

**2008**



**North American  
Society For Sport  
History**

**PROCEEDINGS**

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# **ABSTRACTS**

# **A REVOLUTION IN MODERN NATIONS OF RACE AND NATIONHOOD**

Mark Dyreson  
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## **Two North American Visions: Interpretations of Boughera El Ouafi in the U.S. and Mexico**

In Mexico and the United States the news that a Rif tribesman from Algeria who ran under the colors of France had won the 1928 Olympic marathon stunned experts and fans alike. An editorial in the New York Times contended that the Amsterdam games had witnessed “no greater surprise” than El Ouafi’s marathon victory. The Mexican press also credited El Ouafi with turning in the greatest upset of the Amsterdam games. At the same time, Mexicans were disappointed that their own “exotic” Olympians, two Tarahumara foot runners from Chihuahua, finished in thirty-second and thirty-fifth place.

While Mexico could not trumpet that their indigenous prodigies had helped to upset popular theories of European racial superiority at the 1928 Olympic marathon, they did herald El Ouafi’s victory as raising a serious challenge to scientific racism. The Mexican daily El Universal ran an exclusive special report in tandem with the New York Times on Professor Robert McKenzie’s attack on scientific racism at an international academic conference. McKenzie argued that scientific claims of the biological superiority of populations of European descent over other demographic groups were pernicious falsehoods. McKenzie insisted that race was a social construction and not a scientific fact embedded in the human genome. McKenzie’s comments raised serious opposition from his colleagues at the scholarly gathering, the special report noted, but the results of the 1928 Olympic marathon which arrived in the newspaper the same morning



as McKenzie made his speech lent credence to the professor's assertions. The disappointing Tarahumara performance notwithstanding, the Mexico City and New York City dailies concluded that the triumph of "brown-skinned" and "yellow-skinned" athletes from the far corners of the globe over the "white-skinned" favorites of the so-called "civilized" world offered concrete data to counter scientific racism.

The debate over El Ouafi and ideas about race in the U.S. and Mexico, El Ouafi's North American tour, and the stories in both nations about the potential of the Tarahumara as future Olympic champions, reveal a rich texture of racial and national identity-making through Olympic sport. This paper will use numerous U.S. and Mexican newspaper and magazine stories about the events to examine the meanings of El Ouafi and the 1928 marathon. Reading the cultural texts of both nations in the tradition pioneered by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz will reveal intersecting genealogies of culture, nature, nation, and science that highlight the role of the Olympics in the production of modern racial folklore.

Thierry Terret and Anne Roger  
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## **Managing Colonial Contradictions: French Receptions of Boughera El Ouafi's 1928 Olympic Victory**

Despite his promising performances a few months before Amsterdam, Boughera El Ouafi's victory was a surprise for most of the French observers. In addition, in the context of colonial France, his Algerian origins contributed to the neglect of newspapers on his chances. In the 1920s, French colonies were still not seen as a fishpond for sportsmen and it would have been somewhat curious for the press to support him expressly.

Most of the French journalists who wrote on El Ouafi's marathon victory focused less on his "black" status" and more on his "transformation" into a "Frenchman." The main sport newspapers – Le Miroir des Sports, L'Auto, Sporting, L'Echo des Sports – systematically presented El Ouafi as a product of France, with Algeria being an extension of the mother country. They recalled that he arrived in France as a soldier in the French Army. He ran for a Parisian club and worked in the French State company Renault. The unspoken conclusion underneath these stories was that France did not have good athletes on its own soil, but had the capacity to use the "natural" potential of its colonial sport athletes by a rational selection and a relevant training. In a sense, whites demonstrated their superiority over blacks by the use of intelligence.

The metropolitan colonialist press such as La Dépêche Coloniale et Maritime was positive on El Ouafi's contribution to France successes, mentioning "this small Algerian [...] coming to help France." At the same time, the other face of the demonstration was expressed in anticolonialist left oriented newspaper L'Humanité: "Finally, a French victory! This is... ironically... the one of Arabic El Ouafi." However, this ambiguity was no longer visible, given the relative neglect by the press of El Ouafi in the months and years following Amsterdam. The lack of attention paid to El Ouafi can be explained by several factors. On the one hand, El Ouafi's victory could have elicited what Deville-Danthu called the "Siki syndrome," to name the 1922 victory of the Senegalese "Battling Siki" over the French idol Georges Carpentier in boxing. This national tragedy generated a feeling of anxiety in the French population. "Siki's" victory made the French public realize that black athletes could be superior to white ones. On the other hand, El Ouafi became a professional runner soon after Amsterdam, at a time of a war against

professionalism in France, with one of the most radical institution being precisely the Federation of track and field (FFA).

El Ouafi's Olympic victory did not constitute a rupture in France, in terms of French representations of African athletic potential. One year before Amsterdam, for instance, Marcel Berger published articles in L'Auto where he pointed out the long distances performed by people from Congo and Haute-Volta for their daily activities. However, El Ouafi's marathon took place in a phase of transition with France seeking systematically to identify top athletes in its colonies. This process was especially obvious in the Colonial Fair in 1931 and in the "Mission" to Africa of FFA and L'Auto in 1937-1938.

Cesar R. Torres  
SUNY College at Brockport

## **A Golden Second Place: Manuel Plaza in South America**

From the beginning of the modern international Olympic Games in 1896, athletes of Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, or other northern European ancestries dominated the marathon. This hegemony was typically constructed in Occident as a manifestation of racial and national superiority. In light of the results of previous Olympic marathons and their ideological constructions, it was not unexpected that British, Finnish, and U.S., runners were cited in pre-race prognosis as the favorites to win the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics' marathon. Thus, the incredulity when Boughera El Ouafi, an Arab Algerian representing France, crossed the finish line first immediately followed by Chilean Manuel Plaza. The achievements of these "exotic" runners in the 1928 Olympic marathon stunned experts and fans alike in the Olympic powerhouses. The New York Times contended that El Ouafi's victory was the greater surprise of the 1928 Olympics and situated the runner as

an “outsider.” Moreover, for the U.S. newspaper, “In the end” El Ouafi “had only to beat another outsider, Miguel [sic] Plaza.” Likewise, the London Times categorized both El Ouafi and Plaza as “outsiders.” In spite of their marginalization, El Ouafi’s and Plaza’s success opened up spaces to question prevailing popular and scientific forms of racism.

The characterization of El Ouafi’s and Plaza’s 1928 Olympic success in the region, Plaza’s comments of his participation in that year’s marathon, and the narratives of his athletic career offered in South America, reveal a complex story in which social class, nationalism, and regional identity are articulated and contested through and in Olympic sport during the 1920s. This paper uses numerous South American newspapers and magazines about the 1928 Amsterdam Olympic’s marathon and Plaza’s athletic career to examine the multiple meanings of his outstanding performance in Europe. In short, this paper investigates the intersecting and complex genealogies of social class, nation, and sub-continental identity that highlight the role of the Olympic Games in the South American nations during an era in which they began to send large contingents to this global, multi-sport festival.



NAASH Host Robert Barney (left) and his brother David

# **AROUND THE RACETRACK**

Rick Knott  
The University of Pittsburgh - Bradford

## **Race to the Death: A Historic Examination of Tragedy in Auto Racing**

Going faster was always associated with risk, whether it be horse racing, train transportation, or the new novelty of the late nineteenth century, cycling. The fascination of the twentieth century was the automobile. It didn't take long for automobile owners and manufacturers to discover the excitement and even the benefits of racing them. From the first recorded automobile race in North America, Chicago 1895 through speed week at Daytona in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Vanderbilt Cup, the Indianapolis 500, and right up to the present with the popularity of NASCAR, the quest for speed has been synonymous with advancements in automobile technology, and an industrial outlet for the creative instincts in humanity. For more than one hundred years, automobile racing has been a part of American life. It first drew attention as a novelty, but as automobile technology improved, so has interest in the sport attracting mass audiences and worldwide attention.

Right from the beginning, danger for the drivers was part of the equation. Although by today's standards it appears that the wealth and fame accrued these racing pioneers could not be worth the risk, danger never stopped them. The carnage was extreme in the early years of racing. The public watched with morbid fascination. For drivers and mechanics, the injuries and deaths were common to racing accidents, but they knew the risks when they entered the game. There was only an occasional call to ban

racing due to the deaths of drivers, however, there was public outcry when spectators were added to the death tolls.

Some would argue that auto racing is a ghoulish enterprise. Fans pay to see destruction and carnage. Whether that is true or not, nearly everyone who has driven on the interstate is aware of the exhilaration that occurs while driving a car at high speeds. Many fantasize about driving on the race track, and vicariously experience it through their favorite drivers. This paper is an attempt to reconcile the constant tension between the quest for speed and the need for safety, as well as the social and political ramifications when tragedy occurs and spectators get in the way. It examines the numerous contradictions associated with the sport, from the quest for speed, the creative and competitive instincts, the surge for power, advances in technology, as well as grass roots efforts to ban the sport. It is a historic examination of tragedy in motor sports, including the risks and rewards, from the early Vanderbilt Cup races through the death of NASCAR legend Dale Earnhardt. It uses newspapers, AAA Contest Board minutes, and secondary sources to examine the political and social climate surrounding these tragedies.

Darcy C. Plymire  
Ithaca College

## **The Great American Tragedy: Production of Cultural Myth in the 24 Hours Following the Death of Dale Earnhardt**

The National Association of Stock Car Automobile Racing entered the twenty-first century in high gear. Leading the sport out of its regional center, the Piedmont South, and into national prominence was Dale Earnhardt. Winner of seven Cup Championships and seventy races Earnhardt was the iconic representative of the old NASCAR ethos a hard driving, hard living southerner. Earnhardt died in a crash on the

last turn of the last lap of the 2001 Daytona 500, the sport's most important race. His legend, forged over three decades of competition lived on, and indeed flourished in the aftermath of his death that February afternoon, fueled by myriad stories eulogizing Earnhardt in newspapers, magazines, the Internet, popular histories and sociologies, and even popular fiction.

This is a preliminary study of the cultural meanings of Earnhardt produced in the popular media. It focuses on newspaper coverage of Earnhardt's death in the first 24 hours. A search of Lexis-Nexis Academic was complete using the search term, Dale Earnhardt for the 24-hour period, from February 18, 2001 to February 19, 2001. Eliminating duplicates yielded 333 newspaper articles and wire reports. From this collection, 50 stories were selected using a random number generator. The 50 selected stories were submitted to a critical, thematic, documentary analysis.

Daniel J. Simone  
University of Florida

## **Drops in the Bucket? How Auto Racing Survived the Fuel Shortages of the 1970s**

In 1974, and again in 1979, gas shortages had a direct effect on American motorsports, and federal and local political mobilization ensued in an effort to limit or ban auto racing. Due to rising fuel costs and increasing criticism from environmentalists and politicians, the connection between fuel and auto racing has become more prevalent over the last few years. The Indy Racing League (IRL) mandated the use of ethanol fuel beginning in 2007. NASCAR, though lagging behind the general marketplace for over thirty years, has also become more environmentally responsible by eliminating the use of leaded gasoline this past season. The top American sports car racing entity, The

American Le Mans Series, has also switched to an ethanol blend. Indeed, the development and survival of all varieties of motorsports is becoming contingent on environmental legislation and ecological factors.

Twice in the 1970s, fuel consumption issues impinged on motorsports entities and facilities. This project investigates how the motorsports community reacted and adapted to the fuel shortages in 1974 and 1979. It outlines the different measures NASCAR, the Sports Car Club of America (SCCA), and the United States Auto Club (USAC) adopted in their respective responses to the shortages. In addition, this paper explains how the shortages affected grassroots motorsports. Finally, this study examines how motorsports entities reacted to their environmental and political critics.

The Appalachian State University Stock Car Racing Library in Boone, North Carolina, and the International Motor Racing Research Center in Watkins Glen, New York, possess extensive collections that contain important primary source materials. Research trips to these repositories provided the bulk of the data for this project. Interviews with National Speed Sport News editor and ABC motorsports correspondent, Chris Economaki; Tom Slunecka, former director of the Ethanol Promotion and Information Council (EPIC); and Venlo Wolfsohn, a journalist of twenty-five years for the Washington Post who covered both motorsports and environmental issues have been particularly useful. Auto racing periodicals are also consulted in this study. As in the case of oral histories, magazine articles add context, fill in blanks, and enrich narratives. During the 1970s, auto racing magazines such as Stock Car Racing and Hot Rod were active in covering the fuel shortages.



Paul Verrette  
Director of Racing  
Plainridge Racecourse

## **Harness Racing's Forgotten Milestone: Lou Dillon and the First Two Minute Trot**

When harness racing's Grand Circuit stopped in Boston during the final week of August, 1903 the results of one contest instantly became front page news from coast to coast. Lou Dillon, the Queen of the Trotting Turf, had accomplished the impossible and trotted a mile in two minutes. Newspaper coverage ranged from the staid text of the New York Times editorial page, to the flowery prose of the Santa Rosa Republican. When the mare left Boston in her custom built railroad car hordes of fans gathered along the route, attempting to put their hands on a horse that had become a cultural touchstone.

This paper recalls the forgotten story of Lou Dillon and asks what its reconstruction can tell us about harness racing and American sports at the turn of the century. Melvin Adelman and John Rickard Betts have both demonstrated that trotting was among the most popular sporting pastimes in the first half of the nineteenth century. However more than a generation has passed since Adelman's groundbreaking article and further research on trotting is overdue. Retracing the path to the first two minute trot picks up where Adelman and Betts left off and helps to flesh out the history of harness racing.

Trotting remained popular in the second half of the nineteenth century and was omnipresent throughout the press. As the sport evolved horses became faster and the once unfathomable two minute barrier seemed a possibility. That benchmark was postulated about in scientific journals and in papers presented to scientific organizations. Once Lou Dillon became the first horse to trot in two minutes she became a cultural icon.

Surveys of the American press find her name part of the vernacular, used for commercial and political purposes. When the legitimacy of Lou Dillon's records was attacked by purists on the grounds that her connections had unfairly used technology, the issue was given a complete airing in both turf journals and general sporting publications. This widespread coverage of trotting evidence of the sports prominent role in the broader culture will be among the source materials for this paper. Records from harness racing's administrative agencies and governing bodies, along with court proceedings, will also comprise source material.



NASSH President Stephen Wenn

# COMBAT SPORTS PAST AND PRESENT

Richard Kimball  
Brigham Young University

## Who Killed Benny Paret?

On the evening of March 24, 1962, welterweight boxer Emile Griffith pounded his opponent, Benny “Kid” Paret, senseless in front of a raging crowd at Madison Square Garden and a national television audience. Battered by 29 unanswered punches, Paret’s body laid slumped in a corner, comatose and still. Ten days later, he died in a New York City hospital, a victim of the violence inherent in combative sport. Paret’s death was a personal tragedy for his pregnant wife and two-year-old son, but the aftershocks of his death shook the sport of boxing to its core and prompted an extended examination of the sport from all corners politically, culturally, philosophically, and even artistically.

The boxing ring is a violent workplace. Boxers die. If a victim is relatively famous, commentators remark on the brutality of the sport briefly and move on. Every few years, almost ritualistically, a redeemed former boxer, trainer, or fan calls for the abolition of sport. The charges typically fail to stick. But, in 1962, with the image of Paret s pounding fresh in millions of minds, the call for boxing’s reformation reached the highest pitch in the modern history of the troubled sport. The 1960s were a time of rapid cultural and social change, and boxing was swept up by the swirling currents of reform. Paret’s death pushed boxing away from the shore.

This paper will focus on what happened in the wake of Paret’s death. Reformers and newspaper editors called for the prohibition of prizefighting. The New York state legislature held hearings regarding the future of the sport in the Empire State. Television broadcasters revisited the propriety of televising live fights. Folk singer Gil Turner

composed and performed his interpretation of the match in “The Death of Benny Kid Paret.” Norman Cousins wrote a scathing editorial for the Saturday Review and Normal Mailer elaborated his thoughts on the subject as well. Paret’s death became a cause célèbre which shined the hot lights of attention on the violence of boxing. The intersections of sports, politics, mass media, social unrest, and sexuality in post-war America are laid bare by examining the various reactions to Paret’s death. Although some historians and journalists have analyzed the Griffith-Paret fight, none has written a comprehensive interpretation of the fight and its aftermath. This paper is an attempt to initiate that type of study.

Bettina Kratzmueller  
Wilhelminenstrasse

### **pugiles catervarii, Latini et Graeci – some Comments on the Boxing Culture of Roman Times**

During the last decades a main focus has been laid on the analysis of ancient sport and athletics of Roman times. Specialists like Hugh M. Lee, Christian Mann, Zahra Newby and Jean-Paul Thuillier have not only dealt with Roman sports, but also with the integration of Greek athletics into the Roman agonistic and entertainment program. The focus of the paper, however, will lie on the summary of the state of research concerning boxing and pugilism during Roman Times and in discussing certain open questions and problems.

Ancient written sources prove that several boxing matches were part of certain events, certamina athletarum (games following traditional Greek rules), ludi (Roman games), or were performed within other Roman spectacula. Moreover, three sorts of boxers were named by Suetonius (Divus Augustus 45, 2) for the Augustan time, Greek

boxers, Latin pugilists as well as catervarii, groups taking part in a kind of scrap. The aim of the paper is to define the differences between the three kinds of boxers being based on ancient written sources as well as on pictorial and archaeological material.

The starting point for the discussion will be the phenotype and appearance of the athletes, especially the differentiation of the boxing-gloves worn by the contestants. Greek and Latin written sources note several kinds of himantes and caesti. The archaeological material also delivers different boxing gloves including such seeming to have cruel metallic spikes which surely have to be interpreted as Non-Greek. Some of the boxers bear the cirrus, a certain hair-style. Many boxers are nude, the typical sign of Greek-ness, and others wear a subligaculum, the Roman loincloth.

The pictorial material shows that it is not easy to interpret the shown scenes in each case e.g. on mosaics where nude pugilists using spiked gloves – a sign of not-Greek-ness – are represented between other athletes who are clearly competing in Greek events. These pictures demonstrate a certain reciprocal influence respectively interaction between Greek and Roman athletics which may depend on the geographical area where the pictures come from.

Trying to find out more about the different types of boxers of the Roman period is not only important to fill a gap in the knowledge of the history of ancient sport. Boxing, however, was not only popular during ancient times but can be found in very different areas all over the world at each period and can be seen as part of the original nature of mankind. It has not only been a popular sport for the athletes themselves but more than that it has always played an important role within spectator sports. The history of pugilism and watching boxing matches tells a lot about the human race during all periods.

## **Gouren: When Wrestling Steps Down the Ring**

Gouren is a folk style of wrestling, localized in Brittany, the western region of France. In a context of dense identity and political determination, this sport has mutated and globally declined throughout the twentieth century. Both considering the image and the type of practice, it has shifted from a tournament based and somehow professional activity with a status of main spectator event to an amateur style, focusing on education, in addition to an image of traditional sport displayed by the actual governing federation. From frequently crowded events until the 1960s, on a local basis, reaching six thousand people at its peaks, the audience has decreased from the 1970s to some hundreds for the most important tournaments, region wide, while some formal matches are attended by clubs delegations only. The number of affiliated wrestlers increased from a 100, concentrated in a limited area, to a 1,000 ½, over Brittany, with a peak reaching three thousand circa 1970. These figures lead to investigate the reasons for this reduction of popularity, the causes of the limited development, and the impact of the management policies.

In order to synthesize usual explanations about the evolution of Breton sports and take into account the spectacular and imaginary aspects of wrestling, this paper will analyze the evolution of Gouren as entertainment. Parallels between tournaments and spectacles, federation managers and producers, association policy and staging, member recruitment and publicity, sport and show performances, permit to identify reasons for the passage from main social event to ordinary, indeed marginal activity. The data considered are brochures and federation publications, as well as setting analysis, with the

help of iconography. The corpus is completed by figures about the sport and cultural regional activity, and elements about sport practice amongst the Breton Diaspora in other parts of France or in the USA.

Wrestling is a colorful sport made of excess and dramatic elements, linked to mythicized events or persons. It is often associated with professionalism, ritual aspects, and an ambiguous relation to violence. Nevertheless, amateur styles develop a high sense of ethics and respect, which lead teachers to frequently plebiscite its educational interest. Gouren has been managed, at some stage, by two rival federations, which has contributed to strengthen these two different logics and make it a double sport. The antagonisms simplified and toughened the opposition, and eventually, in an attempt to reach a higher number of wrestlers, the educative aspect supplanted the spectacle. This sport has probably been handicapped by some strategies, which deprived it from one of its essence component, without managing to reach again a larger audience.

The negative identity characterized by LE COADIC for Bretons is probably one key explanation to the fact that, somehow, a spectator sport has been afraid to exhibit itself. This case is significant on the theme of identity and the promotion of sport. For reviving traditional activities, or sports in quest for popularity, development strategies are crucial. This study explores and discusses the history of a Manichean choice between sport and entertainment.

# **COMMUNITIES IN SPORT INFRASTRUCTURE AND SPECTACLE**

Ari de Wilde  
Ohio State University

## **Antecedents to Failure: Entrepreneurs, the Great Depression and Six-Day Bicycle Racing, 1928-1932: An Interpretation**

Contemporary media accounts portray professional bicycle racing in financial crisis. As symbolized by the inability of Tailwind Sports (Team Discovery Channel Cycling) to find a replacement sponsor, corporations have been hesitant to invest in professional cycling. News coverage of this financial crunch highlights doping and doping scandals as the chief culprit, while ignoring other major entrepreneurial issues. These issues include an increasing focus on high-end road racing in what the Union Cyclist International calls the ProTour, and the resulting and equally problematic power struggle between the U.C.I. and the Amaury Sport Organization (organizer of Le Tour and the owner of the French sports daily L'Equipe). While I do not wish to argue that doping is not a problem in cycling, I do wish to argue that it has been a cover issue for more threatening entrepreneurial issues. I argue that economic context, entrepreneurial greed and entrepreneurial focus only on the highest grossing races mirror the factors leading to the downfall of the once popular American sport of six day bicycle racing and, bicycle track racing more generally, in the late 1920s and 1930s.

In this paper, I wish to examine the business substructure of the North American bicycle-racing scene from 1928 to 1932. To do so, I utilize a Steven Hardy-inspired “Inside-Out” approach to analyze the entrepreneurial underpinnings of North American bicycle racing, primarily focusing on the then-Czar of American racing, John M.



Chapman. Methodologically I draw from a wide-range of primary and secondary sources. In particular, I examine coverage of professional cycling in the New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune and Time magazine and what many of their Jazz-Age narratives can say about the antecedents to the failure of American bicycle racing in the late 1930s and 1940s.

Robert Dunkelberger  
Bloomsburg University

## **Pageantry, Spectacle and Giant Pumpkins: Competition and Culture at the Bloomsburg Fair, 1890-1950**

Beginning in the early 19th Century fairs in Pennsylvania were used to promote agriculture. Although the primary focus was on commerce and education, as the century went along the emphasis was shifted to recreation and varying forms of competition. Whereas efforts to establish an official state fair ultimately failed, county or community fairs grew in popularity, sponsored most often by local agricultural societies. Held in the fall to showcase crops they also included agriculture-related competitions such as plowing matches, but after 1850 it was horse racing that became predominant, along with many other forms of entertainment.

The first fair held in rural Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania in 1855 was organized because it was felt an exhibition of this type would be of benefit to the community. Originally a one or two day event its purpose was first and foremost to display agricultural products from farm and home. Once a race track was added four years later however competition became a primary draw, and not just for prize-winning pumpkins, pies or quilts. As the years went on and the event grew in popularity the number and size of facilities increased and the types of competitions became more varied, which by the

20th Century included baseball and auto racing. The agricultural component was always there and an effort made to maintain a country atmosphere, but the fair eventually became a spectacle and attraction that began to exemplify the cultural tastes of the region and cater more and more to people with little or no interest in farming.

This paper addresses the following questions: Why was the decision made to expand the Fair beyond its agricultural roots? Why were competitive events, beginning with horse racing, chosen? How were the facilities expanded to accommodate these new attractions? What did the events that were offered say about contemporary society? The primary argument will be that the Fair needed to add attractions such as athletic and other competitions in order to grow and ultimately survive, especially as society changed and the role of agriculture became less prominent in Pennsylvania. The paper's significance is that it shows a rural fair as a microcosm of our culture and society, and how the introduction of competition and athletics to these annual events at Bloomsburg set the stage for the fair to become one of the largest agricultural exhibitions in the eastern United States. This paper will be most appropriate for sessions that concern the role of athletics in society.

Jim Nendel  
Pennsylvania State University  
Altoona College

## **The Manchester All-stars 1987 Bud Bowl Team: Success and Failure on the Gridiron in the United Kingdom**

2007 has marked a renewal in the interest of American Football, by Americans, in foreign lands. In July, the United States fielded a team for the World Cup of American Football for the first time in the events twelve year history and the games were broadcast on the National Football League (NFL) network. September celebrated John Grisham

publishing a novel entitled Playing for Pizza which highlights the game of American football as it is played in Italy. In October, the first regular season NFL game played outside of the United States occurred in London England at Wembley Stadium between the Miami Dolphins and the New York Giants. There have also been setbacks such as the NFL pulling the plug on its developmental NFL Europe football league after 17 years. That news has led many to believe that American football cannot exist outside of the borders of the United States. Sports Journalists and ESPN color analyst for Monday Night Football Tony Kornheiser has repeatedly declared that “American football overseas is a failed experiment.” If one only looks at American football from the perspective of the NFL and its commercial success that may be a valid conclusion. However, to get a ticket to the game at Wembley fans had to enter a lottery system. Over one million people sent in their names in England for the 70,000 or so available tickets to watch a mediocre Giants squad play a Dolphins team which had not won a game all season.

That level of interest did not just suddenly arise. American football has been played in the United Kingdom (U.K.) for over twenty-five years at various levels by British players. At various times in its history the game has threatened to explode only to be doused through inept management, interference by the NFL itself and the power and influence of soccer owners in the U.K. One of those flashes of incredible growth occurred in 1987 when the Manchester All-stars completed an undefeated season and set up a classic North-South confrontation against the London Ravens, undefeated through their entire seven-year history, in the Budweiser Bowl at Queens Park Rangers home ground at Loftus Road in London. The game would draw a national television audience and a standing room only crowd at the stadium. During the 1987 season over 400 teams

kitted up to play American football in the United Kingdom, but none captured the imagination of the nation as much as the “pass happy” All-stars. This paper will examine the 1987 All-stars season and their ability to build an imagined community in the north of England which still resonates today even though the team went defunct four years after the Bud Bowl season due to management inexperience at dealing with the battle strengthened and powerful forces of the Football Association who recognized a potential threat in this new game and especially this team.

Robert Pruter  
Lewis University

## **Chicago-New York Intersectional High School Speed Skating Contests in the 1920s: Civic Boosterism and Chicago’s Image in the Golden Age of Sports**

The 1920s has often been considered the golden age of sport. It was an era that gave us an unprecedented number of sports titans – Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Red Grange, Jack Dempsey, Bobby Jones, Helen Wills, Paavo Nurmi, and many others. All levels of competition – high school, college, amateur, and professional – experienced increased interest and great commercial expansion. High school speed skating, or ice skating as it was called then, shared in this Golden Age expansion with a series of intersectional contests, particularly between Chicago and two locations in New York (New York City and Lake Placid).

There were three intersectional schoolboy speed skating contests during the 1920s, all under the administrations of Chicago Mayor Big Bill Thompson. The first two took place during his second term of office, in 1921 and 1922. The first year a Chicago schoolboy team barnstormed across the northeast meeting teams in Cleveland, Pittsburgh,

Philadelphia, and New York City. The next year, schoolboys from Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, and Chicago, gathered in Chicago for a speed skating “national championship.” In 1928, during Thompson’s third term, a Chicago team went to Lake Placid to compete against schoolboys representing various cities, most from Lake Placid and nearby Saranac Lake. Although his terms of office were characterized by demagoguery, corruption, sleaze, and the rise of Al Capone, Thompson also governed as a builder and a civic booster, with the intention of building a positive image of Chicago to the world.

This paper will examine the three intersectional speed skating contests as a small facet of Thompson’s policy of civic boosterism, and consider them in the context of the rising tide of gangland violence in Chicago during the 1920s. The paper will illustrate how Mayor Thompson and city authorities took this one particular sport, and one particular level (schoolboy), and attempted to use it to enhance the city’s image. In considering the ultimate results of those efforts, the schoolboy speed skating teams proved to have a miniscule impact in boosting Chicago’s image to the rest of the nation, not much less than Mayor Thompson’s many other civic promotions he carried out to improve Chicago’s image. The avalanche of counter-images to the world was just too great. By the end of the 1920s, Chicago had become world famous for Al Capone, the Thompson submachine gun, the St. Valentine’s Day Massacre, and overall gangsterism, and this reputation did not go away until the arrival of a sports hero in the 1980s, Michael Jordan. Yet the examination of these contests serves as a worthy case study of how sport has been used to “shape and promote certain images and identities” (to quote Mark

Dyerson), so that we as sport historians can better appreciate and understand the role of sport in general in our society.

Philip Suchma  
Lehman College

## **If They'd Built It...? Stadium Dreams and Rust Belt Reality for the Industrial City**

In Field of Dreams a haunting voice tells farmer Ray Kinsella, “If you build it, he will come.” Following this ghostly command, Kinsella creates a baseball diamond that brings the spirits of the 1919 Chicago White Sox, a parade of tourists, and most importantly the ghost of his deceased father to his farm. Sporting space, in this case, was uplifting for the individual and an attractive destination for others. Roughly two decades earlier, civic leaders turned their attention to the question of sporting space in Cleveland, Ohio in a similar vein. Amidst rising unemployment, political fighting, increased crime, under-funded educational systems, racial tensions and an increasingly abandoned downtown, they argued that new sports facilities would entice people back downtown and help revive the city’s economy and image. The failures of the Luckman Plan (1969-1970) and the Christopher Plan (1973) to build a new downtown stadium, symbolic to some of the city’s traditional stagnation, begged a question of the voice that haunted Kinsella: “If Cleveland had built it, would they have come?”

The challenges Cleveland faced in the late 1960s and early 1970s were not new or unique. Predicted by local and national commissions during the 1940s, these urban problems had become common to the struggling industrial cities of the upper Midwest or Great Lakes region, the Rust Belt. With the days of the national economy mainly relying on the production of heavy industry all but over, and with business and population

moving to either of the traditional central city's main competitors – the suburbs and the American Sun Belt – Cleveland, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Gary, Youngstown, and other traditional urban centers found themselves faced with questions of short-term and long-term economic and cultural survival. The industrial city, especially its downtown, was no longer the “heart of American civilization,” according to urban historian Jon Teaford. It had instead transformed into a shelter for society's underprivileged and undesirables. The task at hand for urban planners and civic leaders was to identify and implement a magical cure-all.

This paper specifically examines Cleveland's unfulfilled plans to construct a downtown stadium in an attempt to further the understanding of the economic and civic meaning attached to sporting edifices. It is supported by editorials and articles from local newspapers, letters and memos from the manuscript collections of Mayors Carl Stokes and Ralph Perk, and the stadium plan reports themselves. Although the specifics of this study are linked to Cleveland, the larger themes are pertinent to an understanding of the meshing of sport to urban decline and revitalization attempts in the Rust Belt. Given the broader economic and cultural shifts, the extent to which a new stadium or arena would positively have impacted a Rust Belt's economy or population migration patterns was questionable. The notion of sport as an institution of great civic uplift (that immeasurable commodity) was also a point of civic contention. Still, a new stadium was framed as a prominent panacea for Cleveland's ailments. The fact that both proposed stadium projects failed, and that subsequent construction of a new facility occurred outside city and county limits, symbolized the continued downward spiral Cleveland would experience through the end of the twentieth century.

Robert Trumbour  
Pennsylvania State University  
Altoona College

## **Activism and Minority Involvement in the Construction of Pittsburgh's Three Rivers Stadium**

The planning, design, and construction of Three Rivers Stadium in Pittsburgh during the late 1960s and 1970 coincided with civil rights activism nationwide. As a result, the stadium served as a symbolic civic landmark for previously disenfranchised and marginalized African Americans. The goal of many within this community was to seek new job opportunities that were not available to minorities prior to the civil rights movement. In The Revolt of the Black Athlete, written as Pittsburgh's stadium construction was underway, Harry Edwards argued that "every time a dollar gained from athletics goes into another white-owned, white controlled project, a dollar is denied the black community." The events unfolding in Pittsburgh during this period marked an attempt by many in Pittsburgh's African Americans community to address the equity issue raised by Edwards.

Though the rationale for construction was to bring the city a more modern image that would shake its long-held "rust-belt" stereotype, the civil rights issue was more profoundly represented here than in other stadium projects around the nation. Pittsburgh officials appeared to understand the tensions that previous job-related discrimination caused, and, as a result, took several tangible steps to address race-related issues as construction unfolded. The groundbreaking ceremony showcased African American Olympic star Jesse Owens as the keynote speaker and Pittsburgh's newly elected mayor, Peter Flaherty appointed John Henry Johnson, an African American, to serve on the regional stadium authority's board of directors.



Nevertheless, minority progress on hiring fell short of expectations, and minority voices were limited in their ability to bring change. Significant demonstrations and activism took place around the stadium construction site, and a variety of behind-the-scenes meetings were arranged to address the hiring issue. The public, largely white, offered support for the minority cause in letters to the editor and as active participants in demonstrations. After the stadium was completed in 1970, several positive steps were taken to address minority hiring equity.

However, when new ballpark construction occurred at the end of the Twentieth Century, evidence of minority exclusion resurfaced in Pittsburgh once again, despite a pre-groundbreaking commitment made by legislators to actively involve minority businesses in the construction process. Public support for minority rights in the more recent stadium construction was significantly less visible. The implications of this lack of support will be discussed.



Amanda Schweinbenz, Tom Hunt, Elizabeth Hanley, Megan Popovic, Don Morrow, Kevin Wamsley

# **THE IMPERIAL PROJECTS, SPECTATOR AND SPORT SPACES**

Russell Field  
University of Toronto

## **“As Much a Part of the Game:” Hockey Spectators at Maple Leaf Gardens in the mid-1930s**

While historians recognize the importance of spectators to the financial and cultural success of the commercial sport ventures of the interwar years, the question remains: Who filled the stadiums, ballparks, and grounds across Europe and North America? Little demographic data exists from which to paint a picture of the sporting audience. Jeff Hill notes that “spectators have proved a difficult entity for historians to grapple with,” in part, because as Jack Williams notes, scholars have had to rely on little more than “impressionistic evidence.”

This paper examines a previously unexplored source of spectator demographics through a case study that uses ticket subscriber data detailing more than 1,500 account holders for seats at Toronto’s Maple Leaf Gardens. In conjunction with city directory and census records, a profile is created of the crowd at commercial hockey games featuring the Toronto Maple Leafs during the 1933-34 National Hockey League season. This analysis provides a window into the identity of the hockey spectating crowd in interwar Toronto – specifically its composition along gender, occupation, class, ethnicity, and age lines. In 1930s Toronto, despite the fact that “[g]rinding poverty reduced the ability of many Torontonians to take any pleasure in the city’s social life, ... [t]he employed middle class enjoyed greater prosperity as prices fell and remained low.” It

was within such a context that the “employed middle class” contributed to Maple Leaf Gardens’ gate receipts by subscribing to seats throughout the arena.

Toronto’s interwar ice hockey crowd was “mostly male” as men represented 88.1% of account holders. These men worked more frequently in white-collar occupations than men in Toronto’s wage-earning population, and those who did work in blue-collar industries were more likely to occupy managerial jobs. Male subscribers had an estimated average annual income 57.83% higher than the average income in 1931 Toronto. While many women attended games as the guests of male ticket purchasers, the women who subscribed to seats were similarly middle class. The majority of female subscribers for whom occupational details were available worked in clerical and service positions, and had an estimated average income 34.63% higher than the city average for wage-earning women. Despite the overall middle-class status of spectators, as one moved down through Maple Leaf Gardens’ stands closer to the ice, the estimated average annual income and the frequency of managerial or professional employment among ticket subscribers increased. Finally, in a city where 81% of the population claimed British origins there was seemingly little ethnic diversity at Maple Leaf Gardens.

Gabe Logan  
Northern Michigan University

## **Pilgrims’ Progress in Chicago 1905-1911**

In 1905, London, England’s Pilgrims soccer team embarked on a North American tour to promote association football (soccer). The U.S. leg included matches in Chicago where the English played local all-star teams. One academic study of the 1905 tour concluded the visit was a “failure in cultural imperialism” since soccer did not usurp the popularity of collegiate style American football. Although true enough, the tour had

profound effects on Chicago's soccer community. The successful English tours re-energized a recently defunct Chicago Football Association (CFA), inspired varsity play on the university, collegiate, and secondary levels, and showcased the city's top teams and players. This essay will examine daily and ethnic newspapers, soccer yearbooks, and dairies. The historical record demonstrates the 1905 and later English soccer tours enhanced the Second City's nascent soccer culture.

In 1890, six teams formed the CFA and played two seasons per year for much of the decade. However in 1898, the economic depression, and the Spanish-American War combined to dampen soccer enthusiasm. Still soccer continued on an informal level. This changed in 1904, when local teams once again re-organized the CFA. The following year, the Pilgrims announced the inclusion of Chicago on their tour. Chicago's soccer community selected and trained an all-star team that gave the Pilgrims a heated match in their first meeting and surprisingly defeated the English in the following day's re-match. The level of competition, spectatorship, and publicity demonstrated soccer's popularity and competitiveness in the city. Furthermore, the tour's success also caused the CFA to expand into professional and amateur divisions. Teams widely played soccer in the athletic clubs, parks, and industrial grounds.

The Pilgrims also fostered soccer's popularity in academia. The University of Chicago's football coach, Amos Alonzo Stagg, requested that soccer be played alongside collegiate football at the universities of Chicago, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Iowa. Informal club play began in 1905 and by 1906 varsity and club soccer matches frequently took place before the football games. Likewise, Illinois' Elmhurst and Knox colleges organized and maintained varsity clubs that competed for the "Western Soccer

Championship.” Secondary schools also promoted soccer following the Pilgrims’ visit and recruited English coaches to oversee their programs.

Chicago’s adult clubs used the Pilgrims’ 1905 visit as a litmus test to measure local talent, as they did again in 1906, 1909, and 1911. Solid performances by Chicago’s teams prompted other U.S. soccer leagues to send their champions to compete against the Chicagoans that played the English. Thus, the Pilgrims’ visits also promoted regional and national soccer matches. While much of United States soccer history remains unexplored, the 1905 Pilgrims’ visit provides a context of Chicago’s long relationship with the “beautiful game.” It helps explain how and why soccer continued in the city’s athletic clubs, spread to the parks, remained a stable fixture in industrial recreation complexes, and became a varsity sport in many schools. In short, the Pilgrims’ visits give us a better understanding of how Chicago played in the early twentieth century.

John McClelland  
Victoria College

### **Sports Spectators and (the Lack of) Sports Arenas: From the Middle Ages to the End of the Eighteenth Century**

In 1786, the German poet Goethe visited the recently restored Roman amphitheatre in Verona and imagined how exciting it would have been when filled with spectators jammed together, as in ancient times. He then attended a ball game that attracted some thousands of fans, for whom no viewing provision had been made, and wondered why it had not occurred to the organizers to hold the game in the arena. Two centuries earlier an equally perceptive writer, Michel de Montaigne, visited the same arena, then in the course of rebuilding, and wondered why the city was bothering to restore it.

From the late 13th century onwards spectator sports, largely tournaments and jousting, came to be more tolerated and were held in urban centers or in places of relatively easy access. Yet those who arranged these events (e.g., René d'Anjou, *La forme et devis d'un tournoi*, 1460) built seating for only a small number of noble spectators and thought that large crowds of ordinary fans were a nuisance that had to be kept at a distance. Despite this, contemporary representations depict commoners as being so eager to watch the action that they were prepared to perch on dangerously sloped roofs, while other accounts tell of people renting rooms in apartments that had even a limited view of the town square or streets where the games would take place.

Goethe's perception of cohesive crowd dynamics in a large arena marks the beginning of modern conceptions of the active role that spectators play at sporting events. Evidence from earlier centuries indicates that his predecessors had a more ambivalent attitude. They might welcome the excitement that large numbers of spectators brought to a sports event, but their natural aversion to society's lower orders and the wariness of their natural volatility (14th century re-volts in both England and France) induced them to keep such spectators at a distance and at a physical disadvantage.

Catriona M. Parratt  
University of Iowa

## **Chasing the Wild Deer and Following the Roe: Hunting in the Culture of the Scottish Highlands**

By the middle of the nineteenth century, hunting in the Highlands of Scotland had become largely the monopoly of a wealthy, Anglo or Anglicized elite. Complex and expansive systems of land management, proprietorship, and conservation, supplemented by a draconian, highly conservative body of land and game law ensured that only those

with deep pockets and the requisite social connections could legally share in the joys of the chase.

For the native Gaels of the Highlands and Islands, whose claims to and relationship with the land had since at least the eighteenth century been tenuous and fragile, the transformation of thousands of acres into private sporting preserves was deeply problematic and by the late 1800s, they were directing much of their anger over the inequitable distribution of land at deer forests. One aspect of these battles over land use, both in this and earlier periods, which has not received much attention from historians, is the rich symbolism of the natural world, and especially deer, in Gaelic culture. Deeply emblematic of home and hearth, of kin, gender, and sexual relations, cherished for its sheer physical demands and delights, by the Victorian period, deer-hunting was a valued but no longer licit pleasure for the ordinary Highlander.

This paper examines the way in which the appropriation of this traditional sport of the Gàidhealtachd and the disruption of the relationship between the Gael and the natural world of which it was a part registers in the protest poetry, song and oral history of the late nineteenth-early twentieth century.

Steven Pope  
University of Lincoln

## **Imperial Rivalries: American and British Discourses on Empire and Davis Cup Competitions, 1900-1950**

In 1899, Dwight Davis participated in the first tennis tour of the United States. Davis was impressed with the burgeoning American tennis scene and upon his return to Boston he donated a large silver punchbowl to the United States National Lawn Tennis Association to be used as the “International Lawn Tennis Challenge Trophy” for an

annual tournament (which became to be known as the Davis Cup). Davis and his Harvard teammates were keen to challenge the leading British players for national (and international) bragging rights. In August of 1900, a British contingent accepted the challenge and played their American rivals at Boston's Longwood Cricket Club. The Americans surprised the turn of the century transatlantic sports world by sweeping the competition against a favored British squad by a score of 3-0.

In this heyday of popular nationalism, athletes, writers, commentators, and politicians confidently linked sporting victories with national and racial prowess. Writing just days before the outset of WWI (in fact, the 1914 Davis Cup coincided with the Guns of August), sportswriter Mack Whelan maintained that national characteristics were reflected in tennis. Taking the average of the leading players among the seven nations enlisted in Davis Cup competition, he wrote, broad lines of character division do unmistakably reveal themselves. Contrasts in mental attitude which history has erected between French, British, German, and American types are outlined in strong relief in the modern annals of tennis. Mack reserved his most pointed comments for assessing the state of British tennis. His British peers did the same in needling their American rivals.

The proposed paper will examine the ways in which American-British sporting rivalries provide insight into the competitive imperial mentalities during the first half of the twentieth century. More specifically, the thrust of this paper is to provide a transnational, comparative analysis of American sport history which engages some of the recent historiographical debates within the mainstream historical profession most particularly, the issues surrounding American imperialism and American exceptionalism (both of which have received short shrift to date by sport historians, as has surprisingly,



the history of the Davis Cup). In this paper I will consider how American imperial visions within sport both converged and departed with the well-established British ones during the same era (during which time one can discern the emerging American empire eclipsed a declining British empire) through an analysis of the discursively-constructed nature of these identities within journalistic commentary, tennis/Davis Cup histories, as well as through interpretive, scholarly analyses of sport and imperialism.

Damion Thomas  
University of Maryland – College Park

### **“Spreading the Gospel of Basketball”: The State Department and the Harlem Globetrotters, 1945-1954**

“Spreading the Gospel of Basketball”: The State Department and the Harlem Globetrotters, 1945-1954 attempts to put sport history in conversation with Cold War history, and Civil Rights history. By drawing for State Department records, this paper argues that the State Department actively sought to develop a relationship with the Harlem Globetrotters in the pre- Brown v. Board of Education world. Prior to the 1954 decision, which outlawed segregation, the State Department sought to argue that segregation did not curtail opportunities for African American social mobility. For American State Department representatives, the Globetrotters, a team formed because African Americans were excluded from white professional leagues ironically represented American democracy. Coupled with that explicit explanation of State Department sponsorship was an interpretation that suggested that the Globetrotters reflected the behavior, attitudes, and mindset of most black Americans.

These lines of reasoning supported the argument that stressed racial progress, but also suggested that African Americans’ “unsophisticated behavior” made them unfit or at

least ill-prepared for full equality during the time period under question. The politics of symbolism associated with Globetrotter's tours were designed to give legitimacy to existing racial inequalities in American society by stressing "progress" during the early pre-Civil Rights Movement Cold War era. The symbol of the successful, yet not integrated athlete, allowed the government to argue that segregation was not an impediment to the advancement of individual African Americans. The Globetrotters' players' success symbolized before the world the accessibility of "the American Success Myth" for African Americans, thereby propagating the notion that talented and motivated African Americans could succeed in American society despite racial obstacles.

Michel Vigneault  
University of Montréal

## **Evolution of Ice Hockey Arenas: For or Against the Spectators?**

Ice hockey started in indoor skating rinks in Montréal by 1875. Due to the interests of spectators, new rinks were built to seat these spectators who had previously stood to watch the games. But it became evident that the safety of these spectators, and their comfort, was a priority of the rinks' owners. Boards followed later by screens behind the goals, then glass to replace the screens, higher glass behind the goals and lower ones on the side, and now a screen above the glass behind the goals, all these to protect the spectators from sticks and flying pucks. But is it really to protect the spectators or to keep the players away from them? If the spectators are still as close to the play like they were a hundred years ago, it seems they are further away from the game itself and the players they cherish. Glass was added behind the player's bench and the penalty box. And even a shelter was installed above the players' entry to the ice to protect

them from some fans. It is now almost impossible to get autographs from players on the ice during the warm-up like it was before the 1970s. So, is it more to protect the spectators or to protect the players from the spectators? Even the buses that transport the players to the arena are parked inside the new buildings, giving the fans less opportunity to meet their favorite players and get an autograph.

Through a series of pictures from the first hockey games to today, this paper will explain first how hockey arenas evolved to be what they are today, and the safety rules put in place by National Hockey League in particular. These safety rules are to protect the spectators, according to the NHL, but is it more to protect the players? This is the argument of the author that the new rules since the 1980s placed many barriers between the spectators and the players, except for the screen installed in recent years to effectively protect the spectators from flying pucks after the death of a young girl in Columbus. It may also explain why the NHL is doing so poorly in the USA, while other major sports have not put such barriers between the players and the fans near the field of play.



Steven Gietscher and the Metcalfs

# **JOURNALISM, MEDIA, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Anthony G. Church  
Laurentian University

## **Financing Urban Development through Sport: An Examination of the Role of Municipalities in the Development of Canadian Sport Policy**

National sport policy in Canada has traditionally been the domain of the federal government. During the 1970s and early 1980s, the federally dominated sport and recreation policy sector became embroiled in intergovernmental conflict, as the provincial governments attempted to assert a degree of autonomy in the recreations sector. Since then, a delicate balance has been kept as the two senior levels of government in Canada worked together at overseeing the broader sport sector. The municipal level of government in Canada has achieved little attention from academics for its contribution to the sport policy sector; however, civic officials and local politicians have been actively involved in the policy process since before the federal government ever legislated sport as being a legitimate policy sector. Municipal governments in Canada have, for the most part, been charged with the responsibility of service delivery in the recreation sector; however, this paper will identify the earliest instances of municipal government involvement in the federal sport policy sector and evaluate the evolution and objectives of cities as sport policy actors.

The earliest involvement of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities in pushing sport-for-all and other fitness and recreation initiatives were based on the belief in the importance of healthy people in healthy communities. The most recent involvement of

the Federation, and the Big City Mayors Caucus, in the sport policy sector has been based on efforts to convince federal and provincial governments to invest in sport infrastructure. The evolution of Canadian cities, from policy actors espousing the benefits of healthy active living to lobbyists for urban renewal through sport funding, is a logical one. The involvement of the municipalities in the sport policy sector has served to shape policy, which in turn has given them an opportunity to petition the higher levels of government for increased urban investment through sport.

The research will show how the municipalities operated as an organized interest group from its earliest form through to the present day. Through tracing the involvement of cities in the national sport policy sector, evidence will be provided to show how the emergence of the strategy to use sport investment for urban renewal efforts was a conscious change of direction and was linked to broader municipal concerns. Conclusions drawn from this paper will shed light on previously unexplored influences in sport policy development in Canada, as well as provide insight into the growing linkage between sport and the municipalities that play host to sport. The paper will also help to demonstrate the politics of intergovernmental relations and the influential role of interest groups in the federal sport policy sector in Canada.

Ray Gamache  
University of Maryland

### **(d)Evolution of the Sportscast Highlight Culture: From Peep**

The question this study seeks to answer relates to what technological, social and cultural factors contributed to the evolution of the sports newscast highlight as an aesthetic form. The paper establishes the importance of the sports highlight as the primary means of communication within broadcast journalism today (i.e., ESPN's

SportsCenter). It argues that sports highlights are not a recent development, despite claims that they are an underutilized and unappreciated method of communication. The paper also raises questions about whose stories are being presented and what values are being promoted in these sportscasts as a result of the use of the highlight form. The paper concludes with a discussion of several problems associated with today's sportscast highlight culture.

This paper's argument is based on primary sources; specifically, it shows that sporting events occupied an important place in early film actualities from 1894-1915. Additionally, at the height of newsreel popularity in the 1930s, sports accounted for 20 to 25 percent of the footage; weekly attendance of 108 million at the movies meant an estimated audience of 20 million for each of the five major newsreel distributors. As television became the most important vehicle for sports broadcasts in the early 1950s, NBC developed a sports highlight program, Sports Newsreel, as well as including pre- and post-game shows to its coverage of NCAA football. Lastly, before ESPN and CNN began broadcasting nightly sports news programs in 1979 and 1980 respectively, televised sportscasts were limited to sporadic coverage on the evening network news and on local news. The television sportscast landscape changed drastically as ESPN's nightly sportscasts grew from 15 minutes to 30 minutes to 60 minutes.

The significance of this study stems from the prominent position sports media in general and sports journalism in particular occupy within the political and cultural economy of late capitalism. Scholars have thoroughly explored the importance of sport within culture. Significantly, it is within the sphere of culture where the key economic processes of production, distribution and exchange occur, connecting cultural production

to the late-capitalist world of making products, supplying services and generating profits. Since cultural factors are central to economic processes, then sport and sports media clearly occupy a central position in the larger process that is reshaping society and culture. As Rowe argues, media texts, including sports newscasts, are positioned at the leading edge of this culturization of economics: they cannot be eaten or worn yet billions of people desire them in a bewildering variety of types, and media corporations are willing to expend billions of units of currency to supply them. Lastly, this study is significant in analyzing the impacts national, regional and local electronic sports journalists have had in influencing and reflecting trends in race and gender relations, as well as political, economic and international affairs.

Dennis Gildea  
Springfield College

### **A Study of Clair Bee's Sports Columns in the New York Journal-American, 1950-1951**

In his scathing and detailed sentencing statement delivered at the conclusion of the trial of those involved in the 1951 college basketball point-shaving scandal, New York General Sessions Judge Saul Streit was especially critical of Clair Bee, the coach of the Long Island University team whose players and former players were deeply involved with the gamblers. Streit said: "...[A]ll of the players entrusted to the care of LIU were only exploited in behalf of Mr. Bee and the university....The naïveté, the equivocation and the denials of the coaches and their assistants concerning their knowledge of gambling, recruiting and subsidizing would be comical were they not so despicable." While Bee was not convicted of any crime, Streit made it clear that Bee was guilty of

creating a seamy sporting culture that led directly to the situation that resulted in college basketball players being ensnared by the judicial system.

While some scholars and writers have studied the scandal and Bee's tangential connection with it, none have examined the columns that Bee wrote for the New York Journal-American in the year before and during the months in 1951 when the police made their first arrests. Ironically, Journal-American sports editor Max Kase won a Pulitzer Prize (1952) for his reporting that led to the uncovering of the point-shaving operation. This essay will undertake a close textual analysis of Bee's columns from their first appearance in the sports pages in December 1950 through March 1951 when Bee stopped writing the column. Bee's columns offer a unique opportunity to delve into the published thoughts of a figure who, according to Judge Streit, was "despicable" in his seeming naïveté or who, according to basketball historian Neil Isaacs, was "shocked and hurt by the scandals."

Murray Sperber, in particular, points out the apparent hypocrisy that exists between the often unscrupulous actions of Coach Bee and the sporting ideal he created in his series of Chip Hilton books for juvenile readers. Is the same degree of hypocrisy evident in his columns? Does Bee use his columns to rationalize his actions as the LIU coach (his nationally ranked team was on NCAA probation in the 1950-51 season because of his illegal recruiting practices)? Does he attempt to defend or castigate his players who were caught in the investigation? Does he offer any solutions to the increasing commercialization of college sport? Does he give any indication he is even aware of his editor Kase's journalistic investigation or the investigation being conducted by District Attorney Frank Hogan? Clearly, in printing Bee's columns, the Journal-



American was capitalizing on his reputation as a winning coach in the metropolitan New York City area, which raises a final research question: How did the paper treat him in the wake of the scandal?

Bieke Gils  
University of Windsor

Pascal Delheye  
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium

## **Belgian Sports Performers in a French Magazine: An Analysis of *La Vie au Grand Air* (1898-1914)**

*La Vie au Grand Air* (LVGA) was one of the many richly illustrated sport magazines that stressed the elitist character of sport and its performers during the Belle Époque (1890-1914). This flourishing period was characterized by a desire for innovation and spectacular technology, which was also obvious in the practice of sports. Cars, airplanes, balloons, and yachts were upper class playthings, used to increase prestige and to distinguish from lower classes. In this study, we analyze the role of Belgian sportsmen and sportswomen in the seventeen volumes (April 1899- August 1914) of LVGA. A content analysis, for which both qualitative and quantitative data were collected, was used to explore salient sport tendencies.

Belgian sports performers dominated motor sport in general, and car racing in particular. René de Knyff, Camille Jenatton and Arthur Duray are just a few examples of frequently mentioned and honored Belgian car racers in LVGA. Belgians excelled in cycle races as well. Track cycle racers, such as Charles van den Born, Louis Grognot and Jean Broka, were very successful until 1909. Thereafter, road cycle racers such as Cyrille Van Hauwaert and Odille Defraye dominated the cycle racing circuit in France. Remarkably, a considerable shift to aviation could be detected around 1909. Most

Belgian car racing pioneers, such as Arthur Duray and several cycle racers, such as Charles van den Born, who was mentioned the most (82 times) in LVGA, were involved in early aviation by that time. Most noteworthy here are the lower class sports performers Jan Olieslaegers and H el ene Dutrieu. Thanks to their successes in cycle racing, the path for their successes in motor sports and aviation was paved. Moreover, Dutrieu was one of the few female sportswomen mentioned in LVGA, which is illustrative for the masculine character of sport during the Belle  poque.

Since little was known about the international successes of Belgian sportsmen and sportswomen in the Belle  poque, the analysis of LVGA offered new insights in Belgian sports history. It is obvious an extensive sporting network was in place in which Belgian sportsmen and women were involved; for different sport disciplines often the same names appeared in LVGA. Hence, it would be interesting to study the entire international sports network of early sport pioneers. The fact that some Belgian sportsmen and women (for example Ren  de Knyff, Arthur Duray and H el ene Dutrieu) decided to become French citizen, provides a strong argument for such an international approach.

Francisco Pinheiro  
University of  vora

## **The Role of the Sport Press in the Development of Sport in Europe – The Portuguese Case and Other Examples**

During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, sport and press established a strong partnership and a profitable relationship in Europe: sport grew and became popular thanks to the press, which saw its sales grow as well as its importance in the European society. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the most significant sport in Portugal was the “bullfight,” followed by sailing, shooting and cycling. The first

important sport Portuguese newspaper was O Velocipedista (1893-1895) which contributed to the development of sports by organizing several cycling trials and cycling-tours. Also, at the same time (in 1891), in France, other sport newspaper, Le Petit Journal, organized the first cycling race between Paris and Brest.

In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Portugal, the most important sport newspaper Tiro e Sport (1904-1910) organized the first soccer cup in March 1906 and the immediate consequence of this cup was the beginning of the Lisbon Soccer Championship (1907), shortly followed by other regional championships – this was the first step for the soccer popularization in Portugal. In the same decade, different sports newspapers, all over Europe, had made their contribution towards the development of sport in the continent. In France, in 1903, the sport newspaper L'Auto organized the first Tour de France in cycling; and in Italy, in 1909, the famous Gazetta dello Sport organized the first Giro de Itália in cycling.

In the next decade, other important moment in the relationship between sport and press in Portugal was the visit to our country by the French team of Stade Bordelais Université Club in May 1911, invited by the sport newspaper Os Sports Illustrados (1910-1913) – for the first time in our history, a strong European soccer team visited Lisbon. In 1912, the same newspaper gave its contribution for the creation of our first sporting hero, the athlete Francisco Lázaro, who died after suffering insulation during the 1912 Olympic marathon in Stockholm. The newspaper said that he died a hero, in the name of the country – the young republic (as the monarchy regime ended in 1910) needed heroes desperately. This was another roll for the press: the creation of national heroes. The Italian sport press or the German had done the same during the 1930's.

The 1920's were the "wild years" of Portuguese sport: 142 news sports publications were initiated in this decade – however, in 1921, Portugal had 66 per cent illiteracy rate. In 1927, cycling was also a popular sport in Portugal, and like in France or Italy, one newspaper (Os Sports) organized the first national cycling race, the "Volta a Portugal." Nonetheless, in December 1933, the most important impulse for Portuguese sport was the First Congress of Sporting Clubs organized by a sport newspaper, Os Sports. More than a hundred clubs discussed the state of sports and on the last day, the fascist Prime-Minister, Oliveira Salazar, promised the population a new stadium in Lisbon – the National Stadium was inaugurated in 1944. Sport and politics established a good relationship thanks to the sport press. The relationship between sport and press permitted the development of Sport in Europe, that's why I think it is very important to understand this partnership for a better comprehension of the history of sport in Europe.

Susan J. Rayl  
SUNY-Cortland

### **The Sage of Union Hall Street: Romeo L. Dougherty**

Romeo L. Dougherty served as a prominent black journalist in New York City for nearly 40 years. A native of St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, he immigrated with his family to the United States in the 1890s when he was eight years old. Dougherty began his career as a sports and theatrical writer at the Brooklyn Eye. After a short stint with the New York News, he joined the staff of the New York Amsterdam News in 1910, where he remained for the next 25 years and established himself as a "dean of the profession."

Known by good friends as the "Sage of Union Hall Street," Dougherty used expressive and philosophic comment in his writing. Imbued with great pride for his

ethnic heritage, he used his position as a newspaper writer to promote many artistic and athletic people and organizations. Dougherty fought against discrimination in all venues and he sponsored numerous theatrical benefits for organizations such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the scholarship fund of the Pennsylvania Station Red Caps.

After leaving the Amsterdam News in 1935, Dougherty wrote short stories under a pen name for the next ten years. One of his last works was a collaboration with W.C. Handy, titled Unsung Americans Sung. Dougherty died at home in Jamaica, New York, at age 59 of dropsy complications and a heart attack on December 9, 1944. Many black sportswriters and athletes mourned his passing.

While a few black sportswriters from the Jim Crow era, such as Sam Lacey of the Baltimore Afro-American and Wendell Smith of the Pittsburgh Courier, have been researched and written about, there remains a tremendous amount of research to be completed on several other important black sportswriters from this time period. This paper will chronicle the life of Romeo Dougherty while addressing several questions. What background did Dougherty bring to his profession? What influence did Dougherty have in African-American sport and theatrical venues? How did Dougherty use his position as a sports and theatrical writer to make dents in the established color line? How was he viewed by fellow black sports and theatrical writers? Why did Dougherty leave the New York Amsterdam News in 1935?

Greggory M. Ross  
Saint Mary's University

## **Boxing and the Class Question: Nova Scotia and the Northeastern Borderlands in the “Dirty Thirties”**

In his work on the northeastern borderlands, Colin Howell has argued that Nova Scotians during the interwar years regarded the Maritimes and New England as a coherent trans-national sporting region. What he has found with respect to baseball, marathon running, yachting races and hunting, is equally true for boxing. During the interwar years boxers such as the internationally-acclaimed and Nova Scotian-born Sam “the Boston Tarbaby” Langford, Terrence “Tiger” Warrington, Roy Mitchell and others, plied the cross-border boxing circuit. Although I will be investigating the extent to which such a trans-national boxing milieu existed, there was more to this than just a borderlands sporting reality. Class was also important, since most, but not all, of the international interactions were part of professional boxing competitions. This paper looks at the working class orientations of professional boxers in these years, and contrasts them with the middle-class amateur boxing culture which was connected almost exclusively to universities and the YMCA and its assumptions of Christian muscularity. The paper will focus both on the importance of boxing in the Cape Breton industrial frontier, but not exclusively, and will investigate the influence of the Worker’s Sport Association in Eastern Canada; an organization that Bruce Kidd argues was an important expression of sporting nationalism in Canada. In short, it will question whether sportive nationalism in the interwar period transcended the deep regional and class divisions of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Canada.

## **METHODS AND SOURCES**

Susan J. Bandy  
Ohio State University

### **Blurring Boundaries, Crossing Borders, and Shifting Paradigms: Embracing Transdisciplinarity in Sports Studies**

For a fair number of years, disciplinarity, interdisciplinarity, and transdisciplinarity have been discussed across many different academic disciplines as well as in debates about the changing nature and interrelationships of knowledge, science, and society. In her discussions concerning disciplinary barriers between the social sciences and the humanities, Sabine Hark avers that interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity as rhetorical weapons have played an integral part in the restructuring of the modern western university as we now know it. In sharp contrast to the rather static, rigid, and resistant nature of disciplinary structures, both interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity approaches embrace notions of flexibility, dynamism, fluidity, and mobility as important in the future development of the structures and production of knowledge. According to Basarab Nicolescu's view of the transdisciplinary evolution of the university, it will be valued in the future development and production of knowledge when it recognizes the emergence of a new type of knowledge that is transdisciplinary in nature. Moreover, Nicolescu suggests that transdisciplinarity would imply a multi-dimensional opening of the university towards civil society, various other places of knowledge production, cyber-space-time, the aim of universality, and a redefinition of values that govern the existence of the university.

Sports studies, alongside other disciplines such as post-colonial studies, women's/gender studies, and queer studies has already demonstrated a turn toward

transdisciplinarity. Using the conceptual approach to research and teaching, most particularly in North America, scholars in the historical, philosophic, and artistic dimensions of sports studies have relatively recently incorporated such concepts as space, globalization, movement, body, and language, to further extend the boundaries of knowledge. However, it seems that this turn toward transdisciplinarity has not yielded a better understanding of the interrelationships among the various forms of knowledge and ways of knowing within sports studies, nor has it fully embraced transdisciplinary methodologies to further understand sport, physical culture, and the body.

The paper will briefly consider the history of American physical education/sports studies as an academic discipline, tracing its history through three rather distinct stages from its inception in 1860 to the present. In so doing, it shows the movement toward disciplinarity in the early part of the 20th century followed by a vast explosion of theoretically-based knowledge beginning in the 1960s, which incorporated an interdisciplinary approach that yielded the development of sub-disciplines in the discipline and further prompted transdisciplinary research. With regard to the use of transdisciplinary perspectives, the paper clarifies the nature of transdisciplinary research and examines the existence of hierarchical structures of knowledge, the exclusion of certain types of knowledge or ways of knowing within the discipline, and the training of scholars with transdisciplinary perspectives. It is concluded that an inward and transdisciplinary focus of scholarship would further ground sports studies within the academic environment of the university and could contribute to a reformation of the structures of knowledge within the discipline. A transdisciplinary focus would also lend itself to cooperative projects both within sports studies as well as within the larger



context of the university, further connecting the study of sport, physical culture, and the body to other transdisciplinary studies.

Susan Birrell  
University of Iowa

## **Branding Mt. Everest: Narrative Production and Control in the 1920s British Everest Climbs**

Between 1921 and 1952, a small group of British men, self-styled as the Mount Everest Committee, exercised considerable control over the organization of expeditions to Everest. Several scholars have addressed the political conditions that enabled the virtual monopoly of exploratory and climbing expeditions to Everest by British teams sponsored by the MEC. Far less attention has been paid to the monopoly the MEC exerted on the narratives of these climbs and the framing of the Mt Everest story in general. In this paper, I argue that the story of Everest was produced as much in Lowther Lodge, the headquarters of the Mount Everest Committee on Kensington Gore in London, as it was on the slopes of the mountain itself.

This narrative control took many forms, beginning with the expedition dispatches. The official narrator for each climb was the expedition leader; every other expedition member was required to sign an “undertaking” agreement which forbid him to talk to the press or to publish his own accounts of the climb. Indeed, the conditions of narrative production during the climbs made it impossible for anyone but the expedition leader to get his accounts to the public. Dispatches were written at base camp and carried by native runners through Tibet to Darjeeling – a journey which took up to two weeks. From there the dispatches were cabled to the London Time, which had purchased the exclusive rights to the Everest story from the MEC for 2000 pounds. The Times’

exclusive contract angered rival newspapers who were outraged that the MEC had sold actual news stories. Once expedition members returned to England, another set of procedures ensured that only the official MEC version reached the public. Only a few carefully selected expedition members participated in the lecture circuit through the UK; exclusive publication rights to the official expedition book were carefully negotiated; and the showing of the official expedition film was controlled through exclusive contracts. Rival lecture agencies which offered their own experts speaking on “the Everest story” had to withdraw these lectures when threatened with legal action. Even the wives of expedition members were severely scolded for giving interviews or sharing photographs with local newspapers.

Exploring the conditions of production and distribution is an important aspect of critical narrative analysis, a theoretical approach that conceptualizes events of the past as narratives. In addition to using methodologies of textual analysis to explore the structure of the narrative, a critical orientation requires investigating why particular narratives are constructed, whose interests were being served, and what sort of cultural work the narrative was imagined to accomplish. The analysis draws material from the archives of the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club. In particular, the correspondence of Arthur Hinks, Secretary of the Mount Everest Committee, provides important insight into the MEC’s approach to the roles of publicity and control in the construction of the official story of the 1920s Everest expeditions.

Allen Guttman  
Amherst University

## **Researching the Olympics: What the Acknowledgements Don't Acknowledge**

Debates about research methods in sports history tend to be quite theoretical. This is especially true when the debate is over the advantages and disadvantages of a “postmodern” approach. Proof-texts from prophets such as Michel Foucault and Judith Butler are cited without explanation of what they mean. The level of abstraction is so high that the scumbled surface of historical fact is no longer visible. Very little is said in the course of these theoretical debates about the vicissitudes of research as sports historians actually go about the business of doing history. If they wish to be honest in their much-touted “reflexivity,” historians discussing their research should pay more attention to the “back” as well as to the “front” of research. The terms “back” and “front,” used in this historiographical context, are from Erving Goffman’s sociological explorations of the presentation of self. Goffman’s “middle-level” theory (vide: Robert Merton) informs my paper. My examples of fiasco, serendipity, and miscellaneous contretemps are drawn from the adventures I experienced in the US, Japan, and Europe while visiting archives, corresponding with International Olympic Committee members, and interviewing IOC members--all for the purpose of writing *THE GAMES MUST GO ON*, my 1984 biography of Avery Brundage.

Jennifer Hardes  
Ohio State University

## **Writing the Story in History: Reconstructing Sport History through a Theoretical Analysis of Postmodern Discourse**

In a postmodern world the term history conjures a starkly different image to what is understood in the classic Herodotean sense of the word. This paper seeks to explore the current postmodern trend in wider studies of sport, which has arguably deconstructed the nature of classical historical studies per se, and has broadened the scope of the discipline to encompass socio-cultural and philosophical perspectives which were previously regarded as adopting different, and often competing, theoretical frameworks.

I base my paper on Douglas Booth's recent work *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, in which Booth argues that sport historians ought to be more aware of the paradigmatic assumptions underpinning their research. Booth argues against a traditional historical framework of sport history due to its underpinning reconstructionist epistemology. According to Booth, reconstructionism implicates historical research because it upholds a positivistic framework and a linear, God's eye view of history, which deems history as objectively knowable. Reconstructionism is, therefore, seen to purport clearly defined movements according to cause and effect which can recreate the past exactly as it was. In contrast, Booth, in addition to scholars such as Synthia Syndor Brett Hutchins, Robert Rinehart, Murray Philips, Michael Oriard, Patricia Vertinsky and John Bale, amongst numerous others, advocates a deconstructive framework for sport history, where sport historians are self reflexive, neo-pragmatic and presentist, and question a linear approach to the study of history. Deconstructionism is more closely aligned to postmodern paradigmatic assumptions and concedes to a more relativist

perspective of history, where historians working within this framework reject reconstructionist claims to knowable historical Truths, and instead present sport history in a more nuanced, contextual manner.

Ironically, as I will argue in this paper, although Booth's intention was not to universally reconstruct sport history through examining epistemological underpinnings to the wider field of sport studies, this appears to be the result. Booth's *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History*, is, suspiciously, not a breakdown of historical inquiry into sport, but rather, a reconstruction of generic sport studies into three commonly held paradigms; reconstructionism, constructionism and deconstructionism.

In this paper, I will argue that, problematically, a rejection of the modern is a rejection of history, and I conclude with the suggestion that if we can no longer revert to modernism as a theoretical framework in the field, sport historians ought to look to a pragmatic means of reconciling what is commonly, and quite problematically, seen as a modern-postmodern dialectic. This reconciliation is essential in order to ensure that sport history as a field of inquiry does not dissipate into the wider sport studies discipline in light of the current paradigmatic assumptions of some of its eminent and young scholars. If we can no longer reconstruct the past, can we be sure of history at all?

Mike Huggins  
University of Cumbria

## **The Sporting Gaze: Towards a Visual Turn in Sports History**

The emerging "visual turn" now increasingly being exploited within many arts and humanities disciplines has been posited as both a symptom of, and as a response to, the image-based contemporary cultural landscape. As yet however, it has had relatively limited impact in the field of sports history. This paper begins by briefly reviewing

earlier and recent iconographic revolutions, and the ever-increasing range of visual evidence available to the historian, ranging from newsreels, film, photography, posters and painting, to stamps, badges, medals and sporting artifacts.

Currently methodologies for dealing with visual material are rarely well thought out, nor have the potential problematics of dealing with such material been fully considered. However deconstruction, iconography, iconology and semiotic approaches are increasingly being used, alongside continued recognition and awareness of context. One other possible approach, especially but not exclusively to sporting paintings and photographs, is to develop a clearer theory of the sporting gaze, taking forward earlier work on the gaze by the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901-1981), together with Michel Foucault's work on the gaze and power, and work on the gendered gaze first developed in Laura Mulvey's famous article about "scopophilia." The paper explores the implications of such theoretical approaches for the study of the history of sport, and the sorts of resulting questions that the sports historian might ask of visual material. In so doing it attempts to move forward our understanding of the field.

Malcolm MacLean  
University of Gloucestershire

## **Narrating Native American Athletes: The Poetics of Mose YellowHorse**

One of the glaring gaps in colonial sports histories is the limited coverage given to First Nations' sporting experiences. In North America there is a small, but productive and growing, body of scholarly literature; Native American life histories, such as Don Talayesva's 1942 Sun Chief, discuss sports and other body cultures, both colonial and indigenous. However, biographies of Native American athletes are extremely rare,

despite, for instance, a Native American presence in Major League Baseball since at least 1887. Interested (or disinterested) readers never need to look far to find rows upon rows of shelves in local chain bookstore outlets packed with the latest update of athletes' biographies. Biographies of athletes, like many others, tend to present linear narratives based in post-Enlightenment empiricism. This approach often means that the person about whom the biography is written often appears to be objectified; an entity about whom a life is written rather than one who lived their life: in short, many biographies are constructed within an objectivist epistemology. They are depicted as presenting the Truth.

Biographies that challenge this epistemological approach are rare; sports biographies that do so are almost non-existent. Few sports biographies break the mould as obviously as Todd Fuller's 2002 60 Feet and Six Inches and Other Distances from Home: The (Baseball) Life of Mose YellowHorse. YellowHorse (1898-1964) pitched two seasons (1921-22) for the Pittsburgh Pirates, injured his pitching arm, disappeared into sports obscurity spending two seasons in the minor leagues, coaching Native American youth teams, and working as minor league team's grounds keeper. This is not much from which to construct a sports biography – YellowHorse was, however, also a respected tribal elder, child performer in a Wild West show, and inspiration for a recurring character in Dick Tracy comics.

Fuller's biography totals 167 pages. Only a third of the text is recognisably a narrative-like biography; the remainder includes photos, poems, tales recounted by Pawnee nation elders, newspaper reports, and a 'nonlinear chronology'. Writing in the Journal of Sports History Tim Wiles described the book as a "piece of entertainment

rather than the biography that it appears to be”, and suggested that it “is difficult if not possible to know what is true, and what is speculation, or even ‘fiction.’” Wiles is open about his discomfort at what he sees as the postmodernization of this sports biography, although he never uses the word.

Wiles’ review leaves open the option that this is more of a postcolonial than a postmodern text. This possibility emphasizes native voices in the text, and the place of baseball in YellowHorse’s Skidi (Pawnee) life. The challenge of the biography may be seen not in its postmodern form, but in its imbrication of baseball and Skidi in YellowHorse’s life. This paper considers the text as a cross-cultural collaboration between YellowHorse, Fuller and the contemporary elders and others in the Pawnee nation, by reading the text through what Peter Nabokov has called “American Indian ways of history.” In doing so, it argues that when Wise points the book as “respectful” of Native American culture, he points to a more informative and challenging approach to reading the text, and a more fundamental challenge to North American sports histories: the terms on which to recognize Native American and First Nations presences.

Marion Stell  
University of Queensland

## **Sporting Landscapes in the Sunshine State – an Australian Perspective**

There is no argument that, per capita, sport occupies a central place in Australian life in terms of participation rates, spectatorship and competitive success. As a result, sport plays a central role in defining Australian identity and in shaping how Australia is imagined and experienced. At the last two summer Olympics, for example, Australia has been placed 4<sup>th</sup> in the medal tally, a position that belies its population size of 21 million.



Yet when analysed along geographic and spatial lines, it can be argued that Australia devotes much less space to sport when compared with the rest of the world. Singapore, for example, which occupies 704 km<sup>2</sup> supports 22 golf courses making it the country with the highest density of golf courses in the world (one for every 32 km<sup>2</sup>). Queensland, the second largest state in Australia and dubbed “the Sunshine State” occupies 1,730,648 km<sup>2</sup> and supports about 250 golf courses (approximately one for every 6922 km<sup>2</sup>), yet it has produced champion golfers Greg Norman and Karrie Webb, among others.

This paper examines the significance of the Australian sporting landscape using the state of Queensland as a case study. This work draws on theory and methodology developed on both sides of the Atlantic, in particular the argument for a more explicitly geographical perspective in sports history made by British historian John Bales in his seminal Sports Geography published in 1989 (reprinted 2003) and the work of American sports historian Karl Raitz whose analysis of the relationship between place and activity in The Theater of Sport argues for the importance of the sporting landscape. My research seeks to take this theory in an innovative direction. Rather than relying on a sport-by-sport analysis, as adopted by Bales and Raitz, it will locate and examine the landscapes of sport that have been created over time using a whole-of-state approach. It will employ a more inclusive definition of “sport” and of “sporting landscapes.” The methodology identifies data relating to sporting spaces in existing historical maps and other visual sources, isolates this data and interprets it to produce an authoritative “map” of the Queensland sporting landscape at various time intervals over the last 150 years. This analysis of visual sources includes historical maps and aerial photography of Queensland locations. These are cross-referenced against a range of historical information from

gazetteers, town planning documents and other sources. In doing so it argues that a close analysis of historical maps of Queensland can produce a more enhanced understanding of the growth of sporting landscapes than that currently achievable through an analysis of traditional sport history sources and methodology.

Jennifer Sterling  
University of Maryland

## **Halls of Fame: Exhibiting Champions at the Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery**

Champions is an exhibition of art and artifacts representing U.S. sporting legends on display at the Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery in Washington D.C., a museum whose purpose is to present remarkable American individuals through the visual and performing arts. The exhibition is part of the Portrait Gallery's permanent collection and has been on display since the museum's reopening in 2006 after a 6-year renovation. The collection of representations on display is indicative of wider museum and cultural practices which select and promote particular, usually dominant and often national, narratives and social memories through sport. In general, Champions advances performance-based hero narratives and elevated status for those athletes represented – eclipsing artist biography and artistic intention, the practices underpinning their selection, and socially-driven alternative accounts, in addition to narrowing interpretive possibilities and obscuring those sporting individuals and subjectivities not on display. By examining the creation, collection, curatorial and interpretive practices involved in Champions, this paper critically examines the presence of the past in contemporary sporting narratives constructed through an engagement with historical sporting figures and their representative displays in the exhibition's art, artifacts, text and video.

“Sport art,” or “high” art utilizing sport as its conceptual or representational core, is most often made available for public consumption via museums – sport, art, sport art, or otherwise. Although sport and art are hardly new companions, sport and physical culture’s display in museums has increased in recent years due to funding imperatives that have necessitated a shift in museums from exhibitionary to expository, or entertainment-focused, public institutions where sport’s popularity is enlisted to boost audience numbers. Regardless of ongoing funding battles and softening fault lines between “high” and “low” culture, museums still resonate as institutions of education, cultural authority, and as contemplative spaces. Accepted conventions of “looking” grant museums interpretive authority created partially by the type, location and even architecture of the museum as well as its curatorial and executive decisions related to collection policies and display practices. Therefore, museums help shape which sport histories are told, the way they are told, who they are told to and ultimately the potential affect they may have on their respective viewers and societies (i.e. collusion with dominant ideologies versus the advancement of alternatives). A textual analysis of the art, artifacts, text, display sequence, and video commentary in Champions, in regards to raced, classed, gendered, (dis)abled and celebritized bodies, accompany interviews of curators, museum-goers, and artists, to address the potential of sport art to play an active role in the construction of historical and contemporary sporting realities. Ultimately, defining who and what is remarkable.

Natalie Szudy  
The University of Western Ontario

## **Ghosts Stories: Accounting for the Silences in Narrative Inquiry**

In the book, The Girl and the Game: A History of Women's Sport in Canada, Ann Hall asks the question; who was speaking on behalf of women athletes during the early twentieth century? How were women's experiences in sport being accounted for during a time when socially reinforced ideals created a static model of how women's participation in sport should and could be seen publically? Although this question directs attention to women's participation in sport during the twentieth century, there are underlying issues that are linked to this assessment. Representations of women's experiences in sport portrayed through the use of narrative inquiry in the field of sport history are one example of the underlying issue. How can narrative inquiry provide an examination of women's sport experience at a time when many female athletes did not fit the static model that represented beauty, grace and femininity? Athletes who did not fit this model were not widely reported on, nor did they receive a large amount of public attention for their achievements. The purpose of this paper is threefold; to examine narrative inquiry as an epistemological methodology; to critically discuss the difference between the stories developed through narrative inquiry as causal chain model of explanation versus the use of the story as the explanation itself; and to assess how this school of inquiry can account for the experiences of athletes, who appear to have not been represented in the stories and records of sport.

This assessment takes into consideration the problem that arises when the use of narrative inquiry cannot incorporate information about the athlete, their experiences in

sport, and how they would communicate their embodiment. In this paper, I discuss the merits of looking beyond the accounts developed through narrative inquiry to examine how the silences in sport history can be integrated in the body of knowledge. In my analysis I use critical philosophy as a foundational praxis. Conducting an analysis using critical philosophy involves the examination of the nature of historical inquiry, the assessment of its fundamental assumptions, its organizing concepts, its methods of research and writing, and its location on the map of knowledge. In the use of this praxis, I will be addressing questions about historical inquiry and I will not focus solely on the claims that through critical philosophy all knowledge of the past should be criticized. To guide my analysis, I draw from discussions about the philosophy of history included in William Dray s book, The Philosophy of History. This form of analysis is based on contextualizing historical writing, specifically, the process of conducting a historical analysis as a form of inquiry. The constructions of narratives yield a systematic methodology and the information gathered contributes to a specific body of knowledge.



Gerry Gems, Diane Biesol and Jim Coates

# REPRESENTATIONS OF RUNNING AND AQUATIC SPORTS

Matthew P. Llewellyn  
Pennsylvania State University

## **“Viva I’ Italia! Viva I’ Italia!” Dorando Pietri and the North American Professional Marathon Craze 1908-1910**

On November 25, 1908, Madison Square Garden set the stage for the highly anticipated rematch of the Olympic marathon final between Irish-American gold medalist Johnny Hayes and Italian champion Dorando Pietri. Fans across the spectrum of ethnic and social affiliations arrived in the thousands to watch the two Olympic heroes traverse 262 laps of Madison Square Garden’s full-marathon course. In the most spectacular footrace that New York has ever witnessed, Pietri reversed his Olympic disappointment in remarkable fashion, defeating Hayes in the winning time of 2 hours 44 minutes and 20 seconds. Pietri’s victory, combined with the interest generated by the London Olympic Games in 1908, ignited a “Marathon Craze” that swept throughout North America until its eventual decline in the spring of 1910.

In 1908, promoters endeavored to remake pedestrianism into an important part of the American sporting scene. During this period, the rise of African American boxer Jack Johnson to world heavy weight champion, following his defeat of Tommy Burns on December 26, 1908, tarnished prize-fighting in the eyes of white observers and opened the door for alternative sports to flourish. Thoroughbred racing, another leading pastime of the sporting fraternity, also fell into a state of decline due to the passing by the U.S. Congress of the Agnew-Hart Act in June 1908, an edict that contributed to the elimination of on-track gambling and the closure of many of the nation’s leading race

tracks. With the decline of two of the nation's most popular commercial sports, promoters marketed pedestrianism to the sporting fraternity, an urban male bachelor sub-culture, as a suitable replacement. Connected with gambling, vaudeville, municipal politics, and battles for ethnic superiority, this paper will argue that professional pedestrianism accentuated the underworld of American sport that thrived throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As promoters attempted to restore pedestrianism to its former glory, the United States was at the height of "new immigration." Drawing upon Italian immigrant newspapers and American newspapers that chronicle the 1908-1910 "marathon craze" that swept the U.S., this paper will also demonstrate how Dorando Pietri's victories on the track helped the nascent Italian communities throughout America reinforce their own sense of self-worth and express pride in their own ethnic identity. Generally excluded from mainstream American sports, such as baseball and college football, diaspora Italians were, with the exception of professional boxing, virtually non-existent in the American sport scene. Historian Carmelo Bazzano has argued that the great majority of southern Italian immigrants to America lacked a distinct national sporting culture. Paradoxically, this paper will also contend that Pietri's exploits helped Italians not only celebrate their old heritage but also allowed them to acculturate to mainstream American society by drawing them into the orbit of the Anglo-American sporting world.

Daniel A. Nathan  
Skidmore College

## **“The Nonpareil, The Runner of the Ages”: Paavo Nurmi and the American Tour of 1925, Part II**

Introverted, seemingly indefatigable, and close to invincible in his prime, Paavo Nurmi was arguably the greatest runner of the twentieth century. The winner of nine gold and three silver medals during his Olympic career, which included all three Olympiads in the 1920s, Nurmi was widely celebrated in his native Finland and far beyond. In fact, his American exhibition tour in 1925 drew huge crowds and tremendous media attention. During his tour, he won 53 of 55 races and set myriad indoor world records, which led one journalist to declare: “All of us admire Paavo Nurmi and glory in his triumphs, even if Americans have to take his dust. He is the nonpareil, the runner of the ages.”

Tracing interconnected themes and using a variety of primary sources (mainly newspaper and magazine articles), this paper examines some of Nurmi’s exploits—and one controversy, involving allegations that Nurmi, an amateur, demanded and accepted “excessive” expenses—during his 1925 American tour. At the same time, it considers how Americans made sense of the taciturn (non-English speaking) Finn, as an athlete and icon. In particular, I focus on the ways in which Americans tried to explain Nurmi’s success, and the aesthetic pleasure and cultural meaning he provided many people. Ultimately, much like John Bale’s Roger Bannister and the Four-Minute Mile: Sports Myth and Sports History, this paper puts in context and critiques historically specific representations of a famous long-distance runner as a way to consider larger cultural phenomenon.



Christine O'Bonsawin  
University of Victoria

## **Waji Odakaw8mek: A Return to the Scared Running Traditions of the Wabanaki People**

The Dawnland People were the first to see the sun rise at the start of each new day and as territorial inhabitants of the eastern corridor, they were also the first to see Europeans arrive at the dawning of a new era. Whether warding off the powerful Iroquois nations in the pre-contact age or defending protective borders against aggressive European military powers in the post-contact years, Wabanaki societies operated within their traditions of war and remained alert to potential military threats. Historically, constituent nations of the Wabanaki Confederacy, including the Abenaki, Penobscot, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, and Mi kmaq, understood themselves to be all of one people and lawfully honored this political adherence. In times of darkness, messengers from allied Wabanaki nations were responsible for carrying messages over vast territories and to distant villages signaling war for the Dawnland. It was often a messenger who arrived at the woods edge and gave the common signal of Kwai (a friendly greeting) to let the community know he was an ally. This messenger may have carried a wampum belt with purple background and the design of a tomahawk in white beads, the purple signifying war. At this time Bonsawinno (fire keeper) was summoned and the sacred fire at the Council House was kindled. Within Wabanaki societies, messengers were deemed to be great men with exceptional physical capacities. To be bestowed with the responsibility of messenger was to be revered by ones people.

Despite the demobilization of the Confederacy in 1862, the five nations of this historic alliance continue to draw from their common history and long standing

traditions. Research conducted at the Musée des Abénakis and the Passamaquoddy Point Pleasant Health Centre indicates that considerable initiatives are being taken within the Confederacy to revive the sacred Wabanaki running traditions. In 1992, the Penobscot Indian Nation of Maine and the Mi kmaq of Restigouche, Quebec inaugurated the first modern sacred run. Beyond the ceremonial passing of the sacred flame (symbolic of the sacred fire) from the Penobscot to the Mi kmaq nations, which symbolized eternal strength and unity within the Confederacy, the revival of sacred running practices has been further stimulated by contemporary social realities crippling the communities of the Dawnland. By the mid-1990s, tribal members of the Passamaquoddy Pleasant Point Reservation in Maine started running for their tribe in an effort to alleviate the effects of alcoholism. In doing so, they dedicated their runs to their ancestors, the people still with them, and those yet to be born. By 1998, the sacred run reached all nations of the Wabanaki Confederacy as it commenced in the Mi kmaq community of Big Cove, New Brunswick and traveled 850 kilometers through Mi kmaq, Penobscot, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, and eventually arriving in the Abenaki community of Odanak, Quebec. In times of despondency, runners once again carried messages of eternal strength and unity within the Confederacy.

John Wong  
Washington State University

## **The Unbearable Lightness of Being Black: Race, Class, and Vancouver's First Lifeguard**

Beginning at the last quarter of the nineteenth century, racial tensions flared up now and then in Vancouver. Particularly, Asians in the province and the city bore the blunt of racial stereotypes and consequent discrimination which were fueled by and

fueled an ideology based on a socially constructed hierarchy. Among other attributes in this ideology, race was an important determinant of one's place in society and, indeed, civilization thus affecting racial minorities' civil and political lives. In North America, the development of this ideology had its roots in the rationalization of slavery and justified the importation of African slave labor since American colonial periods. Given the longstanding tradition of racial stereotyping and discrimination, it is curious that Vancouver's first official lifeguard was a black man. This paper examines how and why a person of color attained a position that, in general, would not have been available to him in other Canadian communities. Since race helped to determine one's place in society, this investigation also discussed the impact of social class on the palatability of a black man occupying a middle class profession.

Based on local newspaper reports, archival records, and other secondary sources, this paper seeks to address the life and work of Joe Fortes, Vancouver's first lifeguard. A native of the British West Indies, Fortes came to Vancouver some time after the mid 1880s. By the turn of the century, the Vancouver City Council appointed Fortes as a special constable and swimming instructor at English Bay, a popular recreation area for Vancouver's upper and middle classes. When Fortes died in 1922, a large number of people attended his funeral and he was memorialized by the City with a plaque placed at English Bay. How, then, did a black man become accepted in a city that witnessed racial riots during this period of time? Why did Vancouverites, especially those in the middle class, come to admire a person of color?

# LEISURE, SPORT AND CLASS

Daryl Leeworthy  
Saint Mary's University

## **“Hankering after the Black Ball:” Rugby, Religion, and Class on the Industrial Frontier: Cape Breton and South Wales, 1880 – 1914**

The second industrial revolution at the end of the nineteenth century brought wide-scale social change to regions we now come to think of as coalfields. The South Wales coalfield, as with industrial Cape Breton, stands as a metaphor for an entire people, its heroes were miners or miners' leaders – Aneurin Bevan, Arthur Horner – its historiography defined by children of miners – Gwyn Alf Williams, Dai Smith – but its hopes and dreams are to be found in another medium: rugby football. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century down to the First World War, the sport of rugby football supplanted traditional sports such as Cnappan. Like the rise of Labor, rugby side-stepped the reformism of the Liberals and the “improving” Nonconformist liberalism of the late-Victorian period, and in 1905 seemed to represent everything that was defining about what contemporaries referred to as the “Celtic Race.”

How and why did rugby become so dominant? Such questions have long been posed and answered in their various ways, but rarely have historians concerned themselves with how sport reflected the changing social attitudes of working class people. Diffusion models suggest that workers picked the sport up from their bosses or the boss' son. This may be true but it does not explain how the sport came to represent workers' hopes and dreams. It most certainly does not explain the circumstances in which formal nonconformist religious adherence was dropped in favor of secular sporting

pursuits. To do this we need to look at what the coalfield represents and what rugby and religion meant historically and sociologically. It is no longer sufficient to suggest that workers played rugby because they enjoyed its physical benefits or because it gave expression to and defined their masculinity. They no doubt did, but what does that explain and how does rugby connect to broader social, political and economic forces and contemporary intellectual movements?

This paper makes the case for seeing the coalfield as an industrial frontier, a place where the direct relationship between employer and employee ensured that sport was a conflicted realm. Workers playing in rugby teams on Cape Breton migrated from socially heterogeneous teams to play in homogenous, working class teams such as the Caledonia Rugby club. They did so because those teams were removed from the reformist agenda of middle class amateurs. The shift from religious to secular sport was not a progression of modernity, but rather a conflict over values. Of course it would be difficult to suggest that miners in Wales or Cape Breton were not religious in the late-nineteenth century, but they did not take kindly to being told what to do. Had religious reformers adopted a more lenient attitude to sport it seems likely that the transformation from a religious to secular orientation would have taken much longer. Sport on the industrial frontier was a conflicted realm, infused with the larger social discourses of the day. But above all rugby in both Wales and Cape Breton was all about the making of the industrial working class.

Alan Metcalfe  
University of Windsor

## **Sport and Class: A Case Study of the Miners of East Northumberland**

If any group could be considered to be the archetypical working class it would be coal miners. Contemporary outsiders considered them to be “[a]n almost sub human stratum of the working class, pugnacious, brutalized by their grimy toil, inhabiting isolated communities which, in leisure time became dens of drunkenness and savage sports.” Additionally they were regarded as one homogeneous group. The reality, however, was far different and revealed a complex set of social relations. It is through their sporting activities that one can uncover the complexity of the relationships underlying life in the villages and, in fact, the very nature of mining society.

The object of this presentation is to uncover the complex reality of life in the mining villages and the nature of class relationships. It will first examine the nature of the social relationships underlying mining life through a case study of one village, Seaton Delaval. The paper then turns to an analysis of sport. Sport reveals the complex nature of the social relationships between the three stratum of society; the land and colliery owners, the small group of professional (teachers, ministers etc.) and the miners. Additionally miners could not be considered one homogeneous group. The differences between certain groups of miners were greater than the similarities. The presentation then turns to sport. There was a group of sports played only by miners; potshare bowling, quoits, handball, and short distance pigeon racing. These sports reveal, clearly, the basic characteristics of mining society. At the other extreme were some club based sports that brought them into contact with the other two strata of society; golf, lawn tennis and lawn

bowling. The different relationships were graphically illustrated in the histories of cricket and cycling. Perhaps the most illuminating was the sport that by 1914 was the most popular, billiards. Billiards were played from the early 1890s within the confines of miner owned and operated social clubs. Finally the history of football, more than any other sport, reveals the complexity of the social relationships underlying an, apparently, homogeneous society. Very simply the history of sports calls into question the simplistic analysis based solely on class. The villages were complex societies.



The entrance sign to the arena where the "Miracle On Ice" occurred

# SCHOOL SPORTS AND INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS

David Barney  
Albuquerque Academy

## **Two Horses and a Rider named Pratt: Carlisle Indian School Football: Genesis, Evolution & Exodus**

Much has been written about the Jim Thorpe era at the Carlisle Indian School but rather little about its fledgling football program long before the arrival of perhaps the most famous American athlete of the Twentieth Century. “Two Horses and a Rider Named Pratt” explores the genesis of the Carlisle Indian School, the roots of its football program, and the influence that the school’s founder and his most significant Native American advocate had on the school in general and its football program in particular.

The paper begins with a literary allusion drawn from Shakespeare’s play Richard III. “A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse,” cries the embattled and unseated Richard in the final act of the bard’s drama about the evil, “bunch-backed-toad” of a king. Unfortunately for King Richard, his plea went unanswered, a development that led quickly to his demise. Some 200 years later in time, however, on the central plains of the American West, another Richard made a similar plea, albeit not in iambic pentameter. Fortunately for this Richard, the plea was answered, and Lt. Colonel Richard Henry Pratt, the Carlisle Indian School’s founder, was granted a horse, two of them to be exact, one an American original named American Horse, and then later, in athletic parlance at least, a real horse named Jim Thorpe. Both made monumental impacts on the school.

But more important than the headline-grabbing duo of Thorpe and his legendary football coach, Glenn “Pop” Warner, is the quiet, wise presence of a “man of two



worlds,” American Horse, a sophisticated, Oglala Sioux chieftain, whose collective influence on Richard Pratt, the “big-wigs” in Washington, and the tribal leaders of the Indian Territory, binds the narrative of this paper.

Kimberly Beckwith  
University of Texas at Austin

## **Coaching in the Prairie View Interscholastic League: Reflections on Race & Sports in Texas High Schools**

In the 1890s football was going strong in Galveston, Texas with at least three organized teams the Rugbys, Ball High School, and a YMCA team for White athletes. To drum up support for the fast-rising sport, they issued repeated challenges for matches to other teams. Galveston Central High School answered these calls, but was not invited to play. Despite their willingness to contest White teams, no all-Black schools played against all-White schools until the 1960s in Texas. At the turn of the twentieth century, there were no governing associations for high school sports which dictated rules prohibiting the mixing of races in competition. The rules were unwritten but explicit. Whites did not compete against Blacks.

The University of Texas at Austin began an outreach service in 1910, however, which gave hierarchical structure and rules to high school extra-curricular activities. The two parent organizations were called the Debating League of Texas and the Interscholastic Athletic Association. These precursors to the University Interscholastic League (UIL) mandated that member schools had to be White. This rule did not change until 1965 and during this era the UIL became the nation's largest and most successful interschool organization in history. Because of the racist policies of the UIL,

representatives of the Black high schools in the state, formed their own, and separate organization the Prairie View Interscholastic League (PVIL).

Black educators began the fore-runner organization of the PVIL the Texas Interscholastic League of Colored Schools in 1920. If they couldn't compete against the White schools they finally decided, they would mirror their organizational activities and provide their students with similar opportunities to showcase their talents in academics and athletics. Their membership eventually reached five hundred schools with state competitions in musical events band, piano, and vocal ensembles; literary fields debate, declamation, spelling, and arithmetic; and athletics football, basketball, baseball, tennis, and track & field. An entire network of teachers, coaches, and administrators did their best to alleviate the inequalities suffered by their students and athletes solely because of skin color. The Prairie View Interscholastic League's Coaches Association (PVILCA) formed in 1940 to support the numerous coaches who worked in the Texas Negro schools. When Texas finally began integrating their schools in the late 1960s, the activity programs soon followed suit. By 1970, less than four years after PVIL member schools could join the UIL, the PVIL disbanded because it ceased to be functional. The PVIL Coaches Association lived on to preserve statistical records and to secure proper recognition for the members of the PVIL. It is an association that still exists today with aims of preserving the past and remembering the glory years of the Prairie View Interscholastic League. The group also tries to instill personal pride and self-esteem by increasing the cultural awareness of the PVIL heritage.

Information about the PVIL is fairly sparse. Sporting event results and records, especially the state championship contests, are fairly well documented, but very few

organizational records, or of those of a day-to-day nature, seem to exist. However, a valuable, and often more enlightening, source of information can still be found the PVIL coaches. This article explores the PVIL and the history of racism in Texas through the memories of its coaches. Interviews with coaches of the PVILCA reveal the experiences, both good and bad, that members of the PVIL lived through.

Andy Doyle  
Winthrop University

## **Southern Progressivism and the Ascendancy of Football Programs at State Universities, 1913-1917**

At the turn of the twentieth century, public institutions of higher learning in the Deep South strained credulity by claiming the status of universities. With minimal funding, enrollments of 500 or fewer students, and a reluctance to fully abandon the outmoded classical curriculum, flagship state universities barely resembled their counterparts in the rest of the nation. And hamstrung by these and other factors, their football programs were terrible by national standards. Vanderbilt, a private school that received fairly generous funding from northeastern philanthropists, had the best football program in the South. Between 1904 and 1912, it did not lose a single game to a southern opponent, and it performed creditably against the football powers of the Northeast and Midwest. But Vanderbilt's wealth was not the most significant factor; Sewanee, with an enrollment that never exceeded 150 students, also had a better overall record than state schools during this period. Each school recruited the vast majority of its students from private prep schools, which generally had far better football programs than public high schools. The latter were few in number, and those that existed were usually small and poorly funded.

This paper proposes to examine the social, political, and economic factors that enabled southern state universities to surpass their private counterparts in the years just prior to World War I. During the Progressive era, a growing industrial economy and an inconsistent but perceptible spirit of reform led to a rising state commitment to all levels of public education. Also, an emerging urban middle class with increasing levels of disposable income became an excellent market for the entertainment spectacle of college football. Bolstered by greater revenues, growing enrollments, and more high school football programs from which to recruit players, the football programs at southern state universities overtook Vanderbilt and Sewanee by 1913. This paper will focus primarily on the states of Alabama and Georgia and the football programs of Auburn and Georgia Tech. Auburn was cognized as the champion of the South in 1913 and 1914, and Georgia Tech emerged from its perennial mediocrity to achieve regional dominance between 1915 and 1917.

The paper will also examine the role of John Heisman at Tech. Heisman was more adept at media manipulation than he was at coaching football, and prior to 1915, his Georgia Tech teams rarely displayed even a hint of excellence against southern competition. But by that year, he was reaping the full advantages of the revenues provided by the Atlanta market and the aggressiveness a group of urban boosters who helped fund his program. With the best football talent ever assembled in the South, his teams went undefeated between 1915 and 1917. The last of those teams claimed a national championship, although competition was weak due to World War I, and Pop Warner's Pitt Panthers were likely better.

Doug Hochstetler  
Pennsylvania State University, Lehigh Valley

## **Taking the High Road: The Role of Romeyn Berry as Graduate Manager at Cornell, 1919-1935**

When looking for historical examples of ethical actions and decision-making, writers often turn to the 1940 Cornell-Dartmouth football game. In fact, in his book, *Onward to Victory: The Crises that Shaped College Sports*, Murray Sperber points to this Fifth Down game as an exemplary display of sportsmanship, representing the classical ideal of intercollegiate athletics. The historical roots for this event begin much earlier, however, with the leadership and policies put in place by the Cornell University Athletic Association.

John Watterson wrote that in the 1920s big-time football experienced an explosive growth that few insiders would have predicted. The individual leading Cornell athletics through this decade was Romeyn (Rym) Berry, a one-time Cornell football player turned lawyer and eventually graduate manager at his alma mater. As Berry prepared to succeed G. Ervin Kent in July of 1919, the Cornell Alumni News wrote that Berry is one who represents a high Cornell type, a man of poise and social and athletic background who will give to Cornell an invaluable service he holds a broad view, as indeed, he has a wide knowledge of all forms of intercollegiate athletics. Cornell established a graduate manager position in 1901 with the hiring of John L. Senior to provide full-time guidance and oversight for the growing athletic programs. Between 1901 and 1919, four individuals (all graduates of Cornell) served in this capacity.

During the course of his tenure, from 1919-1935, Cornell athletics expanded in ways representative of the broader intercollegiate football scene: mammoth stadiums,

soaring attendance, and inflated coaching salaries. Many praised Berry for his ability to improve the overall product of Cornell athletics while simultaneously avoiding the excesses that plagued other institutions during this time period. In fact, Cornell was one of the few big-time football programs that came through the 1929 Carnegie Report unscathed.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of Berry as graduate manager at Cornell with respect to ethical leadership. During the course of this project I will address the following questions: How did Berry provide leadership for Cornell in his role of graduate manager? How did Berry's philosophy of sport help shape the broader ethos of Cornell athletics? To what extent did Berry's national and international relationships impact the overall ethical climate for Cornell intercollegiate sport? How did the structure of the Cornell athletic program contribute to the ethical climate? The examination of this topic will provide more information about the graduate manager role at football programs like Cornell in addition to the extent to which individuals are able to encourage ethical behavior and decision-making.

Jeong-Yeon Lee  
Seoul National University

## **A Study on the Historical Notion of Dance Sport and Its Introduction to Elementary School Education**

Dance sport has marked a rapid growth as sports for all or elite sports in Korea for the last two decades. Its identity as "sports" accompanied by music provided opportunities for popularization in Korea as the general perception of "sports" was deemed sounder and more accessible than that of "dance." The origin of the general perception that "dance" is less sound than "sports" can be traced to the Korea's unique

historical concept. The primary purpose of this study was to examine the historical notion. For the examination, three periods were identified; the first period involves the late 19th century under the Japanese imperialism and deals with the introduction process and nature of dance. The second period covers from the Independence Day to around the Korean War and investigates the cultural aspects of dance which was victimized for political reasons. The last period, from 1988 Seoul Olympic Games to the present day, examines a new understanding of dance sport and its development.

The most fundamental place for a cultural program to gain popularity and expand is the school. It is imperative that the school curriculum should truthfully reflect the overall cultural flows of the society and further lead them. The roles of elementary school education claim much more significance since it is the very starting point of education. In Korea, dance sport has yet to earn the status as a regular program in the elementary school curriculum, which follows the Seventh National Curriculum focusing on basic movements, ballet, modern dance, Korean dance, folk dances of the world, and creative dance. Dance sport is more popular in the non-regular curriculum as part of extra curricular activities. Some studies report that teachers and parents still have a rather negative view of dance sport. Where does the negative view come from? What should be done in order to overcome the view if it is attributed to the historical notion? The secondary purpose of the study was to investigate what perceptions and values dance sport should pursue as an elementary educational program. The ultimate goal of the study is to establish the foundation for dance sport to grow as a more sophisticated culture by promoting the right perception of it and helping to be given a solid philosophical legitimacy.

Alan A. Sack  
University of New Haven

## **Athletic Reform in the New Millennium: A Short History of the Drake Group**

College sport as a form of mass commercial entertainment has been an integral part of campus life at many American Universities for more than one hundred years, and the aggressive recruitment and subsidization of college athletes, and a certain amount of academic subterfuge have always been necessary conditions for competing at the highest levels. However, not until the last quarter of the Twentieth Century did the line of demarcation between college and professional sport – which was always blurry – totally vanish as many athletic programs began to operate as unrelated businesses.

The NCAA's 1973 decision to replace four-year scholarships with one year renewable grants, thus allowing universities to "fire" college athletes who do not meet a coach's expectations, laid amateurism to rest. And the increase in commercialism over the past couple of decades has been extraordinary. To quote the Knight Foundation Commission on intercollegiate athletics, "In too many respects, big-time college sports today more closely resemble the commercialized model appropriate to professional sports than they do the academic model."

As commercialism has risen to levels unimaginable only three decades ago, instances of academic fraud and corruption have not gone unnoticed. Media reports of embarrassingly low graduation rates, instances of academic fraud in athletic counseling centers, the emergence of "boutique" high schools that magically raise athletes' grade point averages, rampant grade inflation, lowered admission standards, and "soft courses" taught by friendly faculty – these and many other questionable practices have led some



faculty to accept the Knight Foundation Commission's conclusion that "the business of big-time sports all but swamps educational values making a mockery of those professing to uphold them."

In 1999, Jon Ericson, a former provost and professor at Drake University, was so concerned about the threat to traditional academic values posed by big-time college sport that he invited a distinguished group of scholars, authors, activists, and others who have been outspoken critics of college sports to Des Moines, Iowa to engage in an intensive twenty-four hour think-tank on how to end athletic corruption once and for all. Out of this conference emerged a reform-minded organization called the Drake Group.

This paper traces the history of the Drake Group from 1999 to 2008, focusing on its strategies, internal conflicts, proposals, accomplishments, and failures. Other groups discussed include the Knight Commission Foundation on Intercollegiate Athletics, the Coalition on Intercollegiate Athletics (COIA), the NCAA, and the National College Players Association (NCPA). This paper draws on a variety of sources including minutes of Drake Group meetings, personal correspondence, newspaper articles, a number of interviews with Drake members, and my personal experiences as a founding member of the Drake Group. One objective of this paper is to identify points of leverage for implementing proposals for reform.

Ronald A. Smith  
Penn State University

## **The Graham Plan and Athletic Reform (1852-1936)**

In November 1935, President Frank Porter Graham of the University of North Carolina outlined his plan for intercollegiate athletic reform before the National Association of State Universities. Only six years after the most famous report on the

status of intercollegiate sport by the Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching, American College Athletics, Graham wanted to implement reform of the Southern Conference by banning financial aid for athletic prowess, prohibiting freshman eligibility, eliminating recruiting by coaches, and placing financial aid under university control. Graham had been strongly influenced by Abraham Flexner, the renowned authority on universities, author of the Flexner Report of 1910 that successfully pushed for reform of medical education, author of the important Universities: American, English, German in 1930, and head of the Institute for Advanced Studies. President Graham was a crusader and liberal voice for a number of causes, one of which was to reform college athletics in an attempt to rescue the amateur ideal.

The so-called Graham Plan was passed by a close Southern Conference vote, 6-4, and became policy in the Southern Conference in the fall of 1936. However, it lacked the presidential votes of Clemson University, Duke University, University of South Carolina, and Virginia Military Institute. Only in effect for three months, but never enforced, by the conclusion of the 1936 football season, the Graham Plan was in shambles and soon voted out following attacks as being unrealistic and unworkable by some presidents, governing boards, alumni, students, athletic officials, and the press. Lamented President Graham in a letter to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching: “We did not get the college presidents at the Conference to agree to back up the regulations. . . . I am shocked to find that college presidents for this reason and that reason do not want to stand back of the proposed regulations.” The fact that the Southeastern Conference of major football powers had only recently voted to allow full athletic grants-in-aid did not help the Southern Conference in its efforts at reform. “My proposals,” President Graham

wrote in defeat, “were mainly that our colleges actually carry out what we profess to carry out.”

The paper will trace reform efforts from the beginning of intercollegiate athletics in 1852, noting the most important reform efforts, including the creation of athletic committees at Princeton and Harvard in the early 1880s; the President Eliot inter-institutional faculty conference of 1883; the Brown Conference Report of 1898; the 1906 Big 10 President Angell Conference; the 1922 NCAA 10-point Athletic Code; and the 1931 President Gates Plan at the University of Pennsylvania. It will attempt to indicate why athletic reform efforts had failed up to the time of the Graham Plan, and suggest why they have continued to fail into the twenty-first century, whether or not presidents have led the reform efforts.

John S. Watterson  
James Madison University

## **Walter Camp, Gridiron Reformer**

Walter Camp, the “father of American football,” seldom appears as a reformer. To the contrary, because he opposed changes such as the forward pass, he is often regarded as a gridiron troglodyte. His success with Yale football suggests that he blocked reforms in 1905-06 because such changes might jeopardize Yale’s success. And, being responsible for shaping the American game from British rugby made it appear he had a vested interest in the existing rules – and opposed any change.

In truth, most of these impressions are not supported by the facts. It is true that the crisis in college football of 1905-06 was a difficult period for Walter Camp. The Intercollegiate Football Rules Committee (sometimes called Camp’s committee or the old committee) gave way in 1906 to a larger joint rules committee. Harvard rather than Yale

gained the upper hand on this committee. The old committee's reluctance to make immediate rules reforms made Camp, the best known figure on that committee, look like a reactionary. He was also criticized for accumulating nearly \$100,000 from athletic revenues in a secret fund at Yale. Camp's prominence in football rules making and his role as treasurer of the Yale Financial Union made him a target of football critics and reformers.

Was Camp a reactionary who stood in the way of reform? Certainly not reform of the rules. The evidence indicates that Camp did work for reform. For example, he championed the ten yard rule – three downs to make ten yards – two years before it was adopted. This was not window dressing. Camp had been not only been calling for this rules change but had been tinkering with the rules for several years before the crisis of 1905. That only three college players died in 1905, one more than in 1904, indicates that college football under the old committee's rules was not as seriously compromised as were high school, semi-pro, and sandlot football.

Since Camp was the most important figure in early college football, my paper should add to an understanding of both Camp and early college football. As an example, I would suggest that Camp's initial opposition to the forward pass was not as unreasonable as it might seem today (the pass contributed to a second crisis in 1909 in which ten college players were killed). Nevertheless, once the new rules were legislated in 1906, Camp used the pass and other reforms as readily as other football advisers and coaches and remained a respected member of the joint rules committee until his death in 1925.

# **SCORCHED BY SCANDAL: THE IOC AND THE SALT LAKE CITY OLYMPIC BID SCANDAL**

Robert K. Barney  
University of Western Ontario

## **Scandalous Proceedings: The United States Department of Justice vs. Tom Welch and David Johnson, Engineers of Salt Lake Olympic Bid Largesesse**

The sensational and scandalous November/December 1998 revelations surrounding Salt Lake City's bid for the Olympic Winter Games of 2002 resulted in wide public disbelief and embarrassed Olympic officials worldwide. When frantic finger pointing subsided and investigations by several commissions and organizations were completed, of which the IOC, the USOC, the Australian Olympic Committee, and the State of Utah, were the most prominent, the end results were a changing of the guard to lead the Salt Lake City Olympic organization task, dishonored and discharged IOC members, hesitant international corporate sponsors, and a complete revamping of the manner in which Olympic Games bids would be evaluated in the future.

Remaining mute on the subject of the great Olympic Scandal amid all the commotion, was the U.S. government itself, the party most responsible for the federally-granted endorsement of Olympic matters in the U.S. In time, well over a year after the original scandal disclosure, the government's Department of Justice lodged legal proceedings against Tom Welch and David Johnson, the tandem that headed Salt Lake City's bid. This action eventually resulted in a public trial of Welch and Johnson, charged with 14 felony counts. At the conclusion of almost two months of legal prosecution by Department of Justice lawyers, the defense team of Bill Taylor and Max

Wheeler requested Judge David Sam to enforce a "Stay of Acquittal," arguing that the prosecution had failed to prove its case. After deliberating overnight, Judge Sam approved the request, and both Welch and Johnson were cleared of all charges. The Great Olympic Scandal Trial came to an end, the final punctuation mark in a series of events that brought the Modern Olympic Movement to its proverbial knees. Though the principals in the case in the end were exonerated, the Modern Olympic Movement itself was put on notice. In the future, its affairs must be accountable and transparent to its responsible cohorts, the world's Olympic Family constituency.

Stephanie M.W. Eckert  
University of Windsor

## **Beyond “Window Dressing:” The Rise and Work of the IOC Ethics Commission**

The Salt Lake City bid scandal, while not the first time that the ethical practices of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had been questioned by its stakeholders and the general public, provided the impetus necessary to push the IOC toward becoming a more ethical organization. The process that the IOC undertook in response to the crisis can be divided into two phases: the crisis management stage and the reform stage.

The crisis management stage began on November 24, 1998 when a letter emerged in the media indicating that the daughter of an IOC member had received a university scholarship through the Salt Lake City bid committee. Within two weeks of the report, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch assembled an Ad Hoc Commission (AHC) to investigate the allegation. The reform stage began two months later when the creation of an IOC Ethics Commission was recommended by the AHC. AHC had worked tirelessly since its inception and rigorous investigations persisted throughout the holiday season

and well into January. With investigations complete and sanctions for implicated members suggested, AHC members recommended its disbandment and the creation of a more permanent body – the IOC Ethics Commission.

On March 18, 1999, following lengthy deliberations by the IOC Executive Board and the subsequent approval of the IOC General Session, the IOC Ethics Commission was established. With a mandate to “address the responsibilities of the IOC and oversee the selection process of host cities,” the Ethics Commission set forth to create a code of ethics by which to monitor the activities of IOC members. The establishment of the IOC Ethics Commission and other aspects of the IOC’s reform process have not escaped criticism. Fred Upton, Chairman of the U.S. House Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, questioned the validity and applicability of the reform process when he expressed fear that “the reforms enacted...will show that what the IOC passed will simply be window-dressing and business will go on as usual.” The distrust, doubt and suspicion of the IOC permeating Upton’s remarks reflect the sentiments of many people.

Now, seven years after the adoption of the suggested reforms, this paper provides an evaluation of the IOC’s progress to determine whether or not Upton’s fears were justified. An examination of several cases that have been assessed and resolved by the IOC Ethics Commission since its inception reveals that the Commission is more than just a body created by the IOC to appease the negative feelings of critics that emerged in the wake of the Salt Lake City scandal or as Upton so eloquently put it, “window-dressing.”

Scott G. Martyn  
University of Windsor

## **The Legacy of Juan Antonio Samaranch: A Critical Analysis of the IOC's Seventh President and his Impact on the Modern Olympic Movement**

Olympic historiography reveals intense fascination with the International Olympic Committee (IOC) presidential tenures of Pierre de Coubertin, Avery Brundage, and more recently, Juan Antonio Samaranch. While both the characters and personalities of these individuals explain this trend, events and evolutionary developments in the Olympic world during their presidencies also contributed to these patterns of historical research. Juan Antonio Samaranch, the IOC's seventh president (1980-2001), has attracted significant scholarly attention in the wake of his presidency. According to John MacAloon, with the exception of Coubertin, Samaranch "has been the most significant leader in modern Olympic history." "For sure," argues Olympic historian John Lucas, but "one finds warts and areas to be praised" throughout his presidency.

The son of Francisco and Juana (Torello) Samaranch, wealthy owners of a prosperous upholstery business, Samaranch graduated with a degree in commerce from the Higher Institute of Business Studies in Barcelona, Spain. Following a brief period in the family business, he later became involved in the banking industry. While pursuing his degree, Samaranch developed an interest in roller hockey. In 1951, using a share of the profits from the family business, he funded the world roller hockey championships in his home town of Barcelona. That same year, the Spanish Skate Hockey Federation was created and Samaranch was appointed president. He began his political activities in the Barcelona City Council as the councilor in charge of Sports, a post he held from 1955 to



1962. He was then chairman of the Sports Commission of the Provincial Government and the representative for Catalonia on the National Sports Delegation. In December 1966 Spanish dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco appointed him the national delegate for Physical Education and Sports.

Samaranch's Olympic involvement began in 1954, when he was named to Spain's National Olympic Committee (NOC), and then its president from 1967 to 1971. He served as his country's chief representative at the Olympic Winter Games in Cortina d'Ampezzo (1956), and the Olympic Summer Games in Rome (1960) and Tokyo (1964). Co-opted as a member of the IOC in 1966, then Chief of Protocol in 1968, his growing reputation as a disciplined, meticulous, efficient and influential individual saw his skills put to use within various commissions. In 1970, he became a member of the Executive Board, and Vice-President of the IOC from 1974 to 1978. In 1977, Spain restored diplomatic relations with the USSR and Juan Antonio Samaranch was appointed Ambassador to Moscow (1977-1980). He returned to the Executive Board in 1979, as Chief of Protocol, and elected to the presidency of the IOC in the first ballot on July 16, 1980. In 1989, at the age of 69, Samaranch was unanimously re-elected as president after nominations closed with no other candidates at the 95<sup>th</sup> IOC Session in San Juan, Puerto Rico. He would remain in this position until 16 July 2001, at the 112th IOC Session in Moscow, where he was elected honorary president for life. This paper will attempt to explore critical developments within the IOC, as well as the greater Olympic Movement, that charted the IOC's path throughout the presidency of Juan Antonio Samaranch. The authors' principal goal is to "turn the spotlight" on Samaranch, an individual whose contribution to the Olympic Movement has been the topic of much speculation.

Stephen R. Wenn  
Wilfrid Laurier University

## **Frozen in Time: Lausanne and the 108<sup>th</sup> IOC Extraordinary Session, March, 1999**

In the waning days before the IOC's 108<sup>th</sup> Extraordinary Session in mid-March 1999, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch and his Executive Board colleagues nervously anticipated the arrival of IOC members in Lausanne. It was their opportunity to begin reversing the tide of negative media coverage that enveloped Lausanne in the wake of revelations concerning cash, college scholarships and other benefits employed by Salt Lake City bid leaders to secure votes from a number of IOC members in advance of the IOC's 1995 Session in Budapest. The fate of six IOC members recommended for expulsion by the Ad Hoc Commission (the IOC's internal investigative committee) fronted by Canada's Richard Pound would provide the central drama for the Session. However, an agitated world media, nervous Olympic corporate sponsors, and even IOC leaders knew that their expulsion was but a starting point for the IOC's effort to salvage the battered Olympic brand.

The previous three months had been a harrowing experience in crisis management for IOC officials as they tried to temper the strident media criticism of Juan Antonio Samaranch and the gift giving culture, especially in relation to the Olympic bid process, he permitted to expand on his Presidential watch. The Salt Lake City scandal spawned investigations by Salt Lake City Organizing Committee's (SLOC) Board of Ethics, the United States Olympic Committee (USOC), and the U.S. Department of Justice, all of which provided juicy fodder for television, radio and print media journalists. Lausanne officials fretted about the resulting cascade of allegations concerning other compromised

bidding processes and the existence of self-styled Olympic agents who promised IOC members' votes in exchange for payment, as well as the manner in which those who bankrolled the Olympic Movement, the IOC's television and corporate partners, viewed the impact of the scandal on their respective commercial enterprises. The IOC's effort to champion the establishment of the World Anti-Doping Agency at a conference in early February proved a press relations failure as reporters and delegates representing the world's governments asserted that the IOC's diminished ethical foundation challenged its ability to lead on the doping issue.

For two days in March, 1999, Lausanne stood still. Scores of reporters descended on the otherwise tranquil city on Lac Lemman eager to discern whether the rank and file IOC members understood the depth of the public's revulsion at the exposed seamy underbelly of Olympic "commerce." Would the six IOC members be sacrificed? Would IOC members heed Samaranch's call for the establishment of an ethics commission to monitor the IOC's operations and activities? Would IOC members accept revised guidelines for the determination of the host city for the 2006 Olympic Winter Games, complete with Samaranch's decree that all IOC member bid city visits would cease? Intrigue also gripped the proceedings as Samaranch sensed a "palace revolt," a movement initiated by unnamed IOC members and staff members, intended to topple his presidency.

In any effort to confront an organizational crisis, "the greatest need is for dramatic acts symbolizing the end of disintegration and the beginning of restoration." This study examines the IOC leadership's effort to seize the opportunity afforded by the 108<sup>th</sup> Extraordinary Session as a first significant step in its mission to restore a measure of luster to the tarnished five rings.

# **SPORT, ETHNICITY, AND IDENTITY POLITICS**

Bryan Bracey  
University of Maryland

## **Only a Game? Sport and the Black College**

In years past, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have been able to produce legendary sporting talents such as National Football League stars, Walter Payton and Jerry Rice. However more recently, and for a multitude of reasons, it appears as if HBCUs are decreasingly likely to develop Hall of Fame caliber athletes in the higher profiles sports, in particular. This paper seeks to uncover some of the historical developments that contribute to this phenomenon.

The historian Patrick Miller attempts to explain sporting traditions at HBCUs by suggesting originally that there were some arguments during the early 20th century that spoke to the advantages of using sport as a means to create bonds and unity across racial lines while simultaneously generating school spirit. Then, by the 1920s, HBCUs saw the value of collegiate athletics as a way to gain student interest and support as an integral part of the black college experience. In many respects, with the rise of HBCUs in the post-Civil War era, sport became another mechanism for the creation of black racial pride.

Yet the racial climate and context has shifted numerous times since the first HBCU (Cheyney University) was established in 1837. From Slavery to Reconstruction to Jim Crow to the Civil Rights Era to notions of the post-racial moment and beyond, the meaning and the role of HBCUs has constantly changed and, as such, so has sport at HBCUs. Coupled with a developing consumer sporting culture surrounding collegiate athletics, the nature of collegiate athletics has evolved as well. The corporatization of the

educational process and the emergence of mediasport have had a profound impact on the collegiate sporting landscape. HBCUs, due to talent and resources issues among other reasons, do not generate the revenue of those schools boasting 100,000-seat football stadiums and frequent national television appearances. For HBCUs, sport has a very different role.

By critically outlining the historical trends that have contributed to the evolution of black college athletics, hopefully one can see how certain cultural forms, such as black college marching band traditions, have reached prominence while the specific sporting competitions take on a secondary significance. Furthermore, illuminating the context out of which HBCUs were born and tracing their histories to the present, should yield meaningful insights. Additionally, it is of importance to heed Howard Winant's call to focus attention on the continuing significance and changing meaning of race. As racialized institutions, HBCUs are inextricably linked to perceptions, popular or otherwise, of blackness. Given the prevailing stereotypes concerning black superficiality and physicality, HBCUs are also charged with the task of providing alternative, less problematic, discourses of blackness. Understanding how these negotiations have taken place over time is central to this analysis.

James E. Brunson III  
Northern Illinois University

### **“Fifteenth-Amendment Club-Slingers”: Colored Base Ball and the St. Louis Sporting Fraternity, 1875-1877**

This paper offers a historical overview of colored baseball, within the framework of the St. Louis sporting fraternity in the postbellum Gilded Age. By sporting fraternity, I mean the larger framework of social, cultural, and political institutions that broadens our

understanding of colored baseball – a framework that allows for a more nuanced and differentiated account of the relation of black urban life to the National Pastime.

Historian Steven Reiss has described the sporting fraternity as an informal brotherhood of pleasure seekers who backed, participated in, and attended various sporting contests. Sporting men measured manliness by skill at chasing women, drinking, gambling, fighting in taverns, and the frequenting of fashionable sporting houses. Reiss's definition poses the following questions: How can the term sporting be so iconic as to invoke many forms, each embedded within a larger social framework? How do social spaces function within the sports medium? Can women be sports? This paper contextualizes the questions within the late 19<sup>th</sup> century sports medium: a complex social institution that contained not only the print media, but also the individuals within it, a history of practices, rituals, and habits, skills and techniques, and a set of material objects and spaces.

Much of what may seem as obscene in sporting culture may not be when experienced in saloons, gambling dens, dance houses, bordellos, police stations or ballparks when experienced in the context of social drama. The colored sporting fraternity in general, and the battle for the colored championship of the West in particular are represented by historical narratives and narrated events drawn from newspapers and sporting journals that invoked the postbellum Gilded Age social drama of black urban experience. It had much to do class, gender, race and, of course, politics in the waning days of Reconstruction. Sportswriters dubbed colored baseballists “fifteenth-amendment club-slingers” because they embodied a combination of sports and civil rights. The Reconstruction Period, critics argued, transformed the American citizen of African

descent into a creature of legislative enactment. While several colored nines thrived between 1875 and 1877, the Blue Stockings and Black Stockings deserve particular attention because they exemplified the social drama of the black urban experience. On the green diamond, they were fierce rivals; off the green diamond, these organizations maintain uneasy political and social alliances. These clubs harbored long-standing class antagonism. The colored aristocracy, for instance, supported the Blue Stockings. The demimonde – saloons, dance halls and gambling dens – backed the Black Stockings.

Of course, this simplification masks a far more complicated picture. The sports medium, it seems safe to say, fashioned ball clubs, heroic figures, and other colorful sporting characters. However much journalists attempted to reframe what they saw or what they heard, the colored sporting crowd fashioned an inimitable lifestyle and ethos that prevented them from being imprisoned altogether by definitions which the larger society tried to impose. Sporting culture, for instance, permitted colored women a measure of autonomy; they shunned acquiescence in the face of mistreatment and injustice, and exercised some control over their lives. The authoritative evidence is not simply found in one singular historical narrative or narrated event, then, but found in multiple historical narratives and narrated events. Fifteenth-Amendment Club-Slingers reveals how colored baseball and the sporting fraternity of St. Louis, despite segregated cultural and social practices, coalesced to fashion a vibrant sporting culture.

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University of North Carolina, Greensboro

## **An Aversion to Frivolity: W.B. Curtis, Nadine Turchin, John Babcock and the Athleticism of War, 1861-1865**

When the outstanding 19<sup>th</sup> century athlete William B. Curtis had two horses shot out from under him at the Battle of Chickamauga, Georgia, on September 20, 1863, he had a big decision to make. It did not take long to decide. Would he surrender as ordered, or would he use his outstanding athleticism and determination to rally his men to charge with slashing bayonets for about one mile before breaking out of and through the surrounding rebel lines? He chose to fight his way out of sure disaster [there were 34,000 casualties] and later raged in fury to his men that they should “never surrender” if ever told by a superior officer to surrender again.

Was this a defining moment in the life of William Curtis, or was this behavior only one general indication of the same type ideology he would later apply toward his attempts to purify sport from corruption and greed? We may never really know, since Curtis never spoke or wrote about his war experience. Others did write comments about Curtis in Civil War letters and reminiscences, but it was Nadine Turchin’s diary and her husband’s 1862 court martial which probably revealed the most significant data about Curtis. From Nadine’s diary we learn the most probable reason why Curtis had a particular aversion to frivolous 19<sup>th</sup> century women, and we learn about Curtis’s attitude toward life in the court testimony, where he defended General Turchin’s charge of rape & “massacre” of the civilian population of Athens, Alabama.

Was Curtis’s sometimes brutal treatment of those who abused Northern blacks justified behavior? While he sometimes spoke disparagingly about the “heathen



Chinese” and referred to lacrosse playing Indians and runners as “damned copper colored indians,” he also spoke of these “noble redmen” with respect and honor. While he stood up for the rights of women to partake in healthy exercise and activity he also criticized the AAU leadership for their hypocrisy. Curtis was a co-founder of the AAU in 1888 and knew its origins, but he never spoke up for women athletes and only rarely reported on professional women’s events, usually disparagingly regarding its commercial aspects.

Was it coincidence that Curtis’s athletic partner in the formation of 19<sup>th</sup> century amateur athletics, John C. Babcock [war spy] also played a key role in the northern victory at the Battle of Gettysburg? Did these two men forge an athletic union after their common experience to free the slaves or was their friendship formed before the war? Was their moral reform effort to free the slaves part of the same moral reasons that these two men formed a partnership to rid sport of its own moral contradictions and hypocrisies? They both recognized the hypocrisy of the South to declare that the war was about the “freedom” of states rights, but not about the freedom of the slaves. Babcock did not declare that his primary mission was to free the slaves, but Curtis did endorse the effort of General Turchin to do just that. They justified cruel measures to defeat a cruel institution. The AAU eventually became a cruel dictatorial institution.

While Babcock was the leading spy for the North, later as architect, he designed and helped build the first multiple-use indoor sports arena in 1868 New York City which was used for indoor track, ice-shows, horse shows, poultry shows, PT Barnum circuses, etc. To accomplish the task of promoting pure athletics, Curtis and Babcock had to endorse the hypocrisy and contradictions of many noble ventures – which like war, is

never pure. Purification generally leads to brutal and inhuman fascist methodologies.  
Democracy generally poses the questions, not the answers.

Tim Elcombe  
Wilfrid Laurier University

## **Reflections on the Summit Series' 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary: "Moral Spectacles" and the Making and Re-making of Canada's National Identity**

On September 28, 1972, Team Canada narrowly defeated their Soviet ice hockey adversaries 6-5 on a last minute, third period goal by Paul Henderson. Legendary hockey broadcaster Foster Hewitt's exclamation, "Henderson scores for Canada!" sent Canadians coast-to-coast watching and listening to the live broadcast from Moscow into a "state" of delirium. Henderson's goal in the eighth and final game meant much more to Canadians than simply deciding victory over a surprisingly powerful Soviet team. From a Canadian perspective, the goal, and the resultant Summit Series victory, confirmed Canada's "dominance" on the ice, as well as reinforced the nation's moral and political superiority over their Communist foes. In sum, Henderson more than scored for Team Canada – in an important sense, he united a nation's populace as a team of Canadians.

Many have critically contemplated what the 1972 Summit Series "meant" to Canadians at the time. Alternatively, I will take the unusual approach of hypothetically considering the relationship between the Summit Series and Canada in the year 2047 – on the occasion of the event's 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary. In 2047, most participants of the Summit Series will no longer be alive, rendering it a story to be passed from generation to generation. Central questions to ask from this distanced vantage point include the social or ethical appropriateness of placing such a nationalistic emphasis on an exhibition

hockey series, how the relationship between Canadians and Team Canada 1972 might change over 75 years, and what role the Summit Series could play (if any) in Canada's future national identity after three quarters of a century.

The intent of this essay is not to look through some crystal ball to accurately predict the future, but to use a unique perspective (inspired by Richard Rorty's 1996 essay "Looking Backwards from the Year 2096") to consider the potential moral significance of the Summit Series on Canada's democratic development. I will argue that the Summit Series' role as a "moral text" holds the potential to reveal and extend the meaning and democratic value of what Rorty calls "moral spectacles". These "moral spectacles" I will further argue, importantly move from event to memory to legend and, finally, myth – along the way helping a nation move forward in its ongoing moral project by illuminating its shortcomings and engendering hope and pride in the country's democratic possibilities.

Using works of philosophers including John Dewey, Michael Polanyi, Richard Rorty, and John Ralston Saul, this paper will consider how an important "moral spectacle" such as the 1972 Summit Series and its resultant (and ongoing) place in a nation's history can impact the democratic future of a country like Canada. Possible session types for this presentation may include discussions about historical methods or the role of sport history in culture, sport and nationalism, or hockey and Canadian identity.

John D. Fair  
Georgia College

## **The Strongmen of Ohio**

This paper is designed to be a case study of a phenomenon that has increasingly gained scholarly attention since the 1970s. Physical culture, as a component of the larger realm of sporting endeavors, was a movement that emerged in the late nineteenth century, coinciding with the emergence of the modern Olympic Games. The so-called iron game, consisting of weightlifting, bodybuilding, and related endeavors, was a vibrant and important segment of this movement which was well in place by the 1920s and achieved widespread popularity by the outbreak of World War II. After the war the United States became the leading weightlifting and bodybuilding country in the world. These activities centered in York, Pennsylvania, and Venice Beach, California, respectively, the latter laying the groundwork for the later physical culture craze inspired by Arnold Schwarzenegger. My study involves a close examination of one of the secondary, but quite significant, centers of physical culture activity and address the question of why so many of the significant strength and bodybuilders emerged from the state of Ohio. It will also show how and why this development complemented, differed from, and even exceeded what went on in Pennsylvania and Southern California. My central thesis is that the many Ohio strongman endeavors, spanning the entire twentieth century, were the result of the settlement of substantial numbers of German immigrants who brought their love of athletics strength competitions from the Old World. It was as important part of the Teutonic culture as their brewing, dancing, and brass bands. This phenomenon was particularly evident in metropolitan areas such as Columbus, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and

Akron where the Germans settled in large numbers and produced many notable strength athletes.

I have already carried out this kind of treatment for two other locales where there was an unusual degree of physical activity in published articles entitled “Georgia: Cradle of Southern Strongmen in the Twentieth Century” and “Strongmen of the Crescent City: Weightlifting at the New Orleans Athletic Club, 1872-1972.” In both of these instances, despite the gender specific titles, I also encountered and included various instances of strongwomen and intend to include such information in the present study as well. A similar article on the physical contributions of the strongmen of Ohio should result from the present paper.

Gerald R. Gems  
North Central College

## **Sport and the Historical Struggle over Parallel Paths to Masculinity**

The study of masculinity, influenced by feminism and cultural studies in the latter part of the twentieth century, has been contentious and differentiated by such factors as race, social class, and sexuality to arrive at multiple conceptions of what it means to be a man. Socialization and sex role theories postulate the differences between genders; but too often fail to examine differences within gender, such as race or class. This study addresses some of the gaps in such research by looking at periodization in the process of masculinization, the role of sport, and examines several factors that suggest fluctuating standards in the traditional hegemonic conception of manhood. It uses primary and secondary sources, archival records, and newspapers to determine what it meant/means to be a man in different chronological periods. It asks at what point, if any, did working

class and middle class notions of masculinity converge? Are their conflicting conceptions of masculinity based on social class and racial perspectives?

It concludes that, despite centuries of upper class dominance and the inculcation of its value systems, working class culture retains its vitality and resurgent characteristics in opposition to the mainstream. Success for the working class was not always defined by material gain, which was often temporary and limited, but more often measured by self esteem, physical prowess, peer acknowledgement, and local acclaim which provided social status and identity unavailable in other spheres of life. Such psychic rewards compensated for the social power and material rewards so often denied to them. Sport helped to make sense of one's leisure life when work experiences were so often controlled by others. Sport, then, allowed the working class males to construct and reinforce their own version of masculinity within the prescribed boundaries and perspectives of laborers' lives. Rather than reflect the middle class vision of manhood, sport provided disparate ethnic, racial, and social groups with the means to selectively adopt and adapt particular values to formulate a decidedly different perception of what it means to be a man.

Terry Vaio Gitersos  
University of Western Ontario

### **“They’re not the ‘Flying Frenchmen’ anymore:” The Nordiques, Canadiens, and the Hyper-Politicization of the National Hockey League in Quebec, 1979-1983**

The 1970s saw a hyper-politicization of sport in Quebec. Professional sport, as both a business and an expression of culture, was affected by the same pressures that shaped other commercial and cultural institutions in post-Quiet Revolution Quebec. This

essay endeavors to situate the politicization of elite professional hockey in Quebec in the late 1970s and early 1980s within the larger context of Quebec linguistic politics of the same era. The two teams in question – the Montreal Canadiens and Quebec Nordiques - came to embody two opposing visions of Quebec: the Nordiques as the team of unilingual Quebecois nationalism, the Canadiens as the bilingual team of the Canadian establishment. This was capitalized upon by the Nordiques, and was the foundation of the team's long-term strategy to establish itself as Nordiques du Québec (“Nordiques of the province”), the preeminent professional hockey team for Quebec francophones. The Canadiens, meanwhile, failed to grasp the changes in the Quebec professional hockey marketplace and continued to operate in much the same way as it did during the 1960s and early 1970s, thereby imperiling their position as the team of choice among francophones and a bonafide Quebecois cultural institution.

This paper confines it confined in scope to three particular topics: the inauguration of a policy of unilingualism at le Colisée, the home arena of the Nordiques; the linguistic compositions of both organizations, and how this was perceived by the francophone media; and finally, the contrast in the teams hiring of a new head coach (the Nordiques in 1980, the Canadiens in 1981). To the best of my knowledge, this topic has never been undertaken in an academic setting; as a result, this analysis is heavily reliant on primary texts, especially the francophone print media. But other primary sources will be utilized, such as radio and television reports and, hopefully, the archives of the Montreal Canadiens, Colorado Avalanche and the Molson-Coors Brewing Company; this paper also draws heavily from Quebec political history and political science texts.

By analyzing these three subjects, other subtopics are introduced such as the role of the media in shaping opinion among francophones and the intervention of René Lévesque's Parti Québécois government in professional sport. Analysis of those three topics suggests that the rivalry between the Canadiens and Nordiques is best understood as a manifestation of the politico linguistic tensions between anglophones and francophones that characterized post-Quiet Revolution Quebec society, and postulates that the quality of play on the ice became less important than the symbolic battles being fought off of it. In drawing these conclusions, this paper seeks to make a valuable contribution to Canadian and Quebec sport history, and to the study of politics, language and nationalism in contemporary Quebec as a whole.

Craig Greenahm  
The University of Western Ontario

## **Casualty of War? Canadian Baseball after the Great War**

Sport historian Alan Metcalfe contends that by 1914, the outbreak of the Great War, baseball was truly Canada's national sport and that no other game was played across the country with such steady and, sometimes, spectacular growth. The country was not, however, hypnotized by baseball's charms forever. With the start of hostilities in 1914, Canada followed Britain into battle. The First World War and the immediate post-war period represented watershed moments for Canada, and Canadian society changed profoundly henceforth. Canadians, proud of their contributions to the Allied forces, had a heightened sense of nationalism after the war.

While Canada's role in the Great War led to greater independence from Britain, the young country still struggled to define its relationship with the United States. At the war's end, it was evident that the United States was a dominant world power. The



pervasive nature of American culture and investment left many north of the border concerned and agitated about the influence the United States exerted on Canada and Canadian culture.

How did the larger societal shifts initiated by military conflict influence baseball's standing in Canada? Canada's newfound patriotism, in combination with anti-American sentiment during the First World War and the immediate post-war period, had a negative impact for the sport in Canada. Despite being Canada's most popular sport when the conflict began, baseball came out of the Great War somewhat hobbled. Many of the country's baseball players were killed or seriously wounded in battle. Those who did return were engaged in labor disputes involving unemployment and wages. Many of the high-caliber leagues that folded during the war were not revived once peace was re-established particularly those outside of Ontario.

As well, the sport's popularity plateaued in the post-war period as ice hockey, perceived as more of a Canadian game, became more accessible, was heavily promoted, and expanded its season through technological advances. For many Canadians, it was desirable to be associated with a sport at which they were the best, not second best to the Americans, as was the case with baseball. The organization of various domestic professional hockey leagues, including the National Hockey League (NHL), and Canada's hockey domination at the Olympics in the 1920s posed a serious challenge to baseball for the attention of sports fans. This presentation does not attempt to prove that the First World War was the death of baseball in Canada, for such a declaration is false. Because hockey and baseball seasons did not overlap then as they do today, they were able to co-exist in relative harmony. Still, it can be seen from newspapers, sports magazines and

archival holdings, that the Great War era was a turning point in baseball's history in Canada as it lost its undisputed place atop the sports hierarchy.

Nick Guoth  
Australian National University

## **Kangaroos and Dragons: The White Australia Policy and the 1923 Chinese football tour of Australia**

The White Australia Policy was created to restrict the immigration of Chinese to Australia, which was eventually extended to exclude all non-Europeans. By 1912, the policy's clear aim was to deny citizenship, naturalization, pensions and health care to these people, whether they wished to immigrate or were already residing in Australia. When, in August 1923, a touring party of seventeen Chinese footballers arrived in Australia the policy was firmly embedded within the Australian psyche. The tour, founded on the principles of altering Australia's perspectives of Chinese masculinity, appeared to have little or no effect on the government's attitudes.

Within the context of the White Australia Policy, this paper enquires what effect the policy had on the tour itself. It evaluates the treatment of the Chinese sportsmen through an analysis of print media. In the paper, I also examine how the promoter of the tour, Mr. Harry A. Millard, manipulated these media. Finally, the paper addresses the question of what effect the tour had on the White Australia Policy.

This paper argues that the 1923 Chinese football tour did have a tenuous effect on the White Australia Policy, opening up doors for non-white sportsmen to enter the country in the following decades. The paper also claims that the policy played an important role in providing for football a wider appreciation within Australia, thus

threatening the overall control of both players and spectators by the two codes of Australian rules and rugby league.

Football in Australia at the time of the 1923 tour was in its infancy. The Commonwealth Football Association had been re-formed only some two years earlier. The analysis of the sport of football in Australia during the 1920s has been neglected, as has the reasoning for its expansion and establishment throughout the country. The paper addresses this oversight and aspires to initiate further research of the period.

Michael Heine  
University of Manitoba

## **&#8220: Yet another Instrument of Some Sort: &#8221: UNESCO's Draft Charter on Traditional Games and Sports**

On September 24, 2005, the US representative to the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), with one short observation, put an end to a two decade long political intervention designed to create a UNESCO Charter on Traditional Games and Sports. Noting in passing that the intended Charter merely represented &#8220; yet another instrument of some sort, &#8221; and that the organization &#8217's resources would be put to better use on behalf of causes such as the &#8220; eradication of poverty or of AIDS, &#8221; she went on to conclude that, in any event, the draft Charter's call for the protection of the diversity of traditional games cultures, implied an effort directed at too marginal an issue to be of political substance.

The developments and discussions leading to the development of the draft Charter provide an instructive perspective on the increasingly marginal position from which traditional games cultures around the world have to negotiate their very existence in the

context of a global, more or less homogeneous performance sports culture. The UNESCO discussions touch on issues as diverse as the right to cultural self-determination of Indigenous peoples; the negative impact of the imposition of the performance principle of modern sports, on traditional games and physical activity practices; and issues of gender equity in traditional games. This paper examines some of the discussions, policy exchanges and organizational interventions preceding the formulation of the draft Charter.

The paper argues that the necessarily global scale of many of UNESCO's interventions, as well as its frequently close collaboration with the IOC on matters of sport policy, sometimes tend to overwhelm the necessarily localized frame of reference and validation of traditional physical activity practices, ultimately subsuming by implication – though not necessarily by intent – the traditional form under the organizational logic of the performance sports model.

Zachary Michael Jack  
North Central College

### **Paper Lions in the Gilded and Golden Age: Liminality in Pioneering Participatory Sports Writing**

The recent popularity of participatory sports journalism of the kind penned by Rick Reilly, Dan Jenkins, Tom Verducci, and Jack MacCallum powerfully reveals the American public's desire for more experiential, less objective, less mediated sports reportage. The recent passing of the great George Plimpton, too, suggests an important cultural moment for a historical reexamination of the roots and the relevance of American participatory sports writing.

The first quarter of the twentieth century, sports writing historian Charles Fountain writes, was an exuberant melting pot a right place right time for young sports journalists and aficionados. In his study, Sportswriter: The Life and Times of Grantland Rice, Fountain argues that the three eras of modern journalism perfectly coalesced as Grantland Rice arrived in New York in 1911. The loss of the Titanic in 1912, the gunning down of McKinley, the San Francisco Earthquake all these, Fountain claims, heralded an age of dramatic action, the epoch of the great story made up of riveting events that render a newspaper not a luxury but a lifeline. Such dramatic national events, happening in the middle of the yellow and tabloid journalism of William Randolph Hurst and Joseph Pulitzer, suggested both journalistic exuberance and journalistic caution. Sports journalists also found themselves fully ensconced in the debate.

In this Golden Age milieu of bona fide sports heroes and goats, was a sportswriter who stepped onto the field to document his own first-person athletic experience an antidote to muckraking and sensationalist reporting or further proof of yellow journalism's ulterior motives and self-serving methodologies? Was the sportswriter who laced up his or her sneakers in search of journalistic truth researching the athletic act, from the inside out, as never before, or merely lionizing himself or herself, enacting the excesses of a Gilded rather than a Golden Age? If journalism was then evolving into a discipline not necessarily of objectivity but, as Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenthal claim in their recent book The Elements of Journalism, a discipline of verification, how could participatory sportswriters or sports journalists verify their claims if they were utterly alone in their sports quests, accompanied by friends and family members, or otherwise recollecting an event through the filter of a faulty memory?

Three remarkable texts offer a lens through which sports historians may better understand the range of motivations compelling early sportive participations. Frances Elizabeth Willard's A Wheel Within a Wheel (1895), Joseph Knowles' Alone in the Wilderness (1913), and John Neihardt's The River and I (1910) serve as crucial precursors to such participatory sports greats as Ernest Hemingway, Zane Grey, Jack London, and others. Willard, with instruction and support, taught herself to bicycle in an era when bicycling was still mostly socially unacceptable for American women; Joseph Knowles abandoned his domestic life as a part-time illustrator in Boston to live in the Maine woods as a primitive man; and John Neihardt floated the Missouri River from Montana to Iowa in an undersized, wooden canoe.

Close, comparative reading of these three largely forgotten primary texts reveals the need for a far-reaching reinterpretation of the origins of American participatory sports reporting to include: 1) The centrality of socio-cultural exigencies in the participation (the exploration of gender boundaries, the enacting of a nascent environmental consciousness, and the reclamation of a regional mythos for Willard, Knowles, and Neihardt respectively; 2) The importance of interdisciplinarity in the conception and execution of the sport-based project (Willard's training in aesthetics and her position as Dean of Women at Northwestern University; Knowles practice as a fine artist, and Neihardt's education as a poet and oral historian); 3) the significance of liminality (Willard's chronic illness, Knowles poverty, and Neihardt's Native American-styled power visions) vis a vis the motivation to undertake such novel sports experiments. Finally, the extent to which these early participatory journalists borrowed from the then-emerging scientific paradigm to test their personal, cultural, and athletic hypotheses anticipates the codification of a

quasi- and mock-scientific journalistic method perpetuated by today's popular participatory sportswriters.

Bang-Chool Kim  
Seoul National University

## **An Analysis of Korean Professional Baseball in the 1980s from Leisure and Cultural Perspectives**

Korean professional baseball was inaugurated in 1982 out of the tension between "new game" and "a new political tool." The fans of professional baseball were not free from the political implication that the inauguration of professional baseball was the product of "3S policy (sex, screen, sports)" of the Fifth Republic government. While the people were frantic about the new game, they suffered from a sense of shame that they became distant from the political issues. This political context an important meaning in the history of Korean professional baseball in that it formed the basis of Korean professional baseball development. However, it is also true that a multiplicity of meanings of professional baseball in the 1980s were covered by the predominant political explanation. In the 1980s when modernization was in progress, professional baseball was also symbolized as a new game.

Professional baseball today in Korea which has finished its 26th season is not only free from the political discourse but also is a national game that attracts more than 3 million people per year. Korean professional baseball has grown to be a huge industry and a cultural entity linked to people's leisure, consumption, and identity. In what Korean historical contexts is this enculturation of professional baseball located? The present study attempts to step back from the predominant political discourse and investigate the initial characteristics of professional baseball in the 1980s from the

perspectives of leisure and culture. The purpose of the study is: 1) to examine the origins of Korean baseball, 2) to investigate how it was accepted by Korean people, and 3) to analyze the leisure and cultural aspects of professional baseball in the 1980s. The theoretical framework for the analysis of professional baseball as a cultural leisure is to examine the dynamics of its production and acceptance. Investigation of the origins of the game involves an in-depth study of the background of the inauguration of professional baseball, league management system, and the role of the media. How it was accepted by the Korean people focuses on the context of leisure and the people's perceptions of leisure. The characteristics of the leisure culture of professional baseball in the 1980s will be analyzed by examining the conditions of baseball's origins and the conditions of the Korea peoples' acceptance.

Jordan R. Koch  
University of Alberta

## **From the Field to the Rink: Aboriginal Perspectives on Box Lacrosse in the 1930s**

This paper considers how Aboriginal athletes responded to the Euro-Canadian introduction of box lacrosse (boxla) in the 1930s. To date, scholarly research related to boxla is limited, while investigations into Aboriginal perspectives on this sport form are even rarer. Popular writers and contemporary historians suggest that boxla was well-received among Aboriginal communities as it was a more culturally satisfying version of the game. Specifically, it resembled the rough-and-tumble style of play characteristic of the earlier, Indigenous versions of the game. However, what is lacking in these explanations is a more detailed account of Aboriginal experiences and interpretations of the roles of boxla in Aboriginal society. Through media analysis and oral history data



mainly personal interviews with Aboriginal lacrosse enthusiasts familiar with this time period this paper takes a closer look at Aboriginal sporting perspectives on boxla in the 1930s. It is hoped that the findings from this study will contribute to our understandings of Aboriginal sport history.

Lindsay Sarah Krasnoff  
Graduate Center, CUNY

## **Dissecting the French Sports Crisis of the 1960s**

History interpreted through the trials of a nation's athletic success reflects that state's values, characteristics, and ideals; class divisions and tensions; and sense of community. Sport for the French, especially soccer, has been and remains a significant reflection of society and a means of self-analysis. Today France has one of the premier youth soccer and basketball development programs, sponsored in part by the state, and successful via the number of French professional soccer and basketball athletes playing in the world's elite sports leagues and contributing to the national teams' accolades.

Although the 'long' 1960s began triumphantly for French sport with the national soccer team placing third at the 1958 World Cup, the Rome Olympic Games of 1960 were the key lynchpin in the politicization of sport. That summer, France placed 25<sup>th</sup> in the overall medal count, behind countries such as Norway, Ethiopia, Japan, and New Zealand. This was humiliating, especially because the Games were the first to be televised live to a large global audience.

The French sport 'crisis' of the 1960s was supported by a decade of lackluster performances at the international level. Although the French swimmers and skiers of the late-1960s began to reclaim accolades, these sports did not compensate for the failure to

produce stellar teams for soccer – the world’s most high-profile sport – or basketball, a sport that the French historically excelled at.

Why did this sports crisis occur and endure? Moreover, why did this “crisis” matter to the French? If sport is a reflection of society, showcasing the nation’s glories and vigor through the successes of its athletes, then it can also display to the world a society’s decay and loss of power via its sporting failures. For France, the inability to gain athletic acclaim at any of the major elite international sports events from 1960 through 1973 was perceived as portraying the nation’s decay, its ‘oldness,’ and its stagnation. When taken in conjunction with the dismantling of the Empire and France’s reduced role in international affairs in the bipolar Cold War period, the sports crisis took on a more important role in the national psyche – especially within that of the government.

Through press articles and government archives, one can begin to understand how France viewed itself when inspected via the prism of sport. The public discourse that ensued throughout the 1960s asked the question: why did France lag behind other countries in athletic victory? Routinely, the four main reasons identified were: a) lack of a national sporting culture; b) lack of interest from the youths; c) lack of government support for sport; and d) the building of false expectations by the press. These areas were attacked by the government throughout the decade, seeking to fix the sports crisis; however, nothing seemed to work. What the sports crisis *did* do was to convince the French to revolutionize their sport structures to invest in the creation of the elite athlete – breaking from the American and Communist Bloc models of state sponsored sports training.

Pellom McDaniels III  
University of Missouri-Kansas City

## **The Black Prince: Isaac Murphy and the Ideology of Respectability**

Although best known as the most successful jockey of the late nineteenth century, winning an incredible forty-four percent of the horse races he entered, the African American jockey Isaac Murphy has been less recognized for his middle-class Victorian style of masculinity, his influence on racial politics of his day, and his perpetuation of the ideology of respectability, which African American communities nurtured to contest notions of inherent inferiority. Utilizing newspaper accounts of Murphy's success as a jockey within the historical, social and political context of Reconstruction, this paper will argue that Murphy – who was born during slavery – became an exemplar of manhood and masculinity for African Americans, who would come to appreciate his particular species of manhood. Indeed, Murphy's ability to transcend his occupation as a jockey within the limitations placed on African Americans in general and African American men in particular, would be influenced by his capacity to successfully achieve a masculine identity based on his command of contemporary Victorian definitions of manhood. Murphy's sexual self-restraint, strong will, and sterling sense of character made him a logical candidate for hero worship and admiration.

What is more, Murphy's degree of success as a jockey, as a business man, and as a member of the Lexington, Kentucky community would be recognized by other African American jockeys as a model of success that could be emulated. African American jockeys such as Anthony Hamilton, Isaac Lewis, Thomas Britton, and Billy Walker were counted among Murphy's many friends and acquaintances. Through his success, Murphy

was able to provide a comfortable lifestyle for his wife, Lucy Murphy, who was able to avoid the exploitation, abuse, and harshness of domestic labor that a majority of African American women could not avoid.

In the end, after his death on February 12, 1896, Murphy was honored by more than five hundred black and white mourners, who came to pay their final respects to the man whose legacy was built on a foundation of honesty and integrity. The career and life of Isaac Murphy demonstrates how sport has been used as a tool for the liberation of African Americans. Examinations such as these allow for opportunities to critique the development of African American communities around ideas (and ideals) of citizenship developed through sports participation and spectatorship.

Lorenz Peiffer  
Leibniz Universität Hannover

### **“Today it is a Matter of Opening Our Doors to all Jewish Gymnasts and Athletes Who have Become Homeless:” The Self-organization of Jewish Sports in Nazi Germany**

German gymnastics and sports clubs began to exclude Jewish members almost immediately after the National Socialists' seizure of power on 30 January 1933. Falling spontaneously into line, the racist anti-Semitism of the Nazis was willingly matched by clubs and societies across society with their 'Aryan rules'. This form of discrimination and exclusion led Jews to form their own clubs and competitions. Until the seizure of power, only 20,000 (i.e. 3-4 percent) of Jews were members of Jewish sports clubs (such as Makkabi, the clubs of Jewish soldiers from the front and the Association of Jewish-Neutral Sports and Gymnastics Clubs of West Germany). The exclusions, however, led

to a rapid growth both in the number of members within existing Jewish clubs and indeed the establishment of new Jewish clubs across Germany.

Engagement in these cultural and social organizations was an essential element of the Jewish community's self-identity and daily struggle for survival in Nazi Germany. In this period of discrimination and persecution, the many new clubs represented more than just a location for sports and leisure. They were places where – albeit limited – freedom was offered for self-development and solidarity. From autumn 1933, physical exercise formed an important part of the preparation for emigration to Palestine.

This aspect of Jewish cultural life between 1933-1938 has been largely ignored in scholarship. This paper will examine this phenomenon on the basis of contemporary reports from Jewish newspapers and community newsletters.

Daniel L.S. Taradash  
University of Iowa

## **"Many of them had Their Dreams..." Basketball on the Navajo Reservation, 1950s-1970s**

While the conflicts and interactions of indigenous people with white invaders has been subjected to numerous and necessary revisions throughout the study of history, the role of sport within those interactions is providing fresh insight into the changing attitudes, beliefs and ideological changes of Native and non-Native populations alike. Games like lacrosse among Southeastern tribes and foot racing among Southwestern tribes have been examined by both historians and anthropologists alike, and continue to provide fresh examples of the way diverse groups of people create and relate to their own sports.

However, the growing body of scholarship on the role of sport and cultural assimilation is providing new evidence of the numerous ways and means that diverse groups of people seize, control and shape the use and meanings of sports. This makes the existing research on sports in the Native American boarding school experience so promising for future research and inquiry. The meanings of Anglo American sports within boarding schools has benefited from numerous and thorough analyses; taken a step further, attempting to research and interpret the meanings of those same sports outside of boarding schools for Native American communities will further increase our understanding of these distinctive interactions and changes.

This paper will examine the origins and historical role of basketball on the Navajo reservation from the 1950s to the 1970s. Drawing on existing research and oral interviews, a better understanding of basketball on the Navajo reservation can be gained. Additionally, an investigation and analysis of the broader political, social, and economic forces that affected the game will demonstrate the distinctive nature, challenges and history of the Navajo reservation and its people. Specifically, much of this research is devoted to tracing the changes to the infrastructure of the reservation during the specified time period, and how those forces shaped the ways basketball was played, internalized and transmitted to current and future players.

Additionally, this work will argue that the Navajo relationship to basketball, though similar to that of other Native American tribes, was unique. Physical landscape, administrative decisions by tribal leaders, changes in education and economy and an influx of non-Navajo citizens all contributed to shaping the game of basketball into an activity that resulted in a number of far reaching effects. However, the problems that

have plagued life on reservations throughout history affected the Navajo Nation in specific ways during this time as well.

By demonstrating the Navajo experience, this paper will also include an examination of the harsher side of reservation life during this time. This is important to the heart of this research because it does not present reservation life as perfect because of basketball's popularity or hopeless because of basketball's popularity. The incorporation of the complexities and adversities of reservation life that basketball could not address or cure allows the research to maintain a balanced, realistic view of the power, promise and limitations of sport within diverse American lives and cultures, wherever those cultures may be.

Gregg Twietmeyer  
Marshall University

## **A Theology of Inferiority: Is Christianity the Source of Kinesiology's Second Class Status in the Academy?**

It is not uncommon to hear, whether in informal discussion or in academic publications, the assertion that Christianity has historically impeded the development of physical education. Usually, such assertions claim that Christianity has for two millenniums harmed physical education by ignoring or subordinating the value of the human body. Throughout history, the vast majority of Christians, according to this interpretation, have consistently and whole-heartedly embraced asceticism, argued that sin was a problem of the "flesh," and concluded, as a consequence, that the body was evil. Furthermore, many historians of physical education argue that Christian theology is, and has always been, based upon a rigid metaphysical dualism that elevates and encourages the importance of the soul at the cost of neglecting and denigrating the body.

Robert Mechikoff and Steven Estes provide a classic example of this historical interpretation when they argue in A History and Philosophy of Sport and Physical Education, that “Plato and the Bible share an explanation of the nature of reality that is central to Western philosophy. Both argue that all reality is divided into two parts, matter and ideas. This approach to metaphysics is known as ‘dualism.’” The authors then go on to assert that the rejection of dualism (and implicitly the “Christian” foundation from which it springs) is central to improving the value of the current incarnations of physical education in departments of kinesiology. “With respect to the field of kinesiology or physical education, a philosophy that unifies the mind and body will place a greater value on physical activity than will a dualistic philosophy that emphasizes the superiority of the mind over the body.” they assert. The implication is clear. Dualism – based in Christianity – is the fundamental source of Western society’s suspicion of the value of physical education.

Are such assertions a fair historical evaluation of Christian theology and its influence on physical education? It is no doubt dangerous, both for proponents and skeptics of the claim, to paint with too broad of a brush. Certainly Christian theology has historically not been a monolithic entity, and has developed a wide range of assertions regarding human nature. To be fair, Mechikoff and Estes do acknowledge some historical contention regarding the nature of “dualistic” claims in Christianity, most notably by acknowledging the holistic approach of Thomas Aquinas, one of the most important theologians of the Middle Ages. But Mechikoff and Estes paint Aquinas as an anomaly; a lone thinker swimming against the larger tide of Christian orthodoxy. More importantly, they contend that Aquinas was the first Christian thinker to value the body.



“Under the tutelage of Aquinas, the Scholastics were able to establish for the first time in Western civilization a philosophical and religious justification for cherishing the body and valuing physical fitness.”

Puritanical and Gnostic approaches that embraced a clear dualism separating body and spirit were certainly unfriendly to sport and physical education in many ways. And it is certainly true that Gnostic religious influence pre-dates Aquinas. The Puritan and Gnostic conceptions of the body were opposed, however, by other Christians.

Gnosticism, in fact, was declared heretical by the early Catholic Church. What did the early patristic “fathers” of the Church have to say about the nature of the body and the nature of the human person? Does such a review support Mechikoff and Estes, and a host of other historians who claim that Aquinas was the first theologian to value the body?

An investigation of the patristic era, particularly the works of Augustine and Maximus the Confessor, makes it clear that Christian thinkers long before Aquinas valued the body. Mechikoff and Estes’ interpretation does not fit the historical record. The Christian idea of a union of body and soul was not a novelty of the thirteenth century. Certainly Christian theology has never been without controversy, but Patristic theologians clearly argued for the goodness of the human body. Their arguments were based both on philosophic and theological/scriptural grounds. Key Christian doctrines such as the incarnation, the resurrection, as well as sacrament of communion further suggest a less than antagonistic place for “the body” in Christian ontology. The influence of Christianity on the status of physical education is certainly not monolithic; for good or ill. However, a review of the work of church fathers such as Augustine (whose

theological influence remains strong today) indicates that Christianity has been by no means – either uniformly or predominantly – committed to the idea that the body was evil. Consequently any blanket assertion that Christianity is the source of physical education and kinesiology’s ills is fundamentally misleading and mistaken.



Cruising the Lake – the Metcalfs, the Dunklebergers, and the Barnetts



Mike Lomax and Mark Dyreson

# SPORT HISTORY, THE PUBLIC, AND THE WRITTEN WORD

Nancy B. Bouchier  
McMaster University

Ken Cruikshank  
McMaster University

## **“While it’s not exactly Ken Burns, it’s not far off:” Reflections on Creating Critical Sport History for Local Students (and Others) – The People and the Bay Documentary Project**

How should Ken and I take the comment, “While it’s not exactly Ken Burns, it’s not far off,” made by a local reporter after the premiere last October of our documentary, The People and the Bay: The Story of Hamilton Harbor? Would we even want to be like Burns, a man whose epic television documentaries over the past quarter century have captured American historical imaginations? Some academic historians might shudder at the thought that, “More Americans get their history from Ken Burns than any other source,” but there is a way in which the Burns and PBS network enterprises have developed and provided online resources that give teachers access to materials and ideas that help them do their job well in classrooms everywhere.

This paper reflects on our experiences as recent documentary researchers, writers, and narrators, identifying key tensions in the challenges and opportunities that are involved in when academic historians get engaged in the public historical sphere. For the making of this film we worked in liaison with area history teachers through the L.R. Wilson Centre for Canadian History, a relatively new institution established to promote the history of Canada to wider communities. Based on our experience, we address several key questions that will be of concern to the sport history community: What is the

role of an academic historian in the shaping of this type of public history? Can we hope to keep a critical edge when creating something designed for use in public and high school classrooms? Do certain strategies help convey our messages? When is enough? Do we, like Burns/PBS need to always provide teaching materials for classroom use? Finally, in what ways do these efforts compromise our work as academic historians?

Tara Magdalinski  
University College Dublin

## **Making History before it Happens: Olympic Collectibles and Marking Time**

The practice of collecting dates back centuries, though is more commonly associated with the rise of a Western consumer culture from the early nineteenth century. Displays of artifacts gathered from far-flung places were initially displayed in private collections or curiosity cabinets and gradually formalized into public museums, exhibitions and galleries. Within the context of sport, various forms of memorabilia have also become highly collectible as all manner of objects, from cards and programs, to pins and autographs, are consumed by hobby collectors and specialist dealers alike. Yet, the practice of collecting reveals more than a simple interest in owning or trading ephemera and reveals a desire to possess markers of the past, items that provide a tangible link to another culture or era.

This paper examines the phenomenon of Olympic pin collecting, focusing specifically on those pins that count down to a Game. Drawing on my own experience as a momentary pin collector, this paper discusses the process by which an event is historicized before it is actually staged. The practice of collecting pins to mark a future history is analyzed within a broader discussion of the production of sporting

memorabilia, such as photographs, that are similarly constructed with the specific purpose of remembering moments in the future.

Gary Osmond  
University of Queensland

## **Photographs, Materiality and Sport History: Peter Norman and the 1968 Mexico City Black Protest Salute**

This paper considers the ways in which Australian athlete Peter Norman is presented and represented through the famous photograph of him standing with Tommie Smith and John Carlos on the medal dais at the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games. It has long been recognized that photographic images are not simple, neutral and objective records of the past. Photographs and their meanings are subject to manipulation at the point of exposure, in development, in their physical presentation and in viewing. Acts upon the photograph include cropping, retouching, resizing, displaying, captions and textual/visual context. Together, these acts influence and affect the ways images are interpreted and read, and constitute materiality. This paper will explore the materiality of this particular photograph with particular reference to Peter Norman, who is at different times, and in varying ways, both obscured and emphasized via the uses of this image.

A materiality approach is significant because it contributes to understandings of the potential importance of photographs as sources. Most typically, photographs have been used by sport historians as decorative complements to verbal text. Borrowing from recent theoretical work on photographic materiality, by anthropologists and geographers in particular, this paper sees photographs as supplementary to the written word, adding

new dimensions to understanding and offering new insights into how knowledge about the past is produced.

As evidence, this paper will examine the 1968 photograph and accompanying textual representations of Norman in the Australian press, uses of the image in the American media, and the biographical and scholarly literature surrounding the 1968 salute protest. Three key questions will be addressed: In what ways has this image been distributed, consumed and recycled? How is Norman presented in different published versions of this image, and why? What various ends are served, and how do meanings change? It will be argued that materiality is essential to understanding images as historical documents. In the case of the Mexico City photograph, materiality was integral to the memory of Norman: to the initial association of Norman with the incident, his subsequent demotion in memory, and the recent revival of interest in his involvement in the protest.

Murray Phillips  
University of Queensland

## **“Not Just a Book on a Wall”: Representing the History of Surf Lifesaving through the Australian National Museum**

Sport historians have traditionally been critical of sport museums, traveling exhibitions and halls of fame. Vamplew argues that sport museum displays in their varying forms perpetuate myths, emphasize nostalgia, provide simplistic and insufficient information, and present the past without adequate contextualization. This presentation will take a different tack. Rather than assessing sport museum displays through the lens of the practices of written historians, as “a book on a wall,” interest will focus on the ways in which sporting museums represent the past in the present according to the

practices developed through curatorial expertise. Using a case study of the traveling display of Surf Lifesaving in Australia entitled “Between the Flags,” this presentation will examine the features used by the Australian National Museum curatorial team to tell the story of the history of surf lifesaving. Particular attention will focus on the pedagogical dimensions of museums. As Goldfarb argues, “education was a major motivating factor in the development of the public museum and has remained a core, though in many cases understated element, of museum policy.” This presentation will examine the ‘Between the Flags’ exhibition of the history of Surf Lifesaving in Australia with a particular focus on the combination of visual, auditory and sensory dimensions that create a pedagogical experience significantly different to a written text.



Michael Heine and Victoria Paraschak

# THE OLYMPICS

Donald E. Abelson  
University of Western Ontario

## **Politics on Ice: The United States, the Soviet Union and a Hockey Game in Lake Placid**

Among sports enthusiasts and hockey fans, it is known as the Miracle on Ice and is widely regarded as the greatest sports moment of the twentieth century. On February 22, 1980 before a capacity crowd at the Olympic Center in Lake Placid, New York, the US Men's Hockey Team defeated the heavily favored Soviet Union 4-3. Two days later, the US beat Finland 4-2 to win the gold medal. The US Hockey Team, considered a long shot for a medal before the 13<sup>th</sup> Olympic Winter Games began, had become national heroes. Although much has been written about the success of the 1980 US Men's Hockey Team and the extraordinary efforts legendary Coach Herb Brooks went to assemble a squad that could compete with the best European teams, little scholarly attention has focused on the extent to which the US gold medal victory played out in the political arena. For the most part, sports journalists and historians who have chronicled the success of the 1980 team have offered little more than a cursory examination of the political significance of this historic event. Indeed, other than observing that the US victory helped raise the spirits of a nation that had experienced considerable domestic and foreign turmoil during the Carter years, little is known about how and to what extent the success of the 1980 US Hockey Team was used by political leaders at the state and federal level to advance their own goals. Even less is known about how the coaching staff and players on the 1980 team were able to avoid being dragged into Cold War politics during and after the Winter Games.



The purpose of this paper is to explore the intersection of sports and politics by examining how the so-called Miracle on Ice was catapulted from the hockey arena to the political arena. While it is not surprising that President Carter and other policy-makers seized this opportunity to bolster the morale of the American people, their efforts to exploit the US victory for political purposes raises interesting questions about how athletes can and have been used as instruments of foreign policy. This case study also raises interesting questions about how the US Hockey Team was able to resist the temptation to be consumed by Cold War rhetoric. Unlike the NHL players who represented Team Canada in the bitter 1972 Summit series with the Soviet Union, the twenty players on the 1980 US Men's Hockey Team left international politics to politicians. As Dave Silk, a forward on the 1980 team stated, "To us, it was a hockey game; to the rest of the world it was a political statement."

The central argument advanced in this paper is that while major sporting events taking place in a highly volatile political environment – the Cold War – may fuel existing animosities between political leaders, it is the players and coaching staff who take part in these athletic contests that must ultimately bear responsibility for how these competitions unfold. At times, as in the 1972 Canada-Soviet Hockey Summit, what began as a friendship series between two great hockey nations became an all-out war. By contrast, Coach Brooks and his talented team were able to keep the "White House off their shoulders."

Norman Baker  
University of Buffalo

## **Virtue versus Victory; Amateurism and Competitiveness Reflected in British Preparations for the London Olympics of 1948**

For much of the Twentieth Century a tension existed within British Sport between adherence to the principles of pure amateurism and a desire to be competitive, particularly in the international sphere. Eventually the amateur ethos was overwhelmed by the competitive urge and both were subsumed by raging commercialization. The process by which this end was reached was by no means even, over time or between sports. For instance the possibility of maintaining both amateurism and a high standard of competition enjoyed a brief revival in the early 1950s by way of cricketers, May, Cowdroy and Sheppard and runners, Bannister, Chattaway and Brasher. At any given point in time one can only aspire to convey a sense of the process rather than any precise measure of change.

One central element of the amateur code concerned preparation for sporting events; preparation which should not be too protracted or intense. Thus, rigorous training, coaching, elaborate facilities or dietary regimes were all suspect in the eyes of the amateur purist. Superior performance should be the product of natural, not cultivated, talent; it would display style not machine like qualities. These preferences were illustrated frequently during, Chariots of Fire.

This paper will focus on the preparation of the British team for the 1948 London Olympics in order to gain a sense of, on the one hand, the continuing influence of amateur purity and, on the other, a growing willingness to place an emphasis on

competitive success. While the accommodation, feeding and clothing of all British competitors was the responsibility of the British Olympic Association, the selection and preparation of teams were tasks assigned to the governing bodies of the individual sports. In fact considerable variation existed between sports as to the intensity of preparation, a situation which, at least in part, reflected the social class of those forming the governing authorities of the different sports.

At one pole were sports where team, (as opposed to individual), preparation was largely confined to the selection process with, in the case of the Amateur Athletic Association, the special consideration of events run over metric distances. At the other extreme was the organization of periodic training camps for “probables,” vigorous coaching, instructions on dietary habits and strong directives as to the scheduling of intense competition. Swimming provides the clearest example of such intensity, which was interestingly coupled with programs involving the joint participation of both men and women. In another case, cycling, the amateur emphasis on the team was challenged by the individualism of the ‘star’ athlete, notably Reg Harris, generally regarded as Britain’s best chance of Olympic gold.

Chad Carlson  
Penn State University

## **Black and White for the Gold: Adolph Rupp, Don Barksdale, and Racial Issues among the 1948 United States Olympic Basketball Team**

From the time of basketball’s inception as an Olympic sport in the 1936 Berlin games, the United States chose its coaches and roster from a tournament of the best college and amateur teams in the country. In the spring of 1948, in preparation for the

London games, the Phillips 66ers of Bartlesville, Oklahoma won the Olympic trials, defeating Adolph Rupp's defending national collegiate champion Kentucky Wildcats. The 66ers' victory made their coach, Omar "Bud" Browning, the head coach of the 1948 United States Olympic Basketball team, and Rupp his assistant. The starting five players from each of the two finalists won places on the Olympic roster. Along with those ten players, the United States Olympic Committee selected four other at-large players for the team. Don Barksdale, an all-American at UCLA and a star center with the AAU's Oakland Bittners, was among those four at-large selections. By making the 1948 American team Barksdale became the first African-American to play Olympic basketball.

Barksdale's inclusion on the roster added racial pressures to the 1948 team. Barksdale broke the "color line" in American Olympic basketball in an era in which the racial dynamics in the post World War Two United States were undergoing rapid changes. A year before, Jackie Robinson, another UCLA graduate, had broken the "color line" in major league baseball. The same year that Barksdale made the Olympic team, President Harry S. Truman integrated the U.S. armed services by executive order. Segregation was under assault on a number of fronts, but opposition to integration remained intense, especially in the South. Indeed, neither the Phillips 66ers nor the Kentucky Wildcats had a single African-American player on their roster. Both teams had home bases in segregated states committed to resisting integration. The training sessions for the 1948 Olympic basketball team were headquartered in the South. Half of the team practiced under Rupp's tutelage at Kentucky – a segregated state. The other half, including Barksdale, worked out at the 66ers home court in Oklahoma – also a segregated state. Adding to the tension was the fact that Rupp, considered by many to be a racist,

had never coached an African-American player at Kentucky – and would not until the very end of his career. Rupp’s relationship with Barksdale during the few months leading up to and during the London games has strong implications for Rupp’s stance on race and Barksdale’s climb through adversity to basketball acceptance. The 1948 Olympic basketball team’s story, with specific regard to Rupp and Barksdale, illuminates the ambiguities surrounding American views on race and basketball in this era, adding new layers of complexity to the history of attempts to integrate American sport and American society.

This paper will chronicle the story of the 1948 United States Olympic basketball team with a particular focus on its racial dynamics. Barksdale’s selection for the team created dissension in some quarters. As the team worked out in separate camps to prepare for its pre-Olympics exhibition season, racism hovered around the squad. Not only was Barksdale forced to practice with the team in segregated areas of the country, but Rupp and many of his teammates were from the South. Barksdale’s inclusion on the 1948 team became a test case for efforts to engineer integration. The narrative will follow Barksdale and Rupp from the 1947-48 basketball season, to the Olympic trials in New York City, to the preparation for the games in Kentucky and Oklahoma, to the games themselves in London, and will end with implications for the continued careers of the player and the coach.

Elizabeth A. Hanley  
Pennsylvania State University

## **From Lake Placid to Torino: Figure Skating's Tarnished Image**

Of all the sports contested on the Olympic Winter Games program, none is more beautiful or controversial than figure skating. It was accepted as an Olympic sport by the 1896 IOC Congress and debuted in London 1908 – at an indoor rink at the summer Olympic Games! When the Olympic Winter Games were held for the first time in 1924 in Chamonix, figure skating included three events: men's, women's, and pairs' competition. It was not until 1976, in Innsbruck, that ice dancing – long a popular event – was added to the program. With the advent of ice dancing competition judging controversies emerged that have plagued the sport of figure skating for years. During the Cold War era, judging was more than merely marking competitors and styles; it became an issue of culture, politics, and power. In fact, judges from both sides of the Iron Curtain were at times suspended for “national bias.” In Lake Placid 1980, figure skating's image began an obvious downward spiral when the audience responded with catcalls and boos during the ice dancing competition, thereby making its opinion known to the judges.

The Cold War era is long past, but judging controversies remain and the image of figure skating is at an-all time low. The International Skating Union (ISU) and, particularly, its president, Ottavio Cinquanta, encountered severe difficulties resulting from the Salt Lake City 2002 scandal in the pairs competition. A new International Judging System (IJS) was subsequently adopted for Torino 2006. Not everyone in the

skating world embraced this new judging system; many believe technology is not the answer to the problems facing figure skating.

The main question to be addressed in this paper is the following: Is figure skating's tarnished image to be blamed on the judging or on the judging system? Evidence to address this question will include relevant newspaper/journal articles, books, and personal interviews and e-mails from two former Olympic judges (Sally Stapleford of GBR, the scandal "whistleblower" in Salt Lake City 2002, and Sonia Bianchetti Garbato, veteran Italian judge and former ISU Technical Committee Chair). The author will present the argument that it is the judges, not the judging system, to be blamed. Conclusions will be drawn from the above mentioned sources, with particular emphasis on personal interviews and e-mails from the two former Olympic judges prior to, and after, the Torino 2006 Olympic Winter Games.

Thomas M. Hunt  
University of Texas at Austin

## **The End of the Cold War and Olympic Doping Regulation: Towards a Universal Approach, 1990-1999**

Using sources from the International Olympic Committee Library and Archives in Lausanne, Switzerland, and the United States Olympic Committee Library in Colorado Springs, Colorado, this paper explores the development of Olympic doping regulation in the aftermath of the Cold War. By doing so, it sheds fresh light on the most important policy problem in modern sport history.

As with new opportunities for cooperation in the larger international political environment, the conclusion of the Cold War inspired fresh hopes for a unified regulatory approach to doping in the Olympics. In Central Europe, the dismantling of the Berlin

Wall that began in November 1989 signaled the end of the GDR sport machine and unlocked the secrets of its extensive doping system. The subsequent collapse of the Soviet empire likewise resulted in broadened prospects for a less quarrelsome political process regarding the doping issue. Although organizational conflicts remained, leaders in both governmental and non-governmental bodies engaged in efforts to merge the powers of the existing set of doping authorities. Over the course of the decade, this process included a series of conferences that collectively led to the creation of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) in November 1999. Through the involvement of the United Nations, multiple national governments, and leading private sports organizations, the agency was given a more aggressive mandate to both promulgate and enforce doping regulations within the Olympic movement.

While the 1990s can thus be viewed as a success in terms of progress towards the development of a universal regulatory system, the decade was also characterized by the same unscrupulous practices and questionable regulatory judgments that weakened previous initiatives. As the turn of the decade approached, IOC Vice President Dick Pound acknowledged that the movement's understanding of the doping problem had developed little since the 1960s, asserting, "We still have no clearly stated definition of what doping is." This lack of guidance regarding the issue served as a force of inertia to be overcome only through the impetus of public and governmental sentiments emanating from the 1988 Ben Johnson affair. More concerning, IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch failed to provide a requisite degree of clarity over the saliency of the subject for the Olympic governance structure.



Samaranch was primarily concerned with the economic vitality of the Olympic movement. Worried that the movement was beginning to suffer financially from adverse publicity regarding its increasing number of drug scandals, Samaranch attempted to undermine established principles that doping constituted an ethical crisis. At the same time, newly-established bodies such as the Court of Arbitration for Sport, created in the 1980s to prevent public judicial interference, often undermined doping decisions by the IOC leadership. Although fostering significant short-term obstacles to a coordinated approach, the consequences of these influences were, on the other hand, not altogether negative; indeed, by calling attention to the need for reform, they played important roles in constructing the broad political support for WADA that was necessary for its long-term success.

Megan Popovic  
University of Western Ontario

Don Morrow  
University of Western Ontario

### **Stomping\* the Shadow: The “Elevation” of Snowboarding to the Olympic Pedestal from a Jungian Perspective**

Snowboarding was inserted into the Olympic portfolio at the 1998 Winter Olympic Games. What is exceptional about this particular sport is that the push for the sport’s Olympic involvement did not derive from the snowboarders themselves, but from outside that group, through the Fédération Internationale du Ski (FIS) and the International Olympic Committee. Over the course of many years, these formal organizations manipulated and bullied their way into controlling the competitive realm of snowboarding, even though the subcultural tenets of snowboarding actively resisted all that competitive sports espoused. Once snowboarders arrived on Nagano’s Olympic

stage, the riders' rebellious actions inspired both an intrigue by media and fans, and serious consternation by FIS and IOC officials. The IOC's punishment and resultant humiliation of Canadian snowboarder and gold-medal winner Ross Rebagliati is the prime example of how the IOC called forth a sport culture into its fold, albeit through tactics of domination, and then scrutinized and castigated the culture's actions whenever those actors revealed and revealed in their own institutionalized behaviors.

The intentions of this paper are two-fold: first, it will highlight the key events, interactions, and proceedings leading up to snowboarding's entrance into the Olympic Games in 1998; second, it will utilize a Jungian analytical framework to explicate these events through such psychological constructs as archetypes, the shadow, the anima, and animus. We will argue that snowboarding represents the 'shadow' of the IOC and how its revelation during the 1998 Games (and the events leading up to those Games) signified a 'calling forth' with the un/conscious intention of bringing a better balance to the Olympic stage, while the sport subculture's punishment was indicative of the repression of some of the shadow elements within the IOC.

We believe this analysis will provide a unique and important perspective on the ways in which the Olympic leviathan creates and re-creates its agenda on the cultural norms and behaviors of sports brought into the Games' fold. Further, it will add new insights into the growing body of literature and scholarship on the Olympic Games, their meaning, their impact, and their machinations.

# THE SPECTACLE OF WILMA RUDOLPH

Rita Liberti  
California State – Hayward

## **Wilma's Home Town Win: Remembering and Forgetting Clarksville's Racial Past**

In the weeks after returning from the Rome Olympics in September 1960 Wilma Rudolph's hometown of Clarksville, Tennessee celebrated the athlete's three gold medal victories with a parade and dinner in her honor. Reportedly thousands of both black and white Clarksville residents, and others, attended one or both of the events to pay tribute to the local hero. The media were also present as Rudolph's homecoming garnered a wave of local and national media attention, even warranting a several page spread in *Life* magazine.

In the reporting and retelling of the homecoming events on that day and for decades thereafter, common themes around racial tensions and ultimately racial reconciliation emerge from the narratives. For example, accounts of the event taut the fact that it was the first integrated public event of its kind in the small, rural northern Tennessee community. *Life* magazine reminded readers that Clarksville's racial climate was summed up by an anonymous [presumably white?] resident who said, "we've never had any race trouble here and no integration either." It was Rudolph, according to reports, who threatened absence at her own homecoming party if black citizens of the town were not permitted to be equal participants in the day's events. Press reports note that the day's integrated activities were a watershed moment for Clarksville and the South in helping to bring about racial justice and equality for African-Americans. While we doubt the hyperbolic stance that a single day's event could rewrite the workings and

legacy of racial injustice, we are nonetheless interested in examining the racial tensions that existed in Clarksville and the place of this homecoming within that context.

Moreover, we are equally intrigued at the ways in which the events just prior to and during Rudolph's celebratory homecoming have been remembered and retold over the years. This is so, in part, because our analysis moves from a few assumptive spaces, including that cultural work is at work and embedded within these collective memories and retellings of the past. In addition, memory, we argue, while seemingly idiosyncratic, intensely personal, and culturally distant is instead generated within and by the social setting in which it sits. What does it mean, for example, that virtually every person with whom we have spoken about the homecoming and many of the texts written about the celebration recount County Judge William Hudson's toast to Rudolph at the evening banquet in her honor? "If you want to get good music out of a piano" Hudson opined, "you have to play both white and black keys." Does the constant retelling of this narrative, and the Clarksville homecoming for Rudolph more broadly, continually reaffirm and privilege some while persistently marginalizing and silencing the voices and experiences of others? What can the collective memories of the day's events tell us about Clarksville and the American South and the struggle for civil rights within it in the years since 1960?

Maureen Smith  
Sacramento State

## **On the Margins of Memory: Ways of Remembering and Forgetting Wilma Rudolph**

Since her untimely death in 1994, Wilma Rudolph has been commemorated in a variety of mediums, including a U.S. postal stamp, a statue, a state historical marking,

and a stretch of highway named for her. In this paper, we seek to interrogate the processes which led to efforts to memorialize Rudolph and the subsequent ways in which she has been forgotten. We seek to interrogate a number of Rudolph “memorials”, such as the postage stamp, markers within her hometown of Clarksville, and on the campus of her alma mater, Tennessee State University in nearby Nashville.

After coming home to Clarksville with three gold medals, Rudolph struggled to capitalize on her track and field prowess. Limited opportunities in the sport for women eventually forced Rudolph to return to Clarksville, where she taught at her former elementary school. She continued to find employment for a year at a time, usually hired for her athletic accomplishments, but often ill prepared for the positions. She won a number of prestigious awards and was inducted into several Hall of Fames for her triple gold medal performance in 1960. While both Clarksville and Tennessee State, were quick to remember her every Olympiad, the timing of such efforts were well after her track and field career were finished.

In Clarksville, Rudolph is commemorated with a statue, a state historical marker, and a stretch of Highway 79. The statue of Rudolph initially prompted great debate as to where it should be located, eventually resulting in the statue being placed on Clarksville’s Riverfront Walk. We argue that the placement of the Rudolph statue along the river, removed from the center of town, which is littered with numerous other memorials and statues, exemplifies the ways the city’s daughter is marginalized within the city’s history, but also their present and future. Similarly, we examine the placement of the historical marker and the location of the highway named for her, sometimes in juxtaposition with other markers and statues.

Tennessee State's efforts at commemorating their most famous Olympian have been slightly different than those of Clarksville. The indoor track is named for Rudolph and there is a dorm on the edge of campus named for her, though the sign out front recalls her winning four gold medals rather than three. The library has a number of exhibitions showcasing the Tigerbelles, with several cases devoted to Rudolph. So, in their efforts, Tennessee State has found both permanent and temporary means of remembering Rudolph. Within the city of Nashville and higher education, however, Tennessee State, as a Historically Black University is marginalized in a number of ways, from their location to the amount of funding they receive. We discuss the archives at Tennessee State as a one of the central institutions of both remembering and forgetting Rudolph. In the efforts to remember Wilma Rudolph, whether with a statue or a postage stamp, there is much that has been forgotten. We are interested in examining this dichotomy, this process of both remembering and forgetting.



Earle Ziegler receiving a NASSH lifetime achievement award from Bob Barney

# **WINTER SPORTS AND THE WINTER OLYMPICS**

John B. Allen

## **The Sport of Ski Mountaineering: Question of Legitimacy, 1880 – 1914**

The sport of ski mountaineering has received very little attention in the scholarly press. This paper is an initial analysis of three components that played roles in legitimizing the sport from about 1880 to the outbreak of the First World War. The geographic region covered is (mostly) Europe.

The first aspect analyzed is just how mountains in winter were perceived. What emerges as one major conclusion – which also plays a major role in the development of skiing in general – is the realization that Norwegians, who were responsible for much of the foundation of skiing in the rest of Europe, thought about mountains on which to ski in a very different way than the British and Middle Europeans. Norwegians came from a ‘skiing’ background; the others from a ‘mountaineering’ perspective. This had as one conclusion that ‘alpine’ skiing, downhill skiing, was a Middle European invention, not a Norwegian one.

The second analysis deals with the difficulties associated with equipment, food and huts – all of which were available to summer mountaineers, none of which had been tried in winter and extremely cold conditions. Many a man who first tried mountaineering using skis was a skiing neophyte. Huts posed particular problems: they were considered both unavailable for winter use, often frigid, icebound, snow-covered and so on and, most important, became the subject of a philosophical-economic

argument. Should alpinists, whose dues went to building and maintaining the huts, allow skiers to use them?

Last, the attitudes of those who ventured into the higher passes and peaks will be analyzed. The conclusion is that mountaineers first thought of ski mountaineers as trespassers on their territory. By 1914, however, most had come to see the ski as an incredibly efficient instrument, especially for the descent from the peak – thus allowing them more time for conquests further afield.

Dylan Esson  
University of California

## **Warming Up to Winter: The Creation of Lake Placid, New York, as a Winter Leisure Resort**

Lake Placid is akin to a holy shrine for winter sports enthusiasts. As the site of both America's first Winter Olympics in 1932 and the U.S.A. Hockey Team's 1980 "Miracle on Ice," Lake Placid is indeed hallowed ground. Understandably, the majority of writing about Lake Placid has focused on the planning and staging of both the 1932 and 1980 Olympics. The attention paid to the Olympics, though, has overshadowed an understanding of Lake Placid's development into America's first winter sports resort. My paper addresses this issue in order to understand how Americans viewed winter recreation and leisure before the onset of the downhill skiing craze of the 1930s.

Lake Placid's place in the history of winter sports tourism has been almost entirely overlooked. For the most part, histories of winter sports tourism have focused on the creation of glamorous resorts such as Sun Valley and Aspen. Whereas Sun Valley and Aspen successfully marketed themselves as downhill ski resorts in the late 1930s, Lake Placid found limited success in the 1920s promoting ski jumping, cross-country



skiing, ice skating, and tobogganing. Despite the flourishing American economy before 1929, Lake Placid failed to achieve the status of an elite leisure resort on par with European towns such as St. Moritz. Although the town would garner some attention in 1932 for hosting the Olympics, its role in promoting winter sports would be overshadowed by the popularity of downhill skiing, a sport that was not even featured in the 1932 Olympics.

The fact that Lake Placid succeeded as a winter resort before the development of ski resorts offers scholars not only the chance to investigate how Americans initially viewed winter alpine tourism but also the opportunity to understand the allure of downhill skiing compared to other winter sports. To explore this topic, my paper draws on research in the Lake Placid Club Archives, tracing the development of Lake Placid as a winter sports resort from 1904, when Melvil Dewey ordered forty pairs of Norwegian hickory skis, to 1936, when the first modern ski resort opened in Sun Valley, effectively eclipsing Lake Placid as America's premier winter destination. At the center of my paper is a discussion of why the Lake Placid Club transformed from an exclusive, invitation-only organization that eschewed advertising and ostentatious living into a club that by the 1920s sought to imitate the gaudy European resorts such as St. Moritz.

Drawing from previous research into the creation of winter alpine tourism in Europe, my paper describes Lake Placid's development in light of the popularity of winter sports in Europe before and after the Great War, illustrating how Americans embraced speed skating, tobogganing, and the European winter alpine resort well before seductive Austrian downhill ski instructors arrived in America to teach people how to ski fast and in control. In this way, my research revises the conventional narrative about

winter sports tourism, which maintains that it was only in the 1930s that Americans began developing European-style winter sports resorts.

John Gleaves  
Pennsylvania State University

## **Manufacturing Skiing: The III Olympic Winter Games at Lake Placid and the Growth of Skiing in the United States during the 1930s**

During the 1930s, skiing's popularity rose dramatically in the United States. In spite of the economic calamity of the Great Depression, more Americans took up skiing than ever before. Suddenly, an increasing number of entrepreneurs saw an opportunity to turn sleepy winter towns into ski destinations. When the U.S. won the opportunity to host the III Olympic Winter Games in 1932, many communities saw a chance to promote skiing in general, and, more selfishly, to establish an identity as the premiere winter sports destination in the nation by hosting the winter games.

Lake Placid, New York, won the bid. With the help of the city council, the chamber of commerce, and private support, members of the Lake Placid Club and residents of Lake Placid believed the Winter Olympics would benefit their local economy and increase Lake Placid's national prominence. Curiously, in spite of a spike in interest following the 1932 Winter Olympics, Lake Placid would fail during the 1930s to become a major ski destination resort, losing out to places in the Rocky Mountains such as Sun Valley, Idaho. This paper investigates how the 1932 Winter Olympics shaped Lake Placid's image as well as the efforts made by the promoters of Lake Placid to gain the public's attention. Moreover, this paper explores the reasons that Lake Placid, in spite of

its link to the Olympics, lost customers to the increasingly popular ski resorts in the Western United States, especially Sun Valley.

Lake Placid did not lose out to Sun Valley as a destination for winter recreation for lack of trying. Both Sun Valley and Lake Placid made similar efforts to gain public attention. While Lake Placid increased in popularity with skiers during and shortly following the Winter Games, the national attention shifted to Sun Valley and the Western United States for two reasons. The first reason was image. Sun Valley and other Rocky Mountain resorts were able to capitalize on the “Wild West” image and also to create a European high society that invoked the feel of the Alps. Lake Placid, due to its proximity and familiarity to Easterners, did not enjoy the exotic marketability of the American West. Second, Lake Placid could not compete with the terrain of Western ski areas. With superior weather and conditions, places such as Sun Valley were far more appealing vacations than Lake Placid. Thus, despite the notoriety the 1932 Winter Olympics gained for Lake Placid, factors beyond Lake Placid’s control would limit the success these games had for the region.

“Manufacturing Skiing” draws on primary sources, including newspaper advertisements, ski industry publications, and magazine articles touting American alpine resorts, to analyze the marketing campaigns of Lake Placid and its Western rivals. The paper explores how and why the public relations the Adirondack area garnered from the 1932 winter games failed to overcome the images and resources of Rocky Mountain skiing. Drawing on the recent work of Annie Gilbert Coleman, particularly her Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies, “Manufacturing Skiing” seeks to unravel the complex

relationships between images, advertisements, and public desires that have shaped the American ski industry.

Annette Hofmann  
Pädagogische Hochschule Ludwigsburg

## **A Challenge to the Last Male Bastion in Winter Sports: Women's Struggle for a Breakthrough in Ski Jumping**

Ski jumping is one of the rare sports for women in which they cannot participate in the Winter Olympics, although there have been ski-jumping women for a long time in many countries. The best woman has already reached a distance of 200 meters, a result that not every ski-jumping man can offer.

Not much is known about female ski jumpers. Norwegian sources mention the first female ski jumpers in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. In German-speaking countries the first images of women in this sport appeared on postcards after the turn of the century. One famous example was “Comtesse von Lamberg” from Kitzbühel, who jumped 22m in 1909. In the 1930s, when female ski jumpers from Norway went on a US Tour, one of the big events took place in Madison Square Garden. In her 1938 tour through the US, Johanne Kolstad from Norway set her record of 72 meters. Despite this success and the fact that skiing was accepted as a leisure activity for women by the male-dominated world of sports, ski jumping was considered by experts as harmful to female health and regarded as unfeminine. After the 1930s the women of the air became rare. This changed in the 1990s when in various countries, women took up ski jumping again, international competitions were set up and national teams founded. Under a gender-critical perspective the paper explores how women found their way in Europe as well as

in North America in this male-dominated sport. Finally the question will be pursued as to why this sport will not be included in the Olympic program for Vancouver 2010.

Peter M. Hopsicker  
Pennsylvania State University, Altoona

## **No Hebrews Allowed: Anti-Semitism vs. Americanism in the Adirondack Sporting Culture, 1877-1932**

President Herbert Hoover hailed the 1932 Lake Placid Winter Olympic Games as a festival of “friendly rivalry” contributing to “sportsmanship” and “international goodwill and fellowship.” New York State Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt christened it as a place for the development of “international friendship.” However, the Jewish Tribune condemned it as “un-American,” “promoting racial antagonisms,” and “directly opposed to the ideals of democratic America.”

These negative feelings toward the Games erupted when Jewish leaders discovered that the notoriously anti-Semitic Lake Placid Club (LPC), an organization deeply woven into the hosting of the Games, stood to benefit exclusively from the building of the necessary Olympic bobsled run – a facility practically constructed with public (both Gentile and Jewish) funds. While this protest publicly lasted less than a month, for several weeks it held the Games hostage. Organizers knew that without the funds, the bobsled run could not be built and Lake Placid would lose its ability to host the Games.

The argument Jewish leaders used against the Olympic organizers – that their dealings with the anti-Semitic LPC were opposed to all things American – were not a new one. Several other incidents of anti-Semitism in Adirondack sporting practices were fought with the same weapon. In fact, examining specific incidents of anti-Hebrew

sentiment within Adirondack clubs and organizations reveals the concurrent expansion of racist attitudes with the development of Adirondack sports and recreational opportunities. It had developed over fifty years starting with fairly local squabbles but eventually progressed to impact the hosting of an international sporting festival.

The Hilton-Seligman Affair (1877), an event labeled by many historians as the first publicized case of anti-Semitism in America, set precedent for the exclusion of Hebrews at Adirondack resorts and private clubs. By 1905, the LPC became the regional model for this prohibition. The LPC's "No Hebrews allowed" rule gained further promotion when the president of the club, Dr. Melvil Dewey, was forced to resign as State Librarian due to this exclusion. The Adirondack Mountain Club (ADK), an organization created in 1922 to promote recreation and education in the Park, encountered two confrontations with anti-Semitism within its own ranks. The first in 1926 occurred when a faction of the New York City chapter lobbied to have all Hebrews excluded from their membership. The second protest came two years later when a publication of the ADK suggested the naming of an Adirondack mountain peak after a Jew. This latter confrontation made national headlines at the same time the tiny hamlet of Lake Placid defeated Los Angeles for the bid to host the Games.

In each of these cases, those siding against the antagonizing bigots used the argument that such actions were counter to the foundations of America. While the Hilton-Seligman Affair may have been the first publicized case of anti-Semitism in American, the Jewish Tribune's protest of the Lake Placid Winter Games brought this dark tendency to light on an international sporting stage supposedly marketed to promote friendship, sportsmanship, goodwill and fellowship among all races and creeds.

Roland Renson  
K.U.Leuven, Belgium

## **Count Henri de Baillet-Latour and the Belgian Participation in the Lake Placid Winter Olympics 1932**

The Belgian IOC member and president of the Belgian Olympic Committee, count Henri de Baillet-Latour was elected as the successor of baron Pierre de Coubertin at the 24th IOC session in Prague on May 28th 1925. Three days after his election the proposal was made at the 8th Olympic Congress to recognize the First Winter Sports Week of Chamonix 1924 retroactively as the First Olympic Winter Games. This proposal was accepted during the 25th IOC session in Lisbon in 1926. Baillet-Latour shared with Coubertin a conservative attitude towards amateurism on the one hand and female sports participation on the other, but both presidents were in favor of Winter Olympics. This paper will address this continuity of Olympic leadership style at the occasion of the Lake Placid Games and the participation of the Belgian delegation. The 3rd Winter Olympics were awarded to Lake Placid, N.Y., by the IOC, assembled in Lausanne on April 10 1929. At the dinner for governor Roosevelt on the opening evening of February 4 1932, Baillet-Latour thanked explicitly Dr. Godfrey Dewey, who had left “...no stone unturned before this town had been selected by the IOC ...” The Belgian delegation of four bobsledders and a single female figure skater to appear in the Adirondacks, was very small compared to the 25 Belgian participants in the 1928 Winter Games of St. Moritz. Their achievements were meager, but one should consider that they came from a small country with – except for ice skating – no winter sports tradition. The four-men bobsleigh team, consisting of Max Houben, Louis Van Hege, Christian Hansez and Jacques Maus, ended at the tail of the competition table. The two-men bob of

Houben and Van Hege finished 9th and the Hansez-Maus bob team 10th out of 12 participating teams, but still leaving French and Austrian bobbers behind them. Madame Yvonne de Ligne-Geurts outdid her male compatriots by finishing 6th in figure skating. Baillet-Latour, who had uttered his opinion at the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics that female participation in the Olympic Games could better be stopped “...just like during the Games in Ancient Greece, could not prevent that women's speed skating – with a “pack start” – became for the first time an Olympic winter sport. Before leaving America, Baillet-Latour praised again Dr. Dewey, although weather conditions and the extraordinary economic situation had rendered his task extremely difficult. He mentioned that Dewey had reached his two goals: “...to increase the love for winter sports in the United States ...and of making Lake Placid the best equipped resort for these sports.”



Alan Guttman and Patricia Vertinsky



# **WOMEN, SPORT, PARTICIPATION AND GENDER CONSTRUCTION**

Carly Adams  
University of Lethbridge

## **Locating the feminine experience: Betty White, and the 1934 British Empire and Women's World Games**

Issues of control over and acceptance of women's sports are endemic to international sport festivals. For more than a century, female sport leaders have been challenging the anachronistic ideals of sport as a traditionally male preserve. Historically, women's participation in international sport has been tenuous and often contested. While select women have participated in international sport competitions since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, at first unofficially and later officially, in most cases, male leaders and administrators stipulated the terms and conditions of participation. How did struggles to gain access and the resulting emergent opportunities in the 1920s and 1930s impact the lives and sport opportunities of individual female athletes?

Understanding the relationship between sport, international competition, and women's social lives requires historically specific case studies that isolate the contemporary thought and practice of the period, while simultaneously considering the immediate historical context. Susan Birrell and Diana Richter argue that feminist theorizing of sport should be grounded in women's unique experiences, suggesting that it is only through women's experience that sport can be transformed from a hegemonic and alienating practice into a practice that has relevance in their lives. As Gerda Lerner asks, "What would history be like if it were seen through the eyes of women and seen through the values they define?" Each woman's perception of her experience has implications for

how we construct women's sport involvement and the meaning of sport in the lives of women of the past.

Born in Niagara Falls, Ontario, on May 14, 1914, Betty White travelled throughout Ontario in the early 1930s representing the Thorold and Hamilton athletic clubs in a variety of track and field events. With little understanding of the magnitude of the events, she successfully secured a place on the Canadian athletics team for the 1934 British Empire Games and Women's World Games in England. Drawing on oral history, newspaper reports, and an array of secondary source literature, this paper examines the lived experiences of Betty White, her life growing up in Ontario, and her experiences training for and competing at these international festivals. Bolin and Granskog suggest that dominant approaches to the investigation of women in sport "have placed primary emphasis upon the institutional framework within which individuals operate rather than on the variable and more subjective qualitative experiences of women themselves." This paper goes beyond the organizational focus of international sporting events as male-dominated, male-controlled international festivals to explore the meaning of sport, and the intersections of sport, class, and gender, through the lived experiences of Betty White within the context of international athletic competitions for women and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Canadian society.

Mary Louise Adams  
Queen's University

## **Gender Segregation in Sport: Lessons from the History of Figure Skating**

Gender segregation is a fundamental organizing principle of contemporary sport, indeed, sport today would be almost unthinkable without it. Distinctions between so-

called women's and men's sports and the separation of female and male events within sports promote understandings of men and women, and of male and female bodies, that emphasize differences rather than similarities. In a culture where difference is rarely neutral and where sport remains a predominantly masculine noun, these understandings come at some cost to women and to men who participate in sports seen to be feminine. It is no surprise therefore that scholarship on gender and sport has been heavily invested in both documenting gender segregation in sport and considering alternatives to it. There is, however, a tendency in writing on sport to take contemporary gender categories for granted. Figure skating, for instance, routinely appears as a primary example in writing that criticizes the notion of "feminine sports." How would these discussions change were writers to acknowledge that while today figure skating is widely considered a "girls sport," it has only been seen as such since the 1930s? For the forty or fifty years prior, the sport was relatively gender neutral and for a century before that it was the almost exclusive preserve of men. How would our understanding of gendered sport categories change if we were to acknowledge the historical contingency of their production and application?

Physical activities, as we know, do not fall from the sky fully formed as sports neither do they emerge fully formed as men's sports or women's sports. There is nothing inherent in forms of movement that makes them masculine or feminine. Men's sports and women's sports are produced through historically specific discursive arrangements and the practices which make them available to us. As we can see from the history of figure skating, the definitions of these categories change. When we fail to make this simple point, we risk naturalizing the categories and reifying the binary that makes

gender segregation seem inevitable. By contrast, work that emphasizes gender classifications as the product of social processes can make it possible to consider how current problematic classifications might be changed.

Drawing on commentary about skating in England, this paper focuses on the first decades of the twentieth century to make a case that gender segregation as we know it is not inevitable in the organization of sport. Looking at skating alongside other sports that have undergone similar transformations of their gender status, the paper argues for the value of empirical historical work as an inspiration for thinking about how gender arrangements in sport might be different.

Geoffrey Bardwell  
The University of Western Ontario

## **The Regulation of Sexed Bodies in Women's Elite Sport**

In this paper, I argue that organized competitive sport has been disciplinarily structured on cultural implications of normative genders. Historically, both society and the institution of sport have regulated and controlled athletic bodies to fit into male/female and normal/abnormal binary logics. In sport, this institutionalized power produced specific types of bodies for athletic competition. According to Judith Butler, “[t]hose bodily figures that do not fit into either gender fall outside the human, indeed, constitute the domain of the dehumanized and the abject against which the human itself is constituted.” Sport institutions verified what bodies counted as female through the use of medical, psychiatric, and legal discourses. This paper questions the naturalization of the gender binary in relation to sport. Although various bodies challenge sex/gender norms, this paper specifically addresses issues pertaining to male-to-female transsexual athletes.

As a response to rumors of men masquerading as women in order to succeed in international athletics, the IOC implemented gender verification tests for female athletes in 1964. Over the past forty years, testing has varied in its application from external visual tests and probing gynecological exams to chromosomal-buccal smear and gene amplification to determine whether or not an athlete was female. Despite the intentions to preserve competitive integrity and ensure fair play in women's sport competitions, the tests have also proven to be highly problematic. For example, in 1976, the Women's Tennis Association (WTA) and United States Tennis Association (USTA) experienced a quandary with regard to allowing a male-to-female transsexual, who was a former varsity-level male tennis player before transitioning, to compete in professional women's tennis. The WTA and USTA decided to implement a mandatory gender verification test to assure that the athlete could not compete, as both organizations presumed that there would be an unfair physical advantage.

This paper consists of four parts. First, I look at dominant discourses on transsexualism beginning in 1966, specifically addressing the diagnoses and treatments of transsexualism and Gender Identity Disorder in psychiatry and how these diagnoses have been conceived of and applied in extremely biased ways and further deem the transsexual body as abnormal or grotesque. Second, I utilize a Foucauldian analysis of the regulation of bodies and its application to sport, specifically addressing the transsexual body as a medical object of inquiry and the interrelated relationships between power, knowledge, institutions, discourses and the perception of trans-individuals. Third, I discuss the problems with various gender verification tests and the appropriation of medical,

psychiatric, and legal discourses for the regulation of sexed bodies. Last, I conclude by discussing the politics of passing for transsexual athletes and future challenges to sport.

Jessica W. Chin  
Silver Spring, Maryland

## **Physical Culture, Consumption and Communism: Ideological Battles of the Female Body in Ceausescu's Romania, 1971-1989**

This paper is an analysis of the gender politics at play during the reign of Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania, beginning with the delivery of his “July Theses” in 1971 and ending with his execution in 1989. The main research question asks, how did women negotiate their position within the ideological battles over the use and definition of their bodies during communism? As a point of departure I use Nadia Comaneci, the world renowned Romanian gymnast, to demonstrate how women embodied the many contradictions of the communist regime as they struggled to identify with the symbolic representations and images of women – and the uses of women’s bodies – within this context. For this study, I conducted a critical interpretive analysis of historical data gathered from the archives of the European Reading Room in Washington D.C. as well as relevant texts and journal articles.

In his “July Theses” of 1971, Ceausescu emphasized his desire to create a “new man” in Romania, a man driven not by material incentives or Western influences and practices, but rather by his own consciousness and “Romanian essence.” Shortly thereafter, in an effort to remove any obstacles to the proper development of the “new man,” both time and space were usurped from the private realm and placed under the control of the state, thus placing individual bodies under the constant gaze of peers, enemies, and the state alike. A general emphasis was placed on economic and cultural

production with both women and men expected to contribute to the centrally-run workforce. Also, physical culture was emphasized in terms of training and disciplining the body for the state. A symbolic nationalist rhetoric was set in motion by Ceausescu and the production and consumption of ideological discourse was strictly controlled by his security forces. In this context, women had the added challenge of locating their selves within the nationalist discourse of forming the “new man,” and of negotiating both physical and ideological control over their bodies. Despite the increased surveillance of women and their bodies through social regulations and state laws, particularly in relation to reproduction, women continued to resist through participation in the “second economy” and secretly consuming Western images and products, for example.

Central to this analysis is the role of the female body and the physical practices and experiences of women used to partially resist and incorporate the cultural logic of the gender regimes at this historical juncture. Through her achievements in the 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games, Nadia Comaneci, I argue, symbolized the disciplined, trained, and regulated body that labored for the socialist system only to later realize the ideological contradictions of this system that she came to embody. This paper thus provides a new reading of Nadia and offers a gender-based analysis that locates the female body at the intersection of socialist ideologies, nationalist rhetoric, and the rise of physical culture and consumerism within the communist context.

Elizabeth Gregg  
Indiana University

## **A History of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics at Indiana University: 1965-2001, a Historical Case Study**

The purpose of this study is to document the origin and development of modern, competitive athletics for women at Indiana University from 1965-2001. The time period of examination was selected to address the period of transition from extramural sports to varsity athletics with particular emphasis on the affect of Title IX on the status of women s athletics at Indiana University. An additional objective was to ascertain influential coaches, administrators, and other individuals associated with the growth of women s athletics and identify their role in the evolution of women’s sport at the University.

Research findings indicated that the varsity athletics program for women evolved out of the extramural sport program in the Department of Physical Education for Women (DPEW). As the primary mission of the school was education, the program was limited by the availability of funding and facilities. Coaches of women’s teams were typically faculty members in the DPEW Athletes shared uniforms, practiced at odd hours, and paid for travel to away games. After Title IX of the Educational Amendments became law in 1972, it was determined that women s athletics should be housed in the Department of Intercollegiate Athletics. After moving into the Athletic Department in 1974, the budget for women s athletics grew and program offerings were privy to many of the same benefits as their male counterparts. During the 1980 s, the position of women in the Athletics Department improved. Due to budget constraints and a lack of adequate facilities, the university elected to eliminate women s gymnastics and field hockey. Following the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988, the university was required to



expand program offerings for women. Women's soccer was elevated from club to varsity status in 1989.

Women's athletics matured during the 1990s at Indiana University. In order to abide by Title IX requirements, the university continued to expand the varsity program for women. Water Polo, Crew, and Field Hockey were added as varsity sports for women. While a true level of equity has yet to be reached, the university continues to work towards increasing funding and participation opportunities for women's athletic programs.

Dara Lundregan  
Ohio State University

## **Recent Developments in Collegiate Women's Lacrosse: The Transition from a Girl's Game to Elite Sport**

Collegiate women's lacrosse in the United States is a largely unexplored area in sport history. In recent years, women's lacrosse at all levels has undergone a variety of changes. For females in particular, it is in the collegiate game that these changes have had the largest impact. Many of the more recent changes in collegiate women's lacrosse have been pivotal in the permanent development of the game, not only in the United States but across the globe. Using a periodization approach, this paper explores the development of collegiate women's lacrosse in the United States from its inception to present day. Specifically, the transition of collegiate women's lacrosse from a non-competitive girl's game to its present state of highly competitive, elite-level competition will be outlined. In order to accomplish this objective, changes in both the constitutive and regulated rules of the game will be considered. These changes will be explored in their relation to the underlying meaning of the game, on both a micro and macro level:

for not only how it affected those who play the game, but also for its broader impact on collegiate sports in general. Finally, the trickle-down effect of these recent changes into other areas of sport will be explored.

Ashley McGhee  
University of British Columbia

## **The Canadian Women's National Program: Acknowledging Sport History**

The Canadian Soccer Association's (CSA) official website offers a brief chronological history of soccer in Canada. Despite its inception in 1986, the Canadian Women's National Program is not mentioned on the website until 2002 when some 47,000 fans packed the Commonwealth Stadium in Edmonton, Alberta to support the under-19 Canadian Women's National Team in the Gold Medal final match of the FIFA under-19 Women's World Cup. The limited information about women's soccer provided by the CSA's official website is demonstrative of the similarly scant academic and popular literature available on the subject. In her chapter on the sport, Hall is one of the first scholars to offer a brief overview of girl's and women's participation in soccer in Canada.

This paper picks up where Hall's work left off by documenting the rich and tumultuous history of the birth and growth of the Canadian Women's National Program. Data for this paper is drawn from in-depth interviews with past and current soccer players and staff members involved in the Canadian Women's National Program and elite-level women's soccer in Canada. The interviews were conducted at a significant point in the history of the Canadian Women's National Program when, for the first time ever, the Women's World Cup Team were participating in a full-time residency camp in

preparation for the 2007 FIFA Women's World Cup held in Beijing. Players and staff members were asked about their knowledge about the history of the sport, their involvement in the game, as well as their ideas about the future of women's soccer in the country. Additionally, participants were asked about their perceptions of gender equality within the formal organization and funding of the Canadian Women's National Program. These interviews offered insight into the structural and financial barriers that have kept the CSA and the organization of soccer in Canada at a delayed stage of development, serving as an impediment to success on the pitch. In diverse yet profound ways, each participant expressed their unabashed frustration in the continually and consistently unsupportive Canadian Soccer Association and its refusal to adequately develop women's soccer in Canada.

Victoria Paraschak  
University of Windsor

Janice Forsyth  
University of Manitoba

## **Two Eyed Seeing: Histories of Aboriginal Women in Canadian Sport**

Two eyed seeing is a concept used by Canadian Mi kmaq Elder Albert Marshall to describe the balance of indigenous and western worldviews on science and technology and the integration of both to gain a better understanding of how to care for the natural environment. In this paper, we will adapt the concept of two eyed seeing to frame our understanding of Aboriginal female participation in Canadian sport by documenting and analyzing the factors that have shaped, and continue to shape, this area of social life.

In keeping with the two eyed seeing approach, we will use western knowledge, grounded in our understanding of Anthony Giddens's duality of structure, to examine the

ways that Aboriginal women, through their ongoing actions, responded to and shaped the sport system around them, and how they did this within the boundaries of what they believed was possible. Since historical precedents as well as contemporary conditions shaped these boundaries, we anticipate that the women we will be interviewing will, at times, have reproduced the boundaries as they currently existed, and occasionally have challenged those boundaries and/or altered them to better suit their aspirations. We will be actively documenting the boundaries that shaped them based on their understandings of mainstream sport system expectations, and also those boundaries that shaped their involvement which stemmed from their Aboriginal world view of physical activity, broadly understood.

Our interest in this subject stems, in part, from our scholarly concern with the imbalance in the literature on Aboriginal and Canadian sport history. While there is a growing body of knowledge on Aboriginal participation in sport generally, there remains little information specific to women's experiences. This pattern fits with earlier developments in mainstream sport, wherein research on women was largely absent from sport studies until the initiation of research specifically on women and sport in the 1970s. While the literature on women's sport has grown greatly since that time, there has unfortunately been little analysis within that body of knowledge about the particular experiences of Aboriginal women in sport. This paper will contribute to the larger body of knowledge by integrating the stories of the Aboriginal women we interview into existing accounts of Aboriginal sport, and women's sport in Canada.

The questions that guide our analysis include: What factors have helped and hindered Aboriginal women from getting involved and staying involved in organized,

competitive sport? How do these patterns differ from the patterns already identified in the broader literature on women and sport in Canada? How two does eyed seeing help us to better understand the position of Aboriginal women in Canadian sport history? Our evidence draws from semi-structured interviews with 12 Aboriginal women who will be attending the first-ever national roundtable on Aboriginal women in Canadian sport, scheduled to take place in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in February 2008.

Jaime Schultz  
University of Maryland

## **The Physical is Political: Women's Suffrage, Pilgrim Hikes, and the Public Sphere**

In the first decades of the twentieth century, American women held swimming competitions, scaled mountains, piloted airplanes, and staged large-scale parades in their quest for the right to vote. In effect, they spectacularized suffrage by positioning their bodies in the public sphere rather than confining their mission to the parlors and meeting halls of their more conservative sisters. In this presentation, I address what I call physical activism the articulation of physical activity and political activism by attending to two suffrage hikes that took place in the second decade of the twentieth century.

The first of these endeavors was the 1912 Hike to Albany from New York City, in which several women walked for 12 days, covering approximately 170 miles, to present their suffrage petition to the Governor-elect. The second hike involved the Army of the Hudson's march on Washington D.C. that departed from Newark, New Jersey in 1913. Thirteen women (joined intermittently by others who completed various segments of the journey) completed the entirety of the arduous, often treacherous 225-mile route in just

16 days. Upon reaching D.C., the hikers connected with the parade of over 5,000 women scheduled to take place the day before President Wilson's inauguration.

The discourse concerning these hikes took on a distinctly militaristic patina, with General Rosalie Jones and Colonel Ida Craft leading the Pilgrim Army on both expeditions. Equipped with wooden staffs, standard-issue knapsacks emblazoned with Votes for Women, and ammunition in the shape of badges and circulars (according to the New York Times), the women battled wind, mud, snow, ice, injury, fatigue, and public ridicule. An accompanying contingent of war correspondents from New York City's major daily newspapers ensured that consistent coverage of the pilgrim's progress reached a national audience. In the end, Women Voter estimated that the hikes resulted in \$3 million worth of advertising for the cause and declared that, no propaganda work had ever achieved such publicity.

As the suffragettes occupied city streets and rural roads, their message reached the eyes, ears, and collective consciousness of what often seemed an insulated or disinterested public. By making a spectacle of suffrage, the women staked a symbolic claim on the polity, interweaving the democratic technologies of the right to assemble and speak freely with the incongruity of their denial of full citizenship. In my analysis of these hikes, I bring together scholarship concerning women's suffrage, active physicality, and the public sphere to consider the ways in which the physical was used to serve a particular political agenda.

Amanda N. Schweinbenz  
Laurentian University

## **Little Girls in Pretty Shells: The Introduction of Lightweight Women's Events to the Competitive International Rowing Program**

Rowing is a sport that requires great strength and people often picture rowers as broad shouldered, muscular, statuesque, and above average in height at the end of races twisted in cramps, gasping for air, and vomiting. While this image aptly describes the physical pain oarswomen and men face after racing, these physical characteristics neglects a large percentage of the international rowing community, lightweights. At less than 57 kilograms for women and 72 kilograms for men, lightweights are not new to the sport of rowing. There have been several influential lightweight male rower figures, such as Ned Hanlan, throughout the history of the sport. However, women's lightweight rowing is a relatively new phenomenon to the international rowing scene.

During the 1960s and 1970s, lightweight rowing had grown in popularity in a number of nations throughout the Western World. As such, the international rowing federation (FISA), agreed to introduce lightweight men's races to the international racing program in 1974. Some female and male rowing administrators argued that it was unacceptable to discriminate against lightweight oarswomen and pushed to have these events included. Female rowing administrators argued that in order to expand the sport to a more global market, lightweight women's rowing needed to be added to the international racing program.

However, the road to the inclusion of lightweight women's rowing events on FISA's international racing program was long and hard fought. Unlike heavyweight rowing, lightweight rowing had often been perceived as inferior because the rowers were small in size and were weaker. Thus, lightweight oarswomen were doubly cursed; they were women, which made them inferior to men and they were lightweights, which made them inferior to heavyweight rowers. Late twentieth century competitive international rowing discourse dictated the value of lightweight women's rowing, or lack thereof, ensuring the marginalization of lightweight women in competitive international rowing.

Although many in the international rowing community did not perceive lightweight women's rowing as legitimate, these same individuals could not deny that lightweight oarswomen did conform to traditional heterosexual feminine norms. Despite their incredible strength and endurance, lightweight women were the antithesis of the perceived fat Russians as they were smaller, lighter, and less muscular. The paradox of what an acceptable woman should look like was embedded in the discussions regarding who was an acceptable oarswoman. Large, muscular, manly oarswomen were unacceptable, but so were lighter, slower, smaller female athletes. In the end, lightweight women did gain a place on the international racing program, albeit on a restricted basis.

Eve Snyder  
SUNY – Binghamton

## **Libber over Lobber: The Radical Implications of the 1973 Tennis Battle of the Sexes**

The Battle of the Sexes between Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs occurred at a pivotal moment in women's struggle for equality in sports and society. By the early 1970s, the women's movement was in the process of radically altering American society.



At a time when sports were not yet on the feminist agenda, Billie Jean King understood the importance of sports to women's rights. King was at times a reluctant feminist, however, her actions in advancing tennis and women's sports had more radical implications than the work of many feminists of the day. One sportswriter said of King: She was instrumental in making it acceptable for American women to exert themselves in pursuits other than childbirth. King's popular persona became that of the woman who beat the self-proclaimed number one male chauvinist Bobby Riggs in the Battle of the Sexes and as such became an example of women's ability to compete with men on and off the tennis court. Known in the sports world for her accomplishments and leadership in women's sport, King also advanced feminist issues through sports such as Title IX and the 1973 Women's Educational Equity Act both of which provided women opportunities in education as well as school sports.

The Battle of the Sexes positively influenced tennis, women's sports and women in general. Despite its significant impact on American society, the Battle of the Sexes has been virtually forgotten in academia and general American society as both as a tennis match and statement about women's rights to equal access and equal pay in work and play in a male dominated world. Perhaps the match has been forgotten or categorized as inconsequential 1970s kitsch because of its lack of seriousness and in some cases downright insincerity. However, it was the humor encapsulated in the media/sports event that was the Battle of the Sexes that brought the issue of women's rights to the masses. I argue that by diffusing feminism's potentially radical implications, the Battle of the Sexes made women's equality more palatable and made feminism accessible to many Americans.

This paper will explore some of the following questions: How and why did this groundbreaking event fall through the cracks of academic scholarship and general knowledge? How is it possible that a television event lauded by ESPN as the #2 women's sport program in the 20th Century has only been aired twice originally in 1973 and again at its 30th anniversary on the Tennis Channel, and is currently unavailable to the general public and scholars? What are the implications of the neglect of the Battle of the Sexes? Has it been disavowed by feminists and if so, why?

Sarah Teetzel  
University of Western Ontario

Charlene Weaving  
St. Francis Xavier University

## **Ladies First: Controlling Canadian Olympic Women Athletes through Chaperoning**

In this paper, we examine what the changing roles and purposes of Olympic chaperones were in the twentieth century. With the integration of women's events into the Olympic program in 1900, and the subsequent growth of women's participation, Canada's Olympic roster grew to include "female officials" who were commonly referred to as "women's chaperones." Reports issued by the Canadian Olympic Committee show that celebrated retired athletes were included on Canadian Olympic team rosters to guide and serve as role models for the women athletes, and to ensure that the athletes acted like "proper ladies" while representing Canada at the Olympic Games.

This paper consists of two parts. The first section outlines the role of the Olympic Chaperone for Canadian women athletes between 1924 and 1968 when Canadian teams included, without exception, multiple women's chaperones, and the second analyzes the

more contemporary “unofficial chaperones” that have appeared since 1968 in the roles of nurses and image consultants. We approach this topic from a North American, liberal feminist, socio-historical perspective, and draw on primary documents from the Canadian Olympic Committee as well as secondary sources on women’s sport to help piece together and understand the changing role of the women’s chaperone. In doing so, homophobic stigmas and heteronormative expectations associated with women’s sport are also explored.

The Canadian Olympic Committee’s quadrennial report, Canada at the Olympic Games, provides primary accounts of Canada’s involvement at the Olympic Games. Each edition, written by members of the Canadian team, such as team managers, officials, chaperones, coaches, and medical personnel, includes results, reports, commentaries, and observations on the experience of taking part in the Olympic Games. These documents are valuable sources for determining the roles and responsibilities that women’s chaperones fulfilled as members of the Canadian Olympic Team. Using these reports as evidence, we will show that by the end of the 1960s, the traditional women’s team chaperones became obsolete. Chaperoning disappeared as a result of senior members of the Canadian Olympic Medical Team’s view that it would be more practical to include nurses, who could not only supervise the women athletes but also see to their physical needs. However, despite moving towards a more medical model of care, nurses and image consultants fulfilled the previous roles of the women’s chaperones and remained accountable for both the health and the behavior of the women athletes under their supervision.

Patricia Vertinsky  
University of British Columbia

## **Geographies of Medical Understanding in the History of the Body**

The cultural reflex of associating decline and passivity with age has traditionally limited many older women in the west from re-imagining the years granted by the longevity revolution. On the other hand, contemporary desires to enhance health and fitness has led numbers of female elders to actively challenge negative views of aging and decline, especially questions around modes of exercise and levels of exertion. Furthermore, the growing appeal of Asian traditions on body cultivation for North Americans over the last few decades such as T'ai chi, Qigong and Yoga has widened the range and complexity of knowledge around exercise and its benefits. This has led to a reservoir of models and metaphors around body, health and exercise which requires closer study. Drawing on Michel Foucault's well known explorations of bio-power, including the regulatory power of states as well as disciplinary power over institutions and "docile" bodies, and his later turn to care of the self, this paper explores some critical intersections of gender, culture and medicine in relation to shifting views on healthy exercise for elderly women.

My focus is upon a comparison of western biomedical understandings of the female aging body and its exercise needs with traditional and modern Chinese practices of body cultivation through exercise, given that traditional Chinese medicine has increasingly been valorized as an alternative to biomedicine in North America. Knowledge of the body is constructed and regulated by medical institutions whether in Asian medical systems or in biomedical settings. However, the commingling of vastly

differing systems over the twentieth century (and the more recent development of a series of shared discourses) in China and the West begs a comparative historical analysis of two organizing principles with distinctly different views of the body that can be found in biomedical and traditional forms of medicine. In biomedicine the anatomical body is the locus from which exercise prescriptions have been derived – with special importance placed upon the governance of the heart, whereas in traditional Chinese medicine, deeply rooted in Confucian traditions, the body is regarded as an organic whole with an intimate connection between person, social order and the natural world. I will articulate the ways in which traditional Chinese medicine and Western biomedicine came to know the body differently, literally as well as figuratively, leading to different perceptions of bodily needs such as exercise and exertion. While Western medicine was preoccupied with musculature, Chinese doctors overlooked it entirely. As Kuriyama points out, “changes and features that speak eloquently to experts in one culture can seem mute and insignificant and pass unnoticed in another ....Such is the great challenge of charting the geography of medical understanding through comparative enquiry into the history of the body.”

The global travel of medical knowledge over the twentieth century, especially in the last three decades, has resulted in forms of medical pluralism and the convergence of vastly different systems under the umbrella category of alternative or complementary. My paper will examine the historical underpinnings of the development of this uneasy relationship in North America (and the hegemonic response of biomedicine to categorize, contain, and/or commodify) leading to the emergence of a variety of shared discourses around exercise prescriptions for aging female populations.

Alison M. Wrynn  
California State University, Long Beach

## **Women Need Not Apply? Gender and the Therapeutic Uses of Exercise**

There has been a great deal of historical research in the realm of sport on the issue of gender. However, little work has examined this topic within the fields of sports medicine or allied health. In the United States opportunities for women to be sport participants has fluctuated throughout the 20th century and in the era from 1960-1980 sport underwent a dramatic transformation as the number of girls and women in athletics expanded, spurred on in large measure by the passage of Title IX.

In much of my recent work I have tried to understand the evolution of the discipline of Physical Education, particularly its therapeutic branches (e.g., Physical Therapy, Correctives/ Kinesiotherapy and Athletic Training). A recurring point in much of this research is that there is/was some sort of gender divide in the practitioners in these fields. What I will analyze in this paper is the fact that we know that this gender divide exists but what are the reasons behind its continuation? Why would women be thought of as better at one type of therapeutic exercise over another?

Exercise became increasingly medicalized following the First World War, based largely on the success of exercise as a rehabilitation tool during the Great War. A professional group formed in physical therapy, not made up of physicians, but rather the female technicians who led the rehabilitation of soldiers. This group worked quickly to align itself with medicine rather than physical education, the profession from which most of its early members came. Were women recruited as Reconstruction Aides, as Gayla

Frank contends, because they would promote the morale and motivation of incapacitated men with the least disruption of discipline?

Why then, in the years following World War II, when corrective therapy evolved into a profession rather than just a component of physical education programs, did it become a distinctly male field? In fact, it appears that it developed in some ways as a response to the female dominated field of physical therapy.

Most recently I have been examining the field of Athletic Training. Although it is easy to see how men would be the one's associated with men's athletics as trainers in the past, the profession of athletic training has been very slow to include women. The NATA did not elect its first female president until 2000. In their Hall of Fame (what they call the ultimate honor a certified athletic trainer can receive) there are only eight women inductees among the nearly 250 members. Further analysis of the role of gender and other socio-cultural categories within athletic training is needed as the athletic population that the trainers work with has grown increasingly diverse in the past thirty years.



Cesar Torres and Jim Nendel

# **WRITING THE HISTORY OF EAST ASIA**

Nick Alpin  
Nanyang Technological University

## **Sport as Play and Amusement in the Settlement of Singapore: 1819-1867**

The equatorial island of Singapore came under British influence in 1819 at a time when the East India Company was ruling the waves. This paper attempts to evaluate the status of sport as a form of play or amusement for predominantly European settlers during the Regency and early Victorian periods leading up to Singapore's transfer to the Colonial Office in 1867.

It has been suggested by Allen Guttman that the most intense period of the diffusion of sport from countries like Britain was during the fifty year period leading up to the First World War. Limited evidence suggests that before 1865 – using Guttman's reference point – the early processes of diffusion and transition were being experienced in the tiny colonial settlement. The Games Cult, however, was yet to be fully established. The prevailing environment in Singapore was more closely akin to that which promoted sport as a country pastime designed to provide distraction from the work practices of a male-dominated society.

The range and scale of sporting involvement was extremely limited in a settlement that numbered fewer than 500 European inhabitants by the 1860s. Less than 1% of the total population between 1819 and 1867 was European. From 1824 to 1860 the total population rose rapidly from 10,000 to 80,000, with the main migrant groups coming from China and India. Active participation for the indigenous and migrant



population only appears in a very limited form in the 1830s as part of New Year celebrations.

The first detailed survey to accurately identify the location of any recreational sporting facilities in Singapore was drawn in 1842. The facility in question, a fives court, was appended to the riverside medical stores by Dr William Montgomerie, the settlement assistant-surgeon. Nearby, the Esplanade provided an open space for a variety of recreational and social activities often involving walking or horse-riding. The earliest photograph to capture graphic evidence of sporting activities was developed in 1863. A panoramic view of the town depicted these same amenities, amongst others, nestling by the new Town Hall and the Hotel de l'Europe.

Important questions revolve around the nature of the activities that were available and could be promoted in such a small society. Who were the individuals or groups who introduced the recreational activities; which games and pastimes proved to be the most enduring, and which, if any, were presented to and shared with the small local population and the rapidly increasing migrant population? Finally, when does the evidence of a more regulated games culture start to appear?

Charles Little  
London Metropolitan University

## **Towards a History of Sport in South East Asia**

Despite being home to almost ten percent of the world's population, the South East Asian region (comprising the states of Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam) has been largely overlooked by sports historians. This paper aims to begin to rectify this by developing an overview of the history of sport within the region. Utilizing a combination

of national and thematic approaches, the paper begins with a historiographical analysis of the limited amount of material that has been published, identifies key themes, and highlights why the region is deserving of more thorough attention.

One key finding is the lack of any existing pan-South East Asian sporting histories, with the material that exists tending to instead focus upon the individual states. As a consequence, the paper presents an assessment of the development of sport (and sports historiography) within each individual nation within the region. The paper then highlights key themes that cut across the region, with colonialism (and resistance to colonialism) and globalization identified as the key facets that have shaped regional sport. Attention is also devoted to traditional indigenous sporting practices. Key gaps are also identified and an agenda for future research is developed.

Ying Wushanley  
Millersville University

## **Waltzing on Ice: Lake Placid, the Carter Doctrine, and China's Return to the Olympics**

For most Americans, one of the greatest moments in the history of the modern Olympic Games took place in the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Games when the United States defeated the dominant Soviet Union in the final rounds of the hockey competition. The American team eventually won the gold medal of the event by defeating Finland. Fewer Americans realized that the Olympic venue at Lake Placid was also the ground that secured an even greater American victory over the Russians in international politics—the return to the Olympics of the People's Republic of China, on American soil. For three decades since the communists seized control of mainland China and drove the nationalist regime to Taiwan in 1949, the “two Chinas” issue had haunted the Olympic

Games and prevented, to a greater extent, communist China's presence in the Olympic movement. China refused to compete in the Games as long as Taiwan was recognized as a legitimate member of the IOC or bore the word "China" in its Olympic identity. Lake Placid forever changed China's role in the modern Olympic movement. In 1979, the IOC officially recognized the People's Republic as the sole representative of the Chinese nation and directed Taiwan to change its Olympic name, flag, and anthem to remain eligible for future Olympic Games. Taiwan protested against the "denigrating" IOC ruling and sent its delegation to Lake Placid with the intention to compete under the name of "Republic of China." The Taiwanese were confident that the United States, Taiwan's long-term and most powerful ally in world affairs, would back their demands on American soil.

After all, the American members on the IOC had voted against the Taiwan resolution and were vehemently defending Taiwan's "Olympic rights" through American media. Even a New York State Supreme Court justice ruled in favor of Taiwan's position, placing the "two Chinas" issue again in the spotlight just days before the start of the Lake Placid Games. The Carter administration, however, would not honor Taiwan's demand in exchange of losing China, a much more valuable partner, in America's resolute to contain Soviet Union's political and military expansion in the world. The "China card" played by the Carter administration before the Lake Placid Games was a central piece of America's foreign policy at the time, known as the Carter Doctrine. It was also part of Carter's domestic strategy as he sought re-election in an inflation-ridden economy. The Carter Doctrine did not work miracle as intended, either domestically or

abroad, but it did help to produce a winner out of China on both the ice of Lake Placid and the stage of international politics.

Xiaowei Yu  
University of Windsor

## **Revolution, Evolution, and Separation: A Brief Review of the Development of Modern Sports and the Olympic Movement in China, 1840s to 1970s**

On July 13, 2001 at the 112th IOC Session in Moscow, Beijing was elected host city of the Games of the XXIX Olympiad in 2008. With few indications of a reduction in the 95 percent approval rating of the Games revealed by a 2001 Gallup poll, the Chinese people are expected to come out in force to support what is being described as China's coming-out party. Utilizing a historical approach, this research initiative seeks to answer the question why hosting the Olympic Games is so important to China. This study hopes to provide a neutral and objective perspective of the development of modern sport and the Olympic Movement in China by chronologically describing a holistic scenario of Chinese sport from the period following the Opium War (1840) to the resolution of the issue of Two Chinas in the IOC and its acceptance by both the Beijing government and Taipei authority in 1979.

Informed by in depth analysis of newspaper coverage, the Chinese Olympic Committee and the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee online archives, and numerous secondary sources in both English and Chinese, the period of the development of modern sport and the Olympic Movement in China has been divided into three stages: the Revolution stage; the Evolution stage; and the Separation stage. The Revolution stage identifies a transition period during which Chinese sport and physical cultures

dramatically transformed from the traditional eastern style into the western modern style. Centuries-old traditional Chinese sports and the beginning of western modern sports in China along with the import of western modernity characterized this period. The abolition of the old physical culture and the establishment of the new physical education system in Chinese schools are also a focus during this stage. The Evolution stage outlines the initiation period of Chinese physical education, a system based on western style, and the Chinese athletes' original participation in the Olympic Games during the 1930s. Moreover, the debates regarding novel physical culture, western-style physical education, and the involvement of the Olympic Movement are investigated. These debates highlighted the obstacles and hardships that intertwined the development of Chinese modern sports and the Olympic Movement in China. Finally, the Separation stage outlines the period during which China separated into two parts, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan, a move that forced the IOC to address the issue of Two Chinas. The development of sport in both the PRC and Taiwan are discussed. The study concludes with the PRC achieving recognition by the IOC at the end of the 1970s.

The study argues that unlike the meanings of modern sport in western countries, the meanings of sport in China were always intertwined with complicated social factors and political issues. According to the results of this study, the development of modern sport and the Olympic Movement in China can be categorized as a history of survival and must be placed in a context of harsh social environment and the historical background of the country itself to be fully understood.

# **YOUTH SPORTS AND SPORTS IN SCHOOLS**

Heather Dichter  
University of Toronto

## **Developing Youth and Sport: The Creation of Anglo-American Sport Leadership Institutions in Occupied Germany**

Although the Allies created Directive 23 to control sport in occupied Germany, physical education tied sport to the reconstructive efforts of the Military Governments. The western Allies realized that sport, particularly for the youth who had lived almost their entire lives under Nazi rule, could be utilized as a way to introduce democratic ideas to a wide segment of the German population. Although the Military Governments approved acceptable organizations and ensured that these clubs were not authoritarian and undemocratic, their work with the Germans assisted with the development of programs to foster democratic ideals in youth. Falling under the guidelines of reeducation and democratization, these programs involved the meeting of Germans with citizens of the victorious powers, often through exchanges of athletes, leaders, and experts. The simultaneous development of comparable programs across the American and British zones demonstrates the importance placed upon not only the inculcation of democratic ideas among German youth, but the benefits of cultural interaction and learning through experience.

The increased emphasis on public diplomacy on the part of the British and Americans involved a large number of Germans in the positive and reconstructive aims of the occupation. While the occupation powers wanted Germans to learn and adopt democratic practices, the experience of the Third Reich prevented the use of blatant propaganda. And whereas cultural diplomacy promotes a country's beliefs and

achievements abroad, public diplomacy also seeks to create an understanding for that state's goals and policies. By introducing democracy within youth and sport organizations, public diplomacy enabled the aims of the occupation to permeate German society to a greater extent. The western Allies established the basic framework around which postwar German sport developed, but the Germans did not passively accept the Allied regulations. In addition to implementing ideas learned from visiting experts or on exchanges abroad, German sport leaders took their own initiatives.

By examining the creation of new physical education and sport leadership institutions such as the Deutsche Sporthochschule, Ruit, and Vlotho, this paper will demonstrate how the Americans and British used these new schools as a component of their public diplomacy efforts. These educational and leadership institutions helped achieve the aims of the occupation, in particular the democratization of the German people. This paper draws upon my dissertation research, largely from the files of the American Military Government held at the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland, and the British Military Government held at the National Archives in London. This paper also demonstrates the extent to which sport played a central role within the occupation of Germany, evident by the introduction of numerous sport programs within these public diplomacy programs. This paper would be appropriate for a panel on German sport, international relations, sport and politics, or physical education.

Fred Mason  
University of New Brunswick

## **Lessons from Investigating the Past? Reflections on Attempting to Draw Lessons from the History of Fitness for Youth in Canada**

This paper is part history, part historiography and part reflection on the communication of historical work to targeted audiences. In the fall of 2007, the New Brunswick provincial association for fitness professionals (Fitness New Brunswick) invited the first author to present at their annual summit. The suggested topic was lessons from the past in regards to youth and fitness. This presented an interesting challenge from inception. Historians often argue for learning from the past as one of the main justifications for their existence, yet rarely do they deliberately set themselves the task of pulling lessons out of their work. Starting with such a task orientation was quite different from the more normal process of having questions generated by previous research or noteworthy leads from primary evidence. Early questions in our study included where to start? What to include as significant trends or events? And how do we judge significance?

After digging in secondary sources, then primary sources and discussing them, we decided upon a number of trends or issues that seemed important in terms of the historical trajectory of the fitness movement in Canada, and which appeared to be items from which we could draw lessons for the future. Major topics incorporated into the study included drill movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries; various government bills related to recreation and fitness; the running boom and the aerobics boom of the 1970s and 1980s; the efforts of the crown corporation ParticipACTION; the



Canada Fitness Awards program, the Active Living movement and the recent obesity crisis.

Some of the lessons drawn from the past, which admittedly reflect certain biases and interpretations of the authors include: keeping things simple and trying to ensure wide access; being wary of the commercializing influences in the fitness industry and resulting notions of cosmetic fitness ; always trying to question what our deeper (social) motivations are when planning and promoting fitness activities; and thinking through the social and personal implications of fitness tests, surveys and scientific studies.

Having decided on issues and the lessons learned from them, communicating these ideas appropriately became perhaps the biggest challenge. The paper had to be accessible for an intelligent, but not necessarily historically-minded audience and suitably critical without alienating people with a lot of personal investment in the topic. As we re-write this for publication in a scientifically-oriented fitness journal, we anticipate many of the same issues, and newer concerns, arising.

Both the subject of the study (youth fitness in history) and the explicit purpose of the study (specifically drawing lessons from the past), raised many historiographical questions related to the study, writing and communication of history. This paper attempts to explore and discuss some of these questions and concerns. Sport historians can engage with public interests groups in both a scholarly and accessible manner, but it is not an easy task and one that involves moving out of our historical comfort zone of communicating to undergraduates or to each other.

Caitlin Orth  
University of Windsor

## **From Opposition to Acceptance: The Evolution of Athletic Scholarships within the OUA, 1970-2006**

Athletic scholarships have been a source of considerable debate since the inception of intercollegiate sport and, as such, are a significant issue for all university athletic departments to consider. Given that, the purpose of this research initiative was to build on previous research, analyze the historical evolution of the debate and the compromises that have been struck, and provide insight into the current status of athletic scholarships at Ontario Universities.

This study addressed both the historical underpinnings of the scholarship debate at Canadian universities and the concessions that have been made over time. Furthermore, an examination of the current state of affairs through an extensive analysis of interview transcripts and newspaper articles which outline the numerous arguments that have further polarized each side was completed. Although Canadians have long restricted giving athletic scholarships, the past thirty years have seen an erosion of this hard stance and the acceptance of third party scholarships (government) for continuing students. More recently, policies have changed to allow institutions within the Ontario University Athletics (OUA) to award scholarships to athletes who are entering or are currently studying at their institution. This would bring the OUA in line with the Canadian Interuniversity Sport (CIS) policy regarding athletic scholarships.

Although the formation of university athletic programs, the evolution in sport governing bodies, the increase in popularity, and the controversies surrounding athletic scholarships within Canada have all been discussed to an extent, there is an identifiable

need for greater exploration of this area of study. Specifically, this enquiry aimed to bridge the gap in research that existed concerning the athletic scholarship debate at Ontario universities given that the most recent scholarly journal article on the subject was published in 2001.

Eleven semi structured interviews with the OUA Athletic Directors, the OUA president and the OUA Executive Director were completed in person or via telephone and the information gathered from those was examined along with primary documents at the OUA, newspaper sources and secondary sources. Results revealed that the evolution of scholarships within the OUA has been a gradual one and that acceptance of athletic scholarships is a reflection of the institutions desire to compete with the rest of the CIS and also to provide financial support to their student athletes. It was noted that the OUA maintains a higher academic standard for eligibility for athletic scholarships and this was articulated as being an integral component of athletic scholarship policy given the OUA institutions desire to maintain the student athlete ideal. Findings also revealed that past policy changes are a good indicator of how decisions will be made in the future as a significant number of interviewees believed that eventually the OUA would be in line with the CIS policy regarding athletic scholarships. Implications are that we may see the debate which has always pitted the OUA against the rest of the CIS further erode given how the OUA has evolved and continues to evolve to become yet another conforming regional association within the CIS.

Wray Vamplew  
University of Stirling

## **Child Work or Child Labor? The Caddie Question in Edwardian Golf**

Child labor in sport is often regarded as a relatively modern phenomenon, usually with exploitative implications, involving third-world workers producing sporting goods, the abused bodies of communist bloc girl gymnasts, and teenage African footballers discarded when they failed to make the grade in Europe. Although historical examples are generally absent from the academic literature, there are late nineteenth and early twentieth-century instances in Britain in the use of boy jockeys in horseracing and, the subject of this paper, the child caddie in golf. As golf boomed in Edwardian Britain, caddying became an expanding niche labor market for young boys. However the editor of the leading golf magazine believed that most of the 20,000 children so employed were living a “casual, irresponsible and purposeless life.”

Using a report on London caddies written in 1912, supplemented by material from the contemporary press and golf club histories, three specific welfare issues will be looked at. Economically caddies were relatively well paid for what they did but critics considered that the earnings encouraged youths to have false expectations of future income whilst at the same time the nature of caddying, with few transferable skills, offered little gateway to other gainful skilled employment. Physically the work itself was not arduous but it had to be undertaken in whatever weather golfers opted to play in and their costume may have been more suited to the elements than that of the caddies. Thirdly there was a perceived moral issue in that caddies spent up to two-thirds of their hours waiting for employment with “nothing to do to fill them except idling or

gambling.” The situation was complicated by government legislation in the form of compulsory national insurance for workers aged over 16 and the raising of the school-leaving age to 12.

Modern observers distinguish between “child work” and “child labor.” The former is regarded as normal social practice, often regarded as making a positive contribution to a child’s development by having them take responsibility and gain a pride in their activities. Generally, however, such work refers to time-limited, small tasks around the home or family business. In contrast child labor, often coercive, is considered harmful or hazardous with children “being exploited, or overworked, or deprived of their rights to health and education.” If Edwardian caddying is assessed using the International Labor Organization’s seven major characteristics of child labor, on virtually no count can it be classed as child labor in the pejorative sense. Nevertheless the caddies lacked power in the master-servant relationship of golf club employment. This was true of all caddies, adult and child, but additionally child caddies also experienced the impotence of the age relationship. Others, always older people, made decisions for them.

Anne Warner  
University of Western Ontario

### **Moulding Leaders of Tomorrow: Private Youth Camps in Ontario, 1900-1939**

One of the central ideologies associated with education and sport in Victorian Britain, was Muscular Christianity. The idea, espoused by English headmasters in boys’ public schools, emphasized that courage and a commitment to fair play were essential to manhood, and were equated with moral strength and intellect. Girls were also encouraged to participate in physical education, but not in the same activities as boys, and

certainly not with the same vigor. The ideals of Muscular Christianity, and the differing gender ideologies that came with them, quickly made their way to private schools in Canada, and physical education became an integral part of the private school curriculum.

During the late 1800s, another movement pertaining to physical activity influenced Canadians. There was an increasing concern about the supposed ill effects of urban, industrial life, and a growing belief that the wilderness offered healthful benefits to the body, and spiritual awakening to the mind. Upper- and middle-class Canadians flocked to the wilderness, and in Ontario, remote wilderness lodges were established. Outdoor activities like hiking, canoeing, and camping became popular outdoor pursuits for men and women alike. In the 1890s, this exodus to the wilderness was extended to middle class youth, through the institution of private youth camps in Ontario.

Ontario youth camps were pioneered by physical educators working at private schools in the city, and so the ideals of Muscular Christianity in boys private schools, became integral to boys camps. In the early twentieth century, there was an increased focus on education and the cultivation of a well-rounded character for adolescents. In this remote setting, camp leaders hoped to instill a character molding experience in their charges through a combination of education, spiritual development, and physical activity. While the leaders of both boys' and girls' camps sought the same goal, the remnants of Victorian ideals in Canada meant that boys' camps emphasized physicality more staunchly than girls' camps. As an extension of the private schools, youth camps were geared toward middle-class adolescents and, so, the ideology perpetuated at camp is a useful indicator of middle-class values and gender ideologies relating directly to the body in the early twentieth century.

This paper takes an in-depth look at the beginnings of boys and girls private youth camps in Ontario, by situating camps within the framework of the Victorian era's focus on physicality, and the outdoor recreation movement of the late 19th century. Primary research for this paper was collected from the Trent University Archives in Peterborough Ontario, as it houses all funds pertaining to the Ontario Camping Association.

Today, there are numerous youth camps in Ontario, and camp remains a significant institution in Canada and a platform through which middle class ideologies are taught to the generations of the future. This paper aims to shed light on the beginnings of this institution, how boy's camps and girls camps differed in their organization, and how physicality, among other things, was an indicator of the gender ideologies of the time.



Posing with the Mayor of Lake Placid with my friends from South Korea

# OPEN PAPERS

Jackie R. Esposito  
Penn State University

## **JoePa: Documenting a Living Legend -- An Archivist's Perspective**

As of December 2007, Joseph V. Paterno, Penn State University's head football coach, would celebrate his 81st birthday, his 42nd year as head football coach and his 53rd year with the program (making him Penn State's longest tenured employee). Whether he passes Bobby Bowden in wins or coaches for another ten years, his legacy is set in stone. Documenting a "living legend" offers a number of challenges for an archival repository. This paper will explore the role of the Archives in identifying, describing, arranging and providing access to a host of materials for and about Joe Paterno.

The Sports Archive program at Penn State University has, for many years, collected and made available football game films, programs, and statistics, but what about documenting the man, his role at the University, his academic achievements, and his family, both on and off the field. What tools does an archivist employ to establish a documentary baseline for someone as well known and visible as Joe Paterno? How does the archivist separate the hype from the reality? Or is that even the role of the archivist? Where does the history of the football program begin and the story of the man end? Utilizing the documentation strategy employed currently, Jackie Esposito, Penn State University Archivist, will offer two visions: 1) a practicum on how it has been done for this coach at this time; 2) a best practices guideline approach that can be tailored for other colleges, universities, and sport halls of fame.



## **Skiing in the Third Reich – The Growing Importance of Skiing in the Combat Proficiency of the Hitler Youth for World War II (1933-1945)**

Hitler already emphasized in his programmatic book Mein Kampf the role of sports in the preparation and achievement of national socialistic politics. He declared that a primary goal of education would be to cultivate adolescents hardened through sports. From 1933 the importance of combat-oriented sport grew in all NS organizations. This was also the case for the male Hitlerjugend (HJ), which included the Bund Deutscher Mädchen (BDM). Step by step all sports were included. The popularity of skiing grew especially among young people after the successful Olympic Winter Games in 1936 and the surprising results of the German athletes at the World Champion Ships in 1939 and 1941.

The value of sports not only increased for physical education but for extracurricular as well. From 1936 on - after passage of the “law pertaining to the Hitlerjugend” – it was completely under the control of the Reichsjugendführer (Reich Youth Leaders). Soon high-level competitions in skiing were organized within the NS Winterkampfspiele and skiing became more and more popular among the HJ. First, junior championships and later, the Winterkampfspiele of the HJ became shows demonstrating the skiing ability of the HJ and BDM. During the war winter of 1941 the military became aware of the great utility of skiing. As a result a pre-military education in skiing was required for hundreds of thousand of soldiers. Many skiing clinics for the

HJ took place and because of the direct military value they were of highest priority until the end of World War II.

Wanda Ellen Wakefield  
SUNY College at Brockport

## **Doing and Studying Sport from the Inside: A Luge Official Observes the Sport**

In the fall of 1988, I traveled to Lake Placid to train as an official for the United States Luge Association. I was asked to do so because I had no affiliation with any of the organization's athletes, and because the USOC had determined that more officials in the so-called "minor" sports need to be recruited. Since 1988 I have served as a Race Director, Technical Delegate and Chief of Control at many competitions, including junior and senior national races, World Cups and World Championships. In 2002, I was Chief of Control for luge at the Olympic Winter Games.

As both an observer and participant I have been able to see the development of luge in the United States and the changes that have occurred in the sport since the end of the Cold War. Relying upon my own observations, my recent work on the sliding sports in general and the archives of the U.S. luge and bobsled associations I will argue that a combination of factors have led to the relative success of these sports. The reorganization of amateur sports in the United States with the Amateur Sports Act of 1978 provided one impetus as the USLA and other governing bodies were freed from the control of the AAU. Moreover, a commitment by the State of New York to fund on-going repairs to the old track and build the new combined track at Lake Placid provided a safe, fast course on which American athletes could practice. The Lake Placid track, as well as the combined tracks at Calgary and Salt Lake City, has given sliders a chance to

hone their skills before competition overseas, which was impossible before 1980. The USLA and USBSF have both benefited in recent years from large-scale financial commitments by corporations interested in having their names attached to successful sports programs. Finally, television producers such as Bob Hughes and John Morgan have been able to get the story of the sliding sports out to the general public, even in non-Olympic years, taking advantage of the many cable sports channels now available.

These developments have had profound effects on the sliding sport of luge in the United States. Although the USLA had begun recruiting fine athletes for the sport, as of 1988 results had been sparse. The power in luge remained in Europe and, most specifically, in the program of the German Democratic Republic. But by 1988 the American program was able to place two doubles teams on the Olympic podium at Nagano and has continued to flourish since. Similarly, since 2002 the American bobsled program has also established a world presence. None of this would have been possible without the financial and practical commitment of the American and New York State governments and the reorganization of amateur sports effected in 1978.

Anthony Weaver  
Elon University

## **Influence of Historical Factors on Intercollegiate Athletic Department Reclassification**

Research on intercollegiate athletics suggests that administrators have used their institution's history to make decisions about the strategy of their own athletic department. This may be due in part to the fact that past experiences are an effective approach to reducing risk in decision making. One such major decision that administrators in higher education have made based on their own institution's history is that of the reclassification

of the athletic department. However, the extent to which history plays a role in this specific decision remains unclear. The purpose of this study was to examine how an institution's history impacts the decision to reclassify an athletic department to Division I.

Two universities, one large public and one small private, were chosen for case study analysis. Data were collected and analyzed using case study methodologies and an adapted version of Pettigrew's Contextualist model highlighting the three constructs: context, process and content. Data were gathered using documents, archival records, semi-structured interviews, participant observations, physical artifacts, and direct observations. Content analysis of all documents and interview transcripts revealed several themes related to the history's impact on the decision to reclassify from Division III to Division I athletics. For the large public institution, it was perceived that a reclassification to Division I would help create a new identify, different from its past identity as a woman's college. Since becoming a part of a larger university system in 1963, it struggled to develop an identity as a coeducational, research-focused, state university. In an effort to bring attention to the new institutional profile and to create an atmosphere similar to other state schools, the administration decided to move the intercollegiate athletics program to Division I. The institution's athletic history also affected the decision to reclassify as past athletic success led to a belief that Division I success was possible. Peer institution athletic success also influenced the transition. Civic leaders believed that a successful Division I athletic program, particularly men's basketball, would improve the city's image; similar to other cities throughout the state, such as one city that received national exposure due to the success of a local university's

men's basketball team. From a national perspective, schools across the country began gaining recognition in the 1970's and 1980's due to increased television exposure of their successful athletic programs. At the small private school, the decision to move to Division I was greatly impacted by the need for the university to improve its academic status by being accepted into memberships and associations that are selective. A long established tradition of athletic participation and past intercollegiate success also influenced the decision to move to Division I. Results indicate that although the context at each university was different, each was influenced by its academic and athletic history and the past perceptions of its constituency in the decision to reclassify. This in-depth case study supports the need for higher education administrators to closely examine multiple historical factors when making strategic decisions.



## **SEWARD C. STALEY ADDRESS**

### **Size Matters, Reflections on Muscle, Drugs and Sport**



Jan Todd  
University of Texas at Austin

## **JOHN R. BETTS ADDRESS**

### **Chasing “Lost Causes:” Sport and Social Justice**



Samuel O. Regalado  
University of California, Stanislaus

# **GRADUATE STUDENT ESSAY**

## **The Heroic Athlete in Ancient Greece**



David Lunt  
Pennsylvania State University



**NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SPORT HISTORY  
COUNCIL MEETING MINUTES**

23 May 2008

The 36<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the NASSH Council was called to order by President Stephen Wenn at 9:05 a.m., Friday May 23, 2008 in the Gold Room, Hilton Lake Placid Resort, Lake Placid New York.

Present were: Mark Dyreson, Scott Martyn, Megan Popovic, Maureen Smith, Ronald Smith, Stephen Wenn, and Wayne Wilson.

Others present were: Bob Barney, Dick Crepeau, Jerry Gems, Tom Jable, Michael Lomax, Dan Nathan, and Kevin Wamsley,

Not present: Shelley Lucas and Jan Todd.

The 2007 Council Minutes were approved as published in the 2007 Proceedings.  
PASSED (unanimously).

Bob Barney gave the convention manager's report on the Hilton Lake Placid Resort. Because of construction, meals will be served in a heated tent. Wanda Wakefield is organizing a bobsled event. A boat ride on Lake Placid is planned for Sunday afternoon. A view from the ski jump is scheduled.

Bob Barney noted Jody Davenport's papers (October 2004 death) and the possible manuscript on NASSH. Her Marblehead, Massachusetts home still exists with her papers in 21 boxes in a shed.

Maureen Smith gave the Program Report. Several program changes were noted. There were about 150 proposals with 8 rejected. There have been about 16 withdrawals. The program committee consisted of Carly Adams, Russell Field, Steve Gietschier, Jorge Iber, Gary Osmond, and Tara Magdalinski.

Stephen Wenn noted the number of times an individual may appear on the program. Is being on a panel different from presenting a paper? The Operating Code for President-Elect and Program Chair may need to be clarified.

The Secretary-Treasurer's Report was handed out and presented by Ron Smith. He indicated that the financial situation was firm with income approximately meeting expenses for 2007. Investments only grew \$11,000 in 2007 ending with a total of about \$244,000 in savings. The number of institutional members has shrunk somewhat from 2006, and the number of individual members was slightly lower than the previous year. He recommended raising the institutional member price after we catch up in publishing the JSH.

A lengthy discussion took place over whether graduate students with fulltime positions should receive Roberta Park Funds.

It was MOVED (Mark Dyreson) and seconded to prohibit graduate students who have full time academic employment from receiving Roberta Park Funds. It was withdrawn with consent of the person making the motion.

It was MOVED (Mark Dyreson) and seconded to encourage graduate students who have full time positions not to draw from the Park Fund. PASSED (unanimously).

Mark Dyreson gave the Distinguished Lectures and Honor Award Report. The committee was composed of Chuck Korr, Vicky Parashak, Sarah Fields, Steve Geitschier, and Mark Dyreson. There were two distinguished Lectures, Jan Todd and Sam Regalado and three honor awards, one Service Award and two Recognition Awards.

Stephen Wenn asked for nominees for the Nominations Committee (Fall 2008 election) to be elected at the annual Business Meeting. A number of individuals were suggested. It was MOVED (Wayne Wilson) and seconded to nominate the following individuals for the Nominations Committee: Carly Adams, Sarah Fields, Annette Hofmann, Colin Howell, Thomas Hunt, and Gary Osmond.

Kevin Wamsley gave the Time and Site Committee report. Members are: Vicky Parashak, Jan Todd, John Findling, Maureen Smith, and Kevin Wamsley. A bid for 2009, May 22-26 is at the Crowne Plaza Hotel, Asheville, North Carolina with Andy Doyle of Winthrop University as conference manager. The price for room and meals is reasonable.

It was MOVED (Ron Smith) and seconded to accept the Crowne Plaza Hotel, Asheville, North Carolina. PASSED (unanimously). It will be presented to the Business Meeting for acceptance.

A bid for 2010 was offered by Robert Pruter for Lewis University near Joliet, Illinois. The rates are low because of on-campus housing. Several questions were raised about alternative housing, other than dorms, activities that might take place and closeness to airports.

Questions were raised as how to get more sites and negotiating for the best prices at the proposed sites. How many wish to hold the meetings on college campuses? How many wish to have meetings at resorts? Should NASSH put the site template on the NASSH website? Should the Time and Site Committee be expanded?

Stephen Wenn gave the Graduate Student Essay Contest report. The committee consists of Jim Coates, Larry Gerlach, and Allison Wrynn. There were 10 submissions of high quality. The winner was David Lunt from Penn State University. The Committee wanted the requirements on lengths of submissions clarified, which presently are 5,000

words for text and 250 words per page. The Committee wanted an electronic word count. Papers of different length have been submitted.

It was MOVED (Mark Dyreson) and seconded that an electronic word count of the text of the submissions be not more than 6,000 words (not to include endnotes), that submissions over 6,000 words will not be accepted. PASSED (unanimously).

There was a break for lunch at 12:10 p.m.

The meeting was reconvened at 1:27 p.m.

Scott Martyn gave the Information Technology Committee Report. He said the number of independent hits was about 88,000. He said that the NASSH Directory has been designed to prevent security breaches. Each individual member must give permission to what will be shown on the Directory and can change the material on only his/her entry.

The use of credit cards by NASSH is ready for use as of May 23, 2008. It is used on 2Checkout.com, a Columbus, Ohio firm. Payment may be made with Visa, MasterCard, American Express, Discover/Novus, Dines Club, and JCB.

Scott noted a new spam and virus filter through a company, Reflexion. It has effectively reduced spam to members of the Executive Board and Secretary-Treasury.

Megan Popovic gave the report on graduate student issues. How can NASSH help with graduate student experiences? A major point was to see if NASSH can guarantee feedback to all papers in the NASSH Student Essay Contest. It was suggested that a template be developed for feedback on major issues, minor issues, strength of the paper, and incidental issues such as grammar and writing mechanics. While there was some question whether feedback could be required, though worthwhile, it should be tried for 2009.

Dan Nathan gave the Book Award Committee report. The Committee includes Nancy Bouchier, Allen Guttmann, Martin Johnes, Roberta Park, and Dan Nathan, chair. A group of 6 books of about 55 submitted books (48 monographs and 7 anthologies) have been short-listed for the two awards: Four for history and two for anthology.

The Publications Board Report was presented by Dan Nathan. It was noted that Vol. 34 # 2 was at the printer, 34 # 3 should be out by August, so that the 2008 volumes should be in the correct year. Progress in publishing the JSH on time has occurred.

The special Ad-Hoc Committee regarding the Routledge contract for publishing the JSH was presented by Mark Dyreson. There was no real interest in continuing negotiating with Routledge. The Ad-Hoc Committee of Mark Dyreson, chair, Tara Magdalinski, Dan Nathan, Ron Smith, Jan Todd, and Stephen Wenn voted 3-2 not to continue negotiating with Routledge at the present time (chair did not vote).

The Publications Board recommends that Project MUSE of Johns Hopkins University be pursued for electronic publishing.

The Publications Board recommends dropping negotiations with both Routledge and Human Kinetics.

It is MOVED (Scott Martyn) and seconded that upon recommendations of the Ad-Hoc Committee and the unanimous recommendation of the Publications Board, Council recommends dropping further negotiations with both Routledge and Human Kinetics. (PASSED unanimously).

It was MOVED (Maureen Smith) and seconded that NASSH recommend to the NASSH business meeting to proceed with negotiations with Project MUSE. (PASSED unanimously).

Richard Crepeau indicated that the Publications Board desired to pursue advertising for NASSH publications, including the Journal of Sport History. Tom Jable volunteered to lead this effort.

The Proceedings in the future will be published only electronically on the NASSH website.

An Associate Editor of the JSH should be chosen in the next year by the Publication Board.

It is MOVED (Ron Smith) and seconded that NASSH provide a checking account in a U.S. bank with a deposit of \$2,000 for the Journal Editor to draw upon for journal expenses. PASSED (unanimously).

The new Publications Board Editor is Ying Wushanley.

Megan Popovic brought up issues to enhance the status of graduate students in NASSH. She suggested steps for a Professional Development for Future Professors Series in which periodic topics to enhance professional development of graduate students could be found on the NASSH website.

Popovic also suggested a survey of graduate students on their desires for NASSH that would provide feedback to the NASSH Council.

She felt that NASSH graduate student abstracts for the annual conference would be enhanced if problematic abstracts could be commented upon by the program committee, returned to the student, and resubmitted. She believed that first-time presenters could pre-submit abstracts to get feedback from the Program Committee.

Popovic suggested a Graduate Student-Focused Panel be developed for future conferences in which graduate students could discuss problems confronted in the

profession. The Graduate Student Council Member would need to contact the Program Committee Chair to schedule the meeting and develop a topic for discussion.

It was MOVED (Megan Popovic) and seconded that a Discussion Board be developed on the NASSH website to be posted by NASSH members for NASSH members in which interest sessions are included. PASSED (unanimously.) NASSH Council members will review the program in 2009.

Stephen Wenn raised the question of a “Working Group on Diversity and Outreach Update.” The working group of Sam Regalado, Rita Liberti, Lauren Moramoto will bring their recommendations to the 2009 Council.

Stephen Wenn brought up the question of book publishers at the conference. For 2008, a group of three publishers are represented, and were charged \$150/table. They could display and sell books.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:37 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Ronald A. Smith

**NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SPORT HISTORY**  
**BUSINESS MEETING MINUTES**  
**25 May 2008**

The 36<sup>th</sup> annual Business Meeting of the North American Society for Sport History was called to order by President Stephen Wenn at 2:10 p.m., Sunday, May 25, 2008, in the Medallion Room of the Hilton Lake Placid Resort, Lake Placid, New York.

There were about 85 present.

The minutes of the 2007 annual business meeting were approved as published in the 2007 Proceedings. PASSED (unanimously).

Ron Smith gave the Secretary-Treasurer's Report. He indicated that the financial situation was solid with income approximately meeting income. Both institutional and individual membership was down slightly. Savings grew somewhat in the past year by about \$11,000.

The Council noted that the Roberta Park Student Fund grants were not intended to be available to students with full-time paid positions but for students with more limited funds.

Council decided that the Graduate Student Essays in the future would be limited to a 6,000 work count, excluding endnotes.

The Council nominated 6 candidates for election to the Nominations Committee. They were Carly Adams, Sarah Fields, Annette Hofmann, Colin Howell, Thomas Hunt, and Gary Osmond. There were no nominations from the floor. The election resulted in electing Sarah Fields, Colin Howell, and Annette Hofmann. Sarah Fields is chair.

The Conference Manager, Bob Barney, announced there were about 200 registrations.

Information Technology Chair, Scott Martyn, said that the new NASSH website has been created. The 2CO credit card provision has been set up and should soon be ready for use. There were about one million hits on the website the past year. A website spam filter has been used to eliminate much of the previous of junk mail.

The Directory of Scholars is accessible, but the individual must allow others to see specific material in the individual's file. Through a password, the individual may change the material that is in the Directory of Scholars.

Kevin Wamsley gave the Time and Site Committee report. NASSH is accepting bids for 2010, 2011, 2012, and beyond. There will be a more aggressive attempt to get future sites.

Andy Doyle of Winthrop University in South Carolina presented a 2009 proposal for the convention in Asheville, North Carolina in the Smokey Mountains, Crown Plaza Hotel. Several airports service Asheville. A Motion (Council) to accept the Crown Plaza Hotel site was PASSED (unanimously).

The Distinguished Lectures Report (Mark Dyreson) was noted with no questions.

Dan Nathan gave the Book Award Report. The Committee was composed of Nancy Bouchier, Allen Guttmann, Martin Johns, Roberta Park, and Dan Nathan.

Dick Crepeau gave the Publications Board report. Wray Vamplew, Journal Editor, said that we are catching up on publications. Vol. 34 (2007) should be completed this summer. The JSH should be on time in Spring 2009. An Associate Editor will be chosen in the near future. Michael Lomax, Proceedings editor, raised the question of this being the last year of the Proceedings being published in paper. The Publications Board's new chair is Ying Wushanley.

Stephen Wenn discussed the future publishing of the Journal of Sport History. He noted the historical background of looking for a commercial or university publisher for the JSH, begun before the Colorado Hotel conference in 2006 at Glenwood, Colorado. A discussion took place over the background of a proposed contract with Routledge. An Ad-hoc Committee of 6 (Mark Dyreson, Tara Magdalinski, Dan Nathan, Ron Smith, Jan Todd, Stephen Wenn) had been established to study the Contract proposal. The ad-hoc Committee voted (not unanimously) to recommend ceasing negotiations with Routledge and take its recommendation to the Council and Publications Board. Both the Council and Publications Board voted unanimously to cease negotiations with Routledge. Council agreed to ask the membership to vote to discontinue negotiations with Routledge.

It was MOVED (Mel Adelman) and seconded to accept the decision of the Council to end negotiations for publishing the JSH with Routledge. (It was amended.)

Questions were raised why the ad-hoc committee chose not to provide a counter-offer to Routledge and whether NASSH might go to another commercial publisher to publish the JSH.

A lengthy discussion ensued over why the specific Routledge contract provisions that the Ad-hoc Committee had reviewed and opposed could not be fully discussed at the Business meeting. It was explained that the negotiations were expected to be conducted in confidence by Routledge and therefore could not be discussed fully outside the NASSH negotiators. Only general statements that the original proposal by Routledge and the actual contract sent to NASSH differed in so many ways that the negotiations became untrustworthy. In addition, it was noted by chair of the Ad-Hoc Committee, Mark Dyreson, that there was a general belief that it was in the best interests of NASSH to continue self-publishing.

A question was raised whether, at this late hour, a quorum existed. The Constitution and By-Laws have no quorum requirement for the annual business meeting.

It was MOVED (Pat Vertinsky) and seconded to amend the previous motion of Mel Adelman to read: NASSH shall hold negotiations with Routledge in abeyance at the present time.” PASSED (5 opposed and 5 abstentions).

Through Council action, the question was raised of pursuing the option of publishing the JSH on-line with Project MUSE, the Johns Hopkins University based e-journal publisher of selected non-profit academic journals.

It was MOVED (Council) to negotiate with Project MUSE for the electronic publishing of the Journal of Sport History. PASSED (1 opposed and 7 abstentions.)

A three person committee would pursue the Project MUSE possibility, including Stephen Wenn, President, Ying Wushanley, chair of the Publications Board, and Ron Smith, Secretary-Treasurer.

Discussion ensued relative to negotiating with other e-journal publishing firms to publish the JSH on-line. Questions were raised on how many issues should be embargoed before the issue would go on-line; whether or not there should be proprietary rights (such as EBSCO Host would demand) or non-exclusive rights (such as Project MUSE). NASSH has an agreement with Los Angeles 84 (formerly Los Angeles Amateur Athletic Federation) for a delay of publishing electronically the JSH of from 4-9 issues; presently it is four.

It was MOVED (Jackie Esposito) and seconded to have the Publications Board seek out other electronic vendors and publishers for the broadest possible distribution of the JSH. PASSED (1 abstention).

A suggestion was made to have a printed agenda for future business meetings that would include motions to be presented by Council.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:35 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Ronald A. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer



## **Thirty-Sixth Annual Convention**

**Hilton Lake Placid Resort, New York**

**ANNUAL REPORT, May 23-27, 2008**

### **SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT**

#### STATEMENT REGARDING THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

The financial situation for the year 2007 was in approximate equilibrium. In part because we are catching up in publishing the JSH, I withdrew \$10,000 from savings in Fidelity Investments to cover a short-term cash flow problem to cover expenses. While we are still in negotiations with an outside publisher to publish the Journal of Sport History, we do not know how the eventual outcome will impact income in the future.

Membership in 2007 was down slightly for both individuals and institutions. Institutional membership for the past two decades has been in the 400s, and it continues. The fact that a small organization such as NASSH has a large number of institutional (library) members is a major reason, I believe, why a number of commercial and non-profit organizations are interested in our affiliation with them. A sizeable number of institutional members is likely a major reason why NASSH has been able to build up a significant savings over the years.

The investments in 2007 grew slowly, up about \$11,000 from the previous year so that at year's end our total savings were about \$244,000, after \$10,000 was transferred to the NASSH checking account. The investments were held in five Fidelity Investment funds in Boston, mostly stocks and bonds and a small cash reserve. A Certificate of Deposit for about \$33,000 was in a local Pennsylvania bank. The 2007 rates of growth of the funds are as follows: Fidelity Spartan High Income Bonds gained only 2.3% in 2007 with a 5-year yield of 10.4% and 10-year yield of 4.35%; Fidelity Value Fund grew 2.21% in 2007 with a 5-year yield of 16.98% and 10-year yield of 10.12%; Fidelity Puritan Fund grew 6.17% with a 5-year yield of 11.24% and 10-year yield of 7.21%; and Fidelity Equity Income II Fund gained 4.9% with a 5-year yield of 12.61% and 10-year yield of 6.97%. For 2008, the total savings on May 16, 2008 showed a slight decline, reflecting the U.S. stocks and bonds downturn, of just over \$241,000.

## MEMBERSHIP REPORT FOR 2007 WITH COMPARISON TO PAST YEARS

| <u>Membership Type</u> | <u>1973</u> | <u>1978</u> | <u>1983</u> | <u>1988</u> | <u>1997</u> | <u>1998</u> | <u>1999</u> | <u>2000</u> | <u>2001</u> | <u>2002</u> | <u>2003</u> | <u>2004</u> | <u>2005</u> | <u>2006</u> | <u>2007</u> |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Regular                | 119         | 236         | 306         | 301         | 278         | 255         | 255         | 240         | 247         | 219         | 217         | 178         | 187         | 196         | 194         |
| Sustaining             | 22          | 5           | 8           | 7           | 14          | 18          | 7           | 10          | 10          | 12          | 8           | 13          | 15          | 17          | 12          |
| Student                | 22          | 35          | 35          | 42          | 44          | 29          | 38          | 36          | 40          | 37          | 32          | 36          | 63          | 64          | 53          |
| Senior                 | 0           | 14          | 19          | 20          | 44          | 40          | 48          | 46          | 40          | 43          | 50          | 63          | 47          | 48          | 56          |
| Life                   | 0           | 7           | 15          | 23          | 38          | 38          | 40          | 42          | 43          | 41          | 45          | 47          | 50          | 52          | 56          |
| <br>                   |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |
| TOTAL                  | 163         | 297         | 383         | 393         | 418         | 380         | 382         | 374         | 380         | 352         | 352         | 337         | 365         | 377         | 371         |
| <br>                   |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |
| Institutional          | 8           | 308         | 413         | 482         | 475         | 464         | 468         | 458         | 452         | 465         | 445         | 428         | 430         | 452         | 424         |
| <br>                   |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |
| GRAND TOTAL            | 171         | 605         | 796         | 875         | 893         | 844         | 850         | 832         | 832         | 817         | 797         | 765         | 795         | 829         | 795         |

**STATEMENT FOR CASH RECEIPTS, DISBURSEMENTS, AND FUND  
BALANCES  
FOR YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 2007**

FUND BALANCE (checking account), January 1, 2007. . . . . **\$16,796.95**

Receipts

Membership Dues . . . . . \$46,332.29

**Sale of Journals** . . . . . 502.46

LA84 Foundation . . . . . 3,000.00

Transfer from Fidelity Investments . . . . . 10,000.00

Park Graduate Student Fund Gifts . . . . . 615.00

Copyright Clearance. . . . . 1,361.07

Journal Ads . . . . . 200.00

\$62,010.82 . . . . . **\$62,010.82**

Disbursements

Journal (4 issues) . . . . . \$31,958.78

Proceedings . . . . . 7,207.00

Newsletters . . . . . 1,683.30

Program . . . . . 278.00

Supplies (letterheads, stamps, labels, etc.) . . . . . 1,337.06

Secretarial Assistance Wage . . . . . 2,990.50

Park Fund (18 student presenters' expenses) . . . . . 4,715.00

Howell Travel Fund . . . . . 2,977.26

Book Award . . . . . 1,000.00

Honor Awards . . . . . 84.35

Convention Expenses (deposit) . . . . . 1,000.00

Book Display . . . . . 466.23

Web site . . . . . 241.34

Refunds . . . . . 85.00

\$56,022.82 . . . . . **\$56,022.82**

**FUND BALANCE** (checking account) December 31, 2007 . . . . . **\$22,784.95**

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| TOTAL SAVINGS, January 1, 2007 .....  | \$243,336.28        |
| FIDELITY CASH RESERVES, December 31, 2007 .....   | 3,554.18            |
| FIDELITY SPARTAN HIGH INCOME, December 31, 2007 .....                                   | 35,754.53           |
| FIDELITY VALUE FUND, December 31, 2007 .....  | 71,169.19           |
| FIDELITY PURITAN (PARK FUND), December 31, 2007 .....                                   | 39,988.25           |
| FIDELITY EI-II (HOWELL FUND),<br>December 31, 2007 (\$10,000 to Checking Account) ..... | 59,574.87           |
| CERTIFICATE OF DEPOSIT,<br>December 31, 2007 .....                                      | 33,006.75           |
| <b>TOTAL SAVINGS,</b><br>December 31, 2007 .....  | <b>\$243,847.77</b> |

Respectfully submitted,  
Ronald A. Smith  
NASSH, Secretary-Treasurer

# **BY-LAWS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SPORT HISTORY**

## **ARTICLE I: MEMBERSHIP**

Section 1: There shall be three classes of members: Active Members, Honorary Members, and Constituent Members.

Section 2: Active Members may be designated as Contributing or Sustaining Members by the payment of additional dues, as established in accordance with Article V. In all other respects, the rights and duties of the Contributing and/or Sustaining Members shall be that of other active members.

Section 3: Any resident in Canada, Mexico or of the United States of America, its territories and possessions, who is interested in the history of sport shall be eligible for Active Membership.

Section 4: Any person interested in the history of sport who is not a resident in Canada, Mexico or of the United States of America, its territories and possessions, shall also be eligible for Active Membership.

Section 5: Honorary Membership may be conferred upon any person who has made outstanding contributions to the history of sport upon the nomination of the Council and election by the Active Members at the annual meeting, provided that names of proposed candidates for Honorary Membership shall be submitted in writing to the members of the Council at least thirty days before the annual meeting. Honorary Members shall have all the privileges of Active Members.

Section 6: Any organization, such as society, club, institute or library, having purposes similar to those of the Society, shall be eligible for membership as a Constituent Member upon nomination in writing by an Active Member and election by the Council. Each Constituent Member may choose one delegate to attend the annual meeting of the members, who, on that occasion, shall have the same voting rights as Active Members.

Section 7: Membership shall not become effective until the Treasurer has received the first year's dues.

## **ARTICLE II: OFFICERS**

Section 1: The officers of the Society shall be a President, Past-president, President-elect, Secretary-Treasurer, Chairperson of the Publications Board, and four Members-at-large, all of whom shall be Active Members of the Society, and one of whom shall be a student. All Officers shall be elected for two-year terms by a majority of active members

voting. Their terms of office shall begin at the close of the Annual Meeting following their election.

Section 2: The officers shall have the powers and duties customarily incident to their respective offices in similar organizations and also such as shall specifically be delegated by them by the Council.

### **ARTICLE III: COUNCIL**

Section 1: Except as otherwise provided by these By-Laws the management of the Affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Board of Directors which shall be known as the Council.

Section 2: The Council shall consist of the officers of the Society. The President shall act as Chairperson of the Council. Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Council.

Section 3: The Council shall hold an annual meeting not more than one week preceding the annual meeting of the Society at a time and place designated by the President. Special meetings may be called at any time by the President or by any five members of the Council upon at least two weeks' written notice to each member of the Council.

Section 4: The Council shall provide for filling the unexpired term of any vacancy that may occur in any office or in the Council.

Section 5: Except as otherwise provided by law and these By-Laws, decisions of the Council shall be by majority vote of those members of the Council present and voting.

Section 6: With the approval of the President, members of the Society may attend meetings of the Council as observers. They shall not have a vote, but may address the meeting, if invited to do so by the President.

### **ARTICLE IV: MEETINGS**

Section 1: There shall be an annual meeting of the members of the Society. This meeting shall be held at a time and place designated by the Council. The President shall arrange the order of business.

Section 2: The Secretary shall mail notice of the annual meeting of the Society to each member entitled to vote not less than thirty days before the annual meeting. Such notification shall state the time, place and general purpose of the meeting, together with the nominations made in accordance with Article VIII, Section 2 and any amendments proposed in accordance with Article IX, Section 1, of these By-Laws.

Section 3: The Council of the Society shall present at the annual meeting a report dated as of the close of the last complete fiscal year, verified by the President and Treasurer, or

by a majority of the members of the Council. This report shall also show the names and addresses of the persons and organizations who have been admitted to membership during such year. This report shall be filed with the records of the Society and an abstract thereof entered in the minutes of the proceedings of the annual meeting at which the report is presented. The President shall appoint an Active Member of the Society, who shall not be a member of the Council, to act as an auditor, who shall examine the annual report referred to in this section prior to the annual meeting and express his or her opinion thereon at the annual meeting.

Section 4: Upon request of the Council, or by written notice representing at least fifteen percent (15%) of the membership, a mail vote of the membership shall be conducted. In such cases, a minimum of thirty (30) days shall be given between the mailing of information and ballots and the return of such ballots to the Secretary-Treasurer.

## **ARTICLE V: DUES AND FINANCES**

Section 1: The amount of the annual dues for all classes of membership shall be determined by vote of the Active Members, except that Honorary Members shall pay no dues.

Section 2: The Council shall set the date of the annual payment of dues.

Section 3: Members who are full-time students shall be assessed 50% of the annual dues.

Section 4: Members who have been dropped for nonpayment of dues may be reinstated at any time before the close of the year in which they were dropped upon payment of the dues for that year.

Section 5: The Council of the Society shall set the dates of the fiscal year.

## **ARTICLE VI: PUBLICATIONS**

Section 1: Publications shall be established on the recommendation of the Publications Board to the Council. Favorable Council action on such recommendations shall result in presentation of the recommendation to the membership at the next regularly scheduled Annual Business Meeting. The same procedure shall be followed when existing publications are discontinued.

Section 2: Annual budgets for each publication must be approved by the Board before being presented to the Council for action.

Section 3: The Board is responsible for all NASSH publications. It shall name editors, establish the terms of editorships, and oversee the operation of each publication.

Section 4: Early termination of an editor's tenure other than by resignation can only be accomplished by Council action.

Section 5: The Board shall consist of five members elected to three year terms. The Board shall elect a Chairperson from among its members for a two year term.

## **ARTICLE VII: COMMITTEES**

Section 1: The President shall appoint annually a Membership Committee of three members, one of whom shall be named Chairperson.

Section 2: The President shall appoint annually a Budget and Fiscal Committee of two members and the Treasurer, who shall serve as Chairperson.

Section 3: The President-elect shall appoint annually a Program Committee.

Section 4: The Past-president shall serve as Chairperson of a Distinguished Lectures Committee of four other members who serve for a two year term. Two members shall be appointed by the President and two members shall be elected by the membership.

Section 5: A Constitution and By-Laws Committee shall be appointed annually. The Past-president shall serve as Chairperson of the Committee.

## **ARTICLE VII: STANDING COMMITTEES**

1. Standing Committees shall be ongoing committees that have a continuing responsibility in defined areas of the Society's interests. Each Standing Committee shall carry out its duties and responsibilities in accordance with an Operating Code approved by the Council. Members of Standing Committees shall be appointed by the President, unless otherwise stated. The Chairpersons of Standing Committees shall be responsible to the Council for all actions of their respective committees and shall present annual reports at the Annual Meeting of the Society. At the end of their terms of office, Standing Committee Chairpersons shall forward all correspondence, reports, and other important documents to the Secretary-Treasurer for deposit in the Archives of the Society.

### **1.1. Book Award Committee**

The Book Award Committee shall normally consist of five members, appointed by the President.

### **1.2. Budget and Fiscal Committee**

The Budget and Fiscal Committee shall consist of two members, plus the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be the Chairperson.

### **1.3. Constitution and By-Laws Committee**

The Constitution and By-Laws Committee shall be chaired by the Past-President. Members shall be appointed annually by the President.

### **1.4. Distinguished Lectures and Honor Awards Committee**

The Distinguished Lectures and Honor Awards Committee shall be chaired by the Past-President. There shall be four other members, who shall serve two-year



terms; of these, two shall be appointed by the President and two elected by the membership.

1.5. Membership Committee

The Membership Committee shall consist of three members of the Society, one of whom shall be the Chairperson.

1.6. Nominations Committee

The Nominations Committee shall consist of three members, none of whom shall be a member of the Council. The members of the Nominations Committee shall be elected at the Annual Meeting in the year in which Council elections are not held; they shall be elected from a list of five nominees presented by the Council. The Nominations Committee shall be responsible for soliciting and circulating nominations for the positions of: President, Secretary-Treasurer, Chairperson of the Publications Board, and the three Members-at-Large.

1.7. Program Committee

The Program Committee shall be chaired by the President-Elect, and shall consist of two other members appointed by the President-Elect.

1.8. Time and Site Committee

The Time and Site Committee shall consist of the Chair and three additional members, all of whom shall be appointed by the President.

## **ARTICLE VIII: NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS**

Section 1: In every odd year (off election year) at the time of the annual business meeting, a nominating committee of three shall be elected. The Council will present a list of at least five individuals. The individual receiving the highest number of votes shall be chairperson. Members will continue in office for two years until their successors are elected or replaced.

## **ARTICLE IX: AMENDMENTS**

Section 1: Any Active Member may propose changes in the By-Laws by presenting the proposal in writing to the Secretary. The proposed changes shall then be reviewed by the Council.

Section 2: Upon the recommendation of the Council and with at least twenty four hour notice, the By-Laws may be changed by a two-third vote of the Active Members voting at any annual business meeting.

## **ARTICLE X: PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY**

Section 1: The rules of procedure contained in Robert's Rules of Order, Revised, shall govern meetings of the members of the Society so far as they are applicable and when not inconsistent with these By-Laws.

## ARTICLE XI: SEAL

Section 1: The seal of the Society shall be that adopted by the Council and shall be used on all official transactions and publications. The seal must include at least (a) identification, (b) date of origin and (c) symbol depicting purpose of organization, etc.

Feb., 1973, Rev. Apr., 1974

Rev. May, 1977

Changed to By-Laws, May, 1978

Rev. May, 1994

Rev. May, 2001



Ready for a Boat Ride on Lake Placid  
Sarah Teezel, Christine O'Bonsawin, & Anne Warner

**PLAN TO ATTEND THE**  
**37<sup>TH</sup> ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF NASSH**

**May 22-25, 2009**

**Crowne Plaza Asheville  
Asheville, North Carolina**