historical roots of this fandom are paramount in understanding the uniqueness of the relationship between the team and its supporters. This fandom must be viewed as a distinct cultural phenomena, warranting critical and cautious examination. This paper will underscore the importance of community ownership to a prairie province. Regina is often considered fly over country, yet as the city and province grappled with modernization, the gridiron game contested the superiority of the East and Eastern powerhouses. This paper will also illustrate how the Roughriders have continued to operate in one of the smallest markets in North America, with one of the strongest fandoms supporting them.

[Conor Heffernan, University College Dublin](#)

### [Fitness and Fun that's Not Just for Mum: Ireland, Religion and the Women's League of Health and Beauty](#)

Founded by Mary Bagot Stack, an Irish born woman in London in 1930, the Women's League of Health and Beauty quickly became one of the largest popular organizations of the 1930s. Boasting bases across the British Commonwealth, the League's uniform, emblem and messages of change became synonymous with a 'new woman' ideal. Aimed at women across the life cycle, the organization became a means of empowering women to take charge of their own health, life and most importantly, their public identity.

Through an examination of the previously unstudied Irish branches, both North and South of the Irish border, the following presentation assesses the impact of the Women's League in a highly conservative Irish public sphere. Contrasting the experiences of the Women's League in Northern and Southern Ireland, the argument is put forward that the Southern branch's interaction with the League was greatly affected by Ireland's pervading religious ethos, which stymied female systems of physical

exercise. Though focused primarily on the interference of Catholic bishops with the Women's League, the presentation nevertheless highlights the means in which the League, often subtly, challenged interferences from Catholic figures.

In doing so the presentation draws heavily from post-modern and feminist critiques. In particular Judith Butler's ideas of performativity and Michel Foucault's technologies of the self are used to argue that Irish members within the Women's League of Health and Beauty simultaneously challenged and recreated religiously underpinned gender identities through physical practices. This is done using oral histories, ephemeral material collected from surviving members, newspaper discourses and memoirs alongside the author's own experience with the League. The talk thus highlights the importance of the fleshy, lived body within historical research and examines how systems of exercises became contested sites for religious orders within Ireland during the 1930s.

Michael Heine, Western University

### Then we'll have to call it 'traditional-traditional': Coaching rationality and indigenous games in Canadian Arctic and sub-Arctic indigenous cultures

A recent re-structuring of the Canadian National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP), the coaching development system administered by the Coaching Association of Canada, sought, in the early 2000s, an extension of the NCCP to the traditional games of the Inuit and Dene, the indigenous cultures of sub-arctic and arctic Canada. The NCCP development mechanism for this purpose at the time were structured workshops using a formally developed and software-based 'Participant Development Model' (PDM) designed as a needs and competency assessment for mainstream sports organizations.

Since Canadian indigenous games cultures could not reference the pre-existing coaching or instructional expertise defined through sports coaching, the development workshops were attended not by coaches, but by indigenous elders, games leaders, community recreation coordinators, and indigenous youth from across Dene and Inuit communities. The perspectives they brought to the workshops were thus not significantly pre-shaped by the habituated understandings of sports coaching rationality, but by various cultural perspectives on indigenous games and their cultural significance. In consequence, the discussions conducted at the workshops articulated significant tensions between cultural expectations concerning meaningful indigenous physical activity and games practices, and the rationality of sports coaching. In this paper, I will examine these tensions and their forms of articulation within the context of the structured 'Participant Development Model' workshops.

The author functioned as developer and facilitator of four Dene Games / Arctic Sports (Inuit Games) PDM workshops held in communities in Yukon and the Northwest Territories, in 2004 and 2005. Document sources used for this presentation consist of transcripts from workshop audio recordings, the author's field notes, and the formal documentation (questionnaires, etc.) produced as part of the PDM workshops.

The relevance of the paper consists of its consideration of the tensions produced at the interface of indigenous physical activity practices and organized sports coaching rationality.

Chris Henderson, University of Iowa

### Performance of Place and Fan Activism in Liverpool

With the founding of the Premier League in 1994, an infusion of corporate capital transformed men's professional soccer in England. Amongst the most visible changes were stricter policies regulating fan behavior in stadiums, raised ticket prices, and an increasingly spectacular matchday experience. Twenty-four years on, fans continue to resist these changes and voice opposition to club and league policies that trouble them. In the city of Liverpool, in particular, a constant and vocal strain of fan-led activism has developed through its footballing culture that both challenges the management of the city's clubs and provides an organizing structure for social and political projects.

This study utilizes participant observation in football-related places, fan interviews and performance-based autoethnography in order to contextualize the nexus between place and the performance of fandom in Liverpool. I argue that Liverpool's geographic location in the deindustrializing northwest of England, its political location as a bastion of trade unionism and anti-Thatcherism, and its footballing location as home to two of the most successful clubs in the country, Liverpool FC and Everton FC, combine to form a foundation for fan activism. Further, the legacy of the Hillsborough disaster that killed 96 Liverpool FC fans, the subsequent lack of prosecution of police culpability, and the way in which the disaster was leveraged to further exclude working class fans from football provides a distinct environment for how fans view themselves, their relationship to their teams and the expected responsibilities of clubs to their communities.

My research focuses on three distinct, but interrelated, acts of fan activism: stadium performance, the formation of new fan-owned clubs, and cross club coalitions that have taken on national campaigns. Independent fan organizations for Liverpool FC (Spirit of Shankly) and Everton FC (The Blue Union) have worked separately to organize visible protests and legislative campaigns to prevent the teams from relocating from their local grounds, challenge ticket price hikes, and improve stadium conditions. Importantly, however, unlike previous fan organizations, they have worked together on capping national ticket prices, forming a food bank, and supporting the ongoing campaign for justice for the victims of Hillsborough. The city also supports two relatively new fan-owned clubs, AFC Liverpool and City of Liverpool, founded in 2008 and 2015 respectively. These volunteer-run teams provide a place for football fans to watch the game now that tickets to Liverpool and Everton are no longer affordable for working class fans. The two small-scale clubs, then, represent a full-scale rejection of possibilities of Premier League football as an activist organizing structure in favor of the formation of a new community centered on the values of affordability and volunteerism.

Taken together, the four groups of fans offer insight into the complexity of the grassroots fan movement in Liverpool and how football fandom is leveraged to negotiate and contest the responsibilities of clubs to communities and fans to clubs.

Kathryn Henne, University of Waterloo

### Diagnosing Hybrids: A Feminist Technoscience Reading of Sex/gender and Anti-doping Regulation in Sport

Historical scholarship on the regulation of performance enhancement in sport offers important insight into the actors, contextual conditions, scientific techniques, and rules that laid the foundation for what has become a transnational and legalized domain of governance. Despite strong connections between the development of gender verification and drug testing, including the IOC's implementation of rules for both in 1968, the interrogation of their at times conjoined history remains limited. This paper revisits and examines points of their convergence and separation in the 1960s as a way of unpacking these relationships. Acknowledging the growing number of analyses that are attentive to entanglements of gender, physical culture, science, and technology, it embraces a Science and Technology Studies (STS) lens to illustrate how feminist technoscience might offer a distinct mode of interrogating historical events and legacies in sport. Specifically, it looks at how the formal codification of anti-doping and gender verification rules points to a moment of what many STS scholars refer to as "hybridization", which is the modern practice of distinguishing attributes to either nature or society. In fact, some IOC administrators, writing in 1968, even referred to athletes targeted by sex testing as "hybrid" persons. This paper traces how the rendering of intersex or transgender athletes as male- female hybrids and the framing of anti-doping regulation as concerned with artificial (and thus unfair) enhancement of natural human bodies emerged as distinct, albeit complementary, manifestations of hybridization. Both cases reveal how regulation and science became enrolled to assert and police presumed boundaries between the Two Great Divides identified by STS scholar Bruno Latour—that is, between science/culture and nature and between the so-called premodern and modern eras—as well what is arguably a Third Great Divide, Man and Woman. In presenting an STS-informed mode of inquiry, the reading invites sport historians to ask how such frameworks might enhance or innovate scholarship that scrutinizes historical relationships between sport, science, technology, and society.

Jane E. Hunt, Bond University

### Empowering women around the world through triathlon?: Dottie Dorion, the International Triathlon Union Women's Commission and the pursuit of development through sport

Many feminist historians and sociologists have interrogated the belief that sporting activity has the potential to empower women. In particular, critics have challenged the application of this view in well- intended schemes targeting under

privileged women across the world, even schemes seeking to privilege the voices of those women, as a range of structural inequalities (including gender) continue to confront women in both developing and developed nations. This paper seeks to add to this conversation by examining the accounts of one individual who participated, with reservations, in one such scheme. As a member of the International Triathlon Union Women's Commission (ITUWC), Dottie Dorion, a wealthy American triathlete, sought to encourage women and children from developing nations to participate in triathlon in greater numbers. Her oral and written accounts of these endeavors reveal at least some awareness of their limitations. This paper proposes that despite signs of reflexivity and ambiguity, and mustering the courage to challenge the hierarchical assumptions apparent within specific instances of activism, Dorion continued to assert and reinforce the structural inequalities that underpinned sport and development agendas targeting under privileged women.

Thomas M. Hunt, The University of Texas at Austin

### Digital Gaming, eSports, and Military Affairs: An Historical Perspective

U.S. defense contractors and the American military have since the 1940s been interested in digital gaming. But it was not until the 1990s that the true battlefield potential of such technologies was realized. Early in the decade -- during Operation Desert Storm -- the United States employed a number of new information-age technologies in its command-and-control and targeting networks. These capabilities helped American and allied forces to quickly overwhelm an Iraqi army which was, at the time, one of the largest in the world. Observers of the conflict argued that the U.S. military's performance demonstrated no less than a revolution in the way war could be conducted. In more recent years, defense contractors have emulated gaming culture in their product designs to create interfaces familiar to today's gaming youth. Boeing Co. employed an Xbox control pad as the command mechanism for its High Energy Laser Mobile Demonstrator, a weapons system designed to shoot down mortar rounds and unmanned aerial vehicles. Similar control devices are used to operate robotic ground vehicles, unmanned air-frames and even U.S. Navy periscopes.

Moreover, such practices have been adopted by both state and non-state actors around the world. The Chinese People's Liberation Army released its game "Glorious Mission" in 2011. The product serves as both a propaganda tool and a training device, placing Chinese soldiers in large-scale battle scenarios involving the United States. In 2003, Hezbollah, the Lebanese political party with a militia arm, published a computer game called "Special Force." Following in their footsteps, the Global Islamic Media Front (affiliated with al Qaeda) modified a popular Western game called "Quest for Saddam," calling its version, "Quest for Bush." The game, which was offered free online, provided virtual terrorists with six levels of play that culminated in an attack on U.S. President George W. Bush. And rebels in Syria took a cue from U.S. defense contractors' integration of Xbox components, designing a homemade tank with a machine gun operated via a Sony PlayStation controller.

In light of the above history, this conference paper will argue that the connections between digital gaming, eSports, and military affairs deserve greater attention from scholars.

Alec S. Hurley, The University of Texas at Austin

### [Where There's A Wicket, There's A Way: British Imperialism in India \(1835-1880\) through Cricket and the East India Company](#)

Two questions guided the research for this paper. The first concerned the role of cricket within the British colonial enterprise in India under the rule of the East India Company. From here an historiographical question emerged, regarding how cricket – when read as a tool of empire – enable historians to reconcile traditional dichotomies within colonial and empire studies.

The primary source for this paper was *The Cricket Field; or The History and The Science of the Game of Cricket* by Reverend James Pycroft, originally published in 1851. As the work is concerned with the British colonial enterprise, it represents one of the earliest preserved manuscripts on not just cricket as a sport, but on the prevailing notions of “Englishness” contained within the game.

Additionally, two newspapers – *The National Observer* (UK) and *The Times of India* (Indian [English-Language]) – provided this conference paper with useful detail on the emergence of cricket and British colonialism in the early nineteenth century. Secondary sources in four areas of contextual importance moreover proved useful in this study. The first pertained to the intersection of the British military and the East India Company (Mjr. Singh, 1976). A second set of readings framed the understanding of cricket and the consciousness of India. Still others contextualized the globalizing nature of cricket, while another set demonstrated its connections to, for example, the Muscular Christianity Movement.

The central argument of the paper contends that cricket played a crucial role – as a deliberate and intentional tool of empire – in the emergence of hegemonic British colonial power on the Indian subcontinent. Under the rule of the East India Company, cricket fostered communal relations between colonizer and colonized. This allowed British colonial bureaucrats to navigate the tenuous line between strict imperial rule and hegemonic utility. In making these points, this paper addresses two gaps in the existing research on cricket in India. The first flows from the fact that it focuses on the role of cricket during the early period of British control as opposed to the post-colonial years that have received far more coverage. In addition, through its emphasis on understanding cricket as a commodity – which could be molded, and used to generate both cultural and economic exploitation and submission – the paper helps to show that sport served as a critical tool of empire.

Brian M. Ingrassia, West Texas A&M University

### [Bringing Texas League Back: Minor League Baseball and Downtown Development in Amarillo](#)

Between 1939 and 1982, Amarillo, Texas, hosted a minor-league baseball franchise called the Amarillo Gold Sox. Before it folded, the Texas League club was a farm team of the Yankees, Astros, and Padres, among others. Between 1994 and 2016, several independent league teams struggled to survive in this mid-sized Texas Panhandle city located on old Route 66. Maintaining a team in Amarillo was challenging partly because of the venue: Potter County Memorial Stadium, a decrepit post-World War II ballpark located on the windswept Tri-State Fairgrounds on the industrialized east edge of town. By the early 2010s, Amarillo considered doing what so many other American cities had done in previous decades: build a new, downtown stadium in hopes of attracting an affiliated minor-league team and thus boosting economic revitalization. Predictably, acrimonious debate ensued: some groups touted the development potential of the proposed “Multi-Purpose Event Venue” (MPEV), while others assailed the project as a waste of taxpayer dollars. Voters narrowly approved the MPEV—including a \$45 million downtown stadium—in 2016; the following year (2017) the Double-A San Antonio Missions of the Texas League announced that the franchise would move to Amarillo in 2019. This paper will explore debates over the MPEV in light of the city’s baseball history, showing how Amarillo’s attempt to reclaim Texas League membership reflects larger concerns about sports venues and urban development in the era of “retro”-style downtown ballparks. Primary source information will be drawn from the Amarillo Globe News and other news outlets. Secondary literature engaged will include Toby Smith’s *Bush League Boys* (2014), Paul Carlson’s *Amarillo* (2006), and Benjamin Lisle’s *Modern Coliseum* (2017).

Gary James, De Montfort University

### [Oral History and Women: Gathering Oral Testimony from the Players and Committee Members of Manchester City Ladies/Women 1988 to 2018](#)

In 2014 Manchester City Women’s Football Club was re-launched at a star-studded event at Manchester City’s Etihad Stadium. The club had been granted membership of the FA Women’s Super League, the highest domestic league available, and the general perception was that this was a new club established by Manchester City as part of the parent club’s development plans. However, the club had been in existence since the 1980s and had, initially, been perceived as a forward-looking enterprise helping the women’s game develop in England. In the 30 years since its initial formation by Manchester City the club, then known as Manchester City Ladies, went through many trials and tribulations and survived thanks to a significant number of people, predominantly women. However, its story became lost, as did that of those who helped establish and develop the club.

The relaunch in 2014 led to much criticism with many people suggesting that a prominent male football club had simply bought its way into the elite of female sport without any care for history, tradition or the activities of prominent women in developing the sport. This criticism paid little attention to the exploits of those women who had maintained and developed the City team through the 1980s to 2014, nor did it record

the successes and failures of the team. As a result of this inaccurate reporting an oral history project was instigated by Gary James to capture the stories, memories and thoughts of those involved with the club throughout its thirty-year history. This project has been giving voice to those involved, helping to develop a historical narrative of the club and those involved.

This analysis of Manchester City's female players began in 2017 and has included interviews with participants covering every season of the club's existence. Its aim was to record and recognize how the club had been formed, its influence and how it had survived through the decades. This study adds context to the growth of female involvement with sport and adds visibility to a group of women whose stories have been ignored and overlooked. This project identifies how women became involved with association football; how the Manchester City Women's team developed; how they began playing; the sport's impact on their lives and the circumstances that both enabled and prevented their participation. It adds to debates about gender, interpreting the history of women in the context of broader cultural studies, including consideration of social change, communities, engagement, power, economics and gender. Using findings produced during this research, the author provides examples and evidence of the significance and challenges of gathering oral testimony.

**Questions Addressed/Significance:** This paper will provide examples of the significance of oral testimony and the gathering of the histories of women in sport. It challenges the modern-day interpretations of sports clubs by taking a recent event, the re-launch of a women's soccer club, and questioning why the thirty-year history of that club and the women involved has been forgotten and ignored.

**Evidence Used:** Research for this paper has focused on oral testimony, gathered by the author via interviews with players, officials, coaches and spectators, and on detailed, archival research of material such as newspapers, diaries, match programmes and similar.

Scott R. Jedlicka, Washington State University

### Contested Governance: UNESCO's Role in International Sport, 1952-1978

In the late Paris autumn of 1978, at the twentieth session of its General Conference, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) committed to pursue two objectives that significantly expanded the organization's position and influence in international sport governance. The first was the adoption of the International Charter of Physical Education and Sport which, among other things, declared "the practice of physical education and sport" to be "a fundamental right for all". The second was the creation of the Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education and Sport (CIGEPS), a body charged with assisting member states in the development of domestic sport and physical education policies. These steps marked the culmination of a process, spanning more than two decades, through which UNESCO grappled with the questions of sport's proper place in a just and peaceful global society, and the appropriate role of governments in administering

sport across national boundaries. Moreover, these steps, which carved out a distinctly more engaged role for UNESCO and its member states in governing sport on an international scale, challenged the governance authority of international sport federations and the International Olympic Committee (IOC). This challenge came at a time when the Olympic movement was still struggling to rebuild and protect its image after the tragedy at the 1972 Summer Olympics in Munich, while simultaneously managing the intrusion of Cold War political ideology into Olympic sport and the looming specter of performance-enhancing drug use among athletes. Under the leadership of Avery Brundage, whose reign as president ended in 1972, the notion of governmental (or more generally, “political”) interference in the Olympic movement had become anathema within the IOC. Yet, the consistent inability of the IOC to prevent such interference, combined with UNESCO’s growing interest in shaping the nature of international sport at the end of the 1970s, suggests that private, nongovernmental organizations’ claims to authority in international sport were not universally accepted.

Drawing primarily on UNESCO and IOC archival materials, this paper traces the history and evolution of UNESCO’s relationship to international sport governance during the first thirty years of the organization’s existence. Focusing on the two outcomes described above, this paper argues that the politics of contested governance in international sport during the mid-twentieth century were grounded in competing interpretations of sport’s capacity to improve society and to contribute to global peace. While the longevity of major sport governing bodies supports a dominant historical narrative of stable, autonomous, private governance in international sport, especially in the postwar era, this paper reconsiders this narrative by exploring the role of non-sport organizations in international sport governance.

Axel G. Elías Jiménez, King’s College London

### Everyday Forms of Resistance in Sport: The Role of Mexican Women During the 1968 Olympic Games.

The 1968 Summer Olympic Games were held in Mexico City and were branded as unique because they were the ‘first’ in many respects. Two of the main features that have been repeated are that the XIX Olympiad was the first organised by a developing country and the first to be organised by Spanish speakers. The Mexican government, through the organising committee, tried to capitalise from these features to show uniqueness and so did the IOC in their attempt to expand Olympism to ‘small-scale nations’, following Avery Brundage’s words. Most of the scholarship has focused on the how the state tried to brand and benefit from these ‘firsts,’ such as choosing a woman to light the cauldron, but little attention has been placed on how this was perceived by athletes and the citizenry. Most importantly, the voices of women are missing from this narrative. This paper analyses documents from the IOC archive and from the Mexican government, as well as semi-structured interviews to athletes and women in Mexico City, to ask, how did women perceive, act and negotiate the meaning of the XIX Olympiad? By looking at everyday forms of resistance and historicising the creation of ‘emotional communities’ around the Olympic Games, this paper aims to contribute to

the existing scholarship by addressing the different ways that women shaped the Olympic experience, as well as the broader political panorama in Mexico and the world.

Tanya Jones, University of Texas at Austin

### Understanding the Role of the IOC in the Eradication of Apartheid

In 1948, the National Party of South Africa introduced the legal racial segregation known as apartheid to the country. Apartheid separated all areas of life within South Africa, causing major rifts among its countrymen. The South African government practiced this policy until 1994 when Nelson Mandela became the country's first black president. Though apartheid was a legal government policy for 46 years, it did not function without opposition. Almost immediately after this policy was introduced, campaigns began against apartheid. Sanctions against the country formulated through international trade, financial support, and sport organizations caused the country to re-evaluate its stance on legal racial segregation. The International Olympic Committee was among the first organizations to place a ban on South Africa due to its apartheid policy. After the IOC officially banned South Africa from participation in the Games in 1968, the South African Olympic Committee and government attempted to integrate sports to satisfy the international community. The IOC's decision to ban South Africa from the Olympic movement added pressure which led to the end of apartheid. As the 70th anniversary of the introduction of apartheid approaches, the conversation, the sanctions placed on the country, and the effects of those sanctions are still relevant. The question is, what role does sport play in politics. Inspecting the IOC's role in the eradication of apartheid will help scholars understand the role sport and sporting organizations play in politics. With current tensions due to the sociopolitical state the US is in, understanding how sport organizations handled race issues in South Africa and South African sport may indicate a direction the US is headed.

Kohei Kawashima, Musashi University

### Football Came to Japan: Complexity and Multiplicity in an Asian Country's Acceptance of America's No.1 College Sport, 1901-1941

Allen Guttmann and others have closely examined in a global perspective the process by which modern sports spread into many nation states, but sufficient attention has not been paid to the fact that, in each nation state, there existed multiple and different pathways of spread. (American) Football in Japan is be a case in point. This sport began to spread much later than other major ones such as baseball, basketball, and soccer, and because of the nation's increasing anti-American sentiment caused by aggravating US-Japan relations in the first half of the 20th century, and of the expectation of concerned pro-American leaders through "sports diplomacy" for the betterment of Japan-US relations, the spread of football took a complicated form with multiple channels. Particularly during the 1930s, the concerned leaders worked hard in

introducing the game because they strengthened their recognition that football had grown as America's number one college sport.

The Japanese efforts to spread football into the nation can be categorized into the following three cases. The first was the attempt since 1901 by the Tokyo Higher Normal School, which was the public institution of higher education that administered the nation's education governed by the Ministry of Education. The Tokyo Higher Normal School, in its search for the most appropriate modern sport to train the mind and body of the nation, examined football as one option, but in the end, it gave it up in favor of soccer and rugby. The second was the collaborated effort in the Eastern, or "Kanto" area centering around the Tokyo Metropolis among pro-American political and diplomatic leaders, as well as the media through "sports diplomacy" to involve Japanese American students as football players at some prominent private universities, including Rikkyo University, Waseda University, and Meiji University. The third was the private initiatives of football aficionados in the Western, or "Kansai" area at Kansai University, Doshisha University, and Kwansei Gakuin University.

Japan's pre-WWII experiences with football suggest that the spread of a modern sport took a complex form with multiple distinctive channels of propagation. This points to the need to apply a unit smaller than a nation state for this investigation. The earliest resumption of football in post-WWII Japan from the Western area, and the continued dominance of university teams from the area also suggest the importance and influence of the initiative and commitment of those who knew and played the game.

[Richard Kimball, Brigham Young University](#)

### ['Just Like a Big School': Clinton Larson at the Inter-Allied Games, 1919](#)

In the days following the Armistice at the close of World War I, American athletic progressives had high hopes for the democratization of the world through the spread of American games and sports. Perhaps the most visible undertaking of the postwar propaganda effort was the Inter-Allied Games of 1919, sponsored by the victorious American army, and organized by the Christian soldiers of the YMCA. The games hosted more than 1500 athletes from eighteen Allied nations and territories. Most of the athletic activities occurred near Pershing Stadium, a 40,000-seat stadium constructed for the games which became a farewell gift from the demobilizing Americans to the rebuilding French.

As we know, sporting competitions are about much more than what happens on the field, court, and stadium. In fact, over any extended period, very little time is spent actually competing and training— much like soldiers, whose days of boredom and quiet are only occasionally pierced by terrifying bursts of intense battle. What did athletes do to break their boredom? How did they occupy their minds while their bodies rested?

Clinton Larson, the eventual American gold medalist in the high jump at the Inter-Allied games, couldn't believe his luck when he was selected to try out for the team representing the American Expeditionary Force. A collegiate jumper at Brigham Young

University, Larson had established the world high jump record at the Penn Relays in 1917, clearing nearly six feet six inches. Enlisting in the Army Air Corps later that year, the athletic Larson spent the rest of the war as an athletic trainer in stateside camps. When the AEF issued the call for athletic servicemen to compete in Paris, Larson volunteered and worked his way through the preliminary rounds of competition.

Recently married and with a baby on the way, Larson knew that his competing days were dwindling and therefore relished the chance to jump in Paris. More importantly, though, Larson likewise appreciated his once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to see the aftermath of the Great War at first hand. Larson went to Paris to win the gold, but seeing the world and broadening his cultural horizons motivated him even more deeply. In dozens of letters to family members, Larson's first-hand account of his experience provides a textured, personal, and often moving description about life in postwar western Europe, especially Paris and surrounding districts.

Much like the trench diaries that provide so much information about military life in World War I, Clinton Larson's letters from the 1919 Inter-Allied Games allow contemporary historians to extend our understanding of staged athletic spectacles, especially from behind the scenes.

[George N. Kioussis, California State University, Northridge](#)

### [Fussball-Politik: Henry Kissinger and the American Bid for the 1986 FIFA World Cup](#)

On the morning of 7 April 1983, Henry A. Kissinger made his way to the Rayburn House Office Building in Washington, D.C. The former Secretary of State was scheduled to testify, at the request of congressman James Florio, before the House Subcommittee on Commerce, Transportation, and Tourism. If the nature of Kissinger's appearance was unclear, those accompanying him – footballing legends Pelé and Franz Beckenbauer – would have offered a clue. The trio was part of a larger delegation that sought to ratchet up support for the United States Soccer Federation's bid for the 1986 FIFA World Cup. Kissinger, for his part, provided written and verbal statements in which he lauded the quadrennial event's diplomatic, economic, and sporting potential. The House proved inclined to agree and, together with the Senate, passed a joint resolution of support.

Whilst Kissinger's appeals found a friendly ear in the nation's capital, his efforts met with considerable challenge on the international stage. Indeed, the American proposal was given little chance by members of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association, who selected Mexico to host. Their decision caused a temporary falling out between officials in the United States and Zurich, with the former contemplating legal recourse over what they deemed to be "irregular procedural treatment." The response from FIFA was terse. As General Secretary Sepp Blatter summed up, "There are rules to every competition and the main one is that when the winner is known, the match is over and all the competitors have to accept the result."

This paper examines the American bid and Kissinger's role within it. It unpacks how the former Secretary of State's task was complicated by a number of factors, including the late stage at which he became involved, the balance of power within FIFA, and the complex workings of international sport governance. It also seeks to understand why Kissinger accepted a role in the endeavor despite FIFA's urging that he steer clear. The project draws primarily upon materials from the Henry A. Kissinger Papers (Yale University Library) and the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, in addition to the FIFA Documentation Centre and the National Soccer Hall of Fame. It adds a new layer to the historiography on the U.S. government's involvement in international sport, which has typically centered around the modern Olympic movement. Though Kissinger was, by this point in time, retired from public office, this case study reinforces the notion that experience in diplomacy did not necessarily yield results within the opaque bureaucracy of international sport.

Jörg Krieger, German Sport University, Cologne

### 'Spending so Much Time Following the Pee-Pee': IAAF Presidents and Anti-Doping Politics

Researchers investigating the history of anti-doping have focused mainly on the policies of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and its IOC Medical Commission. This is not surprising as until the end of the 1990s, the IOC controlled the implementation of doping controls and sex tests. However, the roles of other international sport organizations such as influential sport federations have been little explored. Against this background, this study examines the significant but controversial role of the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) in the development of international anti-doping politics, focusing on the anti-doping policies of the four longest serving IAAF Presidents: Sigfrid Edström (Sweden, in office 1912-1946), David Burghley (Great Britain, in office 1946-1976), Primo Nebiolo (Italy, in office 1981-1999) and Lamine Diack (Senegal, in office 1999-2015). To accomplish this task, minutes of the IAAF Congresses and the IAAF Council meetings, personal correspondence of the IAAF Presidents and policy documents, alongside secondary literature are utilized. Much of the evidence used for this study has not been subject to prior detailed investigation. The central finding of the study is that each president's attitude towards medical/doping questions mirrors their sport political perspectives. Such insights contribute to a better comprehensibility of the IAAF's institutionalized strategies that developed as a reflection of the IAAF presidents' interests and values towards anti-doping. Four phases, linked to the individual presidencies, are emphasized. First, Edström was an important figure in defining doping in the IAAF and the IOC as his focus was on the protection of amateurism in athletics. Second, Burghley adopted a passive role in anti-doping questions leaving the ground for the emergence of medical and scientific experts to deal with doping. Third, Nebiolo in his attempt to accelerate the commercializing processes within the federation was deeply concerned with the negative publicity the federation received through doping cases. Fourth, Diack's

presidency was coined by the introduction of World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) but it appears that he also played an influential role in the latest corruption and doping scandal in the IAAF.

Robert J. Lake, Douglas College

### 'Imagine If He Had Been a Black Player': The Masking of Racism within the Identity Politics of Greg Rusedski in the 1990s/2000s

“Sport matters” in the construction of identity at the intersection of nationalism, race and politics. This presentation concerns Greg Rusedski, a former professional tennis player from the 1990s/2000s. Though born in Montreal and supported throughout his youth by Tennis Canada, at the age of 21, Rusedski decided – thanks to being a dual national because of his Yorkshire-born mother – to switch his allegiance to British. Press internationally labelled him a sporting “mercenary”, and though Rusedski repeatedly pleaded that he “felt” British “at heart”, many believed his switch was to “cash in” on the better financial opportunities available in Britain.

That the British press remained incredulous and harbored deep-seated suspicion of Rusedski’s true motives was revealed in early 2004, when it was revealed that Rusedski had tested positive for the anabolic steroid Nandrolone. Immediately, the right-of-centre British press launched a vitriolic attack that suggested Rusedski should, in effect, “go back to Canada”. This presentation aims to analyze this response in the context of rising English nationalism, and asserts that Rusedski’s whiteness effectively masked the racist and xenophobic undertones of this narrative.

Mark Lasota, University of New Mexico

### Clashes on the Court: A Historical Review of Violence in the NBA and the Impact on Today’s Game, 1977-2004

From the late 1970s to the early-2000s, the National Basketball Association (NBA) was characterized by toughness and physical play. Players were fouled with vigor and games were refereed differently. The rules against fighting and physical play were more lenient in each preceding decade, and the league has progressively become less tolerant of violent acts. Coakley and Donnelly (2009) define violence as “the use of excessive physical force, which causes or has the potential to cause harm or destruction.” (p. 196). The failure to monitor “violent acts” on the basketball court resulted in the swift restructuring and strict enforcing of several rules and policies by the NBA. According to David Stern, former commissioner of the NBA, “If I had it to do over again, we would be more aggressive in regulating, shall we say, that style of play, because it led to our game becoming much more physical.” Two particular historically violent incidences stand out as catalysts for swift change in the NBA: “The punch” and “The Malice in the Palace”. On December 9, 1977, during an in-game skirmish, Los Angeles Lakers’ forward Kermit Washington punched Houston Rockets’ guard Rudy Tomjanovich in the face, causing serious facial injuries. The punch fractured Tomjanovich’s skull, jaw and other facial bones, led to a \$3.2 million settlement with the Lakers, and resulted in Washington being suspended for a then-record 26 games

(Robbins, 2005). Nearly three decades later, on November 19, 2004, a fight between Indiana Pacers' forward Ron Artest (now known as Metta World Peace) and Detroit Pistons' forward Gerald Wallace resulted in a brawl that involved an altercation between players and fans (Leonard, 2006). A total of nine players were suspended a combined 146 games, including Ron Artest being suspended an entire season (ESPN, 2004). These two violent situations, and a number of incidents in-between, have led to a myriad of rule changes and more carefully supervised NBA today. The purpose of this study is to examine the incidences of violence in the NBA from 1977 to 2004, discuss the impact those occurrences had on today's rules, and identify additional factors that may have influenced the way professional basketball is played today.

Chelsey Leahy and Victoria Paraschak, University of Windsor

### [Sport Activism: Perspectives on Canadian Female Olympians Who Attended the 1968 Olympics](#)

The experiences of female athletes attending the 1968 Olympics and their activism around sport are currently undeveloped in the literature. In this paper, we focus on two elite Canadian Olympians and sport activists, Abby Hoffman and Marion Lay, who both competed in the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City. Their efforts as athletes, and then as activists, are outlined using a strengths and hope perspective, which documents their strengths as athletes and activists leading up to the first Women and Sport Conference in Canada held in 1974, organized by Lay and written up by Hoffman. Through interviews with Hoffman and Lay, we explored the strengths they drew upon to navigate through and challenge/shape the broader sport system as competitors; the human, financial and/or material resources that facilitated their strengths to make it to the 1968 Olympics and to act as activists in sport; as well as the ways their experiences at these Olympics did or did not shift the ways they looked at women's involvement in sport and the broader sport system. We complete this research by looking at the actions they took as athletes and activist following the 1968 Games, until their involvement in the first Women and Sport conference in Canada in 1974. We thus document the ways that Abby Hoffman and Marion Lay were shaped by the broader sport system, while also shaping that system on their pathway to becoming Olympians and activists. The perspectives of these athletes help to broaden current histories about the Mexico Olympics and athletes' efforts to improve the sport system in their countries beyond the current focus on select African American male athletes.

Rita Liberti, California State University, East Bay; Mary Mcdonald, Georgia Tech

### [Back on Track: Wyomia Tyus, Sporting Activism, and the Legacies of 1968](#)

After her Olympic gold medal winning performance (her third over two Olympiads) as a member of the 4x100 meter relay team in 1968, US sprinter Wyomia Tyus dedicated her victory to fellow track athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos. In that heated and emotionally charged moment, Tyus stood in defense of her teammates

and the larger project for human rights, this despite being largely ignored by the movement up until that point. Unfortunately, disregard for Tyus and her actions continued, with few taking notice of her political stance. Consequently, Tyus' activism, if remembered at all, has been relegated in the half-century since to a footnote in our collective memory of athletes' political action at the 1968 Games.

Part of our aim in this paper is to consider Tyus' actions in the broader context of African American female activism in both the civil and women's rights movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Moreover, we seek to examine the persistence through to the present of efforts to look past and dismiss Tyus and her actions of 50 years ago. Finally, and most importantly perhaps, this paper addresses the ways in which Tyus and others have worked in speaking back and against the silences that seek to marginalize her resistive efforts in challenging racial and gendered lines of power.

We draw upon a variety of sources to construct our analysis. Materials include, but are not necessarily limited to, newspaper accounts from the period, a recent interview with Wyomia Tyus conducted by one of the authors, Wyomia Tyus' newly published memoir, recent (recorded) public appearances by Tyus, and public records from Griffin, Georgia (Tyus' hometown).

Andrew D. Linden, Adrian College

### Beyond Desegregation: The Civil Rights Movement and Professional Football, 1955-1967

The peak of post-World War II social movements coincided with the emergence of professional football as the most popular spectator sport in the United States. This paper considers the intersections of the cultural peak of the Civil Rights movement with football by examining three autobiographies from players who were both stars in the league and activists off of the gridiron. The writings of Leonard "Lenny" Moore, Roosevelt "Rosey" Grier, and Jim Brown provide what sport scholar Jeffrey Hill refers to as "active texts" of late 1950s and 1960s NFL race relations.

The three players used their platforms for political stances in two areas. First, following the popular winds of protest and direct-action politics of the early Civil Rights Movement, they used their status as top-tier athletes to attempt to change society by refusing to participate in segregated and racist settings off of the field. Second, they connected with tenets of the Black Power movement by articulating the need for economic autonomy and freedom of expression. These players brought much needed attention to issues of racial discrimination in U.S. sport and society.

League officials' response, though, illuminated the continuing racialized terrain of professional football. League officials opened more space for black players, but in a limited and still very restricted way. NFL owners and coaches allowed black players into the league, but adopted a quota system. They segregated, or "stacked," players to certain positions. They refrained from hiring black coaches or administrators. And they either appropriated aspects of black culture, or changed the rules (i.e. celebration rules) to keep "blackness" out of the game.

This paper therefore demonstrates how after desegregation, the NFL remained what sociologist Douglas Hartmann refers to as a “contested racial terrain.” The NFL players who brought the Civil Rights Movement to the league in the late 1950s and 1960s made strides. They forced officials in the NFL to engage racial issues on a larger scale than simply allowing players on the field. However, the league remained a place of inequality in the United States.

Stacy L. Lorenz, University of Alberta, Augustana Campus

### ‘There Was Howe, With His Muscles Bulging’ The 1959 Gordie Howe-Lou Fontinato Fight and Postwar Masculinity

This paper explores cultural constructions of hockey and masculinity in postwar North America through a close study of one of the game’s most successful and prominent players in this period, Gordie Howe. By combining skill and scoring ability with toughness, physicality, and a willingness to fight when necessary, Howe epitomized many qualities of the ideal hockey player over the course of his lengthy professional career. Using Canadian and American newspapers and magazines as the primary research base, this paper analyzes media representations of Gordie Howe in the context of ideals of North American masculinity following the Second World War. In particular, this study focuses on media coverage of Howe’s highly publicized fight against New York Rangers enforcer Lou Fontinato at Madison Square Garden on February 1, 1959.

For example, a feature article in Life magazine after the fight spoke to Howe’s power and strength under the title, “Don’t mess around with Gordie: Lou Fontinato, hockey’s tough guy, discovers that the game’s best player, Gordie Howe, is a rough man in a fight.” In the pictures accompanying the Life article, on the left, “the winner,” Howe, is shown flexing shirtless in the Red Wings’ dressing room, with just a small cut below his left eye. On the right, “the loser,” Fontinato, can be seen donning a cumbersome face mask meant to protect his now fractured nose and dislocated jaw. The image of Howe captures perfectly his rugged build and stoic nature. In contrast, Fontinato is a man who has been defeated and humiliated; Lou is a victim of Howe’s manly superiority.

Historians have identified the period after the Second World War as a time when Canadian and American manhood was perceived to be in decline. Anxieties about masculinity were related to the increased presence of women in the work force, the prevalence of men in sedentary white-collar jobs in the civil service and corporate offices, and worries about men’s diminishing physical strength in an increasingly suburban society under the threat of war. This paper assesses how perceptions of Gordie Howe – especially his strength and physicality – related to these broader historical conceptions of masculinity in North American society and culture as a whole.

During Howe’s rookie season in 1946-47, Detroit newspapers described him as “The Bashful Basher.” This study argues that the combination of controlled violence and humble manliness suggested by this nickname perfectly captures Howe’s masculine legacy within the culture of hockey. These qualities were especially apparent in the 1959 Howe-Fontinato fight. By contributing to historical and sociological understandings

of gender identities in hockey, this paper provides a platform for the critical analysis of the deeply entrenched connections between violence and masculinity in the sport. It also adds to the growing body of literature investigating the history of masculinities in Canada and the United States.

Shelley Lucas, Boise State University; Laura Francis Chase, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

### Women's Mountain Bike and Tea Society (WOMBATS): A Feminist Approach to Mountain Biking

United States Cycling Hall of Fame inductee Jacquie Phelan has a notable list of accomplishments, including three-time national mountain bike champion and co-founder of the National Off Road Bicycle Association (NORBA). A fierce competitor who was undefeated in the United States between 1981 and 1986, Phelan has also had an impact on the sport of mountain biking outside of the competitive arena, and that is the focus of this paper. As one of the few women competing in the new sport of mountain biking in the early 1980s, Phelan tired of the male-dominated and macho culture of the sport. Phelan's reputation as a maverick in the sport was enhanced by her 'colorful' personal style, which included the development of her alter ego, Alice B. Toeclips (an homage to Alice B. Toklas, writer Gertrude Stein's life partner). She began recruiting novice women to the sport of mountain biking in 1984 by handing out invitations for "Sunday rides with tea following." This practice resulted in the formal creation of the Women's Mountain Bike and Tea Society, better known for its acronym WOMBATS, in 1986. Membership in the organization grew to a reported 1,200 members across 43 states and in four other countries by the mid-1990s. Weekly rides, skills clinics, and camp-outs drew in beginner female (and some male) mountain bikers. This paper will focus on the self-described feminist underpinnings of Phelan's approach to challenging the hypermasculine image and culture of mountain biking, which she believed were limiting women's opportunities to appreciate the joys of riding and also creating conflict with trail users and land managers – very real threats to the growth and development of this young sport. Phelan's efforts to introduce women to this sport through group rides, skills development, shared non-competitive experiences, and a welcoming social space are replicated today through similar female-centered mountain bike clubs and clinics throughout the United States. Examining WOMBATS documents, memorabilia, testimonials, press coverage, and interviews with Phelan will highlight the feminist foundations that Phelan and her fellow WOMBATS brought to their efforts to challenge gender norms in mountain biking and empower females through the sport.

Jan Luitzen, Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences

### A FABRICATION BY MR. MULIER. Rood en Wit and the Haarlemsche Football Club at the dawn of soccer in the Netherlands, 1879-1910

In *Kicksen en Wickets. Van cricket naar voetbal in Nederland 1845-1888* (August 2017), we show that Dutch soccer has its origins in cricket. During our research, we

came across the claim that Haarlemsche Football Club (H.F.C.) is the oldest soccer club in the Netherlands, founded on September 15, 1879. The label 'oldest soccer club' was (and still is) correct, but the date is not. Its own website states that H.F.C. started as a soccer club, but its origins go back to the cricket club Rood en Wit. In an official response to our article (August 2017), the president of H.F.C. said that the exact date could be proven based on notarized club information issued around 1908-1910.

This paper – based on a follow-up study of *Kicksen en Wickets* – intends to answer the question, “Is H.F.C.’s ‘notarized information’ about the date of its foundation correct?” Our specific angle are the close organizational ties between Rood en Wit and H.F.C., and the enormous influence their two decisive leaders then exerted: Kees Pleyte and Pim Mulier. This further research shows that 1. The claim about H.F.C.’s founding was made up by its founder Pim Mulier, 2. H.F.C. started as the soccer division of cricket club Rood en Wit in October 1886, and 3. H.F.C. was not an autonomously run soccer club until in the late fall of 1887.

Thus far, too little attention has been paid in academia to the cultural aspects of the introduction of soccer in the Netherlands. By studying the introduction and spread of cricket and soccer the Netherlands, we have gained better insight into the transnational processes that took place in the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, this research will point to the importance of H.F.C.’s claim about its foundation. Part of its identity is based on this status, and it will lose face if it admits that their commemorative books are incorrect. Of course, H.F.C. could ignore our research or simply deny the conclusions.

We conducted an in-depth, systematic review of the literature, using over 1.5 million digitally available newspapers, books, and periodicals found through [www.delpher.nl](http://www.delpher.nl) and in the digital library of Jan Luitzen, which includes 20,000+ sport reference books and sport magazines. The search involved numerous databases, in public archives and private libraries, and resulted in the identification of many sources including books, magazines, and newspapers. We used key terms such as Rood en Wit, Haarlemsche Football Club (plus variations such as H.F.C., Haarlemsche F.C., etc.), including Dutch and English terminology such as sport, football, soccer and cricket.

We also consulted the National Archives in The Hague about the organizational ties between Rood en Wit and H.F.C., as well as their respective club archives in Haarlem: the minutes of board meetings and general assemblies held between 1881 and 1910.

Malcolm Maclean, University of Gloucestershire

### Returned Too Soon? Lost Opportunities in the Global Rehabilitation of South African Sport

In April 2016 the South African sports ministry announced that four of the country’s leading sports governing bodies, covering rugby union, cricket, athletics and netball, would be unable for at least a year to bid to host major international tournaments because they had failed to create enough opportunities for black players.

This decision was a significant public admission of the failure of hopes for increased sporting opportunity and democracy that ran through the national debates in the early 1990s concerning South Africa's return to global sports participation. The sports boycott, expanding slowly from the mid-1950s but with most impetus during the 1970s, had a profound cultural impact in the apartheid state, and its lifting on the promise of the dismantling of apartheid was seen as an important early incentive for White South Africa to support government beginning in 1990 to 1992 to move to a post-apartheid order. Twenty-five years later it seemed that the government, at least, was admitting that the formal dissolution of the apartheid order had had little impact on the structure and provision of sports that were most important to the dominant groups in the apartheid years.

One of the effects of the apartheid era sports sanctions had been, in several sports such as cricket, well-developed sports development programmes in communities of the oppressed, programmes that implicitly and explicitly laid the foundations of those hopes for democracy and opportunity. Yet as historian Francois Cleophas has recently noted contemporary sports facilities and opportunities remain rooted in the colonial past. These colonial relations found their apotheosis in the apartheid regime, which following Cleophas' argument continues to underpin the structure and provision of South African sport. When his analysis is linked to the 2016 decision of the sports ministry, a decision since reversed, it can be seen that this impact is felt in both elite and mass participation sport.

The debates surrounding the return of South Africa to international sport were marked by deep differences between, on the one hand the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) and the National Sports Council (NSC) which supported the African National Congress line of state power first, cultural change later with sport as an incentive to support change, and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) which took the view that the desire to return to international competition was an opportunity to democratise sports governance and participation and make significant steps towards non-racial sport.

This paper will evaluate those arguments as presented to and recorded by the International Olympic Committee's Apartheid and Olympism Commission in the light of the ANC government's 2016 admission of inadequate change and the evidence of the continuing effects of the apartheid era on access to and the provision of and for sport. It will draw on the records of the Commission to argue that SACOS was right and that an opportunity for significant cultural change in sport was squandered.

Tara Magdalinski, Swinburne University of Technology

### [Making a Difference in the Real World: Intersections between Writing Greyhound Racing History, A Government Inquiry and the Media](#)

In February 2015, Australian current affairs television programme, Four Corners, broadcast a disturbing account of animal abuse in the greyhound racing industry. Visuals of neglected, starving and slaughtered animals shocked viewers and spurred state governments into action. In response to public outcry, Greyhound Racing New

South Wales (GRNSW), the peak oversight body for greyhound racing in Australia's most populous state launched its own inquiry that sought to 'clean up' racing.

GRNSW called for submissions from relevant parties and issued a research tender to review and advise on best practice in rearing, socialization, education and training methods for greyhounds in a racing context. The successful tender recipient, Working Dog Alliance (WDA), contracted me to provide an historical and cultural context for greyhound racing in Australia and to offer insight from a sports studies perspective on how dogs might be better treated. Whilst the research team themselves might have had specific opinions on the validity of greyhound racing, the project we undertook was specifically aimed at improving the industry, not dismantling or banning it. The international research team conducted the research and submitted the final report, which outlined a number of recommendations to improve the welfare of greyhounds.

Shortly thereafter, the NSW State Government announced its own Special Commission of Inquiry into the Greyhound Racing Industry, chaired by Michael McHugh AC QC, and the WDA report was submitted by GRNSW. The McHugh report utilized material from the WDA report, including a specific quote taken from previously published research. This quote was destined to receive significant media coverage and was used by racing fans, industry bodies and the media to try to invalidate the Inquiry and the NSW State Government's subsequent ban on greyhound racing.

In the context of an increasing emphasis on demonstrating the public or policy impact of academic research, this paper discusses the process of conducting sports historical research for a public enquiry, the control academics have over their research material once it is in the public domain, the miscommunication of academic research by the media and, most concerningly, the lack of public support from fellow academics.

Alan McDougall, University of Guelph

### [Letters to Bill: A Social History of Bill Shankly's 1974 Resignation as Manager of Liverpool FC](#)

In July 1974, Bill Shankly, the charismatic manager of Liverpool Football Club (LFC), shocked the football world by announcing his resignation. During fifteen years of leadership, Shankly revolutionised LFC, transforming the proverbial sleeping giant into one of Europe's most formidable sporting institutions. As the city of Liverpool grabbed the world's attention during the 1960s, Shankly was in the eye of a cultural storm, and at times his popularity seemed to eclipse even that of the Beatles. The crowd at LFC's Anfield stadium became almost as famous as Shankly's team, a sociological phenomenon captured by a BBC television documentary in 1964. The swaying mass on the Kop terrace sang show tunes, pop hits, and its own repertoire with a flair and intensity previously unknown in British football grounds. When Liverpool won the FA Cup for the first time a year later, 250,000 people welcomed the team home. In the words of a senior police officer, the reception in Liverpool's city centre made the Beatles' recent homecoming look like 'a vicarage tea party'. Shankly became a God-like figure in Liverpool, despite (or perhaps because) of his intimate ties to ordinary people.

He played football with local children, opened the club's training ground to the public, and would stop to talk to anyone about LFC. He was also endlessly quotable. Media-savvy and traditional, Shankly was a self-proclaimed socialist who dressed in sharp suits and red ties. He was firmly rooted in the working-class values of community and industry that underpinned the identities of both Liverpool and British football. Bill Shankly's unique relationship with LFC supporters, and indeed with the wider football world, was reflected in the outpouring of grief, well wishes, and reminiscences that followed his resignation. Using hitherto unseen material from the Shankly Family Archive, this paper examines the social history of the cache of cards, letters, songs, poems, and telegrams sent to Shankly in the summer of 1974. These communications transcended national, class, generational, and gender boundaries. They reveal the extraordinary and varied ways in which Shankly's leaving of Liverpool captured a moment in the post-war social history of Britain and its fallen empire. Using three key conceptual approaches – gender history, the history of emotions, and transnational history – 'Letters to Bill' creates new insights into the familiar, storied history of LFC. It provides a case study of the essential and multi-layered connections that bind together football and society.

Johanna Mellis, University of Florida

### [“Conducting Oral Histories of Athletes from Socialist Hungary: Reflections and the Promise of the Method\(ology\) for Sport History”](#)

Between 2013 and 2016, I conducted oral history interviews with over thirty elite athletes who competed for socialist Hungary during the Cold War as part of my dissertation research. I stumbled into doing interviews due to the limitations on the available archival sources related to the topic of sport under socialism. The oral histories are thus some of the main materials for my project. Admittedly, when I began the research I did not have extensive interviewing experience, and only had limited training in the related field of memory studies. I embarked on this portion of my research armed mainly with the imperative to listen to my narrators, and with the knowledge that my status as an outsider (a non-native speaker of Hungarian) could pose some limitations. In this paper, I will reflect on my oral history experiences from this research, with an eye to offering suggestions about how others might start their own projects.

The paper will begin with a brief explanation of the parameters of my project, such as the opportunities provided by the research grants I received, and the kind of narrators that I sought to interview. I will then discuss how I planned the project, from the implications of my “stumbling” into the method (incidentally, how many oral historians begin their work), to how I adapted my tactics to handle the obstacles I encountered along the way. The role of establishing contacts and connections will be analyzed, with specific attention paid to the impact of the foreign context. Relationships form one of the foundations not only for a successful interview, but for nurturing relations with the overall community that extend well beyond the oral history collection. The paper will turn to the interviewing process, examining the challenges I faced as an

outsider and female. I will also describe the meaning that I found in the process, and the enjoyment (and sometimes, relief) that several narrators expressed after the interview. I will moreover briefly explore the practice of analyzing oral histories as a source, and how they compare to other primary materials.

In the final section, I will reflect on my overall experiences as a way to highlight the benefits of conducting and using oral history. Many of us turned to sport history due to our personal experiences as athletes, physical educators, sports fans, and respect for nature and recreation. Oral history offers us an opportunity to develop a deeper connection with the field, and the actors we study, with which many of us are already passionately connected. The method(ology), I would argue, is particularly well-suited to scholars studying sport, and as such holds great promise for furthering the field of sport history.

Peter J. Miller, University of Winnipeg

### Reimagining the Renaissance: Antiquity and Physical Culture

In a May 1916 article for *Physical Culture* magazine, Alexander Marshall writes, “times there have been when the physical ideals of man have degenerated, but ours is the era of the Physical Renaissance” (pp. 14-20). In this article, Marshall latches onto a popular notion, also expressed, for example, by Pierre de Coubertin, that the 19th century had witnessed a resurgence in physical fitness, an “athletic renaissance” that started in England and had spread throughout Europe and the United States (*La Revue Athlétique* 12, December 1890, pp. 705-713).

What is striking about “renaissance,” however, is just how modern this use of the word was in the late nineteenth-century. While Jules Michelet had coined the word in *Histoire de France* (1855), for anglophone audiences, the concept of 14th century Italy as a new cultural period was popularized by Jacob Burckhardt (*English translation*, 1878) and John Addington Symonds (1875-1886). “Renaissance,” therefore is not a cliché, but a way to connect physical culture with an intellectually current understanding of the development of the modern world. By attaching physical culture to the Renaissance proper, physical culture adherents argued implicitly that physical fitness, health, and sport were integral to modernity.

This paper, therefore, analyzes the conceiving of the “rebirth” of physical culture in fin de siècle Europe and America by examining the use of Classics in the pages of one magazine, Bernarr Macfadden’s *Physical Culture*. Most suggestive for a nuanced connection with Antiquity is the magazine’s devotion to “historical articles” that traced a connection between physical culture and the past and the comparison between current readers of *Physical Culture* and putative ancient models. In the January 1902 issue, for example, Mr. A. Lovering of Harvard is featured (along with photographs) and the text regards him as “very nearly to the proportions of the ideal Greek figure” (p. 164). In November 1900, an anonymous physical culture enthusiast was featured positioned in a variety of poses, including that of the “Dying Gaul” (56). Underneath these photos the model, who is identified as “Castor-Pollux,” is regarded as “a remarkable example of the

results that can be acquired from physical training” (p. 56). J.P. Wood’s “Is There Such a Thing as Abnormal Physical Development?” most clearly connects ancient and modern bodies through physical culture. While the text concludes that the ideal is ancient Greek and implores the reader to “make yourself a Hercules” (p. 137), the images accompanying change from Neo-classical statues to actual physical culturists and readers of the magazine

This paper, developed from my archival work with *Physical Culture* and other early fitness magazines at the Stark Center (Austin, TX), critiques the portrayal of antiquity in the early volumes of *Physical Culture*. My paper closely reads “historical” articles and non-fiction and explicates the persuasive rhetoric of the Classicizing mode in *Physical Culture*, which traded on the apparent glory of the Classical past, in a magazine that emphasized its interest in humanity’s present and future.

Alexandra Mountain, University of Pittsburgh

### [Cold War Kids: The Influence of Cold War Politics Upon State Interventions into Canadian Junior and Youth Ice Hockey](#)

The enduring legacy of Cold War ice hockey in the United States and Canada has predominantly focused upon the heroic actions of great men in thrilling international games. Investigations into the cultural significance of the 1972 Summit Series and the 1980 Miracle on Ice have highlighted the intricate nature of the international relationships forged from these games, diplomatic and personal alike. This paper, however, will examine how Cold War ice hockey, and the emotions tied to national success during this time, influenced government interventions into the training and practice of young hockey players. Specifically, this paper will analyze steps taken by the Canadian government from the 1960s until the late 1970s to standardize and improve the development of young hockey players to remain competitive against the Soviet Union and other emerging European hockey powers. Furthermore, this paper will assess the impact of these top-down changes upon the young players themselves, and their own communities.

In 1961 Bill C-131 committed the federal government of Canada to encourage and promote amateur fitness and health across the country. A series of federal reports on the state of hockey were commissioned as a result of this Act. Originally these reports were undertaken as an attempt to understand the state of hockey in Canada, investigating the impact of grueling hockey regimes upon young players, and the standard of training and development throughout Canada. However, as hockey became an increasingly important focal point of Cold War relations, the reports focused more outwardly upon the role of Canada in international hockey. The reports also suggested changes that could be made to improve hockey at the grassroots and professional levels. This paper will outline the impact of these reports upon the daily training methods of Junior and Youth programs. In addition, using newspaper articles that bemoaned the fate of Canadian hockey, this paper will emphasize how the strong cultural fears associated with the emergence of Soviet and other strong European

hockey teams propelled the Canadian government into enacting a series of changes in developmental hockey programs. Finally, using interviews with former professional and amateur hockey players, this paper will demonstrate how federal intervention and the culture of Cold War hockey influenced the play and passion of young players.

Michelle Murphy, University of Alberta

### Bighorn Sheep and Chinook Winds: Contestations Surrounding the Development of Nakiska Ski Resort for the Calgary Winter Olympic Games, 1981-1988

Despite gusty winds, warm weather, and environmental issues, the 1988 Winter Olympic Games held in Calgary, Alberta, are often collectively remembered as a success. The downhill ski events were held at the Nakiska Ski Area on Mount Allan in Kananaskis Country, located on the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rockies. The mountain was developed not only for the Games, but also as an Olympic recreational legacy resort. As a wildlife habitat and watershed subject to warming Chinooks and high winds, the selection of Mount Allan was highly contested. The Government of Alberta framed the construction of Nakiska as ecologically benign to support the push for a major recreational development that promised an international event for the City of Calgary. This paper looks closely at the selection of Mount Allan to investigate the government's management of concern for the environment and to highlight the emergent role of conservation advocacy in site selection for Olympic Games. It argues that the Government of Alberta framed the ski resort development as ecologically benign while environmental groups knew and exposed a lack of environmental protection. Minimal environmental concern and insufficient public consultation combined with a lack of inter-governmental coordination resulted in a fast-tracked recreational development in response to the demands of Olympic boosters.

Archival research investigates the Olympic downhill ski site selection process and landscape transformation based on analysis of government documents and letters, as well as newspaper clippings and materials written by environmental groups. When the resort was proposed in the early 1980s, skiers opposed the development due to poor snow conditions and high winds. Environmental groups also voiced concerns for wildlife in the area as Mount Allan provided winter grazing for a variety of animals. Environmental groups joined with skiers to form Ski Action Alberta and argued that Mount Allan was unacceptable as an Olympic venue (Kariel and Kariel, 1988).

Although the men's downhill course would barely meet the minimum vertical rise requirement of 800 meters, the selection of a site on Mount Allan was supported by the provincial government, the XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee (OCO'88), the Calgary Olympic Development Association (CODA), and a private consultant hired to review potential sites. Environmental groups believed the public had not been properly consulted and environmental impact assessment procedures were not followed. They challenged the ecological legitimacy of ski resort development as it

encroached on important wildlife habitat and set a pattern common to other mountain sites (Stoddart, 2012).

This paper provides an overview of the Olympic site selection process for the 1988 Winter Olympics and queries the role played by advocacy groups. A retrospective analysis of ski hill development in Kananaskis Country public investment in sport and recreation facilities also raises cumulative impacts as change factors that affect the wellbeing of natural environments and their sustainability.

Observing the early contestations and later outcomes of the Nakiska resort offers a longer-range assessment to further inform current Olympic bids. It also underscores conservation as a shared objective of skiers and environmental organizations.

Ryan Murtha, The University of Texas at Austin

### War Minus the Shooting, Plus the Shooting: Tlatelolco and the 1968 Olympics

On October 7th, 1968, the general body of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) met in Mexico City for their 67th session. It was the last meeting before the beginning of the 1968 Olympic Games, and thus there was much to cover—so much so that the meeting took four days. Topics ranged from steroids to television revenue sharing. But despite the various subjects that were discussed in those sessions, what was perhaps most important is what went unsaid.

Five days prior, on October 2nd, hundreds of Mexican student protestors were brutally murdered by their government in La Plaza de Las Tres Culturas, a half hour away from the site where the opening ceremonies would take place. Yet this act of violence on the part of the host nation merited no response on the part of the IOC.

Though this was a pivotal event in Mexican history, analysis of it has always been stymied by the Mexican government's steadfast refusal to provide clear answers as to what occurred that night. Instead, they have spent decades attempting to obfuscate exactly who was responsible and who knew what. Thus with so many documents having never been released to the public, certain questions are still virtually unanswerable. So instead, this paper will grapple with the lack of responses to the events in Tlatelolco from stakeholders like the IOC, American government, and the United States Olympic Committee, attempting to make sense of why their collective attitudes toward the massacre would at best be described as callous.

This paper will draw on over a hundred recorded interviews with members of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team, historical newspaper archives, and documents from the State Department, CIA, embassy in Mexico, and Lyndon B. Johnson's White House. Secondary sources will include Kevin Witherspoon's *Before the Eyes of the World*, the one book that truly focuses on the events in Mexico in 1968, as well as books that take a more comprehensive view of Cold War sport like Toby Rider's *Cold War Games* and Heather Dichter's *Diplomatic Games*. This paper contributes to the field of sport history by offering analysis on an important event that has thus far not received consummate levels of attention from sport academics.

Daniel A. Nathan, Skidmore College

### Taking Small-Time College Sports Seriously (and without Sentimentality)

For well over a century, small-time college sports in the United States have not received much attention—from most sports fans, the national media, and scholars. This is understandable and it is unfortunate.

It is understandable because schools that host small-time sports have not invested in and commercialized their athletic programs (and students) to the same extent that National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I institutions have. And thus most of the students who have competed at NCAA Division III institutions and National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) member schools have not been elite athletes playing in impressive, well-attended stadiums or arenas. As a result, these dedicated athletes and their teams have rarely appeared in the pages of *Sports Illustrated* or on ESPN's SportsCenter. Additionally, with few exceptions, they have not generated revenue for their schools. Clearly, there is a hierarchy in intercollegiate athletics and small-time sports have been and remain at the bottom. (This is true even though there are more than 450 NCAA DIII schools and almost 200,000 students annually compete at them, which constitutes almost 40 percent of all NCAA athletes. The NAIA includes another 250 schools and 65,000 athletes.)

It is unfortunate because far from the bright lights of the multibillion-dollar business that is big-time college sports, which has long been a fetid moral cesspool, DIII and NAIA sports have offered a different, in many ways more reasonable model of intercollegiate athletics. They have represented a departure from some of the most objectionable aspects of the lucrative DI athletic-industrial complex, which critics scrutinized before the Carnegie Foundation's 1929 report on American college athletics.

Many historians—Brian M. Ingrassia, Michael Oriard, Ronald A. Smith, Murray Sperber, John Thelin, and John Sayle Watterson, among others—have documented and critiqued the development of intercollegiate athletics. Their painstaking, thoughtful work has been significant and salutary. But relatively few historians have focused on small-time college sports, which have been played at liberal arts colleges, women's colleges, historically black colleges and universities, junior and community colleges, etc. Collectively, they have a long, rich, complicated history, which deserves more critical attention, without sentimentality or nostalgia for the “good old days.”

This paper reflects on this historiographic lacuna and, more important, argues why sport historians should consider devoting more energy to studying small-time college sports. (I should add that some of the impetus for this paper comes from my increased frustration with big-time college sports, namely football and basketball, which are overexposed, exploitative, hypocritical, corrosive, and ethically dubious, and in some instances arguably immoral.)

Like their big-time counterparts, small-time college sports are charged with local meaning and often play a valuable role in maintaining community identity and intergenerational bonds of allegiance and tradition. Yet they are not the tail that wags

the dog. They are not win-at-all-costs, profit-driven endeavors. In short, small-time college sports provide us with an opportunity to rethink the value of an entrenched cultural institution and practice that has long (mistakenly) focused on fame and fortune.

Philani Nongogo, Tshwane University of Technology

### [The Struggles to Deracialize South African Sport: The Role of the United Nations in the Anti-Apartheid Sports Struggle, 1946-1994](#)

This paper examines the struggles to deracialize South African sport, with specific reference to the role of the United Nations in the anti-apartheid sports struggle. In the colonial era and under apartheid sport was racialised due to its intertwinement with the colour bar and later, the apartheid political system. This paper undertakes a historical overview of the struggles to deracialize South African sport, which culminated in the sport boycott of the 1970s. Britain, South Africa's strategic partner, became the main target of black people's diplomatic efforts after 1910. By the late 1950s, attention for support had shifted to the United Nations, its new African member states and the Olympic Movement. Inside South Africa, the Liberation Movement and the Non-Racial Sport Movement begun to emerge as a coherent force. South Africa's official participation in the Olympic Games between 1908 and 1960 "excluded" black sportspersons from its teams and struggles to challenge the status quo were initiated in the 1940s and were intensified in the 1950s. In 1946 the anti-apartheid struggle was formally introduced in the United Nation General Assembly by India, and by 1963, the anti-apartheid sports struggle was initiated. The study follows a qualitative, historical and descriptive research design and uses document reading and observation as research instruments, in an attempt to analyse the UN's Resolutions on apartheid in South Africa and specially the anti-apartheid sport struggle.

Christine O'Bonsawin, University of Victoria

### [The 2010 Vancouver Olympic Opening Ceremony, Indigenous Representations, and the Rhythms of Colonialism](#)

The cultural programme of the opening ceremony of the 2010 Vancouver Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, entitled *The Landscape of Dream*, endeavored to celebrate the diverse geography and people of Canada through a choreographed performance that was rooted in the history and traditions of Indigenous peoples. The cultural display comprised of six segments. 'Hymn to the North' was a tribute to Northern Canada, the 'Sacred Grove' highlighted the beauty of Pacific Northwest Coast, the 'Rhythms of the Fall' underscored the Anglo-Celtic roots of Canada, 'Who Has Seen the Wind' paid homage to the Canadian Prairies, 'Peaks of Endeavour' highlighted the grandeur of the Canadian Rockies and Western Canada, and 'We Are More' offered a commanding ode to Canadian patriotism. This paper is an examination of the third segment of the cultural performance 'Rhythms of the Fall,' as this segment served as a tribute, not to the eastern regions of Canada per se, but rather to the Anglo-Celtic roots Canada's European settler society.

The purpose of the paper is to position the 'Rhythms of the Fall' segment of the cultural performance of opening of these Olympic Games within popular Eurocentric narratives of Canadian history. As such, analysis of this section of the ceremony is positioned and contrasted with previous works (by the author), examining the preceding segments of the ceremony – 'Hymn to the North,' situated in Canada's North, and the second, 'Sacred Grove,' located in the Pacific Northwest - where Indigenous histories and cultures were prominent and central components of the performance, albeit not without tensions and complexities. Conversely, in the third segment of the cultural performance, Indigenous histories and cultures were rendered invisible as an Indigenous presence became unrecognizable to the vast majority of spectators. This segment serves a symbolic reminder of the transfer of European settler traditions and customs on to Indigenous lands, and where the enduring physical presence of Indigenous Nations and peoples became invisible to European settler society. As we are reminded of in this portion of the cultural performance, it is in the eastern regions of Canada where the march of European colonization fatefully began.

This paper is supported by 2010 Vancouver Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games archival materials, including opening ceremony resources, schedules, and programs. Further, research for this paper draws from additional archival materials, such as the lyrical works of the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) poet, Tekahionkwake (Pauline Johnson) and those related to the *Courrier de Bois*. Further, this paper positions and contrasts the 'Rhythms of the Fall' segment of the cultural performance within secondary sources, thereby reconsidering settler colonialism in Canada and ultimately re- inserting the Indigenous presence on these lands and territories.

Lauren Osmer, University of Texas at Austin

### Racialized Narratives of Cuban MLB Players in Mass Media: Three Case Studies

In the United States, the changing landscape of baseball participation has meant both rising international competition and an influx of international players to all levels of baseball in the country, from little league to Major League Baseball (MLB). Of course, questions and discussion about the socio-cultural roles, challenges, and lived experiences of international athletes are by no means confined to baseball, or to the sporting context more broadly. Migrants to the United States have, from their earliest arrival, had to wrestle with questions of citizenship, identity, and national belonging.

Racialized narratives have imbued different racial and ethnic groups with diverse historical meanings attached to their migration and acceptance (or lack thereof) into the United States; the many international Latino players in MLB, including Cubans who defected in order to play in the U.S, are no exception.

This paper examines the racialization narratives present in U.S. media coverage of three Cuban Major League Baseball players (Rene Arocha, Orlando Hernandez, and Yasiel Puig). It does so with the goal of evaluating whether the coverage aligned with or diverged from traditional U.S. racialized narratives of Cuban migrants. The paper seeks as well to examine the similarities and differences in the coverage of the three athletes (distributed among a 25 year timespan). This is accomplished through a content

analysis of various popular media sources (including Sports Illustrated, Baseball Weekly, Baseball America, Sport, ESPN the Magazine, and Sporting News). These periodicals represent a significant portion of the major national coverage of Major League Baseball and therefore serve as an insightful set of sources for understanding the media's treatment of sport in the United States.

Significant scholarly work has been done in the fields of history, sociology, anthropology, and elsewhere on the racialization of racial and ethnic groups in the U.S., however application of this research to sport (and baseball in particular) remains underdeveloped, though the field is growing. This paper therefore aspired to contribute to our understanding of sport history by examining the presence and permeability of racialized dialogues about international athletes, as well as performing a critical analysis of mass media coverage of transnational sport migrants.

Gary Osmond, The University of Queensland

### Playing the Third Quarter: Sport, Memory and Silences in Aboriginal Memoirs

The policies of the Australian state of Queensland toward Indigenous people during the 'protection' era from the late-19th to the mid-20th centuries were uniquely invidious relative to the other states, particularly in terms of forcibly relocating Aboriginal inhabitants onto controlled missions, settlements and reserves. In these places, sport was both a site of racial discrimination and a locus of community-building, identity-formation and survival. Understandings of sport in controlled Aboriginal communities in Queensland can be conceived as a game with four quarters. The first quarter, lasting seven decades and yielding many celebrated athletic accomplishments, occurred in partial obscurity, cloaked by the geographic isolation of the communities and Government secrecy. The second quarter was marked by the exposure of racist, oppressive and discriminatory practices in sport that had occurred throughout the first quarter, led by non-Indigenous historians from the 1960s onward. The third quarter began with the demise of the protection era from the 1970s and the lifting of the "bell jar of government policy", which allowed for the freer expression of Aboriginal voices on all aspects of the colonial past, including sport. This quarter was marked by an outpouring of autobiography, biography, memoirs and other recorded memories, which have been instrumental in broadcasting Aboriginal perspectives on pasts that had until then been viewed largely through official governmental, media and non-Indigenous academic interpretation. The fourth quarter, which has only begun recently, has seen the growing collaboration of non-Indigenous historians with Indigenous communities, individuals and historians guided by the emphasis on Indigenous research and decolonizing methodologies.

While the quarters were not strictly sequential, the metaphoric device is useful in emphasizing the growing articulation of Aboriginal perspectives, the recognition by historians of the importance of those voices, the varied sites where voices are expressed, and the new perspectives offered in addition to new stories. This paper

focuses on the third quarter, and examines various works of autobiography, biography, and memoir by Aboriginal Queenslanders as a corpus to be explored and analyzed for insights into sporting pasts. As a sports historian who is working in the fourth quarter, I am aware that little attention has been paid to the earlier articulation of Aboriginal voices on the past, and am interested in the possibilities of rereading these written memories. To what extent is sport discussed? What is said, and why? Equally importantly, what is left unsaid? I argue that silences can offer new insights into meanings of sport in Aboriginal communities that have the potential to destabilize deficit discourses around Aboriginal sporting pasts.

Tolga Ozyurtcu, The University of Texas at Austin

### The 'Look Ma, No Hands Olympics': The Birth and Rise of The X-Games

Since their debut in 1995, ESPN's X-Games (formerly, The Extreme Games) have arguably been the biggest driver of lifestyle sport into mainstream consciousness. The games began on a whim, a patchwork festival thrown together by small team with the cable network's often cavalier blessing of "let's see if this works." Featuring events from the somewhat familiar (skateboarding) to the truly obscure (street luge), the debut offering exceed all expectations, drawing hundreds of thousands live spectators to tiny Rhode Island, while captivating a global TV audience. In the decades since, the X-games have expanded to include an annual winter offering, as well as several international competitions (in addition to the ongoing US events).

While sometimes derided by "hardcore" participants of the featured sports for being too mainstream, the X-Games evolved into a massively influential sport and lifestyle property, yet have received minimal attention from an academic perspective. More generally, there is a growing literature on "action" and "extreme" sports in areas like sociology of sport and sport management, but there remains a need for a deeper historical investigation of the X-Games themselves.

This paper examines the origin and early years of the X-Games. Three perspectives will be considered in appraising the emergence and evolution of the games: that of ESPN, that of the broader sporting public, and that of members of the lifestyle sport subcultures. The network perspective will be sourced from original interviews with Deane Swanson (X-Games senior director of operations from 1995-2015) as well as key members of his team. The second perspective will provide context and will draw primarily on contemporary media accounts. The final perspective—which might rightfully be called the "anti" perspective—will come from the subcultural literatures of various lifestyle sports as well as commentary from participants in those sports. Together, these three perspectives will combine to provide both a history of this significant cultural product, as well as a commentary on the ongoing impact and legacy of the X-Games in both mainstream and underground sport cultures.

Catriona M. Parratt, University of Iowa

### [The Disappeared, the Dead, the Places They Haunt, and the Women They Inspire](#)

Hillsborough, Epsom, Croke Park, Ibrox, Munich, and of course, Mexico City – and many, many more places besides have been sites of glorious sporting contests and wonderful athletic achievements. They are also places that are known for and scarred by horrific suffering and loss of life, much of it in the name of the state or a political cause, or in support of the putative forces of law and order, social stability and the national progress for which sport is so often a stand-in. Taking as my starting point the explosion of state violence of October 2, 1968 in La Plaza de las Tres Culturas at Tlatelolco, Mexico City, in this paper I will approach several sporting sites as palimpsests on which sometimes jarringly contrary events, actions, and emotions are inscribed. My primary focus will be with the aftermath of the likes of October 2 and the longer-term agency of those who survived, especially the women inspired by the events to campaign for justice for their loved ones.

Jayesh R. Patel, Independent Scholar

### [Cricket Transitions: perceptions and prevalence of the sport in 19th century North America as compared with pre- and post-independence India](#)

During the latter half of the 19th century, in America, cricket was consistently portrayed as an English game and not part of the fabric of American culture. Baseball, on the other hand, which nevertheless was also of English origin, was promoted as “Our Game” or the more patriotic approach was, “Our National Game or Our National Pastime!” Not to be left behind, “Uncle Sam” and Session Submission the “Stars and Stripes” were also featured prominently in many an advertisement. As early as 1865, baseball was endorsed as the “National Ball Game of America.” Adding fuel to the fire, the newspapers frequently portrayed cricket as an elite game played by the rich and not a game for the masses, which is quite the contrary to all the written evidence found in the archives. The final nail in the coffin was the setting up of the “Mills Commission” by Albert Spalding, who sought to legitimise baseball as having American parentage once and for all! All this leads me to question, “Was the majority of the general public psychologically corralled towards baseball by playing the patriotic card?” Thus, cricket made a transition from being a sport played in many local and regional contexts, by players of many social origins, into being perceived as a foreign and elitist pursuit.

At the other end of the spectrum and across the globe in India a hundred years later, a similar sentiment was being echoed, during India’s struggle for independence. Cricket was introduced to India as a pastime by and for the subjugating elite, tied to their imperial background. The game captured the fancy of the locals starting with the Parsees during the 1870s and then other ethnic groups. It created partial acceptance with the occupiers and some leaders encouraged their followers to take up cricket as a way of “beating them at their own game.” Mahatma Gandhi detested cricket and especially the Bombay Pentangular tournament (held between the Europeans, Parsees,

Hindus, Muslims and “the Rest,” comprising Buddhists, Jews and Indian Christians) which in his view encouraged sectarianism. When India became free in 1947, anti-British nationalists called for the game to be removed along with its promoters, but failed. Cricket in India had attained a broader appeal. An Indian sociologist once remarked, “Cricket is an Indian game, accidentally discovered by the English.” This statement speaks volumes about the game’s deep social roots and hence its popularity in India. The transition in India, therefore, was from being an elitist and imperial pastime into recognition as a genuinely national sport – the opposite of what had taken place in the US.

This paper will seek to explain and analyse the cultural and socio-economic factors that influenced the shifting roles of cricket against the backdrop of the two cultures. In evaluating the contrasting influences between the two countries, the paper will draw primarily from research articles and books and also assess the issues that led to the growth and decline in America while in India cricket surged in popularity despite the anti-national tag.

[Lorenz Peiffer, University of Hannover](#)

### [Jewish-German football stars in the shadow of the swastika - a public exhibition in Israel](#)

In 2015 Israel and Germany were looking back at 50 years of diplomatic relations. In the setting of the German-Jewish history, the persecution and murder of millions of Jews during the Nazi regime, this anniversary was reason to focus on the contribution of the German-Jewish people to the political, social, and cultural development until the break of civilization. Until now the historic research mostly focused on the role of the German Jews in the cultural and spiritual areas and portrayed their role as bearer of German cultural and political life.

The development of Germany to one of the leading football nations in the world was largely influenced by the commitment of Jewish players, coaches, managers, officials and patrons. After the Nazis’ rise to power and the exclusion of the Jews from German football, this important aspect of German football, sports and cultural history was almost forgotten about. Only in recent years German football has started to rediscover and rename its Jewish roots.

The present findings of the research were summarized and documented in the exhibition “German-Jewish football stars in the shadow of the swastika”. The goal of the exhibition was to show the Israelian and international public that German Jews were a major contributor to German football, the “Germans’ favorite pastime”.

The particular feature of the exhibition was that it was not presented in a museum or any other facility, but in public space. Eleven life size figures - a football team - stood in public places in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa. It was a deliberate decision to show the exhibition were people spend their everyday life.

This contribution is to show the current results of the research as well as the concept of the exhibition.

Andrew Pettit, Western University

### Soft Success, Hard Failure: Sport-Diplomacy, Power and the U.S. Boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics

Shrouded in Cold War intrigue from the moment the Games were awarded to Moscow, the 1980 Olympic Summer Games are a ripe historical example of the relationship between sport and international politics. With the possible exception of 1936 Berlin, no other Games have been as effected by diplomatic disruption as they were when U.S. President Jimmy Carter called for a western boycott in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The diplomatic maneuvers of the Carter administration in the lead-up to the Games provides us a moment in history to analyze the effectiveness of sport within diplomatic context. Whereas much of the theoretical and historical study of sport-diplomacy focuses on how the use of sport can be, and has been, best applied in international diplomatic efforts by modern nation states, the U.S. led boycott in 1980 is a stark example of failure in the use of sport to effect desired political outcomes. The Games carried on with relative success, and the Soviets remained in Afghanistan for almost a decade. Moreover, the political support that President Carter did receive both popularly and in congress had little effect on his chances of securing his re-election bid in the fall of 1980.

This study situates itself within the discourse of power as it relates to sport and diplomacy. As distinguished by Joseph Nye, the concept of power can take hard and soft form. While most successful examples of sport-diplomacy sees sport utilized as part of a government's soft power strategy in various diplomatic contexts, the Carter administration's use of the Olympic Games in 1980 as a punitive tool towards the Soviets was a diplomatic tactic in service of a hard power strategy. The argument made here is that the failure of the boycott, or at least its inconsequential outcome, reflects less on the very existence of the relationship between sport and politics, and more on the nature of the relationship. How sport is used by governments is an important question that demands serious attention. In 1980, the Carter administration misjudged how the sporting community would react to the use of the Olympic Games within a hard power strategic context. As such, instead of being the leaders of a morally righteous cause, as the Carter administration believed itself to be, the U.S. became what Huizinga would define as the 'spoil-sport.'

Gertrud Pfister, University of Copenhagen

### Still Going Strong: Ageing Women and Adventure Sports

Sport and adventures seem to be a domain and a privilege of young men. However, historical research and explorations of numerous sources showed that that old age did not prevent large groups of women from addressing challenges, reaching high performances and conducting unbelievable deeds. Numerous aging athletes, explorers and adventurers were females and still age does not seem to be a limit for

their achievements. However, only few female dare devils and their achievements gained recognition and are remembered, mostly only by a few experts.

The aim of this presentation is to investigate the lives and accomplishments of aging women in adventure sports drawing on (auto)biographical sources and interpreting them on the backdrop of constructivist approaches to age and gender.

I will focus on aging women who were pioneers in three different sports in a time period when these activities had just been invented: two, the Duchess of Bedford and Marie Marvingt, were pilots in the 1920s, Dyana Nyad was and is still a long distance swimmer and Dora Keen gained fame as mountain climber and explorer of the Alaskan wilderness. She was 91, when she set out on a world tour which included Alaska.

The biographies and narratives of these women indicate the numerous ways of doing gender and doing age as well as the possibilities of transgressing age and gender stereotypes. Doing research about them is also a way to integrate them in the public memory.

[Robert Pruter, Independent Scholar](#)

### [Catherine Fellmeth: How Chicago Produced A Great Multi-Sports Women Athlete Who Never Stopped Competing](#)

Catherine Fellmeth was the greatest multi-sports athletes that Chicago ever produced. But her career went largely unheralded, and few know about her athletic endeavors today. During the decline of Chicago women's track and field after the 1936 Olympic Games, Fellmeth was the only bright spot during those years. From 1938 through 1941 she took the AAU National shot put title four consecutive years, and from 1938 through 1940 she won the national discus title three consecutive years. She competed in track and field in Chicago from 1926 through 1941, fifteen successful years as an elite tosser. During and after that time Fellmeth made her mark as an elite speed skater, top basketball player, a top softball pitcher, and a national champion bowler who eventually was named to the Women's International Bowling Congress Hall of Fame. Reportedly she showed superb ability as a bicycle racer and volleyball player. Fellmeth is probably one of the few female athletes in America who helped her teams win national championships in three different sports--in softball in 1934; in outdoor track and field in 1930, 1933 and 1936; and in bowling 1940 and 1942. Although her own strength and athleticism and drive played a role in her remarkable achievements, Fellmeth came out of a social environment --1920s Chicago--that valued and promoted women in athletics, through a huge parks and playgrounds system, many private and industrial clubs, the schools, and something often overlooked newspaper sponsorship and promotion of women athletic competition. This paper examines how Chicago's institutions produced Catherin Fellmeth and other female sports champions that made their mark nationally and in the world.

Resources used include many newspaper reports, Chicago Public Library and Chicago History Museum special collections on Midwest Athletic Club and Illinois

Women's Athletic Club, as well as secondary works on softball, track and field, and bowling history.

Aishwarya Ramachandran, University of British Columbia

### [Sex, Lies & the Nautch Girl: From High Level Performance to Prostitution](#)

Dance in India has had a tumultuous history, fraught with the conflicting motivations of colonial rule and nationalism at the end of the 19th century. Jane Desmond describes dance as a movement discourse that has been particularly vulnerable to interpretations in terms of essentialized identities associated with biological difference.<sup>1</sup> This is particularly so in the case of the *tawā'ifs* of North India, whose bodies have long been a site of feminization and Oriental sexuality. The *tawā'ifs* were a particular type of 'nautch girl' (nautch or nach can be crudely translated to the word 'dancing'), involved in sex work to some degree. Originally a class of performers within Mughal courts as early as the 16th century, they were trained in Kathak dance among other gesturing forms in Indian aesthetics. They were at one time well respected for their profession, undergoing years of rigorous training and education to attain coveted financial and social liberties unbeknownst to most women within Indian society. The *tawā'ifs* could expect to have earnings far above other working women, the right to own or inherit property and have more than one sexual partner. Usually entertaining only a few, carefully selected patrons, they were a mainstay of the Indian aristocracy. Veena Talwar Oldenburg has suggested that associating with the *tawā'ifs* of Lucknow, for instance, bestowed prestige on those who were invited to their *kothas* (parlour) for cultural soirees.

It was during the 19th century however, that an atmosphere of religious fundamentalism took over, and the *tawā'ifs* were eventually cast out of society and vilified as prostitutes, their profession stripped of any complexity. The article explores how the efforts of nationalist groups and British colonists to ban the 'nautch' and its practitioners were consolidated through the development of a widespread 'Anti-Nautch' movement at the fin de siècle. The movement reached its peak by the 1890's after the circulation of a memorandum by an Indian social reformer, distancing the nautch from any local religious practice and proclaiming all forms of nautch to be prostitution. With the support of British missionaries, such as Meliscent Shephard, who kindled the furore over sexually available Indian women, the colonial government eventually supported the campaign, passing legislation to discourage any sexual relations between British men and Indian women. It was as a result of this campaign that the term nautch girl was coined as a derogatory label, and the *tawā'ifs* contributions to the development of classical Indian dance and music were eventually forgotten.

Raúl Nivón Ramírez, Tecnológico de Monterrey-Campus Ciudad de México

### Vera Vera ra, ra, ra! Vera Căslavska's participation in the Mexico Olympics, 1968

Vera Căslavska was a Czechoslovakian gymnast who participated in the Olympic Games in Rome, Tokyo and Mexico. In those Games, she won 7 gold and four silver medals, being one of the greatest medalists in this discipline. But, beyond her sport achievements, Căslavska was also characterized by her political activism, the "silent protest" being her most notorious act against the USSR.

The aim of the text is to deal with the figure of Vera Căslavska through the Mexican media during her participation in the Mexico 1968 Olympic Games. The above, placing the athlete not only in the mega event context, but also in the conflict of the Prague Spring (January-August 1968) and in which Căslavska, along with other personalities, including the mythical marathon runner Emil Zatopek, signed the document "Two Thousand Words" by the author Ludvık Vakulık, action that nearly cost her to be banned for participating in México Olympic games.

Greg Ramshaw, Clemson University

### Sport, Heritage, and Reminiscence Therapy: Initial Findings from the Clemson Football Memories Project

This proposed presentation will share findings, insights, and future directions from the development and delivery of a non-pharmacological, sports-based reminiscence therapy (RT) program based on Clemson football's history and heritage. Woods et al (2005) describe RT as "the discussion of past activities, events, and experiences, usually with the aid of tangible prompts (e.g., photographs household and other familiar items from the past, music and archive sound recordings)" (p. 2). Organizations such as the Sporting Memories Network and the Scottish National Football Museum have developed RT programming based on British sporting memories for care facilities (Doeg, 2012) while Tolson and Schofield's (2012) study on a sports-focused RT reported qualitative contexts, mechanisms, and outcomes of their intervention, and reported improved social participation, talkativeness, confidence, stimulation, fun and laughter, and anticipation of future events for participants with dementia.

The Clemson Football Memories Project developed - in conjunction with the Clemson football historian, the Clemson University Archives, and several external RT practitioners – six RT sessions based on Clemson football's history and heritage: Going to the Game, The Stadium, Tailgating, Famous Games, Famous People, and Traditions. These sessions included the extensive use of archival photos, audio visual material, and tangible items and artefacts. The sessions were delivered at an assisted living facility in upstate South Carolina over a three-week period in October and November 2017. Participants were administered a Dementia Quality of Life survey and Montreal Cognitive Assessment test before the program's start and after the program's completion three weeks later.

Sessions were observed and recorded by two different members of the research team, and interviews with participants, facility staff members, and participants' family members were completed at the completion of the program. Initial findings suggest that, though participants' cognitive abilities were not impacted by the program, quality of life indicators improved. Reporting from participants, facility staff, and family members also suggest positive outcomes from program participation, such as increased motivation to engage with others, decreased apathy, increased activity participation. Finally, participants engaged more with the social memories of Clemson football, in particular reminiscing about tailgating and going to games with friends and family, more than the historical memories about famous games and players, although many participants took the historical sessions as a learning – rather than reminiscence – opportunity. The program's future will also be discussed, including plans for future dissemination and opportunities for adapting the program to specific care contexts and participants' interests.

Susan Rayl, State University New York, Cortland

### 'I'll Never Grow Up': Cathy Rigby McCoy from Olympian to Peter Pan and Beyond

In late October 1968, 15-year old Cathy Rigby joined her teammates as a member of the Olympic Women's Gymnastics team in Mexico City. While she failed to medal in these games, Rigby served as the highest scoring American on an Olympic Gymnastics team to date, and her popularity caused a tremendous growth in the interest of the sport in the United States.

Over the next four years, Rigby earned many accolades in the gymnastics world, including winning a silver medal on the Balance Beam at the 1970 World Championships. Qualifying for the 1972 Olympics, Rigby faced controversy, and possibly harsh treatment from gymnastics officials, when a Sports Illustrated article featuring a nude photo of her on the balance beam appeared just before the Games.

At the age of 19, Cathy Rigby retired from gymnastics competition and began a career as a color commentator for ABC Sports. In addition, she pursued acting and singing, appearing in productions such as Peter Pan and The Wizard of Oz. Following an eight-year marriage to Tommy Mason, a former running back for the Los Angeles Rams, Rigby met her second husband, Tom McCoy, in the early 1980s and he assisted her in fighting her longtime challenge with bulimia. In 1994, the two organized the McCoy Rigby Series at La Mirada Theatre for the Performing Arts and in 2004 opened the McCoy Rigby Conservatory of the Arts "to make a positive difference in the lives and dreams of our youth."

This paper will present a brief biography of Cathy Rigby McCoy, seeking to answer the following questions. How did Rigby's early life influence her involvement in gymnastics and quick rise to excellence in the sport? How did her popularity after the 1968 Olympics and continued success internationally, as well as the photo of her in Sports Illustrated influence her treatment from officials in 1972 and early retirement from the sport? Why did she decide to pursue acting and singing as a career? How did performing Peter Pan allow her to "never grow up" and promote her philosophy of

pursuing one's dreams? How did her early life in a dysfunctional home affect her decision to open a conservatory of theatre arts and to recently focus on assisting victims of violence and abuse?

Danyel Reiche, American University of Beirut

### The history of eligibility criteria for national teams in different football codes

This paper looks at the history of eligibility criteria for playing on national teams in different football codes with a main focus on rugby union which has introduced a fundamental change: Instead of requiring citizenship, World Rugby has implemented a residence rule, making it a pioneer in international sports.

When first introduced, the residence rule required rugby union players to reside in a country for three years prior to representing the respective country. After reviewing the rule, the waiting period was recently extended from three to five years, becoming effective in 2020. The intention of the rule is to protect poor countries such as Pacific Islands national teams Samoa, Fiji, and Tonga from losing their best players to economically stronger countries. While the international press tends to focus on this economic aspect, I will provide other examples such as third generation Palestinians living in Lebanon who are denied citizenship but can now represent Lebanon demonstrating the political effects of the new rule.

I will present the history of eligibility criteria in three different football codes- soccer, rugby league and rugby union-before focusing on the latter and discussing who stands to benefit and who may be at a disadvantage when the concept of citizenship shifts to proof of residence.

Citizenship in international sport is an underdeveloped academic area that deserves more attention because the share of foreign-born athletes exceeds the proportion of the general world's migrant population. The objective of the paper is to compare different concepts of granting citizenship to foreign-born athletes to describe and explain the different approaches by international sports governing bodies and governments. A comparative analysis will identify similarities and differences of the rules and policies.

While previous journal articles of the author on Lebanon and Qatar touched the issue of athletic citizenship, they were not their main focus. Most of the data (eligibility rules of international sports governing bodies, comparison of governmental policies) for the planned paper still needs to be collected. Apart from a review of academic literature and press articles on citizenship in general and particularly in international sports, the researcher plans to interview key stakeholders such as representatives of international sports governing bodies and from national sporting federations, as well as from branches of governments that are responsible for sports to examine the different approaches on granting nationality to foreign-born athletes.

PearlAnn Reichwein, University of Alberta

## 'The Eyrie': The Urban Invention of Alpine Huts and Mountain Sports in Alberta, 1928-1947

This paper investigates alpine huts built by the Edmonton Section of the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) and its local sport culture of outdoor and community pursuits. Involvement in recreational infrastructure and sport promotion through hut building projects in sporting landscapes began as a part of the Edmonton ACC Section's program in the 1920s. How did its alpine huts emerge and what was their role in outdoor sport? The paper demonstrates that club huts built by mountaineers in Edmonton, Alberta, began with the construction of local club huts in the city and later focused on alpine hut construction in the Canadian Rockies as the ongoing production of middle-class mountaineering and outdoor practices. The study draws on John Bale's sporting landscapes concept and evidence from archival club records, photos, drawings, newspaper sources, and field research.

Two ACC section huts were built in the North Saskatchewan River Valley within Edmonton city limits between 1928 and 1932; the latter, Whitemud Creek Hut, operated until the late 1960s. The Disaster Point Hut and Memorial Hut followed in the Rocky Mountains of Jasper National Park, Alberta, during the 1930s and 1940s. Alpine huts were cabins constructed in a rustic architectural style with hand-crafted features common to both urban and mountain structures that were built by the club's men and women as volunteer labour.

The local Edmonton huts in the city's river valley and nearby municipal parks were a destination for snowshoe, ski, and walking outings as well as social and community life among various middle-class outdoor clubs. "Skigattas" and "novelty races" on ski hills and skiing on trails established by the club, as well as year-round weekend hikes, were established by the local ACC. Ongoing physical training and social cohesion among section members were dual objectives served by the cabins as local recreation infrastructure before easy weekend travel to the Rockies became more common. In Jasper National Park, club huts followed a similar pattern of social relations and architecture as well as overseas influences. The design and use of buildings also indicate rustic settings and gendered social practices of the day promoted in ACC mountaineering culture.

Hut sites were a significant link between city and mountain life in the local Edmonton ACC, and also prefigured early urban parkland recreation as it was later encompassed within municipal public park systems in the North Saskatchewan River valley. In contrast to the enduring institutionalization of extensive alpine hut systems in the Rocky Mountains, the existence of alpine huts and trails in Edmonton has been largely forgotten yet it acted as an early locus of outdoor life, sport, and fitness that also contributed to the emergence of mountain hut systems in western Canada's national parks. In this regard, its impacts were both local and regional with broader implications for national and transnational mountaineering cultures.

John G. Reid, St. Mary's University

### Cricket and the Industrial Working Class in Nova Scotia to 1914

In Canadian sport historiography, cricket has frequently been cast as a sport of a gentlemanly elite, closely tied to imperial influences and having only shallow social roots in the general settler population. Yet, as historians such as Colin Howell and Sandy Young have pointed out, cricket was a significant working-class sport in key areas of Nova Scotia. This paper will seek to build on their insights through detailed investigation of the cricket clubs that emerged during the 'long' nineteenth century (to 1914) and of the social backgrounds of the players. Taking a local and regional approach, the paper will also explore the relationships among working-class cricketers and those who played the sport in different social contexts within the province: the rural and small-town manifestations of the sport, in which skilled artisans and other players from the middling ranges of local society predominated; and the urban places, primarily including Halifax, Windsor, and Sydney, where the notion of a sport for the gentlemanly elite had some limited validity.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Nova Scotia underwent an extensive and rapid process of industrialization. On the three principal coalfields – Cape Breton Island, Pictou County, and Cumberland County – the development of coal mines was accompanied by other forms of industrial expansion, notably iron and steel production and manufacturing. Cricket, which already existed as a significant settler pastime in these locations, developed quickly as a working-class sport. In some instances, notably colliery and steelworks teams, workplace clubs were established. Also, community clubs in industrial areas often fielded predominantly working-class teams while also including members of the local professional middle class. As league cricket emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, working-class clubs entered into competition with teams that had other social configurations, at times adding class conflict to the competitive edge. In particular, Pictou County clubs in which coal miners predominated pursued rivalries with the Halifax Wanderers, the most socially elitist of the province's cricket clubs.

In assessing the role of working-class cricket within the sport as a whole in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia, the paper will draw primarily on newspaper reports. To establish the social configurations involved, team lists published in the newspapers will be collated with census returns to identify players. These documentary sources will form the foundation of an attempt to answer the question of to what extent, and within which geographical and economic contexts, cricket was a working-class sport in Nova Scotia during the era ending in 1914.

Toby C. Rider and Matthew P. Llewellyn, California State University, Fullerton

### 'The Height of Folly': the British Sports Council's Fact-Finding Mission to South Africa

In mid-January 1980, four representatives of the British Sports Council began a fact-finding mission in South Africa. The group's aim was immensely complicated and

highly controversial. They were charged with investigating whether or not South African sport had taken significant steps towards social and racial equality. For two weeks they travelled around the Apartheid nation, investigating facilities, interviewing athletes and sports officials, and watching various demonstrations and coaching clinics.

Shortly after the trip had ended, the Council published its conclusions in a long and detailed 184 page document. Although the report unreservedly “condemned” Apartheid, it indicated that South African sport was experiencing increasing levels of integration. Even so, the Council’s final recommendations were fairly straightforward, even innocuous. First, it suggested that international sports organizations, which for a decade had largely excluded South Africa due to Apartheid, review their policies toward South African sport. Second, the Council proposed that the British government take “note” of what had been written in the report, though nothing more than that. This, in a sense, revealed the hinterland the Council occupied. It was funded by the British government to promote British sport, but not an official branch of government.

Even if the work of the Council did not lead to any considerable changes in the global boycott against South African sport, the reaction to the fact-finding expedition and the results it published stirred up heated debate in Great Britain. The British, of course, were participants in South Africa’s sporting isolation, an isolation that had reached the level of foreign policy after the signing of the Gleneagles agreement in 1977. For those who opposed sanctions on sporting links with South Africa and the edicts of Gleneagles, particularly conservative members of parliament and rugby authorities, the Council’s tour was of immense importance. It showed, or at least they claimed that it did, the progress South Africa had made towards ending racial discrimination in sports and that, by extension, it was time to end the ban on Pretoria from international competitions. For anti-Apartheid supporters and activists, however, the Council merely proved that while sport might be making some progress toward inclusive practices, it remained deeply entrenched in the system of Apartheid. It was a subject without middle ground and polarized the British people. Even the Sports Council displayed cracks of indecision. One member of the group called the entire mission “the height of folly.”

This paper aims to examine the divided reaction to the Council’s tour in Great Britain. We argue that this episode reveals a great deal about how the British viewed the “multiracial” reforms in South African sport enacted in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Moreover, it demonstrates the increasingly intransigent position of anti-Apartheid activists during this period. While previously they had called for significant changes to sport in South Africa before ending the boycott, after Gleneagles this on its own was not enough. Only the end of Apartheid would suffice.

In terms of evidence, this paper relies upon the archives of the British government, various anti-Apartheid groups, several British sports organizations, as well as newspaper accounts and autobiographies of those involved.

Ian Ritchie, Brock University

### [Crises, Media, and Claims-Making: Framing Canadian Anti-Doping, 1983-1990](#)

This presentation considers an important historical ‘moment’ in the development of one country’s anti-doping policies and programs: Canada from 1983 to 1990.

Specifically, three crises moments led to heightened media attention to the issue of doping in Canadian sport, which in turn affected the development of programs and policies. At the start of 1983 Canada had no anti-doping policy but by 1990 the government of Canada had conducted the most thorough investigation into the issue of doping in sport, anywhere in the world, resulting in the Commission of Inquiry into the Use of Banned Practices Intended to Increase Athletic Performance (1990), overseen by Chief Justice Charles Dubin. In the interim, the country's sport administrators had created some of the toughest anti-doping programs and policies in the world. But the creation of those programs and policies were reactionary; three events and dramatic media reactions to those events influenced sport administrators' actions. First, surprise testing by West German biochemist Manfred Donike at the 1983 Pan American Games led to two Canadian weightlifters' testing positive. Second, only two months later, four weightlifters were charged after smuggling anabolic steroids into Canada through the Mirabel Airport in Montreal. Finally, five years after the Caracas and Mirabel incidents, Ben Johnson's positive test at the 1988 Summer Olympic Games and the subsequent eleven-month long public inquiry that resulted in Dubin's Commission brought unprecedented attention to the issue of doping. These events and the policies that transpired out of them are understood through Joel Best's (2013) framework for understanding the claims-making process in the construction of social problems. Best points out that no issue is inherently a social problem but certain issues are constructed as problems through successful claims-making. The process involves six steps: the original claim that something needs to be considered a social problem, media coverage to reach a broad audience, public reaction to the claimed problem, the creation of policies, the implementation of the policies, and finally policy outcomes and responses to the outcomes. It was through a very specific set of circumstances and events that Canada moved from having no policy against the use of performance-enhancing substances to some of the most advanced policies.

Media accounts, primary policy documents, and statements by sport administrators during the 1980s reveal the claims-making process through which doping was constructed as a social problem and in turn Canadian anti-doping programs and policies were created. Without the specific set of events that transpired from 1983 to 1990, anti-doping programs and policies – ones that since then have been taken for granted – would never have transpired the way they did.

James WJ Robinson, Northeastern University

### [Needles and Hoops: Sports Programs in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Socialist Party, and their Communist Rivals](#)

This paper will look at the sports programs of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) from 1920-50. From the 1910s through the 1970s, was a major mover and shaker in the American labor movement, arising out of the Triangle Waistshirt Fire of 1911. The ILWGU was a pivotal battleground between the Socialist Party of the 2nd International and the Communist Party of 3rd International (Comintern)

in the 1920s. By the late 1920s, the Socialist Party and the later the split-away Labor Party was the party of the ILGWU. Even amidst these tensions, a thriving educational department led to the creation of musicals, classes, health centers, and sports teams. At the same time as the Communist Party USA was establishing sports teams in parallel, such as the the Labor Sports Union, followed by union driven Labor Sports leagues, the ILGWU operated union teams and leagues to in order that “comradeship developed on the playing fields will deepen and intensify the emotional tie-up of every member to his organization,” as stated by the Educational Director of the ILGWU, Mark Starr, in 1947. Out of the experience of the 1920s, the Socialist Party driven leadership of the ILGWU built sports programs in similar fashion to Communist-driven union sports teams, yet refused to have any interaction with those CP teams. This paper will look at the sports programs of the ILGWU and how the politics of the left “played out” on the basketball courts and baseball diamonds.

Paulina A. Rodriguez Burciaga, Pennsylvania State University

### Looking on from the Borderlands: An Exploratory Review of the Literature on Latinas and Sport

In her 1990 essay, “Women of Color: Critical Autobiography and Sport,” sport sociologist Susan Birrell argued for more nuanced theories of race and ethnicity, singling out the benefits of analysis on and by Women of Color. More than a quarter-century later, scholars have begun to pay more attention to Black women and sport; however, there remains little scholarship that engages the work of Latina feminists or takes on the topic of Latina sportswomen.

Based on a rigorous, systematic, and critical content analysis of English language, peer-reviewed journal articles, I identified three dominant themes concerning Latinas and sport: 1) their absence, or “symbolic annihilation” within the literature on LatinX sport experiences; 2) token acknowledgment within that literature; and 3) Latina-centered analysis. More than any other scholar, sport sociologist Katherine M. Jamieson has pushed the field towards this third theme. In the process, she has pioneered the inclusion of theory by Women of Color as a tool to understand the experiences of Latinas in athletics. Jamieson argues that the work of decolonial theorist Maria Lugones and Chicana theorist Gloria Anzaldúa, among others, deepens our understanding of Latinas and their relationship to sport.

Building on the work of Birrell and Jamieson, I argue that a major barrier to studying sportswomen in Latinx communities is that too many scholars think of these women in monolithic terms. More specifically, because contemporary data shows an under-representation of Latinas in high school, intercollegiate, and professional sport, there is a tendency to think that they do not exist, which ignores important and dynamic experiences at the youth, recreational, and informal levels of sport. As such, I argue that we should expand our conceptions of sport and sporting spaces.

Women of Color theorizing can help scholars critically analyze this important population by exposing the various factors keeping Latinas off of the playing fields. For instance, as Jamieson argues, the negotiation of expected family responsibilities while venturing into new cultural spaces (such as athletics) forces Latinas to mediate their

identities—especially when it pertains to issues of gender and sexuality. This concept of standing at the borderlands, the intersection of their home communities and outer ones, is articulated by Anzaldúa and other Women of Color theorists. Additionally, factoring in issues of legal status, and navigating yet another “in-betweenness” is an issue that sport scholars tend to overlook. Critical theories by Women of Color provide the tools for conducting such analysis.

The work of Latina feminist philosopher Maria Lugones helps us understand that sport, a colonial enterprise, enforces cultural expectations and creates barriers for Latinas, which can lead to explanations for their absence from both the existing scholarship and from participation in sport. In addition, LatinX Studies scholar Vicki L. Ruiz’s concept of cultural coalescence furthers our analysis of athletic Latinas by describing the ways they actively create their own spaces through the process of adopting, resisting, and rejecting dominant cultural practices. Thus, the practice fields, courts, and pick-up games serve as venues where scholars can locate these processes.

Thomas Rorke, Pennsylvania State University

### The ‘Miracle Maid’ of Cornwall, the Elysium rink, and the winter of 1916.

In the winter of 1916, Cleveland entrepreneur Dudley Humphrey promoted a series of hockey matches at the Elysium skating rink as the “Canadian Championship.” While this title was not backed by any institution or governing body of the sport, the games featured teams from Montreal and eastern Ontario that featured the best known women’s players of the time, including Cornwall’s Albertine Lapensee and Montreal’s Agnes Vautier. These matches represented an important moment for women’s ice hockey in several ways.

The winter of 1916 was marked by a craze for women’s hockey, as thousands filled arenas in Cornwall, Ottawa and Montreal to watch Lapensee, dubbed the “Miracle Maid” by the press, face off against her competition. Ice hockey for women, which had been an occasional feature of skating parties and winter carnivals became a commercially viable spectacle attracting large paying crowds. The season was also marked by accusations in Montreal newspapers that Lapensee was a man disguised as a woman, a claim vigorously disputed by the Cornwall press. Finally, the florescence of the game in the eastern Ontario attracted attention in the United States, sparking the organization of both the “championship” games at the Elysium and several clubs in Midwestern cities, including the Pittsburgh Polar Maids.

The story of Albertine Lapensee’s Cornwall team includes elements of the big city-small city competition between Montreal, Ottawa, and Cornwall, the public scuffle over gender norms in the newspaper accusations over Lapensee’s sex, and transnational trial of the commercial possibility of selling women’s ice hockey to paying audiences. Most histories make of this a simple story that emphasizes the novelty of Lapensee as the first woman star in the sport, and as an early case of demands for sex-verification. This paper will contextualize the story, with particular attention to the contested civic identities that animated the hockey rivalries between Cornwall, Ottawa, and Montreal, and the transnational connections that linked the hockey markets of the Ottawa Valley with those of Cleveland and Pittsburgh.

MacIntosh Ross, Western University

[‘The Sensational Willie O’Ree’: Race and Stardom in the Western Hockey League, 1961-1974](#)

In 1958, Willie O’Ree of Fredericton, New Brunswick, dressed for the Boston Bruins, becoming the first black player to compete in the NHL. Although his offensive output was a modest 14 points in 45 NHL games, O’Ree was praised for his incredible speed and tenacious play. Despite his talent and potential, O’Ree faced a barrage of racial discrimination during his NHL career. On the ice, opposing players targeted O’Ree with race-based taunts and violent cheap shots. Fans in opposing rinks hollered abuse at O’Ree, loudly proclaiming their disdain for the black man who dared display his talents on equal terms with the NHL’s white majority. When the Bruins learned that O’Ree was concealing an impaired eye (injured during his junior hockey days), they promptly traded him to the Montreal Canadiens. After a brief stint with the Canadiens minor league affiliate, Montreal sold O’Ree’s contract to the Los Angeles Blades of the Western Hockey League (WHL).

When Willie O’Ree arrived from Canada to play for the Los Angeles Blades of the Western Hockey League (WHL), the team had amassed an abysmal 3-9-0 record to start the 1961-62 season. O’Ree joined the Blades for a 3-2 overtime loss against San Francisco, after which team ownership fined every player but O’Ree for their poor play. Although he saw limited ice time in his first outing, his speed and offensive abilities provided Blades’ fans with a glimmer of hope. With the league leading Edmonton Flyers next on the schedule, the Blades’ immediate future looked bleak. Yet, with O’Ree in the lineup, the struggling Blades held the Flyers to a 4-4 tie. Two days later, O’Ree and the Blades defeated the Flyers in a rematch. At a time when fighting in hockey went virtually unquestioned, O’Ree also held his own with his fists. Although the Blades ultimately missed the playoffs, the twenty-four year old O’Ree tallied 54 points in as many games, becoming a fan favorite in the city of Angels. Although O’Ree spent most of his career playing in the WHL, virtually no historical writing has been dedicated to this portion of his career. By examining the extensive newspaper reports pertaining to his WHL career, this paper provides a preliminary overview of O’Ree’s time in the minor leagues, detailing his accomplishments and hardships between 1961 and 1974.

Rob Ruck, University of Pittsburgh

[High School Football Micro-cultures of Excellence: A Tale of Three Schools](#)

In Hawai‘i, where high school football reigns, two schools have monopolized state championships for almost forty years—St. Louis in Honolulu and Kahuku on O‘ahu’s North Shore. The Marianist Order founded the St. Louis School to educate working class boys while Kahuku met the needs of the children of émigrés who came to work in North Shore canefields or were drawn to the Mormon temple in nearby La‘ie. Though neither is a big school, scores of their players starred for Division One programs and in the NFL. Few schools anywhere can boast of similar prowess. St. Louis’s

Crusaders count Heisman trophy winner Marcus Mariotta and Tui Tagovailoa, the top-rated quarterback in the 2017 class, among their alums. Several Kahuku Red Raiders, including Junior Ah You and the Kemoeatu brothers, sport Grey Cup and Super Bowl rings.

Both schools rely on intense, enduring ties with their communities (one geographic, the other institutionally based). But while St. Louis, a private school, recruits throughout Hawai'i, Kahuku draws on a small population and often loses top players, like Manti Te'o, to private schools (including to St. Louis). They each, however, regularly pummel much larger high squads from the mainland.

Why have they reached such competitive excellence? Kahuku's success reflects the discipline and collective ethos embodied by its largely Polynesian players, a mix of Samoans, Tongans, and Hawaiians. A disproportionate number of these boys came from families with military ties, intense religious commitments (especially to the Mormon church), and abiding belief in Samoan and Tongan culture. That perfect storm worked wonders on the gridiron. St. Louis recruited boys like these, but its athletic catalyst was Cal Kamalolokalani Lee, a native son whose coaching genius and innovative training regimen pushed not only his school but island football to new heights.

Several thousand miles away, the IMG Academy in Florida can count on no such community bonds. Although tennis entrepreneur Nick Bollettieri created the private, for-profit boarding school as a tennis academy in 1978, IMG, the sport marketing and management mega-power, bought it in 1987. IMG now cultivates and trains scholastic athletes in several sports—for a profit. Recruiting globally, it offers high performance training that maximizes students' chances to earn college scholarships. IMG plays a national schedule and provides specialized athletic training that might be unrivalled on the scholastic level. Fees, which are upwards of \$80,000 a year, are waived or reduced for top recruits. A recent football squad included six of the nation's top 100 prospects. But IMG shares none of the passionate, community-based attachments that have stamped St. Louis and Kahuku.

These three schools reflect high school football's continuum—one that extends from community based to rootless, for-profit institutions. What do they tell us about high school football's incipient commercialization and changing meaning? Moreover, what creates these micro-cultures of sporting excellence that produce extraordinarily talented athletes in a particular sport for a sustained period of time? And how has that constellation of factors changed as globalization and corporatization increasingly define modern sport?

Thomas F. Schaller, University of Maryland, Baltimore County

### [The Black Style in Two Variants: Georgetown basketball, Miami football and the racial transformation of major-college sports](#)

During the 1980s, Georgetown University basketball and University of Miami football spearheaded a racial revolution in Division I men's team sports. The two programs changed the way black athletes competed and performed on the field; forced

fans and the media to reconsider how black players and coaches were treated and covered; transformed sports apparel and marketing; and in general helped turn college basketball and football into multi-billion dollar industries by attracting legions of new fans, black and white.

On matters of race, the 1980s were a pivotal decade for college sports. Although athletic administrators, alumni, boosters and spectators remained overwhelmingly white, the rapid integration of playing rosters soon generated titanic clashes between “good guy” white protagonist programs and “bad boy” black antagonists. The newly racialized dynamics of televised collegiate competition presented university presidents, conference officials, television executives and corporate sponsors a unique opportunity to expand collegiate sports followership among both black and white spectators. No two teams in the 1980s welcomed the bad boy role more than the basketball Hoyas and the football Hurricanes. Both programs were purveyors of an intimidating, proudly racialized style of play. But the stoic, disciplined, militaristic black style embraced by Hoya coach John Thompson in Washington differed greatly from the expressive, flamboyant style practiced by Hurricane coaches Jimmy Johnson and Dennis Erickson. This paper contrasts these two variants of the black style and assesses the lasting impact of each program on major-college televised sports.

Sam Schelfhout, The University of Texas at Austin

### [‘You Can’t Win If You Don’t Try’: Portland’s Failed Bid to Host the 1968 Olympic Games](#)

When the city of Portland announced its intention to bid for the 1968 Summer Olympic Games on September 15, 1962, residents raved about the potential benefits such an event could bring to the mid-sized municipality safely tucked away in the Pacific Northwest, aiming to legitimate itself as a global city and spur local development. Spearheaded by Portland mayor Terry Schrunk, the Portland City Council passed a resolution on September 26, 1962, bestowing the city’s full “cooperation and support” for hosting the games. The bid tested the United States Olympic Committee in asking itself the question of the impact a smaller city, like Portland, could make as an Olympic host. The fanfare surrounding the bid was electric, and there was an optimistic feel in the air that Portland could contend with major metropolises such as Detroit and Los Angeles.

Perspectives on mega-event evaluation may be prompted by the host city’s objectives; host cities typically emphasize political issues important at that time or for that place. For the city of Portland, two issues were important to the committee organizing the its 1968 bid: urban development and the idea of creating a legacy to propel the city following a successful hosting of the Games. The city set its sights on Delta Park, a public municipal park complex in north Portland, to build facilities that would define the city’s commitment to hosting large-scale sporting events, whether the city won its bid to host the Games or not. This paper will also consider the city’s “legacy discourse,” as the discussion to develop the Delta Park area existed outside of the scope of the city’s bid. The prevailing discourse of bid organizers and city leaders

attempted to show how the development of the Delta Park project was the prevailing interest over the city's Olympic bid.

A host of primary sources, including the Avery Brundage Collection and local and national newspaper sources, will be utilized in the overall argument, along with secondary literature focusing on failed Olympic bids and seeking legitimacy through hosting the Games. This paper seeks to show how smaller cities like Portland are included in hosting deliberations and how legitimacy can be achieved without hosting a mega-event like the Olympic Games. This paper analyzes the city of Portland's intentions of hosting the 1968 Summer Olympic Games, the roadblocks it overcame to produce a legitimate bid, the presence of "legacy discourse" present in its bid, and what political forces were present in both the local government's advancement of the bid.

Jaime Schultz, Pennsylvania State University

### Radical Feminism, Self-Defense, and Physical Competence, or Why Sport Matters

Looking to study something other than sport, I turned my attention to the role of active women's bodies in 1960s and 1970s feminisms. But by studying the writings and actions of Cell 16, a Boston-based, radical feminist collective that advocated women's self-defense, martial arts, and what they called "physical competence," I was reminded of why sport matters.

Amanda N. Schweinbenz, Laurentian University

### Para Sport Coaching: Navigating a Hidden Road

Research on para sport, sport for people with physical disabilities, has grown over the last two decades. However, little is known about coaches who work in disability sport. Specifically, we know little of how and why coaches start a career working with athletes with physical disabilities, also known as para athletes. In Canada, coaching is recognized as a profession that requires specific training and certification to inform best practices for working with athletes of all ages and skill levels. Retiring athletes are often recruited to enter the field of coaching as a means to give back to the community that supported them and as a viable career. Yet, this recruitment and education is largely focused on sport for non-disabled athletes.

There is often a fear that coaches have with regards to working with para athletes. Coaches often feel as though they have a lack of knowledge, skill or training in order to work with athletes with physical disabilities and are factors that cause some to be reluctant to work with para athletes. Furthermore, the breadth of disabilities can add a layer to coaches' unease. People become concerned that they need to be medical experts to work with an athlete with a disability. The disability becomes the focus rather than the ability of the athlete.

This paper examines the experiences of coaches working with high performance para athletes using the social relational model of disability. Specifically, this study will explore the preconceptions that Canadian coaches without physical disabilities had

about para athletes prior to working with these elite athletes and how coaches with and without physical disabilities began working with para athletes. This study will examine the coaches' motivation for their involvement with para sport and critically examines their transition to high performance para sport coaching. Additionally, this study will explore coaches' experiences working with high performance para athletes including the unique challenges that may be presented when working with athletes with physical disabilities.

Jermaine Scott, Northwestern University

### Triangle of Blackness: Black Teamwork at Howard University, 1970-1975

In 1971, Howard University became the first HBCU to win a NCAA Division 1 Championship in any sport when they beat the St. Louis Billikens soccer team. The following year, however, the NCAA stripped them of their title for fielding ineligible international players. The emergence of Howard University's black team presented a challenge to the existing hierarchy of NCAA soccer through the articulation of what I am calling 'black teamwork'—the diasporic practices of black sporting collectives that work to unsettle and reveal the colonial and racial constitution of modern sport's governing bodies--in this case the NCAA. The formation of Howard University's black team was the result of their refusal of hegemonic exclusionary practices based on race, their commitment to diasporic conviviality, and the new forms of justice imagined to resist the criminalization of black athletes. Put another way, this paper will help understand the ways in which soccer became a space for the articulation of a 'diasporic black politics' in a post-civil rights United States.

This paper is also concerned with the history of the racial constitution of soccer in the United States. Particularly, I'm interested in the relationship between the white constitution of American soccer and the formation of black teams in the post-Civil Rights era. While many soccer historians have paid attention to the ways American soccer was framed as an ethnic, "foreign" sport, I want to suggest that this concern misses how race and whiteness are the defining logics of soccer and the field of modern sport more generally. Importantly, this paper will investigate how the formation of black teams in the post-Civil Rights era posed a threat to what I am calling the coloniality of sport--the ways in which modern sports establish racial hierarchies that privileges whiteness and subordinates non- whiteness, and blackness in particular. In other words, how did black teams articulate black politics in the field of American soccer? While soccer in the United States seems like an unlikely space for black political expression, it's popularity throughout the African diaspora provides an opportunity to not only imagine how the relationship between blackness and soccer is forged through coloniality, but to imagine new black solidarities and geographies that exceed national boundaries.

Using soccer journals, newspaper articles, archival video footage, and oral interviews, I want to highlight the articulation of black teamwork at Howard University. Not only does this paper focus on black experiences in a sport that is often disassociated with blackness, but it shifts our attention away from narratives about individual black athletes to more collective practices of solidarity. This paper interrogates the relationship between structures of racialization and collective practices

of resistance, and is concerned with the tension between the nation-state and black identities. Furthermore, this paper's interdisciplinary approach uncovers the colonial constitution of modern sporting practices that are often obscured by hegemonic discourses of sport that celebrate narratives fair play, level playing fields, and meritocratic principles.

Chad Seifried, Louisiana State University; Jeffrey Graham, University of Tennessee; and Adam Love, University of Tennessee

### The Construction and Renovation of Neyland Stadium at the University of Tennessee

Neyland Stadium at the University of Tennessee has served as an important social anchor for the State of Tennessee, City of Knoxville, and University fan nation since it began as Shields-Watkins Field in 1921. With a current capacity of 102,455, Neyland Stadium evolved through significant and continual investments aimed to improve alumni relations, increase philanthropic gifts, develop new revenue streams, and enhance institutional brand image. With recent announcements that another major renovation effort (i.e., \$106 million) has cleared an initial evaluation by the State Building Commission and is presently considered for inclusion in the 2017-2018 Tennessee Higher Education Commission budget, a historical review of the facility appears appropriate. Within, we are interested in asking if the construction and renovation of Neyland Stadium is similar to other regional contemporaries built during the 1920s (e.g., Tiger Stadium, Sanford Stadium, Kenan Stadium). Further, we are interested in understanding what types of renovation (i.e., restoration, rehabilitation, preservation, and reconstruction) emerged and to what extent evolving organizational goals and institutional (i.e., college football) factors influenced renovation decisions.

To complete this project (in progress), we collected primary documents (e.g., presidential letters, photos, athletic department correspondence, income statements, expense reports, and committee reports) through an archival visit at the University of Tennessee Library Special Collections. Additional primary documents were collected from the Digitized University Archives Collection. Secondary sources like scholarly books, journals (e.g., Tennessee Historical Quarterly), and newspapers (e.g., Knoxville News Sentinel, The Daily Beacon) were assembled via various databases such as Hathi Digital Trust, JSTOR, America's Historical Newspapers, Newspapers.com, and Google Scholar. Next, all primary and secondary sources received an internal and external source criticism.

The information collected will be organized through assistance of a timeline and spreadsheet. The timeline and spreadsheet will help identify renovation types through the recording of critical sport facility construction data such as capacity, cost, conference, press box, financing method(s), field orientation, scoreboard type, lights, parking, premium seat options, disabled seating, concessions, restrooms, and playing surface. This list is similar to that used by Seifried (2016), Seifried, Faulkner, Baker, and Piker (2016), and Seifried and Tutka (2016) on their various studies in history journals which look at college football stadiums, innovation, and modernization. Triangulation of data will also include comparing document information to oral testimonies from various individuals connected to the construction and renovation efforts. Ultimately, this project

will provide insight into the college football culture in Tennessee, at the University of Tennessee from 1921 to present, and answer the aforementioned research questions.

Preliminary results show Neyland Stadium evolved over multiple stages through the assistance of many individuals (e.g., notable alumni, business leaders, politicians) and various sponsoring organizations. Next, rehabilitation appears to be the most frequent type of renovation because it is associated with consumer-driven preferences and advances in technology. For instance, the use of reinforced concrete and steel, financing through Works Progress Administration and alumni philanthropy (e.g., Shields-Watkins), and other expansion efforts were designed to accommodate more people and to provide better comfort for attendees, revenue, and challenge rival institutions.

Jason Shurley, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

### The Functional 'Revolution': Contextualizing Functional Training Philosophy

Since 2006, the American College of Sports Medicine's Health and Fitness Journal has featured a survey to predict fitness trends for the following year. To get a feel for what is popular and what is likely to be popular in the fitness industry, editors of the Journal distribute thousands of electronic surveys to fitness professionals across the globe annually. In the first iteration of the survey "functional fitness" ranked fourth as a fitness trend, with traditional strength training coming in sixth. The two were differentiated by functional training's emphasis on balance and coordination to improve activities of daily living, while more traditional strength training tended to incorporate machines as well as free weights and focus on muscular strength, endurance, and hypertrophy. For 2018, functional fitness is still holding strong in the top ten with related programs like bodyweight and high-intensity interval training (HIIT) ranked higher.

This paper will explore the evolution of the contemporary functional fitness trend which, in many ways, is sold as a recent innovation. As an example, in his 2016 text *Functional Training*, Juan Carlos Santana declared that this training philosophy "exploded" onto the fitness scene in the mid-1990s and had since triggered a "revolution" in training. In many ways though, "functional training" is simply a return to training philosophies advocated before the rise of competitive bodybuilding. As documented at length by John Fair, the preeminent muscle magnates of the twentieth century, Bob Hoffman and Joe Weider, needled each other for decades about whether one needed to be strong or simply to look strong. This paper will touch on that work as well as earlier training programs, like those of Dudley Allen Sargent, who used pulleys to mimic both athletic movements as well as those which one might perform while engaged on manual labor.

The primary focus of this paper, however, will be the rise of the current functional fitness trend in the latter decades of the twentieth and early twenty-first century. It will include research dating back to the 1950s that discussed concepts including the "kinetic chain" and specificity of strength application that laid the groundwork for the contemporary functional trend. Other factors, including the ascendancy of bodybuilding

on the national consciousness in the 1970s and 80s, the dominance of machine training during that same era, a flood of research on different strength training protocols, and burgeoning sport specialization among adolescent athletes will also be explored. Sources for this work will include academic journals like *Research Quarterly*, the *Journal of Strength and Conditioning Research*, and others, as well as texts on functional training, professional magazines like *Training and Conditioning*, and some physical culture magazines like *Strength & Health* and *Muscle Power*. All sources are available at the H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sport at the University of Texas at Austin or through the University of Wisconsin library system.

Rwany Sibaja, Appalachian State University

### [Fútbol Goes Boom! Exploring the Nexus Between Soccer, Film, and Music in Argentina \(1930-1955\)](#)

Throughout the early twentieth century, Argentines feverishly took to an organized sport first introduced by British settlers: association football (soccer). Argentina enjoyed early success by reaching the finals of the 1928 Summer Olympics and the inaugural FIFA World Cup. Argentina also placed first or second at seventeen of the first twenty South American championships. Argentina's successes at the national and club team levels fueled fútbol's widespread popularity among fans and celebrities. Footballers became media stars. Musicians, actors, and filmmakers were among their biggest fans, seeking any opportunity to incorporate these "crack" players into the worlds of music and cinema. Soccer players reciprocated the adulation. They were in awe of tango musicians and the stars of stage and screen. Three cultural passions – fútbol, cinema, and tango – became increasingly intertwined as they all reached their zenith between the 1930s and 1950s. By 1931, the age of fútbol amateur gave way to the professionalization of the sport, in a transition reflective of the economic boon soccer provided to media outlets, club associations, and the neighborhoods surrounding the hundreds of club stadiums.

This paper asks to what extent did popular forms of entertainment color narratives and discourses within professional soccer, and in what ways did Argentina's most popular sport provide artistic inspiration for musicians and filmmakers? Sport writers of the time were among the first to point out recurring themes in all three forms of entertainment, but they were also participants by fashioning a working class-mythology around soccer where the vacant lots (potreros) and city streets served as breeding grounds for the young boys (pibes) who would one day become "crack" players. Scholars of sport in Argentina have largely accepted this populist narrative as the predominant way that locals talked about soccer. In recent years, cultural historians have also underlined the classism central to tango songs and early films produced in Argentina, focusing on the juxtaposition of working class "heroes" and the "villainous" elites.

Here, I argue that cultural producers – club directors, sport journalists, composers, and filmmakers – not only advanced class themes in films and songs about

soccer, but also infused them with a modernizing bent. In their view, soccer embodied Argentina's modernity because it leveled the playing field across social classes: "cracks" rose from poverty to fame, and well-to-do Argentines seemed to lose their inhibitions rooting for their favorite team. In between stood these cultural producers. They fashioned themselves as arbiters of sorts, calling for greater respectability and civility at soccer matches while carefully encouraging the fanaticism that defined Argentine fútbol.

This presentation stems from an ongoing manuscript project on civilization and barbarism in Argentine soccer. It is the focus of a chapter that bridges analyses of class-infused discourse found in both sport studies and cultural histories of Argentina. Sources include sport magazines, newspapers, advertisements, films, and song lyrics, available through the generous support from libraries and archives in Argentina, particularly from the Museo del Cine Pablo C. Ducrós Hicken and the School of Sports Journalism.

Michelle Sikes, Pennsylvania State University

### Outrunning Apartheid: Towards a Transnational History of South African athletics, 1970 - 1994

This paper explores a neglected theme in South African sports history: South African long-distance running during apartheid. It does so by comparing the lives and trajectories of Jonny Halberstadt, Sydney Maree, and Mark Plaatjes. Three of South Africa's most successful runners from the 1970s to early 1990s, these men nonetheless struggled to forge athletic careers that were complicated by apartheid policies and a sport boycott that sought to prevent all South Africans, black and white, from taking part in international competition. Little academic work has focused on the history of South African distance running, despite it being a source of success for the country and one of its most popular sports. This paper draws from interviews and publications from the United States and South Africa, along with a range of material published for an athletics audience. Together, this provides a lens through which to examine the historical dynamics and challenges of South African long-distance running.

Twenty-two years after the 1948 elections, the IOC officially expelled South Africa from the Olympic movement. Many major international sport federations followed suit in the 1970s, including the IAAF, and barred South African membership from their organizations. During this era of international sport boycotts, athletes from other countries were prohibited from competing in South Africa. South Africans were also restricted from most international sporting events. The individual achievements of South Africans, regardless of where they occurred, were not internationally recognized.

Yet some of South Africa's distance runners found ways to race against the best in the world. The NCAA was not affiliated with the IAAF. Therefore, as student-athletes, South Africans were allowed to compete. Jonny Halberstadt obtained a track scholarship from Oklahoma State University in 1971, becoming national champion in the 10,000 meters. Following a 3rd place finish in the Boston Marathon, he returned to South Africa and would compete only domestically until the early 1990s. In 1976, at a track meet in Port Elizabeth, Sydney Maree won a "dream mile" in under four minutes (3:57.9) as a high school student. His victory led to accepting a full track scholarship

from Villanova University. Maree won multiple NCAA championships and ran fast enough to qualify for international athletics competitions from which, as a South African, he was barred. Mark Plaatjes, too, was ineligible, as a South African, to compete in the 1984 and 1988 Olympics Games, despite establishing world-class running credentials while at the University of Georgia. Maree and Plaatjes were officially labeled “coloured” and Halberstadt white. Seventy years removed from the rise to power of the National Party, the opinions of Halberstadt, Maree, and Plaatjes on issues of apartheid, athletics, and politics, and their experiences as NCAA student-athletes in the United States, and eventually as American citizens, provide a way of framing the historical complexities of South African distance running and transnational sport.

Doiara Silva dos Santos, Federal University of Viçosa

### The Pan American Games: Latin Americans at the Helm (1959-1975)

Previous research substantiated that the Pan-American Games were a catalyst in increasing Latin American countries’ knowledge and adherence to the Olympic Movement. The Pan-Am Games were inaugurated in 1951. Since then, the event has been consistently celebrated quadrennially, always one year prior to the Olympic Games. Latin American sport leaders embraced the Pan-American idea as early as the 1930s. While the Olympic Games and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) have increasingly come before media and scholarly attention PASO’s activities, including the selection of host cities and its presidents’ agendas, remain less publicized and less examined. This research explored archival sources from PASO’s headquarters and from the Mexican National Olympic Committee in Mexico City to analyze the presidencies of two Latin American sport leaders: José de Jesus Clark Flores (from 1959-1971) and José Beracasa (1971- 1975). Notably, there is a large volume of uncatalogued archival material at both the Mexican NOC and PASO’s library, which made it very difficult to locate materials corresponding to the period selected for this analysis. In general, as president of PASO, Flores set forth two major goals: 1) to give the necessary consistency and strength to the organization to maintain recognition and obtain more support from the IOC; 2) to make the organization self-sufficient economically. Flores established a permanent office for PASO in Mexico City. Under PASO’s direction, he also promoted technical and scientific discussion and exchange of ideas between countries. Flores established an Executive Committee, which updated the statutes of the organization and took responsibility for sending a bulletin to all NOCs reporting on the activities of the institution twice a year. Less was found on the Venezuelan José Beracasa’s presidency. He was elected president of PASO at the XIth ordinary congress of the Pan-American Sports Organisation. Far from being a matter of chance, this ‘high function” was for him the culmination of a rising career in that institution in which, since its foundation, he had occupied various posts on the Executive Board. It was during his term in office, he claimed, that PASO achieved economic independence. He also presented a project named “Pan-American Sports Solidarity” for the development and progress of sport in the Americas and defended the existence and

autonomy of regional competitions. Important to the development of sport in Latin America is the fact that, although led by citizens from the United States of America in its first 19 years, the Pan-American Sports Organization represented one of the first opportunities for Latin American sport leaders to experience the leadership of international multi-sport organizations.

Jonathan Silverman, University of Massachusetts, Lowell

### Get a (computer generated) horse! Racing, modernity, nostalgia, and the deep irony of technological innovation at the track

Horse racing is a sport that increasingly uses advanced technology in a way that draws attention to its reliance on older forms of technology—living things. Betting is increasingly done electronically, computers are used to make wagers based on algorithms that calculate odds, and breeding has become an assembly-line process. Besides engaging deep irony that seems to be enveloping a sport that contains multiple levels and forms of technological engagement, this technological divide points to a number of outcomes:

1. Because of computers, information is being processed at a higher rate as a way to better predict the outcomes of horse races, a process that must take into account a number of variables. As a result, the gap between formal, published information such as past performances, and informal information, such as tips passed on by insiders, is becoming more apparent.
2. The science of breeding is accelerating the retirement of horse racing's best horses, placing an emphasis on young horses, who are also more likely to get injured. A notable three-year-old horse performance, such as that of Triple Crown winner American Pharoah, can lead to millions of breeding fees for its owners—if they stay healthy. The risk reward calculations of keeping a young talented horse racing skews definitively toward retirement and breeding. (As a side note, young horses are also less likely to be predictable in their outcomes, keeping the value of informal racing high.)
3. Technological development is moving, if slowly, gambling away from live events to simulated racing. Already in European betting shops and American casinos, simulation games mimic the handicapping and betting processes, where people can choose their horse based on a past performance. However, these outcomes are planned in advance, and they eliminate multiple betting factors, so there is no real handicapping. However, no horses are hurt by simulated gambling.
4. Racetracks rely on high volume, algorithmic-based, mostly off-track betting for much of their handle, the amount of money bet at a racetrack, but they need people to attend the racetrack to insure it looks like a welcoming environment. Successful racetracks have found ways of emphasizing the beauty of the sport and history of racetracks as means of driving attendance, relying on family days, hat contests, food trucks, as well as the beauty of the horse—in other words, events that take emphasis away from gambling—to get people to the track.

This paper will explore the crosscutting nature of technological change at the racetrack, and why it leaves racing in the position of encouraging technological change on one hoof and pointing to its legacy and history on another.

Ronald A. Smith, Pennsylvania State University

### ["Nailed to the Crossbar': The Joe Paterno Family Lawsuit Against the NCAA"](#)

When the National Collegiate Athletic Association penalized Penn State University in 2012 for what it considered violations of the NCAA Constitution and Bylaws following the Jerry Sandusky Scandal, it, in effect "Nailed Penn State to the Crossbar." The extraordinary penalties inflicted on Penn State included a \$60 million fine, reduction of football scholarships, free transfer for all football players, four-year bowl ban, five-year probation, and vacating 112 football victories, all but one by coach Joe Paterno. To punish Penn State, the NCAA had used the flawed Louis Freeh Report, commissioned by Penn State to understand what led to the Scandal.

The Freeh Report condemned four Penn State administrators, President Graham Spanier, Vice-President Gary Schultz, Athletic Director Tim Curley, and Joe Paterno. Paterno, who had died of cancer a few months before, was condemned as much as the other three. "Mr. Paterno, the Report stated, "was on notice for at least 13 years that Sandusky. . . was a probable serial pedophile." Paterno "purposefully ignored the evidence." The truth, however, is that 13 years before, Paterno knew of a suspected child molestation by Jerry Sandusky, but the child welfare agency, the police, and the district attorney all concluded there was no criminal behavior by Sandusky. The NCAA-Penn State Consent Decree repeated the falsehoods and questionable conclusions of the Freeh Report. The NCAA erroneously used the Freeh Report as fact, condemning Penn State and resulting in Penn State being penalized unjustly for unproven evidences from the forced Consent Decree.

Because Joe Paterno was condemned by both the Freeh Report and Consent decree, the Joe Paterno Family chose to sue the NCAA. With \$20 million or more in the Paterno Estate, Sue Paterno hired a Washington, D.C. lawyer to lead the lawsuit, claiming that the Consent Decree "was unauthorized, unlawful, and 'void ab initio,' that it was never valid. More importantly to the Paternos, they claimed "Joe Paterno suffered damage to his good name and reputation, resulting in irreparable and substantial pecuniary harm. . . ." The Paternos wanted to restore Joe Paterno's legacy. The Paterno lawsuit called for not only compensatory damages but also punitive damages by the NCAA for "reckless and intentional misconduct" harming the Paterno estate.

Before the Joe Paterno Family lawsuit would come to trial, another suit against the NCAA, that of Pennsylvania state senator, Jake Corman, was settled out-of-court and doing away with the Consent Decree. Even with the restoration by the NCAA of Joe Paterno's 111 victories, the Paterno Family lawsuit continued from 2015 to 2017.

This paper explains the major charges against the NCAA by the Paterno Family and why in the summer of 2017, Sue Paterno dropped the lawsuit, more than two years after the major "victory" over the NCAA had been achieved in the Corman case. The

legacy of Joe Paatero may not have been salvaged, but possibly no further damage to the Paterno name would occur by dropping the case.

The major documents in this paper are the 10,000 pages of the Corman lawsuit and the Joe Paterno Family lawsuit in addition to the Louis Freeh Report, the NCAA-Penn State Consent Decree, and the Paterno Family Critique of the Freeh Report.

Marion Stell, The University of Queensland

### [Women with Altitude: Resisting the Role of the Australian 'Chaperon' in Mexico '68](#)

After fifty-six years of Olympic competition for Australian women, the 1968 team still contained significantly more male officials than it did women competitors. But behind the scenes on the Australian Olympic Federation the sole woman, athletics administrator Doris Magee, had been lobbying hard for the removal of the outmoded title 'chaperon' of the women competitors, resisting the suggested demeaning alternative 'supervisor' and in its stead creating the new position of 'assistant managers (women)' opening the way for the appointment of the first women professional managers – the former Olympian Shirley Strickland and hockey president Ruby Robinson – to manage the women's team. Never again would their role be defined as 'tucking a girl into bed and having a look to see she is there'.

John A. Soares, University of Notre Dame

### [Détente Takes a Beating: Sport Diplomacy, Angola, and the Collapse of Détente](#)

This paper will explore sport at the intersection of détente-era efforts to reduce Cold War tensions, and the crisis in Angola. During the détente years, officials in various sports organizations and foreign ministries sought to replicate the success of "ping-pong diplomacy" in smoothing Washington's diplomatic opening to the People's Republic of China. Soviet, American and Canadian officials tried to use hockey diplomacy to improve relations between the North American democracies and the USSR, while American and Cuban officials sought to use baseball as a means of moving Cuban-American relations toward normalization. At their apogee, in 1975-76, this sports diplomacy appeared to give tangible hope that these relationships could be improved: negotiators reached agreement for a series of historic new hockey competitions in the 1975-76 "Super Series" and the inaugural Canada Cup in 1976; and tentative agreement was reached to permit a team of major league all-stars to tour Cuba in the spring of 1976.

Despite the promise of this diplomacy, though, these hockey initiatives did less to improve understanding than their champions had hoped, and the baseball initiative collapsed entirely. In both cases, a major contributing factor was the combination of Cuba's intervention (with Soviet assistance) in the civil war in the newly independent African nation of Angola. The hockey tours brought memorable events, like the 3-3 tie between Moscow's Central Army Club and the Montreal Canadiens, and fans on both sides of the Cold War were impressed by the skill and sportsmanship of players like

Soviet goaltender Vladislav Tretiak and Boston Bruins' defenseman Bobby Orr; however, the tour also featured protests by North American fans against visiting Soviet teams and on-ice violence. Additionally, the Cuban intervention in Angola led the U.S. State Department to decide not to approve major leaguers' travelling to Cuba. Politics and ideology, evident in concerns about a far-distant country, undermined efforts at détente.

This story, based on research in American, Canadian, Cuban and Soviet sources, connects sport to major trends in international relations, and helps illuminate the difficulties facing efforts at détente, despite the most fervent hopes of its many champions Moscow, Washington, and other capitals.

Misty B. Soles, Clemson University

### [Shaming the Skeptical and Abashing the Timid: S.V. Sanford and the Growth of Georgia Football](#)

In the 21st century, Power Five intercollegiate athletic departments have a bevy of human resources at their disposal, including large marketing, facilities planning and fundraising teams, but such was not the case prior to World War II, when intercollegiate athletics were still largely in a developmental stage. Steadman Sanford was a jack-of-all-trades for the University of Georgia, serving in roles that included head of the journalism department, president of Franklin College, president of the university, and chancellor of the university system. This paper focuses on his role in athletics at UGA, particularly in regard to the football program prior to World War II. UGA developed into the football power that it became due to Sanford's contributions, which included the construction of a significant on-campus stadium and the scheduling of Yale in a home game. Relying primarily on archival materials from UGA's Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, this paper will contribute to sports history by broadening our understanding of the growth of college football in the American South during the interwar period.

Katja Sonkeng, and Jepkorir Rose Chepyator-Thomson, University of Georgia

### [Symptom or paradox of globalization? A Historical Comparison Between Soccer's Proneness to Racism and Fan Violence with Cricket and Rugby.](#)

Undoubtedly, soccer is the world's most popular sport – and yet, the very same epitome of globalization has been most prone to racism, fan violence, and many other forms of discrimination since its beginning, ranging from racist chants in the stands, thrown bananas onto the pitch to racially-charged physical abuse of players and officials. Despite various legislative efforts and marketing campaigns from football's governing bodies and its members' teams to combat such hostile tendencies among fans, players, coaches and even officials, bigotry continues to be the paramount issue in soccer. Particularly following a series of high-profile incidents in Italy and Spain in recent years, the question arises why “the beautiful game” of all sports seems to be prone to racism and fan violence. The present study, therefore, seeks to determine key

factors of soccer's proneness to racial discrimination, hatred and fan violence compared to other similar sports such as cricket and rugby by identifying broad similarities and significant differences of each sports' long battle with bigotry. Using a comparative historical analysis with data collected from journal articles and recollections evident in autobiographies, the findings of this study pinpoint defining moments and consequential events in the history of racism in soccer, cricket and rugby, ultimately suggesting the notion of soccer as a symptom or rather a commodity, if not the "ambassador of globalization" (Lynn & Grupee, 2007, p. 7). With European soccer leagues constantly in the spotlight, it may distort the reality and its perception as the most racist sport in the world, considering the similar observed tendencies in rugby and cricket leagues. Even more so, however, the essence of this research provides practical solutions and implications for governing bodies, sports administrators, policymakers, and club owners on how to successfully tackle these resurging, long dormant trends of xenophobia and racism in soccer. Specifically, it is imperative to review current policies, reinforce them more forcefully, and craft new regulations, in addition to fostering an inclusive and diverse culture of awareness through educational-based anti-racist campaigns and adopting an emphasis on diversity and inclusion in school's curriculums. But most importantly, it is necessary to challenge the underlying source of strength for racism, which is the "color-blind" ideology. Simultaneously, the paper fundamentally proves the significant role of sports history as a powerful source to not only identify and articulate properly the roots, sources, and pattern of a universal phenomenon such as racism, but also to have a better chance of ultimately eradicating it from soccer fields and stadiums.

Tommy Slotcavage, Pennsylvania State University

#### "Dorothy Anderson's Intercollegiate Tennis Career: Aberration or Harbinger?"

During the early 1930s, Dorothy Louise Anderson became the first woman to compete in intercollegiate athletics at what was then the Pennsylvania State College. She played on the varsity men's tennis team, earning a letter and graduating in 1935. She later had a notable career as an amateur tennis player, including winning the Wisconsin women's tennis championship in 1942. Almost three decades after Anderson played for the Nittany Lions, the university began their women's varsity program in 1964 as part of the old Eastern Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women. This paper explores Anderson's career at Penn State in an effort to determine whether she was aberration—the only woman to have competed in intercollegiate sport before the development of women's varsity teams in the 1960s—or a harbinger of future developments in women's sports at Penn State.

There are a series of questions addressed throughout the paper regarding Dorothy Anderson, a woman that played on the men's varsity tennis team in the 1930s, including: Who is Dorothy Anderson, and why was she the first woman at Penn State to pioneer the intercollegiate sport? Is Dorothy Anderson unique, or, were there were women similar to her around the country at other universities?

The main source of information regarding Ms. Anderson is from the Penn State archives, as it holds the majority of the information about her time at Penn State. That information includes publications from local newspapers, yearbooks, and any other

samples written about her from her time at Penn State. Additionally, research was pulled from major publications such as the New York Times, Pittsburgh Gazette, and Philadelphia Inquirer. The archives of other universities were also utilized with the assistance of the archivists working there.

Through her success on the tennis court, Dorothy Anderson was able to thrive and pave the way for women across the university. Further, she was able to alter traditional views of women in sport based upon her successful performances and poise on the tennis court while playing men. This change extended beyond just Penn State to other universities, especially ones that she played at and in which she caused controversy. Intriguingly, Penn State men's tennis coach, Dink Stover, recruited her for the squad.

Dorothy Anderson, through her success playing against men at the varsity level, had an impact on views of women in sport, especially in the Penn State community. Through her nearly perfect season, she was able to show that women are able to compete with men and deserve a chance to compete, even nearly forty years before the passing of Title IX. Still, it took nearly three decades for Penn State to create a varsity women's tennis team. Anderson's career opens windows into how women challenged male domination of intercollegiate sport and reveals that even highly successful pioneering efforts did not bear fruit until many decades of struggle had transpired.

[Carl Suddler, Florida Atlantic University](#)

### [A Hit with the Kids: Jackie Robinson's Fight against Juvenile Delinquency](#)

Jackie Robinson was perhaps one of the most unheralded proponents of youth culture and opponents of juvenile delinquency in the 1940s and 1950s. He often reminisced of his own childhood and how he needed the right guidance to dodge trouble as a youth. Admitting he was “no angel” as a kid, Robinson often pointed to the fact that he had too much free time on his hands to keep out of mischief. For that reason, he committed time and money to combatting juvenile delinquency from the earliest days of his professional baseball career forward. Robinson hosted numerous sports camps at the Harlem YMCA; wrote various newspapers columns on the problem of youth crime; regularly called on athletes and celebrities to be more involved with youth organizations seeking to steer youngsters down the right path; and, in 1959, started a program, “Athletes for Juvenile Decency,” that connected professional athletes with young adults in schools, settlement and youth houses, PAL and CYO groups, the YMCA, and other youth organizations. Though the various anti-delinquency programs and organizations Robinson worked closely with targeted youths of all races and ethnicities, he made no apologies “for being particularly interested in the youngsters of [his] own race.” Because Robinson's frame of reference was associated with his own childhood encounters with mischief, he believed he had a special ability to serve black youths and to prepare future generations either to avoid or to handle encounters with state authorities. And he did so not by condemning the behaviors of the youngsters that may have reflected his own youthful responses, but instead by stressing the value of good character and dignified behavior that his own actions became. Such rhetoric, which combined self-help

and racial uplift, saturated anti-delinquency programs in post–World War II America and, here, Robinson was no exception. “A Hit with the Kids” examines the anti-delinquency work of Jackie Robinson at the Harlem YMCA from 1948 until 1957, when the Dodgers moved to Los Angeles. Robinson’s optimism in the youth of America, particularly in a moment of tremendous doubt, was immeasurable. For those close to the Harlem YMCA, they may not remember Robinson’s career batting average; however, they do remember Robinson “batting a solid 1.000 in the inspire-the-kids league.”

Though the various anti-delinquency programs and organizations Robinson worked closely with targeted youths of all races and ethnicities, he made no apologies “for being particularly interested in the youngsters of [his] own race.” Because Robinson’s frame of reference was associated with his own childhood encounters with mischief, he believed he had a special ability to serve black youths. During his youth, Robinson saw evidences of Jim Crow being “the first Negro family to move on Pepper Street in Pasadena.” He also experienced run-ins with the police. It was these kinds of encounters Jackie Robinson wanted to prepare future generations of black youths either to avoid or to handle. And he did so not by condemning the behaviors of the youngsters that may have reflected his own youthful responses, but instead by stressing the value of good character and dignified behavior that his own actions became.

In February 1962, on the eve of his election to the baseball Hall of Fame, Robinson wrote, “I just want to say that if this can happen to a guy whose parents were virtually slaves, a guy from a broken home, a guy whose mother worked as a domestic from sun-up to sun-down for a number of years; if this can happen to someone who, in his early years, was a delinquent and who learned he had to change his life—then it can happen to you kids out there who think that life is against you.” Such rhetoric, which combined self-help and racial uplift, saturated anti-delinquency programs in post–World War II America and, here, Robinson was no exception.

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Ryan A. Swanson, University of New Mexico

### Sport Matters Because Parenting Matters

Children have always played; it’s the organization of that play that has really changed. This project explores the historical roots of youth sports and the ramifications that sport have had on American families and parenting philosophies. In particular, the inception of the Public Schools Athletic League in 1903 institutionalized the intermingling of American education, athletics, and parenting in a way that would fundamentally change the United States.

Seth S. Tannenbaum, Temple University

### Villain or Victim, Capitalist or Leech?: The Historiography of Walter O'Malley

Fans' emotional attachment to the Brooklyn Dodgers and the nature of baseball teams as private companies shaped the historiography of Walter O'Malley. When the Dodgers left Brooklyn, many fans felt like a part of their identity vanished and they directed their ire at the team's owner, Walter O'Malley. Because the Dodgers were a private company, O'Malley's papers were not accessible to the public then and largely remain that way today, so there is little documentary record to contest fans' emotional responses. The combination of fans' emotions and historians' inability to access archival records is not unique to O'Malley or the Dodgers. It is a broad problem for historians of professional sport and one that is not easily navigated.

Fans, journalists, and government officials crafted the initial explanation of O'Malley's decision to move to Los Angeles. Most concluded O'Malley moved because he could make more money in Los Angeles, largely ignoring his efforts to build a new park in Brooklyn. When the papers of Robert Moses, the New York City official who staunchly opposed O'Malley's plan for a new ballpark in Brooklyn, were made public, historian Neil Sullivan used them to argue that Moses was just as responsible for the move as O'Malley. Many fans and some scholars, however, continued to place most of the blame with O'Malley, even after his children gave several researchers access to his papers, revealing further evidence of his desire to stay in Brooklyn.

My paper asks how limited access to professional team and league records, combined with fans' emotional attachments to teams, shaped the narrative of major changes in sport and society. Major League Baseball spreading to the West Coast altered the game's footprint and financial structure, opened the door to expansion, and led municipal officials to rethink their role in keeping team owners happy. Scholars with access to O'Malley's privately-held records offered a different picture of him and his team's relocation than those without access. Since not all scholars have that access though, highly negative views of O'Malley remain a part of even the most recent scholarship. That is not to say that historians who have gained access to O'Malley's records have the full picture either. The people in control of those records are not neutral. They have their own agenda that shapes what documents historians can see. The nature of professional teams means the features of O'Malley's historiography are a common problem for many historians of sport. Team records are usually private and fans' emotions are strong and tend to dominate the initial framing of major events. Even when historians gain access to exclusive archives, there is no guarantee of the full picture being presented. Through the historiography of Walter O'Malley, I argue that sport historians should make their readers clear how fans' emotions and tightly-controlled documents framed initial impressions of major events and how that framing shaped their own conclusions.

Daniel Taradash, New Mexico Holocaust and Intolerance Museum

"A Military Man Among the Militants: Captain Mel Pender, The Olympic Project for Human Rights, and the 1968 Olympics"

The politics and protest that came to define the 1968 Olympics was powered by personalities, individuals, and ideologies that, out of necessity, were larger than life. Further complicating the meaning and message of the moment was U.S. Army Captain Mel Pender. His multiple identities, formed as a product of the Great Migration, career military man, Vietnam combat veteran, African American, and socially conscious athlete, offer fresh insight into the analysis of one complex individual who helped to define this landmark moment in Olympic and U.S. history. Born in 1937 and raised in the segregated South, Pender enlisted in the army as a teenager in 1955. Unlike Tommie Smith, John Carlos, and Lee Evans, whose militancy and athletic prowess were nurtured by Harry Edwards and others on the campus of San Jose State University, Pender's understandings of the intersections of race, activism, identity and Black empowerment were forged during his time as a soldier. Though his status as an army man often superseded his racial identity, the impact of racism and its pernicious effect on him as a soldier, civilian and athlete proved difficult. Further complicating Pender's unique position was his combat experience in Vietnam, a tour of duty specifically furloughed so he could participate in the 1968 Olympics, and promptly reinstated at the games conclusion. Pender's autobiography, along with Author Richard Hoffer's examination of the 1968 Olympics, and other primary and secondary sources provide us with a unique perspective on the "Revolt of the Black Athlete". This perspective is seen through the eyes of an individual who served his country in the jungles of Vietnam; yet who, as a member of the United States Olympic team, routinely questioned America's dedication to racial equality. This work examines how and why Pender was able to embrace identities that should have been incompatible (Army captain, Vietnam combat soldier, two time Olympian and OPHR supporter), but instead proved to be representative of the diversity and complexity that surrounded Black identity, activism, and athleticism in this important historical moment.

John Valentine, MacEwan University

The 1962 Television Network Wars: The NFL's invasion of Canada

After the Second World War Canadian football was much more popular than the American game in Canada. The CFL was actually expanding its reach into the United States with a television contract and an educational strategy. American superstars were spilling North across the border attracting by higher pay. However, things started to change in the early '60s. Led by new commissioner Pete Rozelle, the National Football League started to exploit television and attempted to expand into Canada. When CTV, the first private broadcasting network in Canada, won the rights to broadcast CFL football, the NFL, aided by the CBC (the Canadian public broadcaster), slowly started to attract an audience. The CBC, with the mandate to "safeguard, enrich

and strengthen the cultural fabric of Canada” was showing a competing American product and introducing American football to millions of Canadians. The CBC was starting to create an appetite for what had been a foreign sporting brand. It was an ironic twist that the broadcaster dedicated to promoting Canadian identity instead created interest for an American cultural product that detracted from the similar domestic product.

Wray Vamplew, University of Edinburgh

### [Tanking, Shirking and Running Dead: The Role of Economics and Large Data Sets in Identifying Competition Corruption and Its Causes Historically](#)

This paper will offer an economic history perspective on match fixing based on economic models which explain corruption as a rational decision-making process in which a potentially corrupt athlete weighs up various probabilities. Examples will be taken from sport worldwide including American college sports, NBA basketball, British horseracing, Australian Rules football and sumo wrestling in Japan where large data bases of actual results over time, have allowed possible patterns of match-fixing (as opposed to individual instances) to be identified by the use of probability theory.

Maria J. Veri, San Francisco State University

### [Dixieland Symbols, Indigenous Appropriation, and the Frito Bandito: How Marginalized Groups are ‘Othered’ in Tailgate Culture](#)

In this 7-14-28 style presentation around the session theme “Sport Matters,” I endeavor to illustrate the significance of the cultural meanings that have been and continue to be constructed at the intersection of sport and food. The cultural and historical significance of sport has been well documented, yet remains academically marginalized. The same can be said for food and food practices, and even more so, the relationship between food and physical culture. The small, but growing body of research at this nexus (see, e.g., Brady & Ventresca, 2014; Veri & Liberti, 2013; Wenner, 1998) reveals a rich vein of meanings which have both informed and perpetuated understandings of gender, race, ethnicity, and class in different historical periods in the United States.

Impelled by the cultural studies imperative to take popular culture seriously and read the texts and practices of everyday life as meaningful cultural signifiers, my presentation will focus on the cultural context of tailgating – a pervasive spectator practice with the preparation and consumption of food at its center. I will analyze how race and ethnicity have been represented in tailgate culture by considering the narrative content and images of late twentieth and early twenty-first century tailgate cookbooks. As our main purveyor of information about food, cookbooks have wielded enormous cultural influence throughout history. As such, these publications serve as a significant point of entry for understanding how Americans perceive ethnic foods and the cultural groups associated with them (Gvion, 2009). The content of the tailgate cookbooks under consideration obscures, marginalizes, and otherwise ‘others’ racially and

ethnically identified groups and their histories in the U.S., and I argue, wield influence well beyond the tailgating blacktop.

Patricia Vertinsky, University of British Columbia

### Uday Shankar and the Dartington Hall Trust: Patronage, imperialism and the Indian Dean of Dance

When George Bernard Shaw called Dartington Hall ‘a Salon in the Countryside’, it was a paean to its wealthy owners and their ‘utopian’ plans to establish a place of experiment and innovation in the Devonshire countryside in the 1920s. The Elmhursts accorded a priority to dance from the very beginning lavishing considerable resources upon its development, such that when Oriental dancer Uday Shankar was introduced to Dartington in 1934 he found willing benefactors to help initiate his own cultural center for dance in the hillside province of Almora, India. Artists, says Bannerji, are seldom born with a silver spoon in their mouth, but even if so fortunate, they sometimes take pleasure, as Shankar seemed to have done, in inviting troubles throughout their lives. Shankar’s centre soon foundered, as his various patrons’ efforts were unable to overcome financial mismanagement, and artistic disagreements in the face of wide ranging political turmoil in India and elsewhere. Within four years the center had closed its doors and the coffers of his donors began to ebb, albeit reluctantly. This article explores how the motives of Uday Shankar’s patrons, at a time of heightened anti colonial sentiment in India and a blurring of boundaries between traditional and colonial knowledge, ranged from artistic and educational, to political, to very personal. It concludes that while his patrons sustained Shankar at important stages of his career, in the final analysis their support was contingent on a sustained focus on the educational potential of his work rather than his desire to advance his artistic and creative endeavours and forge a renaissance in Indian dance culture.

Travis Vogan, University of Iowa

### The Boxing Film and Transmedia Sport History

Most scholarship on sports films is organized thematically. It considers how these clusters of texts engage and confront categories like race, class, nation, gender, and so forth. This project, by contrast, reimagines the history of the boxing film genre through its appropriation of the shifting media (newsreels, print, radio, TV, etc.) through which the sport is commonly packaged and consumed over time. It explores how boxing films appropriate, comment on, and repackage these media to serve their dramatic purposes. In turn, it considers how these varying media use the boxing film’s tropes—including its depictions of media—to cover the sport’s reality. The inquiry connects to the “Sports Matters” theme by outlining how these popular media practices and histories—as well as the histories of sport they built—operate at the conjunction and confrontation of

different media, along with the technological, cultural, industrial, and institutional contexts that drive them.

Jared Walters, Western University

### The history of Mixed Martial Arts in Canada, 1996-2011

In this presentation, I will explore the turbulent history of mixed martial arts (MMA) in Canada. MMA's actual history began with the Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) in 1993, in Denver, Colorado. Shortly thereafter, the sport of MMA was brought to Canada, in 1996 as a means of circumventing American legislation, which increasingly placed pressure upon the activity by virtue of its overt violence. However, MMA was met with equal resistance in Canada, as several fighters were arrested by Quebec Provincial Police following the first major MMA event in Canada. It was this moment that marks the beginning of the sport's turbulent and controversial history in Canada. However, just 15 years later, the city of Toronto would host the largest MMA event in North American history, when more than 55,000 fans filled the Rogers Centre for UFC 129.

In this presentation, I will explore the development of the sport in Canada, from its initial introduction as a means of circumventing American legislation, to its contemporary place in Canada as a significant sporting spectacle. How has MMA in Canada evolved from an ostensibly criminal activity to a major sporting entity and mainstay in the sporting landscape of the country in a 15-year span?

Data for this study will be sourced from both major Canadian newspapers, as well as MMA specific media, such as blogs and websites. The newspapers for this study will include The Toronto Star, National Post, Globe and Mail, and Montreal Gazette, as these are the four largest newspapers in the country and have sport sections that have written about MMA. Blogs and websites will be included in data sourcing, because MMA has only existed for little more than the last 20 years, and thus has developed along side the Internet. MMA websites have developed as an important segment in the media of the sport for their thorough coverage and reporting.

The significance of this paper resides in its contribution to the unwritten history of Canadian combative sports. The history of MMA in Canada has yet to be rewritten, from neither an academic nor popular media point of view. Therefore, the writing of this history is important to fill this gap in knowledge. As well, this study will act as an important basis to build upon further research into Canadian MMA. Providing the contextual history of MMA and modern combative sports history in Canada is vital as a basis for future research.

Courtney van Waas, Western University

### 'Your uniform is your membership card': The YMCA and War-time physical education programming

The YMCA during World War II became a constantly shifting service provider for "multiple consumers." However, it was during the war that the YMCA experienced its

biggest ever growth in sport programs for men, boys and occasionally even women and girls. The World Alliance of YMCAs came to the 1942 conclusion that their explicit goal was no longer the converting of men into church members of “good standing” but rather to build a Christian Personality in men and a Christian society at large. One method of doing so, with respect to YMCAs in North America, was to effect changes in athletic programming. A uniform became the recognized entry fee and service men took advantage of the opportunity. To bolster the loss of older male membership due to war enlistments, the YMCA’s of North America introduced swing/graveyard shifts for recreation, elaborate swimming programs, multiple physical training and leadership programs for high school-aged boys, and massive young boy’s programming elements. While Businessmen’s classes were the most profitable to operate, most other programs functioned at a deficit. Deficits, however, could be rationalized as YMCA physical programming at home during the war was to “fill their gymnasiums to get tough for war.” Amongst the physical classes themselves a major component became physical assessments, personalized physical programs, and medical examinations for all those men wishing to enlist in the armed forces. Although these “extra programs” aimed at producing men for war, they incurred massive debts for most YMCA’s, and yet it appeared that most YMCAs (all in control of their own fiscal and programming decisions) agreed with the boost in physical programming and the need of athletics for a healthy nation at war, despite incurring larger and larger debts.

[Jim Watkins, Mississippi State University](#)

### [Sewanee's Fall from Big-Time College Athletics](#)

Since the founding of the Southeastern Conference (SEC) in 1933, only three members have chosen to withdraw from it. Two of those institutions, Georgia Tech and Tulane, both continued to compete in “big-time” college athletics. The other, the University of the South, also known as Sewanee, abandoned the SEC during 1940 in order to play against lesser-known opponents. Sewanee president Alex Guerry had previously implemented policies which resulted in the university placing less emphasis on athletics, such as refusing to award athletic scholarships after 1938. During the 1930s, all SEC schools except for Sewanee attempted to achieve national prominence through college athletics. Given this near uniform desire, why was Sewanee the exception to the rule?

Several factors contributed to Sewanee’s decision to abandon “big-time” college athletics. Two prominent ones were the growth in size of their competing institutions and Guerry’s belief that a university’s participation in athletics as not essential to achieving national renown as a liberal arts university. To examine this topic, I will primarily rely on presidential correspondence and newspapers all kept in Sewanee’s archives. Other primary source material includes correspondence and athletic department records from other SEC members during the 1930s.

Guerry led Sewanee out of the SEC because he believed that the growth of public universities and the increased commercialization in college football made competing in the Southeastern Conference impossible. Between joining the conference in 1933 and leaving it in 1940, Sewanee never won a single conference game. The university only had 250 students during 1937, while their SEC competitors generally had a few thousand. Despite these obstacles to winning, a few alumni argued that Sewanee should remain in the SEC. In doing so, they often expressed nostalgia for when Sewanee had been known as one of the best teams in the nation, and hoped the football program could recover previous success. Such longing was so powerful that in 1937, one former player, despite having no authority to actually do so, tried to hire University of Minnesota celebrity coach Bernie Berman in order to revive the football program. Other alumni argued that the effort of the players against top competition, not their inability to win games, visibly demonstrated the worth of Sewanee to the public. Guerry's decision to remove Sewanee from big-time athletics is significant to the history of college athletics because it provides insight on the differing and often incompatible visions stakeholders have regarding the purposes of their universities. In particular, the history of Sewanee's withdrawal from the SEC illustrates the common visions of intercollegiate athletics during the Great Depression, and how these competing visions shaped how administrators governed college athletics.

[Jonathan Weier, Western University](#)

### [Playing for Victory: YMCA Sport and Physical Education and the First World War](#)

During the First World War, the YMCA played a significant role providing recreational, religious and medical services to combatants and POWs. YMCA secretaries were present in training camps, on battlefields, in rear areas, and in POW camps on every continent. Though the YMCA was active globally during the First World War, and national YMCAs from multiple countries participated in First World War work, some national YMCAs were involved much more prominently and fill a larger space in this history; particularly YMCAs in Canada, Great Britain and the United States.

For the associations in these three countries, the First World War was an important moment in defining the subsequent one hundred years of association work and character. One area in which the First World War impacted the YMCA's work in post-war period was in the area of physical education and sport. While physical education and sport had been important aspects of the YMCA's work as early as the 1880s, it was the First World War and the work that the YMCA did providing sport and physical education to Allied soldiers that confirmed this direction and laid the groundwork for an increasingly robust sport and physical education focus.

This paper will speak to a number of topics all of which come together in the provision of sport recreation services for soldiers in the First World War. It will discuss the early history of the YMCA and something of its development into the global organization it had become by 1914. It will then chart the evolution of YMCA services with soldiers from the late 1850s until the First World War as well as the development of

YMCA physical education work from the 1880s and how, by the time of the First World War this had become one of the YMCA's dominant areas of expertise. Finally, I will unite these threads in a discussion of what the YMCA's physical education and recreation work looked like during the First World War and how the War contributed to the continued importance of this work in the modern YMCA.

While the role of the YMCA is familiar to many scholars of the First World War, very few military scholars have chosen to engage with the full extent of this involvement, or the important role the First World War played in the history of the YMCA and in the evolution of modern physical education and sport. Similarly, the YMCA is well-known among historians of sport, though less so for military work during the First World War.

Not only is this history important in understanding the evolution of services designed to improve morale and combat effectiveness in 20th century armies, as well as the increasing importance of military physical fitness, it is also important in understanding the development of the YMCA as a modern leader in physical education.

Stephen R. Wenn, Wilfrid Laurier University

### 'Out with the Old and in with the New': Jacques Rogge and the European Television Market

In the post-World War II era, Olympic Organizing Committees (OCOGs), and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) when it assumed control of television rights negotiations in the 1980s, held a good set of cards in their negotiations with U.S. television networks that operated on a commercial model. Olympic television rights became a highly prized and sought after sport property for U.S. television executives. Conversely, the European Broadcasting Union, the government-controlled network of broadcasters on the continent had an iron grip on European television rights. IOC President Jacques Rogge sought to alter the dynamics of this negotiating environment and elevate possible revenue from the region.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the IOC had no discernible broadcast partner options in Western European countries other than EBU, or Intervision in Eastern Europe, entities tethered to Europe's national governments which did not operate on a commercial basis. Even when private networks did emerge in the 1980s, their inability to provide blanket coverage convinced Juan Antonio Samaranch that EBU was the much preferred partner (including after its merger with Intervision in 1993). This afforded EBU a significant lever in limiting sums offered. Only when the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) highlighted the disparity in sums provided by U.S. networks and television partners in other regions, most notably Europe, and pursued means in Washington to establish an excise tax on U.S. television rights (payable to the USOC) did Samaranch begin to see a need for redress, and only then after the USOC worked with Washington politicians on legislation that would have transferred the right to negotiate U.S. Olympic television contracts from the IOC to the USOC.

While greater sums flowed from Europe, Samaranch left money on the table. Rogge approached this situation via a two-step process. Expansion within Europe's broadcast industry removed "blanket coverage" as an element of EBU's argument for the status quo. In 2004, Rogge made clear the IOC's intent to consider all possible options in Europe through pan-European, multi-territory, or individual country-by-country negotiations for 2010/2012. Privately, the IOC believed EBU in the best position to ensure quality coverage at this stage. Still, the threat of looking elsewhere pushed EBU to offer \$746 million for the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Winter Games and the 2012 Summer Games (later awarded to London).

This paper examines the IOC's approach to this set of negotiations, and the IOC's breakaway from EBU in 2009 when it signed an agreement for 40 European countries with Sport Five for 2014/2016, but supplemented revenue through individual contracts with broadcast partners in six countries. The paper relies on IOC archival material and interviews with a number of IOC officials. The decisions examined explain, in part, the ability of Jacques Rogge to grow the IOC's reserve fund from the \$100 million he inherited from Samaranch to a sum in excess of \$900 million he handed off to his successor, Thomas Bach. Rogge's financial achievements comprise a story less well understood by historians than the oft-cited changes delivered by Samaranch to the IOC's revenue-generating mission.

[Samantha White, Rutgers University-Camden](#)

### [Ebony Jr! and the Black Athlete: Race, Sport, and Children's Media in the 1970s](#)

In May 1973, readers of *Ebony Jr!*, a new magazine for African-American children, flipped through the pages to find content devoted to black history and culture. Children read about the importance of Langston Hughes and encountered fictional stories starring African-American children. The magazine also presented African-American child readers with images of black athletes. During *Ebony Jr!*'s run until 1985, children read about the lives of professional and amateur athletes. A photo of Hank Aaron greeted children who were interested in learning about the techniques of hitting a baseball.

Kareem Abdul-Jabbar encouraged readers to pursue higher education. Children also read about peers who participated in sports, including young athletes who aspired to participate in the Olympics. While outlets such as *Ebony*, an adult African-American lifestyle magazine, and *Sports Illustrated* provided readers with images of black athletes, these images were rarely depicted within children's periodicals.

My paper examines the relationship between race and sport in African-American children's media during the 1970s. I focus on *Ebony Jr!* because of its position as the second African-American children's magazine since W.E.B. DuBois' *The Brownies Book* (1921). As a didactic text, *Ebony Jr!* aimed to promote an ideology of racial uplift. Through sport, *Ebony Jr!* promoted values of hard work and determination, the importance of family, and investment in middle class leisure practices. While these values were present in *Ebony*, content in the magazine for adults also addressed issues

plaguing African-American athletes such as discrimination and the discourse of essentialized racism. *Ebony Jr!* primarily erased narratives of oppression within profiles of athletes and crafted childhood as a protected space. Through this, *Ebony Jr!* worked to craft sport as a meritocratic space for black child readers. Ultimately, I argue for the importance of including childhood and youth studies perspectives within the field of Sport History and examining children's media as valuable texts for understanding the transmission of ideologies regarding race and sport.

Samuel Winemiller, University of Tennessee

[“Oral History as a Socio-Historical Research Method: Experiences of the U.S. Kabaddi Team at the 2016 Kabaddi World Cup”](#)

Kabaddi is a team sport native to Southeast Asia. In October 2016, a team from the United States attended the Kabaddi World Cup in India for the first time. This presentation discusses the development of a small-scale oral history study about the members of that team. Specifically, the presentation will discuss project planning for socio-historical research purposes, gaining access to a population, and building rapport with interviewees. In addition, the presentation will address the foundations of memory theory and narrative analysis, which served as the theoretical framework and methodology, respectively, for this project. Much of theoretical framework applied in this project was first encountered in a graduate seminar on oral history theory, which provided the essential underpinning for a thoughtful and effective oral history project. I also participated in an internship through the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program at the University of Florida, through which I was able to practice conducting oral history interviews with athletes. This presentation will reflect on how prior experience with oral history theory and practice informed the creation of an original oral history project. Some findings about the team's experience include: the players' negotiation of racial, national, and athletic identities; the players' transition into elite sport; and the impact of globalization on the sport of kabaddi. Twelve of the thirteen players were Black. The presentation highlights six players' negotiation of their conflicting roles as both members of a U.S. national team and as black men during a time of political discord for many African Americans. Of particular interest are participants' descriptions of embracing an opportunity to represent what they considered “their” United States, despite internal conflict about what the United States represents politically. The players' transition into an elite level of competition was unique because of the unlikely circumstances that brought them together – none of the players from the U.S. team knew the sport of kabaddi existed even two months before competing at the World Cup. Yet, they were revered as celebrities in India despite their inexperience in the sport and lack of success in the tournament. This directly relates to the impact of globalization on transition experiences of the team members into elite levels of athletics. The effects of globalization were clearly evident in the production of the Kabaddi World Cup, the fame of the players, and the resources they were provided with by the International Kabaddi Federation.

Michael T. Wood, University of Alabama

[Howard College Bulldogs vs. University of Havana Caribes, November 1927:  
Transnational American Football and Modernity](#)

The varsity football squad of Howard College, a small Baptist college located in Birmingham, Alabama (now known as Samford University), experienced a particularly interesting and successful season in the fall of 1927. The Bulldogs finished with a record of five wins, two losses, and two ties. Of note, the final victory came from a November 19 clash against crosstown rival Birmingham- Southern College that marked the first game at the newly completed Legion Field, a 21,000-seat modern football stadium. On November 20, 1927, The Birmingham News announced a postseason trip by Howard College's varsity football team that included a Thanksgiving Day game against the University of Miami in Coral Gables, FL, and a game against the University of Havana in Havana, Cuba.

The Bulldogs' final opponent, the University of Havana Caribes, was also had an interesting, and somewhat tumultuous, 1927 season. Student protests of President Gerardo Machado's extraconstitutional consolidation of power motivated the embattled president to close the university on several occasions, disbanded student organizations, and pressured faculty and administration to hold tribunals and expel dissident students. Despite this unrest, the American football season proceeded in November and December at the Vedado Tennis Club's Marquises Field instead of at University Stadium. The Caribes competed against squads from Club Atlético de Cuba, the Cuban National Police, the Habana Yacht Club, and the Vedado Tennis Club. In addition to the local tilts, the University of Havana hosted Howard College for a game on November 28.

My paper will argue that American football generally and games between teams from the U.S. South and Havana represent participation in modern society. I will apply a new cultural sport history methodology in examining accounts of this international clash between the Bulldogs and Caribes in U.S. and Cuban newspapers, magazines, journals, university publications, and relevant secondary literature. Overall, it will show how sport can serve as an entry-point to study modernity in the New South and during pre-Revolution Cuba and will contribute to our understanding of the transnational nature of American football, its often-overlooked importance in Cuba, and cultural links between the U.S. South and Cuba.

John Wong, Washington State University

[“Cultrepreneurs – The Patricks and the Pacific Coast Hockey Association”](#)

In his now classic paper published in 1986, historian Steve Hardy called on Sport Historians to pursue investigations into the entrepreneurial enterprises of sport promoters. He argued that the decisions of sport entrepreneurs helped shape the sportscape. Since entrepreneurs were preoccupied in introducing and promoting a sport product in the marketplace, their decisions on how the product actually appeared to the consumers were both influenced by what they perceived be what the consumer wanted

as well as how the marketplace reacted. Yet, sport in general and hockey in particular was not just any consumer product. As an important social and cultural institution, sport could elicit a fierce brand loyalty that few other industries could replicate. Like any other product though, the introduction of a new sport product would still need to attend to all the details within the context of the marketplace and this is especially so if it was a new market.

At the turn of the twentieth century, two brothers started a professional ice hockey league in the Canadian Pacific Northwest. Unlike the National Hockey League, the Patrick brothers' did not endure yet their league would go on to challenge for the supremacy of the sport and its franchises won on several occasions. Whereas hockey had been popular in other parts of Canada by the time of the establishment of the new league, there was no hockey tradition to speak of in the Pacific Northwest. By bringing hockey to the region, the Patrick brothers' entrepreneurial initiative helped spread a popular Canadian cultural pastime to a region where it did not exist before thus making their business adventure a cultural entrepreneurial experiment as well. Drawing on archival records and newspaper accounts, this paper argues that the Patricks were cultrepreneurs.

Miriam Wright, University of Windsor

#### Remembering the Chatham Coloured All-Stars: Public Memory and Meaning of a Historic African-Canadian Baseball Team, 1934-Present

This paper explores the way that the Chatham Coloured All-Stars, a baseball team from Chatham Ontario who became the first African-Canadian team to win an Ontario Baseball Amateur Association (now the OBA) championship in 1934, have been remembered publicly, both in the local press, and through public history initiatives in the early 1980s, and again most recently through a new oral history and digital archive, *Breaking the Colour Barrier: "Wilfred 'Boomer' Harding and the Chatham Coloured All-Stars, 1934-1939* (<http://cdigs.uwindsor.ca/BreakingColourBarrier>). More specifically, it looks at the way that the meaning and significance of the team's achievements presented in public have shifted in the decades since their historic win from celebrating a team's baseball skills and athletic achievements in the 1940s and 1950s to a greater emphasis on the racial and class dynamics and context of the story beginning in the 1960s. In the 1940s and the 1950s, the team was remembered fondly in the Chatham-area press, mainly for the specific baseball skills of the players, and the role the reporters believed the team played in reviving interest in baseball in the wider community. While the newspaper reporters, who were White, made few overt references to race in these reports, racial elements were still a part of the way they spoke of the culture of baseball the team represented. By the late 1960s, newspaper reports, reflecting a more heightened awareness of civil rights issues, began to include references to the history of segregation in baseball and Jackie Robinson, and the fact that as skilled as they were, none of the original All-Stars would have been able to pursue professional baseball. The emphasis, however, remained on the skills and

talents of the players. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, in both newspaper reports, as well as in interviews done with the surviving players, the racial and class contexts of the story feature more prominently. Tied to a growing interest in local Black history in the community, these public reflections on the meaning and significance of the Chatham Coloured All-Stars also paralleled an emerging academic and public commemoration of Black baseball in the United States. Years after the death of the last member of the All-Stars, children and grandchildren of the team members participating in the 2017 “Breaking the Colour Barrier” project frame the story in ways that reflect both social justice themes as well as individual achievement. This paper will contribute to the history of Black baseball in Canada, as well as offer insights on relationships between sports, race, community and social justice.