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PRACTICE: NARRATING POSTWAR SPORT HISTORIES OF CANADIAN NIKKEI IN  
SOUTHERN ALBERTA, CANADA

This paper examines moments of resistance, agency, resiliency, and rupture as revealed in oral history interviews by situating experiences of everyday life within broader social and cultural contexts to consider sport and recreation as embodied expressions of space and place in Nikkei (people of Japanese descent) communities in southern Alberta, Canada. Specifically, this paper explores how co-creative practices and shared authority through oral histories can challenge the power dynamics that shape historical knowledge. In life-story interviews, authority is ‘shared’ as dialogue to generate a productive tension between the imperatives of impactful storytelling often concerning identifies of the embodied self and ethnic creation through sport, on the one hand, and oral history, on the other, to document ‘living history’ testimony characterized by overlapping, conflicting patterns of memory. This paper comes out of the ‘Nikkei Memory Capture Project (NMCP): Narrating the Postwar history of Canadian Nikkei in Southern Alberta,’ a community-based oral history project that initiates the narration and analysis of the cultural and social history of Canadian Nikkei between the 1950s and 1970s in southern Alberta, Canada. In the context of this project, oral history provided researchers and participants alike opportunities to engage in the production of historical knowledge, shape their community’s history, and explore Canadian Nikkei identity. As the NMCP revealed, and scholars of the ‘everyday’ have argued (Highmore 2002), banal and significant moments making up daily life are often remembered in fragmentary and episodic ways, mixing fact and feeling to create textured impressions, a ‘bricolage’ (de Certeau 1984) of experience belying linear narratives. This paper’s focus on sport and recreation as a lens to isolate moments of everyday life, and explore moments of memory they generate, suggests how we might value the Nikkei past in innovative and creative ways, affirming its place in our shared sport histories as Canadians, and the active role we can all play in the generation of history, identity, and the future.

IAIN ADAMS, INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER, GLIDING  
THE XI OLYMPIAD AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AXIS AIR POWER

The 1919 Treaty of Versailles prohibited German military aviation and placed severe restrictions on civilian aeronautics. Gliding was not included as it was viewed as an amateur sporting activity and it rapidly developed in the Weimar Republic. The first gliding club was established in 1920 and a competition organized at Wasserkuppe with 24 pilots. The competition became annual and by 1930 was attracting entrants from all over Europe and the United States. The government established a national gliding society, the Rhön-Rossitten Gesellschaft in 1924, a full-service organization with flying schools, workshops and research teams.

However, the catalyst for the renaissance of German aviation was the appointment of Adolf Hitler as chancellor on 30 January, 1933. The Nazi party, realizing the importance of aviation, established the German Air Sports Association, the LVD, in line with their ideology. The LVD absorbed all other aviation organizations, whilst retaining ‘sports’ in its title to pay lip-service to the Treaty of Versailles. In 1937 the National Socialist Flying Corps replaced the LVD



and established an aeronautical syllabus for youths in line with party educational objectives. Eleven-year olds were to make and contest paper planes, 15-year olds to design, build and contest model airplanes, and 16-year olds to build and fly gliders to approved designs. By 1937 there were over 50,000 ostensibly civilian glider pilots and gliding was enabling the military to forge bonds with an air-minded public. In essence the program was providing a cadre for the future Luftwaffe. In a transnational world, Japanese leaders were impressed by the German program and from 1932 closely copied the educational use of gliding.

The German Olympic Committee requested gliding as a demonstration sport following the award of the 1936 Games. This was approved and the Nazis seized the opportunity to demonstrate their aviation accomplishments. Before the summer games began air rallies, a balloon race and a two-day International Aerobatic competition were staged. After the Games' opening an Olympic Air Display paraded German air power, the Hindenburg made regular appearances emblazoned with swastikas and Olympic symbols, and the German gliding team gave formation and aerobatic displays over the stadium during the first week. Six nations were represented in the gliding 'competition' on August 4, 1936 at Staaken airfield but no medals were awarded as the event was staged as a pure demonstration.

The 1938 IOC conference accepted gliding as an Olympic sport for 1940 with a standard sailplane design. However, with the cancellation of the 1940 Games gliding has not reappeared at an Olympiad despite several proposals by the sport's governing body to reintroduce the sport. Despite the attention paid to the XI Olympiad by sports historians, the gliding demonstration is rarely discussed or even mentioned. This paper explores the aeronautical activities of the Games focusing on the underpinning gliding education program for developing Germany and Japan as nations of flyers and the related consequences for allied servicemen in WWII.

## CAT M. ARIAIL, MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY THE WNBA, WHITENESS, AND WOMEN'S SPORT

The historiography of women's sport successfully has interrogated how ideologies of gender and sexuality have contributed to the secondary status of women's sport and women athletes. Scholarship also has recognized the racial inequalities that exist within women's sport. However, a more comprehensive understanding of the past and present of women's sport in the United States requires further integration of these two strands of inquiry. The establishment and early years of the WNBA provide an instructive example of how norms of race, specifically whiteness, have intersected with those of gender and sexuality to perpetuate the marginal cultural status of women's sport and women athletes.

Debuting in 1997, the WNBA was understood as representing the long-awaited fulfillment of the promises of second-wave feminism and Title IX. Yet, precarity, rather than promise, has defined the league. After greater than expected success during the inaugural season, subsequent seasons featured flagging attendance and folding franchises. Instead of ushering in a sporting world of greater gender equality, the WNBA's ever-insecure survival seemed to serve as proof of sport's intractable gender inequality. However, analyzing the coverage and marketing of the WNBA through the lens of race, rather than gender, provides a more nuanced perspective of the league's status.

An examination of the early rhetoric about the WNBA, its moderate successes, and its many struggles reveals that advocates and critics unquestionably expected teams and players to



abide by norms of whiteness. Because the ideology of whiteness is founded on traditional, and thus unequal, gender and sex roles, the WNBA and its observers inscribed gender and sexual inequality into their visions for the league, its teams, and its players. The widespread, yet often unrecognized, insistence that the WNBA project norms of whiteness has inhibited the league and its players from affecting and experiencing the social change imagined. A critical analysis of the WNBA demonstrates how ideas about race, as much as assumptions about gender and sexuality, have worked to preserve the gendered and sexed inequities of American sport.

In recent years, WNBA players, particularly women of color and/or queer women, have begun to author alternative possibilities for the league. The success of their project, seen in the steadily rising cultural prominence of the WNBA, serves as evidence of the ways in which normative whiteness historically has limited the league's potential. The early history and recent rise of the WNBA thus indicate the importance of recognizing and reckoning with whiteness in order to more fully understand and, at least attempt to, address the secondary status of women's sport and women athletes in the United States.

RAYMOND ARSENAULT, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA  
ARTHUR ASHE: ATHLETE AND ACTIVIST

In August 2018, Simon and Schuster published my book, *Arthur Ashe, A Life*. I worked on the book for 9 years, and its publication was timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the U. S. Open Tennis Championships. Arthur Ashe won the first U. S. Open singles title at the age of 25, 24 years before he died of AIDS contracted from a 1983 blood transfusion. From 1968 until his death in 1993, he was actively involved in the civil rights struggle and several other social justice causes, and he developed a considerable reputation as a public intellectual who championed education, civility, active citizenship, and sportsmanship. He was also a leading figure in the emergence of Open Tennis and the Association of Tennis Professionals. 1968 was a pivotal year for Ashe, as it was in American politics and civil rights. My paper would focus on the period from 1968 to 1975, the year Ashe upset Jimmy Connors at Wimbledon. I will deal with Ashe both on and off the court. My book has received a great deal of attention during the past 6 months, through op-eds that I have written for the *New York Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and other newspapers, NPR and PBS interviews, presentations at UCLA, the Clinton Presidential Library, and the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, and by being named one of the best books of the year by the *New York Times*, the *Boston Globe*, *Inside Tennis* magazine, NPR, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and President Obama. Jane Leavy, writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, judged it to be one of the 5 most important sports books published in 2018. I would very much like to share my thoughts and conclusions about Ashe's remarkable life with the members of the NASSH at their national meeting, which, unfortunately, I have never been able to attend.

KENDREA AUSTIN, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
'THE HARD & THE SOFT': THE EARLY PROMOTION OF YOGA FOR ATHLETES

In 2018, the University of Minnesota unveiled a \$166 million three-building complex, called the "Athlete's Village," that was designed to provide student-athletes with access to modern amenities and state-of-the-art technologies to enhance performance both within the



classroom and on the field. Included in this new sports facility is a dedicated space for yoga. That a top-tier Division I college athletic program would carve out space, both physical and metaphorical, for a practice that was once considered a “fringe” activity is evidence of a changing landscape within the field of performance enhancement. Even a cursory glance through recent sports media reveals the growth of yoga in athletes’ training programs, with stars like LeBron James, Tom Brady, and Novak Djokovic readily attributing some positive aspect of their performance to regular yoga practices. What was once a spiritual pursuit for Indian men some 2,000 years ago has now been adapted to serve as a common weapon in the training arsenal of both college and professional athletics.

Despite the current popularity of yoga in sports, little academic work in the field of sport history has explored this unique marriage between the ancient practice and modern performance-based training. Since at least the early 1970s, yoga has been promoted as an effective method of athletic performance enhancement. This paper highlights the origins of yoga in sports training programs through an examination of magazines, articles, and books published at a time when yoga had yet to take root in mainstream American consciousness. The contribution of individuals such as Ian Jackson, a runner and writer for *Runner’s World* magazine, Jerry Colletto, a high school football coach, and Beryl Bender Birch, a pioneering power yoga instructor, among others, will be considered to reveal a nascent style of yoga that would come to gain acceptance in both sport and society at large. Thus, this paper serves to lay the foundation for an understanding of the beginnings of an Eastern practice that was molded in the last quarter of the 20th century to serve Western athletic pursuits

NORMAN BAKER, UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO  
URBANIZATION AND SPORT IN NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN: THE CASE OF  
PORTSLADE

Portslade lies immediately to the west of its better-known neighbors, Hove and Brighton. Originally it was a small agricultural village about one mile from the sea. Its population grew seven-fold between 1851 and 1911 and was concentrated closer to the sea as it became the location of a number of industries serving Brighton and Hove. During this period there was constant turnover of population illustrated by the fact that at each Census only 20% of the adult population had been born in Portslade.

This paper attempts to trace the fate of sport during the process of adjustment to urbanization marked not only by growth but also by rapid turnover of population. There are three particular reasons for the focus on Portslade. First, the bulk of studies of this topic concentrate on the industrial North and Midlands and, to a lesser extent, on London. Little has been done on the South. Secondly, within Portslade are juxtaposed an area of rapid urban growth and a part of the town which continued to rely on the land as its principle economic resource. Thirdly, the later section of the paper is concerned with the establishment of a public recreation ground and attitudes reflected in local government planning for, and supervision of, this facility.

The demographic aspects of this paper rest heavily on analysis of the Census returns from 1851 to 1911. 1851 was the first census in which the place of origin was included for each individual. 1911 is the last census for which it is possible, (under the 100-year rule), to access detailed returns. The later part of this paper draws on local newspaper sources, some church and



business records and the minutes of the Portslade Urban District Council held at the East Sussex Record Office.

**DAVE BARNEY, ALBUQUERQUE ACADEMY**  
**ABOUT THOSE LITTLE GIRLS: THE RISING TIDE OF AMERICAN WOMEN ATHLETES**

As the old Irish lyric reminds us, women of the world have “come a long, long way from Tipperary,” or anywhere else for that matter, because as we all remember from watching an English fortnight of round-the-clock television coverage of the London Games some years ago and then more recently the Rio Games, the competition became pretty much a celebration of women athletes and especially American women athletes, some of whom became powerful overnight symbols for what is possible, in this era at least, for young women through participation in sport. Most astonishing in the results of those Summer Games of 2012 and 2016 is the fact that every one of the more than 200 national teams competing in London and Rio de Janeiro contained female representation, including even some reluctant, arm-twisted, middle-eastern countries. That demographic aside, there remains an equally significant statistic relative to their gender presence in those Games, the bottom line of which is simply that there were more women competing in England and Brazil than there were men. While it may have taken women of the world more than a hundred years of Olympic presence to achieve that edge, it provides us with a curiosity relative to how long women might enjoy that advantage. My guess is maybe longer than one might suspect or that many men might be willing to admit, because beyond the sociological impact of their mere presence in London and Rio stands the stunning performance that those women athletes put on for the world, a drama which held the planet’s attention in a televised embrace long after each of those Games had ended and the Olympic flame extinguished.

The design of this paper begins with a personal thought relative to the lack of opportunity for women in sport prior to Title IX legislation, then lingers momentarily on the emergence of women athletes, especially at the London and Rio Olympics, and concludes with an statistical juxtaposition of American distaff performance in Olympic competition both before and then following the enactment of the 1972 American Educational Initiative of Title IX.

**ROBERT K. BARNEY, WESTERN UNIVERSITY**  
**FROM THE 'BIG OWE' TO THE 'BIG OH': MONTREAL'S OLYMPIC STADIUM AND ITS  
TRANSFORMATION FROM WHITE ELEPHANT TO ICONIC LANDMARK**

In the summer of 1976, the City of Montreal presented the world with the Games of the 21st Olympiad. For the past forty years since, that iconic Olympic stadium, at the outset affectionately dubbed “The Big O” (its shape resembled a doughnut), has endured in the minds of most Quebec tax-paying citizens as simply “The Big Owe.” Even lacking its defining tower when it opened for the 1976 Games, the stadium was an object of architectural and structural magnificence. Its original construction cost was \$770 million Canadian dollars. Thirty years later (2006), the final bill of the stadium’s cost, including completion of the tower, a roof installation, general repairs, and amortization interest settled the final bill at \$1.4 billion. Since its original construction, revenues accrued from a litany of tenant-users since have failed miserably towards



meeting the ongoing costs of maintaining and operating the Olympic Park complex, the major item of which is the stadium. From an accelerating public debate focusing on leveling the entire complex at the hands of the wrecking ball and committing the space retrieved to commercial business enterprise, rose a bold renovation scheme and an effort to entice one of Canada's largest and wealthiest corporations to take up residence in Olympic Park, specifically in the creatively engineered and reconstructed innards of the Stadium's 500+ foot, 45 degree tower (the highest of its type in the world). A twelve-story matrix of offices resulted, 7 stories of which have become the home of one of Canada's largest and wealthiest corporations, Desjardin Insurance and Investments. Desjardin's 1,500 employee presence in the tower gives hope for another similar tenant filling the remaining five floors. The bottom line on this story is that the once "Big Owe" has made giant strides in shedding the status that previously surrounded it, and in fact, provides a case study of how past and future Olympic host cities might renovate or create Olympic stadium facilities, action that could impact on the alarmingly negative experience and financial encumbrance condition of Olympic stadiums across the globe, each one an exemplification of what is called a white elephant.

The study is informed by several visits to Montreal's Olympic stadium over the past 30 years, analysis of Olympic Park's Annual Reports, referral to Montreal's newspaper reporting, and selective items of secondary source material. The methodology pursued is the traditional "describe and analyze" approach. The study would be best placed in a session that deals with the Modern Olympic Games.

KIM BECKWITH, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

‘LIVING A LIFE WITHOUT BOUNDARIES’: CYNTHIA WYATT REINHOUDT: AN EARLY,  
TWO-SPORT, WEIGHT-TRAINED ATHLETE

Cynthia Wyatt, born in 1944, represents one of America's earliest female athletes who weight trained to improve athletic performance. Wyatt won the Amateur Athletic Union's Junior National Track & Field Championship as soon as she was old enough (age 14) in 1958 in both the shotput and the discus. She begged her brother to teach her how to lift in order to "get stronger." At only 5' 6" and weighing 150-165 pounds, the strength and power she gained from resistance training stood her in high regard in the throwing events over the next ten to twelve years.

During the 1960s, Wyatt joined other elite, American athletes of the time who traversed the globe seeking to symbolize the strength and might of the United States via their athletic exploits against West Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union during the Cold War era. Often the smallest by 100 pounds and the shortest by several inches of all the other throwers she still managed to impress her competitors by routinely placing in the top three. Wyatt attributes her success on the international stage to her resistance training. Weight training to improve athletic performance was not a standard practice for American men, much less American women, during this era; however, many coaches and historians of strength believe that most of the Eastern Bloc countries had already begun training their athletes in the weight room.

Wyatt managed to hold her own in the shotput and discus ring, but in the early 1970s she found another outlet for her strength—the nascent sport of powerlifting. A true test of brute strength, powerlifting became Wyatt's future. She met her husband (Don Reinhoudt, an immense



specimen of strength and power himself), set numerous world records, and became involved in the promotion of lifting for women. Strength historian, Jan Todd, believes Wyatt should be considered at least the “godmother” of the women’s strength training movement which occurred after Title IX passed.

This presentation will explore the two-sport career of Cynthia Wyatt Reinhoudt. Sources will include the media coverage of her track & field competitions, coverage of her success as a lifter in *Strength & Health* magazine, as well as interviews with Wyatt.

ARTHUR BANTON, TENNESSEE TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY  
TRACKING THE DESEGREGATION OF COLLEGE FOOTBALL AT THE UNIVERSITY OF  
LOUISVILLE

In August 1954, George Cain, Andy Walker, and Lenny Lyles, three promising football recruits walked onto practice field at the University of Louisville with every intention of a donning the red and white jersey that would certify them members of the Louisville Cardinal football team. Unlike the recruits of years past, these three young men were black. Of the three young men, it was Lyles, who was feverishly recruited by the coaching staff. His exceptional talent would ultimately make him one of the best football players in the history of the program. Lyles would go on to accomplish a stellar, 11-year professional football career with Baltimore Colts and San Francisco 49ers. This essay, provides a synopsis of the significant factors that contributed to the integration of the University in 1951 and its football team in 1954. This story is also noteworthy, because the Louisville football program in all likelihood was the first major program in the south to do so.

ADAM BERG, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA GREENSBORO  
THE RHETORIC OF OLYMPISM: HOW COLORADO BOOSTERS TRIED (AND FAILED) TO  
SAVE THE 1976 DENVER WINTER GAMES

This paper examines how the Denver Organizing Committee (DOC) and its supporters attempted – and failed – to save the 1976 Denver Winter Olympic Games. By 1972, two years after Denver won its bid to host the Olympics, Colorado citizens pushed to have the games removed from their state. Colorado boosters had worked for almost a decade to use the games as an advertising vehicle to promote growth and spark the state’s economy. However, by the early 1970s, diverse segments of Coloradans began to challenge the notion that growth and development were inevitable and unmistakable social goods. Minority residents in need of affordable housing in Denver, middle-class environmentalists worried about the destruction of open spaces in Colorado’s exurban foothills, as well as local politicians and others concerned about reckless state spending doubted the wisdom of hosting the games. With a referendum meant to halt tax dollars from going toward the Olympics on the Centennial State’s horizon, it appeared that if Colorado voters continued to read the winter games as a pretext for commercial growth then Denver would lose the event.

In response, rather than continuing to highlight the purported economic benefits of hosting the games, pro-Olympic forces pivoted to the rhetoric of “Olympism.” Denver Olympic supporters recognized economic growth and tourism no longer carried the political capital they



used to. Now, the notion that international sport could forge mutual respect and world peace appeared the best rationale available to justify Olympic expenditures. Thus, Olympic backers began to emphasize that the Olympics were an invaluable mechanism for uniting people from across the globe, promoting mutual respect, friendship, international harmony, and human excellence. If economic growth did not sway Colorado voter's, perhaps moral growth would.

Such a commitment to Olympism provided a potentially powerful line of reasoning. When opponents suggested the state focus on schools, health facilities, housing, or environmental protection, Colorado's Olympic ideologues could respond that the purposes of the Olympics outweighed it all. However, as Olympic historians Dikaia Chatziefstathiou and Ian P. Henry show, since the founding of the Modern Olympic movement, the language of Olympism has taken a variety of forms shaped by specific motives and interests. Indeed, Colorado's Olympic hopefuls appropriated Olympism – albeit unsuccessfully – to keep Colorado citizens in line with their predominating pro-growth agenda.

This argument will be supported by primary source documents found in archival collections of the DOC, Denver's Mayor, Colorado's Governor, and others. In particular, the bulk of the analysis is derived from press releases, advertisements, speeches, editorials, letters, and inter-organizational memos as well as articles from local newspapers such as the *Denver Post* and *Rocky Mountain News*. Overall, this telling reveals the malleability and inherently political nature of the Olympic Movement's professed philosophy. It also contributes to knowledge of the political machinations and strategies undergirding Colorado's banishment of the 1976 Winter Games, not to mention the history of the modern Olympics writ large.

JACK W. BERRYMAN, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

'ROBBIE' PARK, FRIEND AND SCHOLAR: REMINISCENCES AND REFLECTIONS ON HER  
ROLE IN THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF SPORT HISTORY

“Robbie” Park and I were the best of friends for more than 45 years, beginning in the early 1970's. We had similar backgrounds in physical education, had similar beliefs as to what constituted sport history, and we both wanted sport history to be recognized as a legitimate, viable, and appreciated field of scholarly inquiry. As a charter member of NASSH in 1972 and a student of its two first presidents, I was in a unique situation to know the status of sport history at that time. This was also when “Robbie” began to research, write, and publish her many journal articles, book chapters, and books. At this time too, she brought her solid historical research to mainstream physical education. As a member of the *Journal of Sport History* editorial board (1975-77) and editor (1977-84), I was able to witness first hand “Robbie's” many contributions. In addition, as NASSH president-elect, president, and past-president (1987-93), I had further opportunities to appreciate her impact on sport history during these formative years. This paper will discuss “Robbie's” role in moving sport history from what Alan Metcalfe called “a most perilous situation” in 1974 to its status as a vibrant, serious, and respected field of academic scholarship by the mid-1990's.



ZACHARY R. BIGALKE, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR  
CONTESTED LOYALTIES: REPRESENTING MULTIPLE NATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL  
SOCCER COMPETITION

From the Scottish-born “Shot-Putters” of the U.S. national team that took third at the inaugural FIFA World Cup in Uruguay in 1930, to the South American-born “oriundi” that won the World Cup four years later for Mussolini’s Italy, geographic origin has never been a sole determinant in who represents a country in international soccer. Players like Luis Monti and Ferenc Puskas have gone from captaining one country to playing a critical role for another national team in a short period of time.

Whether a decision to represent an ancestral homeland, a matter of shifting geopolitical borders, a decision to defect from one’s birthplace, or merely a cold hard economic calculus, dual-nationality storylines have proliferated over the decades. These cases, studied both individually and in aggregate, afford a key opportunity to confront questions of what constitutes national identity and what leads to contested loyalties.

Throughout the history of soccer and more specifically the history of international competitions such as the Olympic soccer tournament, the FIFA World Cup, and continental competitions, hundreds of athletes have represented multiple national teams in officially sanctioned matches. It is a phenomenon that dates back more than a century to the early days of the sport, and it is a trend that continues to resonate in the present.

What this trend brings into question is the very nature of what it really means to be of a nation and to represent a nation. It is that question which is at the heart of this preliminary study into the fluidity of national identity.

Using Ernest Renan’s famous 1882 lecture at the Sorbonne as a starting point, this paper investigates what fundamentally constitutes a nation and what draws people to identify with the nation through the lens of soccer. This paper will draw upon competition records, census data, and other genealogical resources to compile a more comprehensive look at what brings individuals to represent multiple nations in competitions like the World Cup.

This investigation aims to provide a better understanding of how immigration, politics, war, and economics all serve as litmus tests for loyalty. Far from an anomalous series of isolated incidents, the history of players representing multiple national teams in international soccer competition shows that nationality is an abstract construct that offers multiple meanings in varying circumstances.

WILL BISHOP, BAKER UNIVERSITY  
SULTAN OF CULTURAL HISTORY: BABE RUTH AS ICON OF THE 1920S AND THE  
TWENTIETH CENTURY IN DENNIS LEHANE’S NOVEL *THE GIVEN DAY*

American crime author Dennis Lehane’s foray into historical fiction, the 2008 novel *The Given Day*, is far from the first work of literature to utilize the larger-than-life figure of baseball’s Babe Ruth, or to imagine actions and interactions for the famous slugger that go beyond the historical record. However, Lehane’s novel is unique in the way it uses Ruth in a manner that actually resembles the way that many *historians* have utilized the Great Bambino: as a representative icon of twentieth century American culture, particularly those developments and



changes that first emerged in the decade of the 1920s but would become characteristic of and help define the entire century.

Historians such as Warren Sussman and Jules Tygiel have turned to Ruth in their writing to act as both an example and symbol of not just the decade of the '20s, but their reading of the way that period acted as a turning point in American history between what came to define the twentieth century and the lingering nineteenth century culture that still had a hold on individuals and institutions in the years leading up to the so-called "Roaring 20s." For Sussman, Ruth is a transitional figure between the work-ethic-fueled culture of production and the twentieth century's culture of consumption. For Tygiel, Ruth's tremendous presence in popular culture is emblematic of the emergence of a dominant, national mass media culture and celebrity obsession.

Though written as historical fiction rather than an academic history, Lehane's novel continues in this vein. With an eye to the humble economic circumstances of Ruth's personal background, Lehane renders Ruth as a symbol of the working class, and more particularly, as an embodiment of the overtaking of the Marxist-and populist-centered push toward working-class empowerment through political organization and labor strikes that characterized the late-nineteenth and turn of the century by a more capitalistically-fueled and consumption-driven public legitimization of the working class that came to characterize the 1920 and the decades that followed through an emerging mass culture, facilitated and catalyzed by new mediums of communication and consumable products. Utilizing Ruth as a confident but naïve side-character that seems to float on the surface of the political turmoil and upheaval that impacts the lives of the novel's central characters during the years 1918 and '19, Lehane imagines Ruth as the embodiment of the individualist, consumptionist, pop-culture obsessed twentieth century, waiting in the wings of his novel to be born at its conclusion. In so doing, Lehane's novel stands as a testament to Babe Ruth's mutability as an American icon, one we seem to continue to reexamine and reimagine in the interest of better understanding ourselves and our history.

RYAN BLAKE, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

### 'NOT ONLY GOOD LEGS, BUT A THICK SKIN': MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF EARLY AFRICAN-AMERICAN CYCLISTS

This paper will be a critical analysis of media coverage and portrayal of African-American cyclists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These pioneering athletes found--as so many of their successors would--that their fight for "a square deal" on the racetrack wasn't only with white competitors, spectators, and sanctioning bodies, but with a press that revered their athletic accomplishments even as it derided their humanity.

Though it's hard to imagine today, by the last decade of the 19th century cycling was one of the most popular sports in America. The convergence of the "bicycle boom" and enthusiasm for testing the limits of the human body's endurance resulted in enormous crowds of spectators watching (and gambling on) short-distance sprints, long-distance road races, and even indoor races that lasted 6 full days. Top riders were paid handsomely, and their feats breathlessly reported in sports journals and newspapers.

Most of those top riders were white, of course, and there was no shortage of resistance to the idea of black racers and white racers lining up next to each other on the track. But in 1896, 51



years before Jackie Robinson took the field for the Dodgers, Marshall “Major” Taylor broke the color barrier in his sport when he rode in a six-day race at Madison Square Garden in New York. Taylor is relatively well-known, owing to his status as the best of the early black racers, a self-published autobiography, and a multi-volume scrapbook documenting his life and career; he has been the subject of books, scholarly articles, and even a recent cognac commercial. Other black racers of the period, such as Woody Hedspeath, Melvin Dove, and R.A. Brooks left behind a far scantier record but coverage of them is no less illustrative of the climate in sports and in society at large.

That climate would eventually drive Taylor, Hedspeath, Dove, and others to overseas competitions in order to escape the discrimination, threats, and even assaults that they faced in America. In many ways, they found equality as humans and athletes, as well as fame and fortune. But they also encountered some instances of treatment not far removed from that which drove them from their home country.

Through a critical analysis of media coverage and various portrayals in sports journalism and the press at large, this paper will enrich the record of cycling history of African-Americans in cycling by its inclusion of riders other than Major Taylor. A focus on Taylor is natural, given his success and the wealth of material left behind by him, but it is only part of the story: much of the material in the scrapbooks was collected from newspapers in his adopted home state of Massachusetts, and tends to be laudatory in nature or taken from the cycling press. Broadening the scope of inquiry to include coverage from less friendly locales and material that Taylor would likely have been reluctant to include in his scrapbook will present a more accurate and nuanced picture of the obstacles these men faced in their quest for athletic glory and human dignity.

Sources for this paper will include the Major Taylor scrapbooks (clippings and excerpts from contemporary media coverage), the National Police Gazette microfilms at the Lutchter Stark Center at the University of Texas at Austin, contemporary cycling magazines (especially *The Bearings*, *The Bicycling World*, and *Wheelmen’s Gazette*), *The Fastest Bicycle Rider in the World* (Taylor’s autobiography), *Major* by Todd Balf, and *Major Taylor* by Andrew Ritchie.

DOUGLAS BOOTH, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO

### ORAL HISTORY AND LIFESTYLE SPORTS: A CASE STUDY OF SURFING

Notwithstanding their general preference for evidence that derives from official written documents, professional historians, including historians of sport, frequently engage oral sources to create narratives about the past. This is especially true where themes, subjects, events and actors have been largely absent from traditional and formal archives. In the history of sport, this absence is conspicuous in so-called lifestyle forms where the emphasis is on participant control over time and space, and where skill and experience are valued as highly, if not more so, than success in competition. In this presentation I examine the use of oral methods in the history of surfing as an example of a lifestyle sport. This examination focuses on the strengths and limitations of oral methods for creating narratives about the development of surfing after the second world war.

Like all historical methodologies, oral forms have limitations. For example, they cannot establish origins nor can they independently produce definitive conclusions. Indeed, in both these respects, analysis of oral methods offers further evidence that history is not synonymous with the



past but is always an interpretation or representation (that typically competes with multiple versions). Nonetheless, I argue that in the case of lifestyle sports, such as surfing, oral methodologies, have particular utility. This is especially true for those influenced by cultural and feminist history that give greater credence to language, affects and emotions, and encourage historians to delve deeper into the politics, nostalgia, passions and embodied nature of these pastimes.

In this presentation I will argue that oral sources present far richer and diverse histories of the development of surfing after the second world war than earlier versions that focused on locating the pastime in the broader social context.

**ROY (REB) E.W. BROWNELL II, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR**  
**THE 1977 NBA FINALS AND THE PROMISE AND PROBLEMS OF 1970s PRO**  
**BASKETBALL**

For the NBA, the 1970s was a time of both peaks and valleys. The 1977 NBA Finals, in which the Portland Trailblazers defeated the Philadelphia 76ers in six games, seemed to be a peak. Following the series, the league had every reason to believe that it had at last turned the corner. In the months prior to the 1976-1977 season, the NBA had taken two major steps. It had settled the longstanding *Oscar Robertson* lawsuit over player rights. And it had ended its financially ruinous rivalry with the ABA by absorbing four of its teams and claiming its most talented players. The ensuing season set new attendance records and was marked by competitive balance; it would later be termed “the most exciting of the decade, bar none.” The momentum of the regular season continued into the Finals which, given the merger of leagues, conclusively established—for the first time in a decade—the best team in professional basketball.

The series itself presented a classic contrast in styles between the team-focus of Portland and the individualism of Philadelphia, the internal cohesion of the Trailblazers versus the combustible personalities of the 76ers. The matchup also featured a “coming out” party of sorts for the league’s two most marketable stars, Julius Erving and Bill Walton.

Not only did the series prove compelling on the court—the deciding game came down to the last shot—it drew the highest television ratings of any series up to that time and the highest until the Celtics-Lakers confrontations of the mid-1980s. The NBA had every reason to think that this rivalry would continue and help the league take its place alongside professional baseball and football in the pantheon of American sport.

Yet, the 1977 Finals would prove a “false dawn” by symbolizing many of the problems facing the league. Portland and Philadelphia would not establish an enduring rivalry. In 1978 and 1979, the Finals boasted neither team, and television ratings plummeted, not recovering until well into the 1980s.

Moreover, the 1977 Finals presaged the doldrums of the late-1970s and early 1980s game: violence, drug abuse, selfish play, and racial tension. Game 2 featured a brawl that threatened to devolve into a riot on national television. Several players from the series would become synonymous with drug abuse and underperformance, still others with selfish play. And, on top of it all, the series carried with it a strong racial undercurrent, the Blazers seen as the “white team” that played the “right way” and the 76ers the “black team” that played the “wrong



way.” It would be almost a decade before the league would clearly establish its upward trajectory.

Using memoirs, magazine and newspaper accounts, television broadcasts as well as secondary sources, this presentation will argue that the often-forgotten 1977 NBA Finals encapsulates both of the promise and the problems of the NBA during this turbulent decade.

DEREK CHARLES CATSAM, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PERMIAN BASIS  
‘THE GREAT DARTMOUTH TEAM IS NO LONGER’’: THE 1925 DARTMOUTH BIG GREEN, ‘THE PRESENT EVIL,’ AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF COLLEGE FOOTBALL

The 1925 Dartmouth Big Green football team was a juggernaut. According to some, though not all, they won the mythical national championship that year after having gone 8-0 and outscoring their opponents 340-29, with five of the wins coming by shutout. The 1925 team had three consensus All Americans, including team leader Andy Oberlander, George Tully, and Carl Diehl, and another, Nate Parker, who received All American honors from at least one of the myriad organizations from the era who handed out such honors.

Ivy League football dominated college football in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, winning every “recognized” national championship save one from 1869 to 1899 (in 1896 Lafayette, an Ivy-type institution, broke the streak). By the early decades of the twentieth century, as more institutions got into the game of declaring national champions in the increasingly popular sport of college football, the Ivies lost their stranglehold, but still continued to be overrepresented, winning at least a share of the national crown eight times between 1900 and 1909, six times between 1900 and 1919, with four more titles up until 1925, when the Oberholder-led Dartmouth team won the fifth. From that point on, only Yale in 1927, and even more tentatively, Princeton in 1935 would garner even modest consideration for national champion honors. The last Ivy league team even to finish in the final rankings of the top level of college football was Dartmouth back in 1970. Soon after, Division I football split into two subdivisions, with the Ivies playing in the lower of the two. And since the elite eight academic institutions continued to refuse postseason play, even in at that level Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Dartmouth, Brown, Cornell, Penn, and Columbia remained an afterthought (with Columbia most often being a joke), capable of producing decent football and the occasional great player, but doing so a long way from the highest levels of the game.

This is no coincidence. By the mid-1920s, even as college football had cemented its place in the American sporting pantheon, well above the professional game embodied in the fledgling National Football League, and even as F. Scott Fitzgerald splashed the romance and masculine ideals of Ivy League football across his novels and short stories, the Ivy League schools had begun to doubt the desirability of playing elite college football. Furthermore, schools in the south and west had chosen to commit greater resources to the sport, with Alabama a particularly potent rising force. The 1925 Alabama team would share national title honors with Dartmouth, and would go on to stake a similar claim in 1926. This paper will explore the changing nature of college football in the 1920s through the lens of the Dartmouth Big Green.



DAVID L. CHAPMAN, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

## THE APOTHEOSIS OF SPORT: WHEN LA SCALA WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A GIANT GYMNASIUM

In 1897 Milan's La Scala Theater mounted a massive narrative ballet entitled simply *Sport*. It was a celebration in dance and spectacle of every sport that was then current. The "gran ballo" or "great ballet" was a massive undertaking that featured some 300 dancers, an orchestra of 100 (augmented by a brass band of 30), mimes, live horses and other assorted supernumeraries. *Sport* was an example of an "up-to-date" ballet which tackled modern fads and issues; it also starred dancers who wore modern dress rather than tutus and tights. Its revolutionary plot acclaimed both feminism and women's participation in games. The protagonist is a woman who possesses remarkable sporting talents; she excels at every game she chooses. In the story, she and another woman fight over the affections of a rather insipid young man, and at one point the two females fight a duel to resolve a dispute.

The recent revival of the Olympic Games raised Italian interest in sport as well as encouraging a strong sense of internationalism. *Sport* consisted of four scenes, each taking place in a different region of the world. The first scene takes place at the winter carnival in Montreal, the second at the spring running of the horses at the French racetrack of Longchamps, the third at the Venice regatta, part four was at the hunt in the forest of Fontainebleau, and the final scenes are in Milan. The grand finale consisted of a march of hundreds of real athletes and a spectacular "Apotheosis of Sport." The athletes who participated in the Grand March had been recruited from many of Milan's sporting societies by the ballet's producers. There were runners, gymnasts, hunters, rowers, equestrians, cyclists, alpinists and many other participants who took part in the parade of athletes. The grand finale consisted of a gigantic Apotheosis of Sport in which hundreds of gymnasts performed on horizontal bars, chorus girls dressed as jockeys pranced, burly weightlifters hefted huge papier-mâché barbells and can-can girls high-kicked around the stage as a string of cyclists maneuvered between the rows of athletes. It was a welter of arms, legs and sports on a single stage, and it amazed the Milanese audiences by its richness, variety and excess.

This exuberant and extravagant display of sport in all of its varieties reflected the sporting enthusiasm that was gripping much of the western world in the late 19th century. It reflected the value that Europeans were applying to athletics, exercise and fair play. The ballet was a popular and a critical hit, but many began to wonder if the money used to mount this overblown hymn to sport might not be misplaced. Riots in the streets by impoverished citizens sealed the doom of the "great ballets" once and for all. Despite its magnificence (or perhaps because of it) the ballet was doomed never to be repeated or restaged. It was simply too expensive to put on, and the La Scala Theater found that its subsidy from the city had been revoked in favor of more socially constructive spending.

Since there has never been a thorough analysis of this ballet in modern books or journals, I will use contemporary accounts in Italian newspapers and periodicals for the information in this presentation.



SAMUEL M. CLEVENGER, TOWSON UNIVERSITY  
‘INCLUDING MILITARY TACTICS’: THE MORRILL ACT OF 1862 AND THE  
MILITARIZATION OF AMERICAN PHYSICALLY ACTIVE EDUCATION

In 1862, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln signed into law an act providing states with “an amount of public land” to be sold to fund the establishment of colleges of the agricultural and mechanical arts. Colloquially known as the Morrill Act, the legislation stipulated that “the leading object” of each agricultural college should not exclude branches of learning such as “scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics...” The legislation’s inclusion of “military tactics” resulted in the institutionalization of a particular form of physically active pedagogy in the agricultural colleges, designed to discipline and train the bodies of young, upper-class white men according to the militarized tenets of mid-nineteenth-century national citizenship. By the late nineteenth century, military tactics, compulsory military drill, and departments of military science often operated concurrently with athletics, physical education coursework, and departments of physical culture within an agricultural college’s curriculum. Enacted in the midst of the nation’s Civil War, the Morrill Act linked agricultural colleges with notions of national service, using militarized, active body coursework (i.e., military drill) to discipline and train the bodies and minds of young, white, male students as masculine, healthy “citizen soldiers.”

To date, the significance of the Morrill Act within the history of nineteenth-century American physical education remains underexplored within the field, particularly in terms of its historical relation to German Turnen and other nineteenth-century forms of militarized gymnastics. Utilizing French epistemologist Michel Foucault’s work on “governmentality” as its framework of analysis, this paper examines and considers the role of the Morrill Act of 1862 in the history of American physically active education. Rather than differentiating the history of physical education from “military-type drill,” the paper considers their productive relations as concurrent “physically active” pedagogical and health practices, impacted in important ways by the nationalist, militarized, masculine values of post-Civil War republicanism. The paper sheds light on the complicated, contradictory historical legacy of militarized, nationalist ideology in development of organized, physically active coursework in nineteenth-century American colleges of higher education.

BRAD J. CONGELIO, KUTZTOWN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
‘A LITTLE DAMNED, EITHER WAY:’ (RE)EXAMINING BRUNDAGE AND THE 1972  
MUNICH MASSACRE THROUGH MEDIA FRAMING THEORY

On 6 September 1972, International Olympic Committee President Avery Brundage stood before an amassed 83,000 spectators to deliver a speech during the memorial service for the eleven Israeli Olympic team members callously murdered during the Munich Massacre. Brundage’s speech made little reference to the murdered athletes. Rather, the soon-to-be-retired IOC President equated the attacks to the ongoing encroachment of professionalism in the movement and the banning of Rhodesia from the Olympics. Ultimately, Brundage argued, “the Games must go on.” The speech, decades after being delivered, largely added to the tarnishing of Brundage’s legacy. Conversely, this paper explores the immediate reaction to Brundage’s speech



using media framing theory. In order to do so, a Boolean Search string involving Avery Brundage and his speech was conducted on Newspapers.com to exclude mass-replicated Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI) articles. The search was conducted using September 6 through September 25 as the date parameters to capture both the date Brundage gave his speech and the two weeks following his retirement at the conclusion of the Munich Olympics. The end result was over 300 unique editorials. Using the qualitative methods proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1990), all the editorials were read to identify salient themes which were then grouped into inductively derived thematic categories. Using these thematic categories, a more concise and detailed examination of the immediate response to Brundage's speech is provided. Moreover, the findings from this media framing theory study are used to compare and contrast the media's immediate response to the current understanding and positioning of Brundage's long-term legacy relative his handling of the 1972 Munich Massacre.

NEVADA COOKE, KEYSTONE COLLEGE\UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO  
THE COMMITTEE FOR A BETTER OLYMPICS: GRASSROOTS CHANGE IN THE SHADOW  
OF THE AMATEUR SPORTS ACT

The Amateur Sports Act, designed to radically reshuffle the way amateur sports were organized and conducted in the United States, was the byproduct of a plethora of factors: years of stagnating American Olympic performances, lobbying on the floors of the United States Congress to emulate the Soviet shamateur sports model, and intervention by the President and the office of the White House. While the President's Commission on Olympic Sports requested testimony from many people directly affected by the Amateur Sports Act – athletes, coaches, administrators – the power ultimately remained with the White House and the government. Before White House involvement and before the idea of the Amateur Sports Act emerged from the ether, the Committee for a Better Olympics hoped to affect the change that long eluded the disastrous amateur and Olympic efforts in America. Meeting for the first time in late 1972 at Chicago's historic Palmer House, many high-profile athletes, coaches, administrators, and representatives of amateur sports organizations met with one simple goal: revocation of the United States Olympic Committee's federally-appointed charter and the establishment of a new organization to take its place. Though the Committee for a Better Olympics was short-lived and, it appears, ultimately co-opted and subsumed by the larger campaign out of the White House, its contributions to the greater movement cannot be overlooked. Before it was in vogue, the Committee was a grassroots effort started by those most affected by the mismanagement plaguing amateur sports in the United States. Its athletes-first approach became a cornerstone of the Amateur Sports Act, one that becomes increasingly more relevant given the recent scandals plaguing amateur sports in today's United States. The purpose of this paper, then, is to reconstruct the narrative surrounding the Committee for a Better Olympics and shed light on this long-forgotten grassroots attempt to affect change at the national level of amateur and Olympic sport.



PAULE-CLAUDIU CORITLET, VASILE ALECSANDRI UNIVERSITY AND CRISTIAN  
ALEXANDRU, NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE  
SOCCER BALKANIC CUP BEFORE THE WAR: A PLATFORM OF DIPLOMATIC  
COOPERATION

Football in the Balkans has been a mean of promoting sport and its values and a manner of propagating ideas of honor, integrity and fair competition. The development of football in the region had a sinuous burgeoning, but it represented exactly the turbulent history of the Balkans. The place of football in this peninsula has grown day by day, and the need to institutionalize the sportive activity became extremely important. Sport has undergone a rationalization process by institutionalizing the elements and activities of the game. Entertainment activities have been converted into professionally organized football leagues. Thus, the first football championships took place under the aegis of national federations and of European fora in the field.

The Balkan Cup was originally seen as a competition to improve regional performance and to create bridges between antagonistic nations and also to restore confidence and friendship in the area. Thus, a communication channel was established between the Balkan nations. Establishing this channel wanted to ensure the national governments in the region of the opportunity to clarify national models, aspirations and external policies, of understanding each person's positions in various crucial issues, and of approaching one another in the spirit of understanding each other.

The present research has started from the following research assumptions: sports, being a mass phenomenon specific to the modern and contemporary time, exerted an influence on all the components of social life, and therefore could have an impact on the external policy of the states. If we accept the idea that it has had an impact on diplomacy, then it is necessary to know the tools, resources and instruments needed for a state to use football as a tool to promote its external policy. Every society has viewed football as a different social element, so it is extremely interesting to see how a state or another has perceived it. This involves a research into the history of the football movement of the Balkans.

These assumptions have outlined the research objectives that have broadly structured the architecture and design of this documentary thesis. The objectives of the study were: highlighting the impact of football on political and diplomatic level, the evolution of football as a vector for promoting peace and collaboration among peoples, assessment of the importance of regional football competitions in international politics, identification of the role played by football in the crystallization of national consciousness among peoples in the Balkan region and the evolution of the relationship between the Balkan states following the Balkan Cup competition. The needs of sport history are based on particular perspectives in regional delimitation, and the study of regional interaction can provide insights into the understanding of the sport history in a particular country.



DANIEL COVELL, WESTERN NEW ENGLAND UNIVERSITY  
'THE POTTED IVY CONFERENCE': FROM THE PENTAGONAL AGREEMENT TO THE NEW  
ENGLAND SMALL COLLEGE ATHLETIC CONFERENCE, 1964-1971

At its 1973 Annual Convention, the membership of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the preeminent national governing body for intercollegiate athletics in the United States, prepared to vote on what historians Matthew Katz and Chad Seifried described as “the largest and most substantial reorganization” in the history of the organization. However, at the urging of Ross Smith, a longtime athletic administrator at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and then president of the Eastern College Athletic Conference (ECAC)—which was a voting block of nearly 200 schools—the NCAA membership defeated the motion, 224- 218 (the motion needed a two-thirds majority to carry).

But certain institutions in the United States had already made managerial and administrative moves to coalesce in response to these changes in the intercollegiate athletics environment. Perhaps the best known is the formalization of the Ivy League, but of equal import was the preceding creation of the Pentagonal Agreement, a loose athletic confederation of five New England schools: Amherst College, Bowdoin College, Dartmouth College, Wesleyan University and Williams College. When Dartmouth left to join the finally formalized Ivy League in 1956, the four remaining Pentagonals—without bothering to adjust the name to reflect a more precise geometric configuration—reaffirmed their Agreement on a basis similar to that crafted by the Ivy League, which disavowed athletic scholarships, restricted out of season practice, and noted that “players themselves shall be truly representative of the student body and not composed of a group of special recruited and trained athletes.”

This paper examines the managerial motivations and implications of the transition of the Pentagonal Agreement to a larger confederation which would become known as the New England Small College Athletic Department (NESCAC). The Pentagonal Agreement, formalized in 1951, was from the outset challenged by competitive interests from within on the part of signatories, and from without due of continuing changes in the intercollegiate athletic environment. Pentagonal school presidents, who possessed varying degrees of familiarity and interest in issues and practices related to intercollegiate athletic management, attempted to maintain the operation of this loose confederation, often over the objections of their athletic directors, coaches, and student-athletes. Over time, they cobbled together an expanded and more formalized configuration (NESCAC) in 1971. Invited to join the fold were seven additional schools of a mostly similar makeup (Bates College, Colby College, Hamilton College, Middlebury College, Trinity College, Tufts University, and Union College), and in keeping with the less-than-accurate naming practices that characterized the Pentagonal Agreement, two of these—Hamilton and Union—were located not in New England but in New York (additionally, the conference acronym was the same as that of a preexisting grouping, the New England State College Athletic Conference, an imposition that evinced little concern from the usurpers).

The NESCAC preserved a substantial level of autonomy among members—for instance, there was no requirement of round-robin scheduling—and established a significant level of presidential control over the operations of intercollegiate athletics to a level unmatched in any other such intercollegiate athletic conference or national governing body. The Pentagonal / NESCAC assemblage presaged the formally delineated Division III category the NCAA established in 1973, yet, ironically, would not serve as a particular model for the three-tiered



NCAA model. This is evidence of the uniqueness and apartness that characterized its initial formation and ultimate evolution. The research for this article is based on periodicals and administrative letters and memoranda available through the George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections and Archives at the Hawthorne-Longfellow Library at Bowdoin College.

## RUSS CRAWFORD, OHIO NORTHERN UNIVERSITY

### THE BATTLE OF THE BORDERS, AND THE GROWTH OF GIRLS TACKLE FOOTBALL

More than 2,000 high school girls played on predominantly boy's teams last year, but the physical disparities between males and females have led to the creation of four all-girls tackle football leagues. These leagues are divided evenly between the United States and Canada. The Manitoba Girls Football Association (MGFA) led the way in 2011.

Lisa Zueff-Cummings and Tannis Wilson, members of the Manitoba Fearless, decided that females should not have to wait until they were in their thirties, as they had, before playing, and created the MGFA. The league has grown from forty girls in 2011, to more than two hundred last year. Some of the athletes have now transitioned to playing on mostly-male teams in Winnipeg.

Shortly after the MGFA debut, the New Brunswick Junior Girls Football League (NBJGFL) began play with around forty girls aged 14-17. Lisa Harlow and her father started the league, and although girl's football has not grown as fast as in Manitoba, there were perhaps ninety girls playing tackle football in 2018.

Crystal Sacco and Brent Gordon initiated the Utah Girls Football League (UGFL), the first all-girls tackle league in the U.S. in 2015. Gordon's daughter Samantha had already earned national attention in 2012, when her father posted videos of her playing peeewe football with the boys, scoring thirty-five touchdowns and rushing for nearly 2,000 yards. The young Gordon's viral exploits provided Sacco and her father with the impetus to start the league. Since the first year, the numbers of teams and players have increased from four teams with fifty players, to sixteen teams with nearly four hundred athletes.

The publicity that the UGFL garnered inspired Chad Oldham from Mooresville, Indiana to start the Indiana Girls Tackle Football League (IGTFL) in 2016. Oldham's daughter expressed interest in playing football, and while he would not allow her to play on the boy's team, he saw the chance to start a league for girls. They now have two teams divided between fourth to eighth grade, and ninth through twelfth grade.

The first and last leagues to form met on the field in 2017 at Mooresville to play junior and senior games. The MGFA defeated the IGTFL junior team 33-31. The senior game was not as close, and the greater experience of the Manitoba girls helped them defeat their hosts 40-6. Game day for the Battle of the Borders was rainy and windy, but the cold could not dim the enthusiasm the athletes had for playing a sport that was traditionally reserved for males.

Girls, and women, are playing tackle football across the country, and the world, in increasing numbers each year. During the pomp surrounding Super Bowl LII, Sam Gordon won the inaugural Game Changer award presented by the NFL. A recent Adidas commercial featured female football players, and so women's football has begun to earn at least a modicum of recognition. If that is to continue, or even expand, girls' leagues such as those in Canada and the U.S. will play a leading role.



ADAM J. CRIBLEZ, SOUTHEAST MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY  
'ONLY THE COACHES WERE WHITE': RACE, PLACE, AND THE LATE SEVENTIES NEW  
YORK KNICKS

*South Bronx, New York that's where I dwell*

*To a lot of people it's a living hell*

*Full of frustration and poverty*

*But wait, that's not how it looks to me*

-Grandmaster Caz, "Wild Style Subway Rap"

In 1979, the New York Knickerbockers became the first team in the history of the National Basketball Association to field a roster made up entirely of African American players. Coaches, team administrators, and the players themselves downplayed the occasion, even after the Knicks squared off against the Detroit Pistons a few weeks into the season in the first NBA game featuring two all-black squads. But despite the reticence of those within the franchise to discuss issues of race, many media members quickly picked up on the significance of an all-black team in New York City. Most memorably, sportswriter Peter Vecsey penned a column in the *Post* referring off-handedly to the team as the "Niggerbockers."

By the time of Vecsey's diatribe, nearly three out of four of NBA players were African American, a fifty percent jump from a decade earlier. Attendance and TV ratings were plummeting while player salaries and drug use were on the rise, causing many troubling questions about the viability of a league increasingly populated by dark-skinned players performing for predominately white audiences.

While the city's local NBA team confronted a myriad of racial issues, residents of the Big Apple were witnessing a cultural renaissance, particularly in terms of music. Studio 54 was at its peak as the city's preeminent dance club, and punk-friendly CGBG still pulled in big names like the Ramones and Patti Smith. But for New York City's African-American population, a more significant development in the late seventies and early eighties was the birth of rap and hip hop. A half an hour subway ride up the 7th Avenue Express from Madison Square Garden, performers like Kool Herc, Afrika Bambaataa, and Grandmaster Caz were spinning records, rapping, and introducing Americans to new forms of musical expression.

Utilizing newspaper accounts and interviews with team personnel, I argue that the all-black Knicks were an important part of this developing African-American cultural explosion. Some Knicks players actively participated in this scene while others remained in the background. But all of them, through on- and off-court actions, brought discussions of race to the forefront of professional basketball in a transformative era for African-American culture.



## MIKE CRONIN, BOSTON COLLEGE NEO-NAZIS ON TOUR?

In February 1995 England played Ireland at Lansdowne Road in Dublin. The game was abandoned after 22 minutes due to a riot caused by the visiting English fans. Initially the violence was dismissed as just another example of the English disease, the scourge of hooliganism that had accompanied English matches for over two decades. However, within 24 hours the cause of the riot was shifted from just another example of English hooliganism, and instead was blamed on the Far Right, Neo-Nazi organization, Combat 18. The press, and many politicians, argued that the Far Right had infiltrated the English fans and sparked the riot in an attempt to destabilize the Northern Ireland peace process. In this narrative, the ideologies of the English Far Right were linked with the paramilitary violence of Ulster loyalism and the violence, rather than football specific, was seen as an attack on the Irish Republic and the war waged by the Irish Republican Army. The Far Right causation has never been challenged, and in 2015 and the twentieth anniversary of the riot, the media, both in England and Ireland, maintained the stance that what happened in Dublin in February 1995 was one of the most violent acts of organized Neo-Nazi violence that had been witnessed since the 1930s.

This paper will challenge and deconstruct that narrative. It will argue that rather than being seen as Far Right violence, the riot at Lansdowne Road has to be accepted for what it was: one of the last major acts of English hooliganism. The paper will explore media coverage and explain why, for different reasons, the British and Irish press, wanted to shift the blame away from hooliganism and instead focus on darker political motivations. The paper will also explore to co-dependency of the English Far Right and its left-wing monitors, and how both these bodies fed a narrative to a willing media.

In its entirety the paper demonstrates how the media agenda shifted quickly in February 1995, and how sporting reasons for the riot - hooliganism - were instead shifted so that they focused on a (mythical) group of Hitler obsessed Englishmen apparently hell bent on destroying Dublin.

## CAMILLE CROTEAU, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

### FEMALE TESTING'S MEDICAL RE-EVOLUTION: A GENEALOGY OF SPORTS MEDICAL SCIENCE'S CONTRIBUTION TO UNDERSTANDING THE 'FAIRER SEX'

There has been a long-standing debate in sport history and sport ethics on the role and ramifications of sex testing or the verification of the female athlete in Olympic and elite sport. Since 1967, the International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has endorsed through a formal policy the scientific testing of female athletes to ensure that their female participants adhere to the rules of being in the correct gender category. This decision was intended to keep the playing field fair in sport to provide meaningful and genuine athletic interactions since it was believed that males might masquerade as female athletes to gain an athletic advantage. Since sport is inherently physiological, it assumes that managing sport based around physiological factors is only fair. Sport has a powerful effect, and since the implementation of these tests, the sports medical literature has provided much scientific data on variations of sex through biological, genetic, and endocrinological permutations.



For years feminists and advocates for human equity have tried to negotiate science's role in determining traits, advantages/disadvantages, behaviors and more all related to differences and similarities in the human body. While some idealize science as society's official knowledge producer, and therefore the act of using science to understand female bodies as good, the choice to test only females in sport, I argue, has produced a discourse that continues to hierarchically determine gender roles based on biology and otherwise 'medical facts'. This hierarchy can also be understood as a form of biological determinism. In this paper, I aim to track the genealogy of sports medical literature that outlines how female testing (otherwise known as sex testing and gender verification, etc.) has formed as an opulent discourse around the athletic female body. In order to do so, I will use Michel Foucault's discourse analysis methodology, methods of feminist interpretation documented by Doell and Longino (1987), as well as theories on race and gender proposed by Magubine (2014) and Karkazis and Young (preprint, 2018). The genealogical timeline will be limited to the years of 1967 to 1999 (in addition to five years before 1967 and five years after 1999) since formal policy existed during this time frame. Since sports medical history research is still pretty slim, this paper will also contribute to that area of study.

SHAINE DANBELI, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE  
JUST DO IT: THE MULTIBILLION DOLLAR AMERICAN SLOGAN THAT INFLUENCED  
SPORT AND CULTURE

Nike is a multibillion-dollar conglomerate expanding across multiple divisions in the business of sport. Specifically, I am interested in an overview of the history of Nike and its business practices that led to their success and dominance of the sneaker and apparel markets. The influence of Nike on the sporting culture deserves to be analyzed with a critical lens and should not be relegated as another sport corporation. The global business interests associated with Nike presents an opportunity for scholars to dissect Nike's business practices and its impact on sporting culture and society. Conducting a historiography will add to the existing literature and help academics understand Nike's cultural significance. Referring to the Bill Bowerman papers, I will attempt to understand Bowerman's vision while building Nike. Secondary sources will be referenced in the form of a list of books that are based on Bill Bowerman and Phil Knight, both founders of Nike, and the company itself.

My research question has two main parts. The first question is related to the history of Nike, and how the company developed into a global corporation. In the process of their growth and conducting business, I will investigate common themes that emerge through the literature and correspondence related to Nike. It is evident that Nike was responsible for the growth of consumption in culture, whether it be sportswear or sneakers, and gradually increased their influence on the sporting culture forging strategic partnerships with athletes and sport. My task is to substantiate claims of Nike's influence on the sporting culture, and critically evaluate Nike and their use of business practices that created a global corporation. As a Nike connoisseur myself, I am motivated to study global brands such as Nike and the impact it can impact have on the sporting culture using a critical lens to be properly informed.

I am also aware of scholarly literature criticizing Nike's questionable business practices. Nike was embroiled in a scandal over using illegal child labor in overseas factories that forced the company to drastically alter the corporate labor structure. Since my focus will be on the



impact of Nike on the sporting culture that includes sneakers and apparel, I plan to touch on Nike's labor practices and how the labor scandals shaped Nike's business model moving forward. Secondary sources utilizing journal articles will be primarily be referenced when considering Nike's labor violations. It is also noteworthy that digital media outlets such as ESPN and The New York Times have published articles on Nike and their exploitation of factory workers in Southeastern Asia. Overall, this research project will contribute to existing literature on Nike and its influence on culture. Revisiting the history of an American sport corporation that has reached a global audience utilizing sport and culture will also provide a new perspective on the intersection of sport and culture.

ANDY DOYLE, WINTHROP UNIVERSITY

### 'DAME FASHION AND HER RICHMOND FAMILY': GENDER, CLASS AND UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA FOOTBALL, 1888-1916

The University of Virginia was an all-male institution during the period under study, and its undergraduate program barred the admission of women until 1970. Yet women played an important role in college football generally and at Virginia in particular during its formative years. The gender ratio at early football games was overwhelmingly male, and the socially diverse crowds that included a sizable proportion of working-class men coupled with crowd control measures that ranged from poor to nonexistent could have put the lie to the notion that football was a gentlemanly sport staged by and for the elite. The presence of elite female spectators, or ladies, in the parlance of the era, provided evidence that football crowds were something more than the out-of-control mobs that they often were in reality.

The proponents of southern football and their allies in the daily press lavished attention on female spectators, describing their fashionable dresses, artfully designed hats replete with the plumage of exotic birds, and their social pedigrees. Those at Virginia's big games, especially the Thanksgiving Day showdown with North Carolina, were especially fine fodder for reporters who often knew little about the new sport but who understood that the activities of the wealthy made good copy. The daughters of the fabled First Families of Virginia and their equally pedigreed escorts sat in elegant carriages arrayed in rows along one of the sidelines, safe from the "noisome, shrieking crowd" in the jam-packed bleachers and standing room across the field.

The male students at Virginia steadfastly opposed the admission of women, and their student newspaper, *College Topics*, vociferously opposed the various coeducation proposals occasionally floated in the state legislature and by university faculty. Yet *Topics* was also filled with paeans to two hundred or so society belles who came to campus for the Thanksgiving dance held the weekend before the annual North Carolina game. The Thanksgiving-eve debutante ball in Richmond customarily chaperoned by the governor and first lady was covered breathlessly by the Richmond dailies, as was the Thanksgiving night dance in the elegant main ballroom of the Jefferson Hotel. "Dame Fashion and the greater portion of her Richmond family" who lent an air of elegance to the game and its attendant dances often commanded more attention from reporters than the game itself, since the powerhouse Virginia team generally dominated much weaker North Carolina teams.

This paper will argue that elite female spectators provided a crucial air of social respectability to the déclassé spectacle of a violent game attended by an unruly and sometimes



violent mass of overwhelmingly male spectators that often spilled out onto the field. The disproportionate attention lavished on the relatively few women in these crowds and the dances attended by a few hundred of the thousands who came to the games demonstrates the eagerness with which the daily press and *College Topics* touted the new sport's social respectability. Sources for this paper will include dailies in Richmond and Norfolk, the Virginia student newspaper, and UVA presidential papers and trustees' minutes.

MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

### EXCAVATING THE ANCESTRY OF 'GLOBETROTTING': RACE, SPORT, AND AMERICAN DIPLOMACY BEFORE THE COLD WAR AND GLOBAL STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

In 1967, the longtime track coach at Cheyney State University, the oldest historically black college in the U.S., declared in the *Pittsburgh Courier* that the moribund Amateur Athletic Union then under assault by foes ranging from cunning NCAA princelings to Harry Edwards' merry band of black athletic revolutionaries had in fact historically been the "best friend" of African American track and field athletes. William O'Shields, praised the AAU as stalwart partner in the long history of struggles against color lines and saluted track and field as the sport in which racial boundaries were first challenged and erased. O'Shields remembered when in 1938 as track coach at Tuskegee Institute he attended a championship meet where "AAU officials received a cablegram from South Africa requesting them to send a picked 'all-white team' to the Apartheid State to 'Barnstorm' after the AAU Championships." O'Shields recalled that AAU flatly rejected the South African entreaty with a retort "which sounded something like this: 'we do not divide our champions according to color, our traveling teams are chosen from our winners, regardless.'"

O'Shield's memories underscore that "globetrotting" and the international struggle against apartheid have an older, if now obscured, lineage. Even before the outbreak of the Cold War after 1945 and the institutionalization of apartheid in 1948, African American athletes figured prominently in the exercise of international politics and race relations.

Recent scholarship on "globetrotting," as Damion Thomas has brilliantly labelled the institutionalization of black athletic celebrity and U.S. foreign policy as well as on the role of black athletic celebrity in post-1945 international campaigns against racism in general and apartheid in particular, such as Doug Hartmann's deft analysis of the "revolt of the black athlete," have vastly expanded historical understandings of sport, race, and politics in the second half of the twentieth century.

However, historians have so far ignored O'Shields hints about a history of "globetrotting" that precedes the Second World War. In fact, beginning in the late 1920s, the use of black athletic celebrity by American ambassadors both inside and outside of government first took root not only at the Olympics but also in an extensive series of international tours of American track teams in Europe, Asia, and even South Africa laid the foundation for future "globetrotting." Indeed, while Shields was right that the AAU did not send a team to South Africa in 1938, he did not remember that the AAU did send a "lily white" squad there seven years earlier.

This exploration of these rememberings and forgettings employs the extensive coverage of these tours and their racial connotations in both the black and white press in concert with the



records of AAU leaders and memos and reports of U.S. State Department officials. I argue that an expanded chronology of “globetrotting” reveals a longer and deeper history of the intersections of sport, race, and American foreign policy that lends credence to arguments that color lines in track and field were challenged decades before similar developments in other sports.

KIMERLEY EKSTRAND, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

### EKIDEN RACING IN JAPAN: A CULTURAL PHENOMENON OF INVENTED TRADITIONS

In Japan, running is a national obsession. Domestic running races sell out faster than anywhere else in the world. Media and television coverage of running events account for an astounding 40% viewership, a percentage equated with the Super Bowl in the United States. Daily, thousands of Japanese citizens politely circumvent a five-kilometer route every morning around the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. Japanese runners have the highest marathon finisher percentages worldwide, and the greatest depth of long-distance runners in the world. Before the rise of African countries on the international stage in the 2000s, Japanese runners roused trepidation from Western and European countries, and dominated long distance races, such as the marathon.

Japan has a long and deeply embedded cultural relationship with long distance running. The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei ran exceptionally long distances in the search for enlightenment as a part of their ascetic practices. Spanning from these spiritual foundations, to the present boom of citizen runners and the embodiment of civic culture, running culture in Japan is vibrant and worthy of further investigation.

One such occurrence is *Ekiden* racing; a relay style running event that is unique to Japan. With an emphasis on team strengths, it is exceedingly popular, and participating in the *Hakone Ekiden* is considered to be the pinnacle of a runner’s athletic career in Japan. It is credited with being responsible for the depth of runners in Japan, and for propelling a ‘running craze’ for long-distance running to regular citizens. Despite its popularity in Japan, and the fact that many international elite athletes are selected and invited to participate in these events, *Ekiden* racing remains enigmatic in the sociology of sport and the popular imagination. Little has been written about *Ekidens* in general and even less in terms of academic knowledge around the experience of competing in them.

The proposed study will examine the history of *Ekiden* racing in Japan, and the experience of participating in these distinctively Japanese running events. I will explore two questions; What is *Ekiden* racing, and what cultural significance does it hold for the Japanese. By examining nationalistic and civic tendencies through the intersection of sport, insights into cultural values, meaning, significances, and experiences can be investigated.

This research will generate an informative account of *Ekiden* racing by exploring its cultural significance and meaning in Japan. The indigeneity of running culture in Japan, examined through the frameworks of Invented Traditions (Hobsbawn,1983) and Imagined Communities (Anderson, 2006; Gleaves, 2014) can foster an understanding of the symbolic significance of nationalism and identity as they are performed through sports. This approach lends itself well to Cultural Studies, Sport and Physical Culture Research and will illuminate contextual meanings and embodied experiences. Thematic Analysis will procure core categories through coding of data sets through recorded documents. The goal is to open up numerous



avenues of exploration for future research on *Ekiden* racing, especially as a cultural display of Japanese sporting tradition.

THOMAS FABIAN, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO  
FROM FOLK GAMES TO NATIONAL SYMBOLS: EICHBERG, UNESCO, AND THE  
ADOPTION OF NATIONAL SPORTS

The national sport of a country is not always the most obvious choice. Although many former colonies adopted sports diffused through empire as their national pastimes, there are some exceptions to this rule. In Bangladesh, for instance, the national sport is kabaddi, not cricket or soccer. Nor is soccer the national sport of soccer-crazy Brazil, Argentina, Senegal, Turkey, or Switzerland. Rather the respective national sports of these countries are capoeira, pato, laamb, yağlı güreş, and schwingen (the latter three being native forms of wrestling). In fact, about one quarter of the world's national sports are folk games, rather than global games. However, like other local cultural forms, folk games around the world are losing the battle for relevancy in today's increasingly homogeneous global village. The creeping globalization of macro sporting institutions, like the International Olympic Committee (IOC), mark a significant shift in the recent history of physical culture. Diverse cultural groups are becoming engulfed by the global circus, as nations are realizing the global (and economic) value of joining the Olympic "family" – an organization with more national members than the United Nations.

In an increasingly homogenized sporting world, global sports are popularized in disparate communities and continents. These global games, often promulgated through imperial channels or the Olympic Movement, tend to marginalize local physical cultures to the outskirts of society. Alan Bairner (2009) posits five reasons for the adoption of national sports: Popularity, invention, success, tourism, and landscapes. However, this study supposes a sixth reason, the safeguarding of traditional cultures. In concert with the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Register, national authorities are safeguarding sporting practices that represent a shared cultural history.

My theory on the "nationalization" of folk sports draws from my continuing doctoral research. Are national governments adopting folk games as their national sports as a means of safeguarding their role in the nation's cultural heritage? One of my research goals is to further extrapolate on this theory of folk sport nationalization, as there has been limited scholarship on the concept of "national sports" and less international consensus on an official list of national sports. This foundational study shall draw upon the history of folk sport, Olympic globalism, and national sports to critically review the international politics that recurrently forge the future of global sporting culture. Focusing on processes of globalization, post-colonial national identity creation, and the "heritagization" of sport, this presentation will attempt to provide a renewed perspective on why nations adopt the national sports that they do.

JOHN D. FAIR, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
MUSCLES THAT DANCE

It would be easy to dismiss Gene Kelly as a fitting subject for a study of athleticism in film, but he exemplifies, as much as any actor the enormous physical expenditure of dance. Kelly's life was all about movement, a trait he inherited during childhood in Pittsburgh from his



father, a fine athlete who worked out with dumb-bells and Indian clubs and was a first-rate ice-skater and hockey player. By the time he was six, Gene recalls he could “skate like a wizard” and at fifteen he was working out with the semi-pro Pittsburgh Yellow Jackets hockey team. Although not interested in becoming a professional, Gene believed “much of my style as a dancer springs from that early training in ice hockey.” Meanwhile his mother subjected him to dancing lessons, an activity he initially disliked because his peers considered it unmanly. As a “sports nut,” Gene was more interested in hockey as well as football, baseball, and gymnastics where he displayed exceptional ability. Like Burt Lancaster, his source of inspiration to become an athletic actor came from viewing Douglas Fairbanks in *The Mark of Zorro*.

Fairbanks became his ideal from that day on and his dashing athletic prowess was what inspired him to become a dancer. It enabled Kelly to overcome any inhibitions about dancing being un-masculine. It became his lifelong belief that dancing and athletics are inextricably linked, and that the muscular contractions of a dance movement have their athletic equivalent on the gym floor and in other areas of sport. These sentiments were later echoed in a 1958 NBC documentary, *Dancing: A Man’s Game* where he choreographed the moves of a group of star athletes, including Mickey Mantle, Sugar Ray Robinson, and Bob Cousy, to dispel the effeminate stereotype of dance. “What drives a man to take up dancing?” Gene reflected in that program. “The same things that drive painters and sculptors—he wants to express himself and he has a basic love of movement.” Kelly is perhaps best known for such blockbuster hits as *On the Town* (1949), *An American in Paris* (1951), and *Singin’ in the Rain* (1952) where he wowed audiences with his distinctive form of athletic dancing. Andre Previn deemed the latter to be “the best musical ever made. Full stop.” Leonard Bernstein called it “a reaffirmation of life.” He was the superman of dance.

This study, employing evidence from a variety of biographical sources, including manuscripts from the Margaret Herrick Library in Los Angeles and the film itself, shows how cinematic depictions of dance by Gene Kelly in the 1950s reflected an aspect of athleticism that physical culture historians have infrequently recognized.

RUSSELL FIELD, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

### WHERE TOMMY LEARNED TO BOX: THE ONE BIG UNION AND THE PROVISION OF SPORT FOR WINNIPEG’S WORKING CLASS

For both Winnipeggers and students of Canadian history, the One Big Union (OBU) is inextricably linked with events in the spring and summer of 1919. The Winnipeg General Strike remains a touchstone moment in Canadian history, when international labor politics, xenophobia, and post-war unrest reached a flashpoint. While the OBU is best known for these events, the union offered other benefits to its membership. Among these was a gymnasium in downtown Winnipeg (in what is currently known as the “exchange district”). The OBU gym offered physical activity opportunities to members of the working class and was where a young Tommy Douglas – the man who introduced universal health care to Canada as premier of Saskatchewan in 1961, served as leader of the national New Democratic Party in the 1960s, and was named the “Greatest Canadian” in a 2004 national television series – learned to box as a teenager in the early-1920s.



Despite research into the role sport played in the international and Canadian workers' movements, the OBU gym has received virtually no attention from historians. (Bruce Kidd makes reference to the facility, by noting that it was used by his father-in-law, Ben Berck, who was the "only son of an immigrant bus conductor, learned to box and play tennis there during the 1920s" [1996: 150]). Using the Provincial Archives of Manitoba collections related to the OBU as well as the contemporary labor press, the history of OBU gym in the interwar years serves as a case study to broaden our understanding of the sport and physical activity experiences of the men and women of working-class Canada in the interwar years, to connect the ideologies of the labor movement with the practice of sport and physical activity, and to distinguish these from mainstream, middle-class and commercial sport. In attempting to (re)insert the story of the OBU gym into the history of Canadian sport, this paper contributes to efforts to address absences in the historical literature while illustrating institutions/communities where sport and physical activity were common and central to social relations.

**SARAH K. FIELDS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER**  
**THE BLACK 14: FOOTBALL, RACE, AND LAW IN 1969**

In 1969, at the height of the civil rights movement, the University of Wyoming (UW) was scheduled to play Brigham Young University (BYU), owned and operated by the Church of Latter-day Saints (LDS). The LDS did not allow black men to become priests, and many people perceived this policy as racist. Some college athletes refused to play BYU teams, and when the games occurred protests often occurred. When UW was scheduled to play BYU in football, the fourteen black members of the UW team approached their coach, Lloyd Eaton, to discuss their options. They arrived at the meeting wearing black armbands, a clear violation of Eaton's no participation in political demonstrations rule. Eaton immediately kicked them off the team. After unsuccessfully pursuing administrative appeals within the university, the fourteen filed a series of lawsuits arguing that their freedom of speech rights under the First Amendment had been violated and attempting to regain their positions on the team.

Federal District Court Judge Ewing T. Kerr heard the players' cases. Kerr rejected the players' request for an injunction and then granted the University's request for a summary judgment prior to a trial because he concluded that the players' claim for damages was insubstantial and speculative, noting that the athletes had gotten due process under university rules and that their rights of speech did not outweigh the freedom of religion rights of the LDS. The 10th Circuit Court of Appeals sent the case back to Kerr for a full trial because they found that several central questions of fact had not been answered, including the question of what actions (if any) during the game the players wanted. After that trial, Kerr reached essentially the same conclusions he had at the summary judgment hearing.

Upon appeal, the 10th Circuit upheld Kerr's decision. The players argued that Kerr was wrong when he found that the players intended to wear black armbands during the game just to protest the LDS' policies. The 10th Circuit concluded that the district court's conclusion was not clearly erroneous. Further, the appellate court addressed Kerr's interpretation of the First Amendment. The players argued that armbands on the field would not have violated BYU's freedom of religion rights, but the appellate court concluded "there is strong support for a policy restricting hostile expressions against religious beliefs of others by representatives of a state or



its agencies,” implying that the UW players were representatives of the state (Williams v. Eaton, 468 F.2d 1079, 1972).

Relying on legal documents, primary sources, as well as secondary analysis, this presentation will argue that Judge Kerr and the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals are problematic decisions which remain “good” law. Further, these decisions making athletes representatives of the state and privileging freedom of religion over freedom of speech could undermine any lawsuits by current athletes punished for participating in political protests.

**JACOB FREDERICKS, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY**  
**RUNNING AROUND THE BOYCOTT: SOUTH AFRICAN TRACK AND FIELD SUCCESS IN**  
**THE NCAA, 1970-1992**

By the 1970s, the international boycott against apartheid South Africa left few avenues for athletes from that country to compete beyond their nation’s borders. The team sports of rugby and cricket, cherished by white South Africans, were the primary target of the boycott, but individual sports like track and field were also affected, particularly after the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) officially banned South African athletes from competing in international events in 1976. Nevertheless, running remained an important part of the South African sporting landscape, with national federations operating during the apartheid era to provide facilities and events for South African athletes seeking to compete at an elite level, despite their limited opportunities to do so internationally. One loophole that provided opportunities for South African track and field athletes came in the form of National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) scholarships to attend Division I universities and colleges in the United States. The NCAA, which was not affiliated with the IAAF, allowed South African athletes to compete as representatives of their universities. This gave them access to elite level international competition and success as members of collegiate athletic programs. The success of other African countries, such as Kenya and Ethiopia, on the international stage during the late 1960s and early 1970s had spurred recruiting between African countries and top-level NCAA universities. South Africa was also historically known for track and field success, with its first Olympic gold medal in athletics won at the Games of 1908. Despite the international boycott and the IAAF’s ruling, South African athletes made newspaper headlines across the United States for their track and field accomplishments as student-athletes. By looking at the connections between South African athletic organizations and top-level US collegiate programs, a clearer picture of the nature of South African track and field during apartheid emerges, as do the opportunities and challenges that faced South African runners of all racial classifications.

**WILLIAM H. FREEMAN, CAMPBELL UNIVERSITY AND DONNA L. WOOLARD,**  
**CAMPBELL UNIVERSITY**  
**THE EVOLUTION OF FORMAL PHYSICAL EDUCATION PREPARATION IN THE UNITED**  
**STATES**

Over the last 150 years the field called physical education has changed its face and its focus several times. The rise of formal physical education in the United States is commonly dated to the appointment of Edward Hitchcock, M.D., as director of hygiene and physical



education at Amherst College in 1861. He was the first person hired to develop a department of physical education, with a focus on improving the health of Amherst students. The second development was the appearance of college degrees in the field. By the 1920s the field had become accepted as “physical education”, largely because it had allied with the broader field of education, moving away from its early emphasis on science. In the early 1960s pressure grew for an increasing emphasis on science and a greater reliance on research. Franklin Henry’s call for a scientific, interdisciplinary field led to new single-discipline scholarly groups, such as NASSH. This “discipline movement” rapidly changed the face of the field from a purely teaching focus toward research and the sciences. Over the next 30 years the shifting focuses of programs led to a move from the traditional department names to new names reflecting the changing focus and mission of the departments. A 1989 study found 115 different names being used for department titles, but no generally-accepted name. In 1990 “kinesiology” was formally proposed as a consensus title for the field. The American Kinesiology Association was formed to promote kinesiology, and through their efforts the National Research Council added kinesiology as a “life science.” The term was accepted primarily by research universities, which represented no more than 20% of the schools with a program, changing the focus to health science. Until the 1960s the primary academic major was Physical Education Teacher Education. Then new non-teaching major programs began to proliferate, aimed at other career and professional directions. Over time the names of departments changed, representing the focus of each individual department, rather than the national field. A 2012 survey of departmental titles across the country showed that the majority of titles were multiple titles, rather than single ones. Of the most commonly-used terms in departmental names, “kinesiology” was only the third most-used term, less used than the traditional “physical education”, and the second-most used combination of “exercise and/or sport science”. Of the major programs offered, more than half of the schools have a major in “physical education”, while only 11% have a major in “kinesiology”. Doctoral programs in the field are controlled by kinesiology faculty, and there is a trend of declining doctoral concentration options. A 2017 survey shows that few programs offer doctoral concentrations in the sociocultural areas. Most schools offering undergraduate programs in the field (79%) are not research universities. However, accrediting standards require that those schools have a certain number of PhDs in their departments. The result is a serious shortage of PhD trained professors for the non-research schools.

### DAVID CHRISTOPHER GALINDO, MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY HOW I AM REMEMBERED: THE OBITUARIES OF ‘SPURS FANATICS’ 2001-2018

In 1973 the Dallas Chaparrals of the American Basketball Association relocated to San Antonio thanks to a group of thirty-six local investors. Led by Red McCombs and Angelo Drossos the group renamed the team the Spurs. Since the ABA-NBA merger in 1976, the organization has enjoyed incredible success amassing the highest winning percentage in NBA history and five championships. The general aim of this research is to identify, analyze, and exhibit the symbiotic relationship between the city of San Antonio and its only professional sports team. The specific objective of this study is to investigate the influence of the Spurs organization on fans who have called the Greater San Antonio Area home. This paper elaborates on and complicates the works of Charles T. Clotfelter (2015) and Richard Giulianotti (2002). They defined the “Die-Hard Fan” and developed a “Taxonomy of Spectator Identities”



respectively. This foundation helps to elucidate the difference between “Fans” and “Fanatics” of the Spurs. Like Clotfelter, an analysis of obituaries was conducted because of their significance. Obituaries serve as a notice to the living world of the deceased, but they also tell a story about a person. A person who lived, breathed, laughed, cried, cheered and died. Things all humans do. Historians are aware of our mortality given the fact that those we study, for the most part, are no longer alive. The obituary serves as an epilogue for those who have passed; written by loved ones who share what they want the world to know about the deceased and what mattered to that person most. The results of this study highlight and confirm the historiography on communities and the sociological truism stated by William Isaac Thomas that where “men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.” According to this study, both “Fans” and “Fanatics” exist as members and stewards of the “Spurs Family.” Utilizing over six-hundred obituaries from the San Antonio Express-News and other local Texas newspapers from 2001-2018, different levels of fandom were identified. When loved ones mentioned the San Antonio Spurs in the person's obituary they qualified, at the very least, as a “Fan.” However, when obituary authors did more than a brief mention, went into greater detail, and told a specific story of personal interaction to prove the individual’s devotion; another level of fandom classification surfaced called the “Fanatic.” In conclusion, of the over six-hundred obituaries of “Fans” analyzed, thirty-three qualified as “Fanatics” due to the significance of the story told by the obituary writers. This work establishes the identity of “Spurs Fanatics.” Most “Fanatics” were male, Hispanic or Latino, and residents of San Antonio. While modifying the works of Clotfelter and Giulianotti, this analysis advances the research on “group solidarity” and the “moral hierarchy” of fans previously discussed by Marci D. Cottingham (2012) and Randall Collins (2004). This study contributes to and confirms the importance of sport not only in peoples’ lives, but in their deaths as well.

GERALD R. GEMS, NORTH CENTRAL COLLEGE AND GERTRUDE PFISTER, UNIVERSITY  
OF COPENHAGEN

### GENDER AND THE SPORTIFICATION OF MOUNTAINEERING

This presentation provides a brief history of mountaineering in Europe and the United States with a particular focus on women’s inclusion and intrusion on traditional male space and the transition in gender roles within the activity. It invokes Allen Guttman’s criteria relative to the development of modern sport. The historical progression covers early mountain climbing, and the subcultures of buildering, i.e. the climbing of urban buildings as early as the turn of the twentieth century, as well as wilderness rock climbing with particular attention to the 1960s hippie culture of the Yosemite Valley, which favored a non-competitive activity as a means to commune with nature and achieve an existential sense of “flow” as a natural high.

In the early nineteenth century, however, Frederich Ludwig Jahn, the father of German gymnastics, included competitive rope climbing in his urban turnplatz. The early modern Olympic Games also included a competitive rope climbing event, and by the mid-twentieth century the conquest of the highest mountain peaks became a matter of national rivalry and ethnic pride. Individual and group efforts by male, female, and mixed gendered groups ensued with contention over prescribed gender roles.



By the 1960s indoor climbing walls were built for training purposes, which spawned three distinct climbing techniques that resulted in competitions. The distinctions between lead climbing, speed climbing, and bouldering will be discussed. The growth of each resulted in the establishment of governing bodies and World Cup events by the 1980s, culminating in the International Federation of Sport Climbing (IFSC) in 2007, and eventual inclusion as an Olympic event in 2020. The IFSC adheres to the original values of the American hippie climbers, such as respect for the environment, gender equality, and sport for all, which has contributed to the rise of numerous female stars, extensive commercialized media coverage, and corporate sponsorship of athletes in the process of sportification.

DENNIS GILDEA, SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE  
FAME ON THE FRINGE OF SPORTS: ONE-EYE CONNELLY AND RICHARD  
HALLIBURTON

"[T]he machinery of information has brought into being a new substitute for the hero, who is the celebrity, and whose main characteristic is his well-knownness," Daniel J. Boorstin observed about a significant segment of the culture emerging in post-World War I America (*The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream*). "Anyone can become a celebrity," Boorstin wrote, "if only he can get into the news and stay there." This essay is a study of the lives, the writings, and the writings about two men who in the 1920s became such celebrities and did so by getting themselves into the sports news and staying there, all while flourishing on the fringe of organized sports. James "One-Eye" Connelly (1869-1953) and Richard Halliburton (1900-1939) were self-promoters, writers of sorts, and individuals who were always "good copy" for sportswriters. Sports heroes abounded in the Golden Age of Sports -- Ruth, Dempsey, Grange, Ederle -- but what was it about the dubious achievements and personalities of Connelly and Halliburton that thrust them into celebrity status? How, precisely, did they become known for their "wellknownness?" And what was it about the print reporters, the workers who ran the "machinery of information," that had them gravitate to stories about the two "heroes?"

Connelly and Halliburton came from opposite ends of the socio-economic ladder. Connelly, orphaned as a young boy, came from an Irish Catholic working-class background in Lowell, Massachusetts. He never finished high school. Halliburton's parents were Memphis aristocrats, and he was educated at the Lawrenceville School and Princeton. Connelly, a professional boxer by the time he was a teenager, achieved his pseudo-celebrity status by crowning himself as the "World Champion Gate Crasher." He became famous for never paying to attend a sporting event -- or much of anything else, for that matter. Halliburton achieved his celebrity status for being a world-travelling adventurer, one who had the financial wherewithal to fund his adventures. In 1928, Halliburton made the front pages of American newspapers by swimming the length of the Panama Canal. Connelly eventually produced a kind of autobiography, *Crashing Through*. Halliburton wrote several books and numerous articles, and he documented his Panama Canal swim in *New Worlds to Conquer* (1929). I will do a close textual analysis of these works and newspaper pieces on both men.



ROGER GILES, GRAND VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY  
SIX-DAY BICYCLE RACES AND DAILY NEWSPAPERS: A SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP

In *Reading Football* (1998), Michael Oriard shows how football as a spectator sport was in a sense “created” by daily newspapers in and around New York City in the early 1890s—particularly through coverage of the annual Thanksgiving Day games played at Manhattan Field between Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Penn. The relationship was symbiotic: football needed newspapers, and newspapers needed football. What newspapers needed most, according to Michael Schudson in *Discovering the News* (1978), was *interesting local content* to attract readers—and advertisers. For newspapers from Boston to Philadelphia, emerging big-time football fit the bill. Outside that market, however, something else was needed, and my argument is that for much of the rest of the country, a great source of interesting local content came in the form of six-day bicycle racing, particularly women’s racing, which was effectively created in 1895 and flourished for several years across the Midwest. The six-day format obviously fit perfectly with the daily news schedule: preview the race on Monday, dramatize the rising action each day during the week, and report the final results on Sunday. But in the case of women’s racing, reporters also learned to “tell stories in which [the] audience could read some of its own deepest concerns” (Oriard, p. 62)—concerns about competition and fair play, commercialism, women’s physicality, gender power dynamics, the rise of professionalism, immigration and assimilation, modernism, and the speeding-up of society generally. Although short-lived, women’s six-day racing of the late 1890s helped to establish the sports pages of newspapers across middle America, and in the process helped to set the terms for many of the contested cultural debates that characterized the twentieth century.

JORDAN GOLDSTEIN, WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY  
STANLEY THOMPSON: THE HEROIC SCHOOL OF GOLF ARCHITECTURE AS  
CANADIANA

This presentation investigates legendary Canadian golf course architect Stanley Thompson. The paper argues that Thompson’s influence on the creation of the Heroic school of golf course architecture reflected Canadian nationalist ideas concerning the natural environment. The paper seeks to answer the following questions: Why did Stanley Thompson become the most decorated Canadian golf architect? Did his design philosophy build off contemporary notions of Canadian national identity in sport? What was the role of the natural environment in his design philosophy? Is the Heroic school of golf course architecture suited to the Canadian environment and notions of Canadian sporting nationality?

The paper draws on extensive primary source materials from the Stanley Thompson Archival Collection held at the University of Guelph. Important sources include Thompson’s own publication *About Golf Courses*, original notes taken during the construction of famous courses such as Capilano in Vancouver, British Columbia and Jasper Park Golf Course in Jasper, Alberta, and original design sketches of courses such as Cape Breton Highlands in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. The paper also relies on the noted *Golf Course Architects of the Golden Era of Golf Course construction (1910-1953)* including Dr. Allistair MacKenzie, C.B. MacDonald, Robert Hunter, George C. Thomas and H.S. Colt. The paper relies on secondary interpretation



concerning Canadian identity, sport, and the wilderness from Gillian Poulter, Roderick Nash, and Jordan Goldstein. The philosophical writing of W. Thomas Schmid provides interpretation into the meaning of playing golf and the importance of the course in dictating a player's experiences on the links. For Golf Course architecture history, the paper relies on the works of Elizabeth Jewett and James Barclay for specific Canadian information and Geoff Shackelford for general information.

The paper argues that Stanley's Thompson's courses reveal a Canadian nationalist sentiment through the creation of the Heroic School of Golf Architecture. Thompson modified the popular Strategic School of Golf Course design, inspired by the ancient golf courses in Scotland (notably St. Andrews), to best reflect the Canadian wilderness. The strategic architects believed heavily that nature should craft the course and the architects' job was to blend the course seamlessly into the landscape. In creating picturesque and natural golf courses in Canada's most dramatic landscapes, Thompson both integrated the strategic school to the landscape but also modified golf course architecture to reflect the Canadian experience of survival in a harsh, yet stunning, environment. The new Heroic School of Golf Course architecture thus relates a Canadian sporting nationalist element.

The paper reveals a new understanding to the legacy of Stanley Thompson by providing the first academic study of his particular design philosophy. The study aims to integrate the history and philosophy behind Thompson's designs with academic literature on the meaning of sport, specifically golf, and the importance of the wilderness in Canadian sport history pertaining to nationalist narratives.

ELLIOTT J. GORN, LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO  
MUHAMMAD ALI FIGHTS THE COLD WAR

This paper takes up Muhammad Ali's decision to resist the draft and oppose the Vietnam War. The Champ's association with Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam was of course crucial in his decision to claim conscientious objector status, declare his anti-imperialist beliefs, and oppose the Cold War. I argue, however, that we also have to go further back. The ferment of the 60s mattered profoundly to Ali's decision—and his life became emblematic of that ferment—but even more fundamentally, we need to think about his youth in Louisville and his early boxing days. His early memories of American racism and white supremacy help us best understand his position on the War. Race relations at home was the prism through which he judged American foreign policy. In a sense, he was immune to the logic of war and American adventurism overseas because he'd been inoculated early in life. Anti-communism, for a black man growing up in the South, was a cudgel to beat civil rights activists more than a foreign policy position. More than once, Ali returned to the 1955 slaying of Emmett Till as a formative event in his outlook on his country. Ali's stance against Vietnam grew out of his thoughtful critique of American racism.



CLAUDIA GUEDES, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY  
FROM HARMON GYMNASIUM TO HAAS PAVILION: HOW UC BERKELEY LOST A  
LEADING ROLE IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION'S ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENT

In spite of three positive consecutive reviews the Department of Physical Education at the University of California, Berkeley was “disestablished” in 1997. All three had been conducted by committees appointed by the Academic Senate, the campus unit that has the official role in authorizing and approving courses and curricula, and therefore is important in creating UC Berkeley’s academic majors.

Why decisions made by these committees appointed by the Academic Senate were repeatedly revoked by the administration (which has the final authority) is a question that merits being examined. Moreover, the disestablishment of UC Berkeley’s Department of Physical Education occurred at the same time that numerous studies were verifying that physical activity has an important role in developing a person’s cognitive development (therefore academic achievement) as well as for fostering and maintaining good physical health. Many important studies and reports were being published when decisions to eliminate the department took place.

Did those who repeatedly countermanded decisions made by the Academic Senate’s duly appointed review committees not know anything about such things as the *Surgeon General’s 1996 Report* or that an increasing number of scientific and medical articles were verifying the importance of physical education? Or did they not care? Considerable evidence strongly suggests that they did not care! Why any campus administration would bring about the demise of a department that had benefitted so many UC Berkeley students (as well as young people and adults in the nation) for more than a century is a question that merits attention. This paper reviews the circumstances leading to the final year of an important university physical education degree program. Understanding this process may offer guidance and instructive strategies for promoting physical education in the coming decades.

AARON HABERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO  
LONG DISTANCE RUNNING EVENTS AND THE REBUILDING OF CIVIC CULTURE IN THE  
1970s

Today some of the largest long-distance running events regularly top over 50,000 runners. These include Atlanta’s Peachtree Ten K race and the New York and Chicago marathons. These mega events all had their origins in the 1970s during America’s first long distance running boom. The growing participation of everyday Americans in distance running (an estimated 30 million took part in the avocation by the end of the decade) inspired many major American cities to stage a road race. These events, however, were more than simply reflections of growing interest in the sport. Rather, public officials and interested citizens saw the staging of these races as opportunities to reshape civic culture and put their own cities on display for the rest of the nation, and arguably the world, at a time of deep problems and challenges. During the 1960s and early 1970s many American cities suffered through deindustrialization, white flight to the suburbs, and severe racial tension. As such American cities were losing their cohesion and any sense of a unified cultural identity and so much of the news accounts of the day were on the crippling problems confronting urban centers.



Road races became a means for motivated politicians and citizens to forge a new identity, highlighting a city's notable landmarks and unique ethnic neighborhoods. It gave cities an opportunity to showcase what made them great. Relying significantly on the papers of the Atlanta Track Club, which helped organize the Peachtree race, as well as the paper of Chicago's Mayor Michael Bilandic and the Friends of the Park organization, both of whom were responsible for the Chicago marathon, this presentation will explore the ways that road races helped major American cities craft new cultural identities at a time of great challenge and divisiveness. It will also highlight the ways in which individualistic sports like long distance running (as opposed to team based sports like baseball or football which have built in connections to specific cities) could still play a role in building and shaping community identity and civic pride.

**Y. ANDREW HAO, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN**  
**THE CONVERGENCE OF SPORT DIPLOMACY AND TRANSNATIONAL NETWORK**  
**BUILDING: THE ASIAN GAMES FEDERATION'S ADMISSION OF THE CHINESE OLYMPIC**  
**COMMITTEE IN THE EARLY 1970S**

This study is an archival-based examination of the early-1970s events that led up to China's 1974 Asian Games debut. Joining in the Asian Games was part of the "sport competition for international status" strategy of the People's Republic of China; it was also Beijing's first step towards the Olympic Movement after decades of self-isolation. In the meanwhile, it was the first time that the Asian Games Federation, an International Olympic Committee-sanctioned regional Olympic committee, had replaced the Republic of China Olympic Committee (based in Taiwan) with the Chinese Olympic Committee (based in Beijing).

The study examines these matters by assessing the roles played by China's domestic sport system reform as well as the country's negotiations with the Asian Games Federation and other international sport organizations (the IOC and the IFs served an important function in facilitating the process) and those between the sport organization themselves. It also peruses the significant roles played by sport leaders in Asian nations including Japan, Thailand and Iran. They contributed tremendously to the building of a transnational network that facilitated the Asian Games Federation's admission of the Chinese Olympic Committee.

This research pays special attention to domestic politics as well as the international political environment (i.e. China's place in the Cold War). Both the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the power shift in international relations, the study argues, greatly affected the Chinese sport: the Chinese government embraced sport diplomacy in order to forge stronger relations with global powers. With the help of the transnational network that connected the Chinese government and the international Olympic community, the world's biggest population was eventually represented by its finest athletes at the 1974 Tehran Asian Games, a solid first step towards a glorious return to the Olympic Movement.



CURTIS M. HARRIS, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY  
MYTHS OF THE MERGER: THE NBA'S FORGOTTEN ORIGINS

August 2019 marks 70 years since the creation of the National Basketball Association (NBA). The NBA's long existence has been marked by a longstanding misrepresentation of its origins. Despite ample evidence to the contrary, the NBA insists on pegging its beginnings to the establishment of the Basketball Association of America (BAA) in 1946, rather than the merger of that league with the older National Basketball League (NBL) in 1949. By understanding why the NBA began and continues fostering this false narrative, this paper addresses larger questions of history-making and memory. Specifically, how is historical memory created, forgotten, defended, and attacked? Whose interests are at stake and how? Who "wins" and who "losses" these contests of memory?

Utilizing the theoretical framework of Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past* to analyze evidence from historic newspapers, oral history, social media and websites, and anniversary celebrations, I argue that the NBA's neglect of the NBL germinated from a desire to achieve "major league" status as quickly as possible, which could be done by tethering the league more strongly to its BAA heritage rather than the NBL. The BAA after all began in the prosperous post-World War II years and was generally situated in large cities, which often had teams in the more established baseball, hockey, and football leagues. The NBL, however, emerged during the poverty of the Great Depression and found a different path to success via mid-size cities rooted in civic boosterism. By selecting the BAA as its official progenitor, the NBA has unduly obscured significant contributions from the NBL to professional basketball.

The case study of Leo Ferris highlights how the BAA and NBL contested each other in real-time during the 1940s and ever since in the wide expanse of historical memory. The BAA hoped to pillage the NBL for all it was worth, but Ferris's hard-nosed tactics eventually resulted in a merger of the two leagues creating the NBA. Ferris employed African-American players in the NBL at a time when the BAA was rigidly segregated; he defeated the BAA in key bidding wars for the services of players; he personally negotiated the terms of merger with the BAA; and after the merger he co-created the shot clock that rescued professional basketball. Despite that influential career, Ferris – like the NBL – has been practically erased from the NBA's history. Showcasing the active contestation of memory, Ferris's descendants continue fighting to have his memory properly enshrined in the NBA's story.

Our current era of "alternative facts" and "fake news" begs for a better understanding by all persons on how power controls information. This story of the NBA as an institution distorting and omitting facts – and the fierce resistance offered by the neglected – is revelatory in its larger lessons on who creates, shapes, and controls history. By reorienting the NBA's founding date to August 1949, the arc of NBA history becomes more accurate and includes key yet forgotten figures such as Leo Ferris.



C. KEITH HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA  
A BALLER (PERFORMER) AND A SCHOLAR: ALI'S 1975 HARVARD COMMENCEMENT  
ADDRESS IN CAMBRIDGE

Utilizing White's (2011) framework of Black masculinity and the politics of racial performance, a connection is made with themes of the artists' (rapper) social commentary and the athlete (baller). Muhammad Ali is the intersection of both the poet and the athlete. While not the first athlete to give a commencement address, it is a historical contribution of education and sport performance activism that Ali was invited to deliver the 1975 Harvard Commencement Address that is fruitful for scholarly and practical analysis. Specifically, the following questions are asked about this moment in time: How does Ali's speech break and reinforce stereotypes about athletes and athleticism? How does the Black press and mainstream press over time view this intellectual moment by Ali at one of the most prestigious institutions of higher learning in American higher education as well as the world? Can a scholar be a baller and a baller be a scholar and if so, which contexts do these achievements strategically and/or organically occur? These questions will be the focus of the paper and future directions for scholars and practitioners of sport history, sport management, and educational activism history

ALGERIAN HART, WESTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY, CHARLES CROWLEY, OLIVET  
COLLEGE, EMMETT GILL, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AND WARDELL JOHNSON,  
EASTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY  
THE BLUE PRINT OF ATHLETE ACTIVISM: FOSTERING INCLUSIVE STUDENT-ATHLETE  
ACCESS AT PWI'S

This paper examines the current wave of student-athlete activism and the parallels to the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. Cultivated by Dr. Harry Edwards, the movement for athletes' rights and for their freedom to express themselves is historically connected to the collegiate student-athlete experience. Edwards organized the Olympic Project for Human Rights, which led to the iconic protest by American sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos on the medal stand in Mexico City in 1968. The origins of Smith and Carlos can be linked to their consciousness as student-athletes on the San Jose State University campus. Nearly 51 years later we continue to see the struggle for student-athlete activism. This path of inquiry seeks to explore the question pertaining to today's Black Student-athlete and his/her platform for campus activism on Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) across the United States of America. During a 2017 JFK Jr forum on the Harvard University Campus, Dr. Edwards stated; "The struggle goes on, I'm not surprised at where we are. I'm just gratified that there are young people in the arena and beyond who get it and who have committed themselves to continuing the struggle. In point of fact, if we are going to really make progress towards that more perfect union, we have no option." By examining a diversity of recent episodes of athlete activism in college sports at PWI's across the country such as, the well regarded "strike against racism" at the University of Missouri in 2015 and the extensively publicized (and in the end unsuccessful) effort by Northwestern University football players to form a union in 2014, it is apparent that the next generation of athlete activism carries the DNA established nearly five decades before.



MATTHEW HAUGEN, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

## THE CHANGING NATIONAL AND POLITICAL ROLE OF CHINESE SPORTS: 1949-2019

The purpose of this presentation is to assist in understanding the government-sponsored Chinese sports system, which for over sixty years has altered its use of sport based on ideological and policy objectives. The paper addresses the question of, in China how have the political and ideological uses of sport changed since 1949 and what is the current ideological shift taking place? Ethnography, autoethnography, and interviews were used to dissect and examine the aforementioned questions, as the researcher has engaged in sport management, professional coaching, and sociological research projects in China since 2008. Further evidence is provided through an extensive review of literature related to the topic, such as primary Chinese government documents, interviews, academic research articles and popular and scholarly writings in English.

Since the Communist 1949 takeover, the government has in subsequent decades utilized sports to further socialist goals, train elite athletes for Olympic glory, and as an international projection of soft power. China might be about to experience an ideological paradigm shift regarding the role of sports in its culture that could alter how many ordinary Chinese perceive sports. Due in part to successful economic reforms that have created a burgeoning middle class, many Chinese see sport as a leisure activity with additional health and recreation benefits. This new public interaction with sports in China is setting the stage for the government sports industry to open up to further innovation and commercial development projects that appeal to the full range of individual preferences. In the current iteration of this project, the research is expanded to showcase how Chinese citizens are engaging in a consumer-driven sports culture and what types of sport development projects are becoming most popular in China's commercial sports market. The significance of the piece is to show how China's sport industry is on the precipice of an ideological paradigm shift that is altering the way in which its citizens are interacting with sport in their country. China's change in ideology is connected to historical trends of economic growth, seen when countries such as the United States shifted to a commercialized sport market.

PAUL HAWKINS, UNIVERSITY OF BUCKINGHAM

## THE HISTORY OF THE SOCCER WORLD CUP FROM 1930 TO 1950, HIGHLIGHTING TWO AMAZING PERFORMANCES BY THE US NATIONAL TEAM AND THE NUMEROUS CHALLENGES FACED BY THE HOSTS (URUGUAY) IN THE VERY FIRST WORLD CUP IN 1930

The Soccer World Cup was the brainchild of Jules Rimet the President of FIFA when soccer was becoming a professional sport and needed an alternative to the Olympic Games. Uruguay won the bid to host the first World Cup by virtue of the centenary of its independence from Spain in 1830 and due to the fact that they were prepared to pay the expenses of teams travelling to Uruguay for the event. Challenges facing the World Cup organizers included travel time from Europe – only access to South America at the time was by sea voyage - a persistent debate over the standard of refereeing and the delay in completing a new stadium for the final of the tournament. A detailed account of the USA participation in the 1930 World Cup is described in a book by Rony J. Almeida entitled “Where the legend began – USA Soccer Team In the 1930



FIFA World Cup.” The USA team despite been hastily arranged as soon as their participation was confirmed managed to secure 3<sup>rd</sup> place in the competition, which still remains the USA’s best performance in the 10 World Cups for which they have qualified from 1930 to 2018. The presentation will also include details of the USA’s sensational defeat of England in the 1950 World Cup and the reasons for the refusal of the British teams (England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland) to participate in the World Cups of 1930, 1934, 1938, primarily because of a self-imposed period of isolation from FIFA, the organizing body for the World Cup and its lack of interest during that era in the development of soccer in other parts of Europe and South America. English soccer never properly recovered from this period of isolation and despite one exceptional victory in 1966, have always struggled to succeed in international competitions.

**CONOR HEFFERNAN, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN**  
**SUPERFOOD OR SUPERFICIAL? PLASMON AND THE BIRTH OF THE SUPPLEMENT**  
**INDUSTRY**

Beginning in the early twentieth-century and continuing until the Great War, British consumers concerned with protecting or increasing their health were presented with a new and exciting product. Labelled as Plasmon, this milk-based protein supplement promised to build nerve, muscle and flesh in equal measure. Used by explorers, scientists, athletes and physical culturists, not to mention mothers and schoolchildren, Plasmon was marketed as a marvel of the modern age. Though health foods had existed prior to Plasmon’s emergence, most notably Kellogg and Graham’s respective experiments in mid-nineteenth century America, none matched the product’s advertising range. Citing Plasmon as a pivotal step in the transition from health foods to health and weightlifting supplements more generally, the article argues that Plasmon called upon ideas of science, gender and sporting celebrity to promote its value as a nutritional supplement to the British public. Though short-lived, Plasmon’s time in Britain predated the current supplement industry by nearly a century. Its study thus addresses a dearth in the literature regarding one of the most profitable sporting markets of the twentieth and twenty-first century.

**MATTHEW HIMEL, MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY**  
**A ‘NEW’ NEW ENGLAND IN THE NEW SOUTH: PINEHURST, TOURISM, AND**  
**ENVIRONMENT**

In the first four decades of the twentieth-century, the now famed golf resort Pinehurst emerged as the preeminent facility for golf living south of the Mason-Dixon line. Resort management, particularly golf course designer Donald Ross and greenskeeper Frank Maples, blended agricultural practices with nostalgia for pastoral New England to create Pinehurst's outing spaces. This paper focuses on the use of anti-modern nostalgia to inform and create the resort's modern physical landscape, one that swept guests and residents alike out of the south's plantation present and into a manufactured New England. It asks what role did resort guests play in directing Ross and Maples, and to what degree did guests' background as upper-middle- and upper-class Protestant New Englanders influence their role? While founder James Tufts's 1895 vision for Pinehurst had included a New England style village designed by Frederick Law Olmsted, Tufts emphasized the surrounding landscape's attractiveness and healing qualities that



he argued were particular to the South. As guests arrived, overwhelmingly from New England, and ventured into the resort's sprawling 6,000 acres, they envisioned another purpose for the environment. Xenophobic visitors fled an overcrowding, urbanizing New England and brought with them an anti-modern, nostalgic perception of what could be made of Tufts's Sandhills, a vision for Pinehurst that was neither southern nor modern. This paper seeks to unearth how guests' new found leisure activities, land use expectations, and anti-modern sentiments exerted influence and even control over the development of Pinehurst's sporting fields. With ample use of the personal papers of James Tufts, Leonard Tufts, Donald Ross, and Frank Maples, along with women's magazines and resort advertisements, this paper reveals how Pinehurst garnered potential guests' favor and incorporated their expectations. New Englanders' ability to shape North Carolina's burgeoning tourist industry and physical environment through a distinctly non-southern sport showcases the prevalence of transactional recreation and significant outsider influence over the southern landscape in the first decades of the twentieth-century.

THOMAS M. HUNT, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN AND AUSTIN  
DUCKWORTH, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR  
BALKAN MEMORIES OF THE 2018 WORLD CUP

The 2018 World Cup group stage featured a particularly meaningful match between two surprising rivals—Switzerland and Serbia. This political significance of the competition occurred consequent to the fact that the Swiss national football team featured two players of Albanian descent — midfielder Granit Xhaka and forward Xherdan Shaqiri. As it happened, they scored Switzerland's only goals in the team's 2-1 victory. Over the course of their goal celebrations, Xhaka and Shaqiri both made hand gestures representing the Albanian eagle, a nationalist symbol, in a clear dig at their opponents and an echo of the Balkan wars.

In the end, each was fined the equivalent of more than \$10,000. Moreover, team captain Stephan Lichtsteiner, a Swiss native who joined them in making the hand gesture, received a lesser fine. In an interesting twist to the case, the Serbian football federation was punished to the tune of nearly \$55,000 for the behavior of its fans at the event, which, according to FIFA, included the “display of discriminatory banners and messages by Serbian supporters as well as for throwing objects during the match.” Serbian coach Mladen Krstajic was also sanctioned for a series of provocative post-match remarks comparing the referees' handling of play to the manner in which post-conflict human rights cases were conducted at the Hague's International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia — proceedings that Serbs overwhelmingly believe were one-sided and unfair.

The Swiss-Serbian match failed to spark fresh debate on the actual record of human rights abuses in the former Yugoslavia. But it did help to illuminate several geopolitical realities. Migration patterns may have changed the face of modern Europe, but ethnic and religious tensions still bubble just under the surface.



ALEC S. HURLEY, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
PINTS, PERFORMANCE, AND PATRIOTS: MILWAUKEE'S TURNERS AND THE  
FORMATION OF CITIZENSHIP

The driving question behind this work is how the German Turner movement was able to find success in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century. An inquiry which begat a second question – to what extent were the urban centers in nineteenth century America willing to accommodate and support what was a foreign athletic endeavor.

Using Milwaukee as the case study, newspapers constituted the vast majority of the primary source material. Spanning four decades, from the 1850s to the 1890s, publications ranged from the short-lived *Weekly Wisconsin* (1850s) to the enduring *Milwaukee Daily News* (1850s-1890s). Highlighting the civic responsibilities, to coverage of the “talented performances,” and by late 1880s extolling the virtues of the sport of the new German neighbors; the coverage shaped and reflected the support of the uneasy local community. Two works by Fred E. Leonard (*Pioneers of Modern Physical Training* [1919] and *History of Physical Education* [1923]) addressed contextual segments and provided the biographical and evolutionary elements of the Turner movement on both sides of the Atlantic.

The relationship between the German Turners and the city of Milwaukee fostered not only athletics success, but an understanding of how a city and its peoples generated their collective identity through sport. Through a brief overview of the Turner movement, their struggles with national conflict, and civic responsibility I will examine how Milwaukee – although apprehensive – committed itself fully to the development and success of the American Turnverein.

The scholarship in English on the development of the American Turner movement is lacking. The most significant works in the field, Metzner’s *A Brief History of the American Turnerbund* (1924) and Tiling’s *A History of the German Element in Texas* (1913) provide an admirable overview, but lack the historical context granted to current scholars. To uncover the relationship between a sport, a city, and its citizens, the Milwaukee Turnerbund sheds new light on the use of sport to overcome the fractured politics and social barriers of immigrant life in the nineteenth century United States

BRIAN M. INGRASSIA, WEST TEXAS A&M  
IN THE SHADOW OF THE BIG TEN: THE RISE AND FALL OF ILLINOIS’S ‘LITTLE  
NINETEEN’ CONFERENCE

In 1908, during football’s Progressive Era reform period and two years after formation of the precursor to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), eight colleges in central Illinois founded an athletic conference that would endure, in one form or another, for over sixty years. The number of members varied greatly over the decades, expanding to over twenty at one point, but the conference was most often known as the “Little Nineteen.” The Little Nineteen grew up in the shadow of the Intercollegiate Conference of Faculty Representatives, also known as the “Big Nine” or (after 1917) the Big Ten. But unlike its bigger, older, and more famous sibling, virtually no historical research has been done on the Little Nineteen. Besides unearthing the history of this once-significant athletic conference, this paper uses the Little Nineteen as a



historical case study to show how smaller institutions sought a place within the shifting terrain of twentieth-century intercollegiate athletics. Indeed, the Little Nineteen itself was constantly changing.

This paper focuses on significant episodes in the conference's history, especially the mass exodus of seventeen member-institutions (1937-1942) because of the Great Depression and internecine conflicts over the freshman eligibility rule. In 1970, the conference—by then called the Interstate Intercollegiate Athletic Conference—finally disbanded, three years before the NCAA formally created three “divisions” separating small colleges from scholarship-granting universities and “big-time” athletic powers. The Little Nineteen's long, complex story illustrates how athletic conference alignments and realignments represented not just changes in the history of college athletics, but also major changes in the history of American higher education. Primary source material will be drawn largely from historical newspapers, such as the *Chicago Tribune*, as well as selected archival repositories, including 1910-1942 Little Nineteen member Eureka College. The paper will engage secondary sources by historians including Ronald A. Smith, John Thelin, and John Sayle Watterson, among others.

SCOTT R. JEDLICKA, WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

#### SPORT POLICY AND REGIME TYPE: A RECENT HISTORICAL COMPARISON

The historical use of sport for political purposes is well-documented. Since at least the interwar period, many states have shaped their national sport policies to support broader domestic and foreign policy agendas. Previous research has focused on establishing that this relationship between sport and politics does, in fact, exist, as well as evaluating whether sport is an effective political tool. However, while sport policy scholars in particular have developed descriptive accounts of disparate approaches to sport policymaking, relatively little attention has been paid to identifying the factors that explain this variance. As a consequence, the variables that influence and constrain state choice when it comes to sport policy remain underspecified.

This project addresses this deficit in the current literature by exploring how political regime type influences sport policy development. Our analysis compares the recent (2005-2018) sport policies of three countries which differ on the basis of regime type: an autocracy (Qatar), a partial democracy (Lebanon), and a full democracy (United Kingdom). The goal of this study is not only to identify similarities and differences among these states' sport policies, but to understand how the nature of a state's political regime affected the underlying motives and strategies that led these states to pursue some tactics and not others.

To accomplish this goal, we draw on the policy-as-discourse perspective. Rather than assuming sport policies are simply solutions to identified problems or means to various ends, this approach is more directly concerned with the process of policymaking and the concept of framing: how issues are constructed and represented, and what is seen as possible or desirable, or impossible or undesirable. In applying this methodological approach to publicly-accessible policy documents from each of the three states included in this study, we aim to reveal the ways in which different regimes understood the relevance and utility of sport to their broader political objectives, and ultimately, how these understandings contributed to observable policy choices.

The last decade has seen the rise of populist authoritarianism in Western democracies, as well as the increasingly brazen behavior of autocracies from the Persian Gulf to the Sea of Japan. These regimes' fascination with sport—from China and Russia to Qatar and Kazakhstan—



suggest that we are not yet at the end of (sport) history. This paper supplements our historical knowledge of sport and foreign policy by examining this relationship in the post-9/11 era, and contends that regime type is a meaningful factor in determining a state's approach to sport policy.

TANYA K. JONES, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
SPORTS, POLITICS, AND MEDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED'S*  
AND MAINSTREAM MEDIA'S COVERAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS PROTESTS

On October 16, 1968, John Carlos and Tommie Smith caused a stir at the Mexico City Olympics when they raised their fists on the winner's podium in solidarity with the Olympic Project for Human Rights. The sight of Carlos and Smith raising their fists in defiance prompted USOC president, Douglas Roby, and the USOC to suspend them from the U.S. Olympic team officially. "When an incident took place on the victory stand before the eyes of the world, showing disrespect for our flag and promoting a cause completely foreign to the Olympic Games, we had to do something about it and make sure this type of incident did not continue," Roby asserted. This presentation will compare the coverage *Sports Illustrated (SI)*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post* on the Civil Rights Protests, both leading up to the Games and the fist-raising at the Games.

This paper will pull into question how sports and politics are presented in different media outlets. *Sports Illustrated* was the leading weekly sports periodical at the time and is, therefore, the focus of this presentation. I will discuss the approach *SI* took when addressing the racial and political issues that Smith and Carlos were protesting. Although some writers for *Sports Illustrated* addressed the threats of the boycotts against the 1968 Games and the protests themselves, mainstream news outlets discussed more of the political issues at hand. Do sports magazines have a different responsibility to its readership? Should politics be left to mainstream newspapers? This paper will address these questions that, not only pertained to the 1960s but are also relevant today. This presentation will fit nicely into sessions on the Olympics, Politics and Sport, and Race and Sport since the protest dealt with racial issues in America and abroad.

CIERA JONES, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
AUSTIN PLAYGROUND EXPERIENCES IN THE 1940S AND 50S: A CULMINATION OF  
CITY PLANNING, LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY SUPPORT

The built environment provides the setting for two stories to be shared, the larger historical events that influenced its construction and the subsequent perception and utilization of the structure. This paper aims to provide a more complex understanding of how city planning influenced a child's experience on playgrounds in Austin, Texas by exploring these two different stories told on – and through – its playgrounds. The first part of the paper will focus on historical events that help shaped the playgrounds in Austin, such as the Playground Movement and the creation and role of the Austin Recreation Department. Oral history of experiences on Austin playgrounds from the 1940s and 50s will account for the second part of the paper. Seven volunteers were interviewed to reconstruct their childhood experiences. These two parts are



inseparable in understanding the influence Austin playgrounds had on the recreation of children in their community.

The Playground Movement had advanced through progressive stages when a charter amendment, in 1924, reshaped the City of Austin's government and sequentially helped to proliferate parks and playgrounds throughout the city. The influence of the movement placed the burden of success upon the newly established Recreation Department responsible for proper planning and implementation. Accessibility was emphasized as parks and playgrounds "should be spaced throughout the City at such intervals that no child will need to walk more than one-half mile to reach one. These play grounds should be chosen with special regard to their location so that, for instance, the children will not have to cross railroad tracks or other dangerous hazards in reaching them."

Accessibility was an initial goal of the city, but the aim of the Recreation Department was to provide activities "designed to meet the needs of every person in the city." Outcomes of meticulous efforts by the department were expressed favorably by participants recounting their childhood experiences on the Austin playgrounds. Common themes such as autonomy of play, navigating risk, exploration, conflict resolution, and community engagement surfaced during the interviews. Interplayground swim meets, possibly one of the first organized competitive sports for children, were a central pastime for both competitors and spectators. Furthermore, personal accounts materialized historical context beyond city records. For example, playgrounds were used as a meeting place for knitting circles during World War II and the fear of polio may have influenced playgrounds to close during mid-day.

Lastly, the charisma of the playground leaders and other employees of the Recreation Department helped build trust as they worked to create a safe community environment at the playgrounds. One participant recalls her playground leader as "so approachable. It was her personality really that kind of suffused the atmosphere of the park." Austin playgrounds were perceived as a community center within each neighborhood and memories reflect the success of the planning and leadership as "thinking back, it was probably a lovely time to grow up."

GREGORY KALISS, TOWSON UNIVERSITY

### GETTING INTO THE RACE: WOMEN RUNNERS / WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The increasing social and political activism among athletes in the 1960s and early 1970s marks a significant development in U.S. sport history. Many have noted the importance of the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, and the counterculture to events such as the 1968 medal stand salute by Tommie Smith and John Carlos, the antiwar stance of Muhammad Ali, and the economic activism led by Jim Brown. In regard to sports and women's rights, scholars have rightfully pointed to the impacts of Second Wave feminism and Women's Liberation in driving Billie Jean King's efforts for gender equity in tennis in the early 1970s and the passage of Title IX in 1972.

This paper seeks to expand on this time of social upheaval by focusing on the profound, and often neglected, impact of amateur women's distance runners. The main subjects of the paper will be Bobbi Gibb and Katherine Switzer, who both ran the Boston Marathon before women were officially allowed to do so, generating significant public responses in the process. Gibb, the first woman to run the marathon, did so without a bib in 1966, and earned significant press attention as a result. The following year, she repeated her feat, but press coverage instead



focused on Switzer, who received a race bib by only listing her initials on her entry form. When race official Jock Semple tried to drag Switzer off the course by force early in the race, the attendant coverage called further attention to women's limited access to the marathon and other sporting events. By exploring media coverage of their races in 1966 and 1967, and of prominent women distance runners in ensuing years, and by drawing on personal memoirs and other firsthand accounts, this paper will draw important ties between these individuals' actions and the broader changes at work in the U.S. The efforts of these women, I argue, paved the way for the activism undertaken by King, and helped to insure a better response to her efforts. These women challenged discriminatory practices that restricted women from athletic activities, while simultaneously upending long-standing cultural ideas regarding women's bodies, sexuality, fitness, and competitive desires. As a result, these marathoners constituted an important bridge between the legal equity sought by early Second Wave feminists such as those in the National Organization for Women, and the later, more radical social changes sought by Women's Liberation activists of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

HIROSHI KANDA, EDOGAWA UNIVERSITY

### THE MCGWIRE EXCEPTION: JAPAN'S ACCEPTANCE OF PERFORMANCE-ENHANCING DRUGS IN MASS MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 1998 MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL SEASON

In 1998, Major League Baseball slugger Mark McGwire became an American folk hero in his quest to break the single-season home run record. The chase came with controversy, however, as McGwire admitted during the season to using androstenedione, a performance-enhancing drug that was legal in baseball at the time but banned in other sports.

In the sole exception to its longstanding critical view toward the use of PEDs, Japanese mass media adopted a tone similar to U.S. media in reporting on McGwire's record chase with much acceptance and praise. By analyzing Japanese print media articles that overlooked or supported drug use in McGwire's case, this paper seeks to understand a historical anomaly in Japan's mass-media sports coverage as well as illuminate larger issues in the country's reporting on foreign news. Chapter 1 explains the enormous scale of Japan's coverage of the 1998 MLB season as McGwire became a major story. Chapter 2 selects 28 articles on the topic from August 1998 through the end of 1999 that avoided framing McGwire's use of androstenedione as a violation -- a presentation at odds with Japanese media coverage of every other PED-related controversy. The chapter classifies these 28 articles into four patterns. Chapter 3 investigates the reasons behind the Japanese mass media's acceptance of PED use, which prove to be different from those of U.S. media. A discussion of these distinctive rationales leads to an examination of problems in Japan's coverage of sports and international news.

The analysis of McGwire articles revealed the uncertainty of the authority on which the Japanese media bases its judgments. In Japan, everything that happens in MLB has historically been accepted without questioning its rationality. Furthermore, because of the tendency in Japan to report on international news by way of comparison to domestic issues, the media routinely looks to other cultures for moral authority. Additionally, it became apparent that Japanese media displays a relatively low sense of engagement when reporting on international news. Despite covering a broad range of international issues, Japanese media seems to treat foreign news as if it comes from "another world," an approach that diminishes the authenticity of their reports.



In several cases, editorials and columns approving the use of PEDs appeared in newspapers whose initial reports had used conventional framing, casting McGwire's drug use as a violation. As sports issues tend to be recognized as less consequential than other areas of culture, discourse around sports can be unintentionally revealing when it comes to deeply-held beliefs and assumptions. Sports coverage is a useful medium in investigating the problems of journalism for this very reason. Analyzing the problems behind Japan's reporting on the 1998 MLB season thus brings to light larger issues in the country's reporting of international news.

**KOHEI KAWASHIMA, WASEDA UNIVERSITY**  
**BASKETBALL CAME TO JAPAN: NATIONALITY, ATHLETES, AND AGENCY IN THE**  
**DIFFUSION OF BASKETBALL IN MODERN JAPAN, 1880S TO 1920S**

This presentation is part of the project which empirically analyzes the interaction and correlation between nationality and the consciousness and attitude of athletes, in terms of agency, through the process of international diffusion of modern sports by comparatively examining the introduction and popularization of the three American major sports of baseball, American football, and basketball in Japan between the 1880s and 1920s. Following last year's discussion of American football, this one focuses on the case of basketball.

Numerous studies have explored the role and work of the YMCA in the spread of modern sports in Asia. Administrators and educators of the YMCA took particularly an enthusiastic look at basketball, the sport of their own invention, through effort to achieve their religious and athletic endeavors. They did so, too, in the modernization in Meiji and Taisho Japan (1868-1926). Sufficient research has not been done, however, in the Japanese academia let alone in those of other nations, to clarify in detail how the power and authority in the practice and management of basketball gradually shifted from the YMCA to private elite universities. This presentation will take its first step as such effort.

Attempt to introduce basketball was intermittently made by pioneers such as Jinzo Naruse and Hyozo Ohmori before the full-scale involvement of the YMCA, but because of the limit of personal effort, coaching mainly among female students, health conditions, and the rise of nationalism against western cultures, the game failed to achieve large-scale support and acceptance. Yet, a turning point came in 1913 when YMCA superintendent F. H. Brown was dispatched to Japan, who successfully lead YMCA schools to participate in international competition such as the Far Eastern Championship Games, to expand the game's playing population, and to consolidate the structure for diffusion and management. Finally, during the 1920s, basketball in Japan, yet centering on university campuses, against the backdrop of growing interest in foreign cultures, entered what the first generation of Japanese basketball aficionados saw as the primary growth stage. Given these trends, then, how and why was the transition from the YMCA to elite universities being made? To answer this question, it is necessary to consider such factors as the dilemma between missionary effort and coaching of sports on the YMCA side, and consciousness and attitude toward foreign sports among players and spectators, and spirit toward autonomy among student athletes on the Japan side. This presentation will scrutinize the issue of the athletes' underlying agency through such interactive analysis.



GEORGE N. KIOUSSIS, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE  
'WE BELONG INTO THIS SET-UP': THE UNITED STATES AND THE ORIGINS OF  
CONCACAF

On 14 and 15 July 1962, members of the United States Soccer Football Association (USSFA) met for their annual convention at the Hotel Wolverine in Detroit, Michigan. The meeting was noteworthy for the breadth of issues on the agenda, if not the occasional moment of contentiousness. One of the major topics of discussion was the establishment of the Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF), which would serve as the developmental arm of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association in the region. Gene Ringsdorf, then the president of the USSFA, noted his approval of the project, in addition to more general sympathy among American officials.

Although the continental body has, by now, accumulated nearly sixty years of history, relatively little is known about its origins, its relationship to Zurich, and the experiences of its member nations. These questions are at the crux of this work. More specifically, this paper traces the early development of CONCACAF and the USSFA's role within it. It explores how American enthusiasm for the institution was tried and tested, as a site created to promote regional solidarity became one of factionalism and distrust. In so doing, it considers the array of challenges that CONCACAF faced, from linguistic divide and intra-regional rivalry to resource asymmetries and organizational mismanagement. It also examines why, in spite of such issues, American administrators remained committed to the project. As one USSFA official opined, "I think we belong into [*sic*] this set-up."

This research is archival in nature and culls from English- and Spanish-language materials located throughout North America and Europe. These include, most notably, USSFA meeting minutes, USSFA annual reports, personal correspondence, and newspaper clippings. Of key importance are materials from the FIFA Documentation Centre (Switzerland) and the National Soccer Hall of Fame (North Carolina), the latter of which have been sparingly used by scholars to date.

MATTHEW KLUGMAN, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY  
PATHOLOGICAL OR DEVOTED? COMPARING RESPONSES TO EMERGING SPECTATOR  
SPORT CULTURES IN THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, AND AUSTRALIA

This paper seeks to compare the zealous spectator sport cultures which emerged in the Anglophone world in the late 1800s – most notably around baseball in the United States, Association football in Britain, and Australian Rules football in Melbourne. I am particularly interested in the way that the fervor of these early sports fans was read in contrasting ways as signs of disease that heralded the ills of modernity or as the creation of a civic religion that might positively bind strangers together around a common purpose. At issue is the way the strikingly intense emotions of sports fans intersected with broader concerns around race, gender, pleasure, and the bodies of those who watched, rather than played, sports.



JORDAN KOCH, MCGILL UNIVERSITY  
RE(CREE)ATING CADETS: A LIVING CULTURAL HISTORY OF AN INDIGENOUS YOUTH  
CADET CORPS

In 2005, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) helped launch an afterschool program among the four Cree Nations of Maskwacis, Alberta, Canada. The program—colloquially referred to as Cadets—was widely celebrated among politicians, segments of the community, and in the mainstream media as an effective tool for youth development; however, a closer look also revealed a more complex set of negotiations occurring at the local level. For instance, while many residents embraced Cadets as a reinvigoration of the community's traditional warrior ethic, others criticized the program as a re-inscription of colonial power and called out the historically tenuous relationship between the RCMP and Indigenous youth in Canada. Such divergences raise a number of important questions about the complicated history of cadet-styled training in an Indigenous context and about the conflicting meanings generated by its re-emergence in Maskwacis. This presentation draws from over 4-years of ethnographic fieldwork to critically unpack the hi/stories behind Cadets. Guided by Pierre Bourdieu's relational sociology, the presentation demonstrates that, beyond a youth sport-for-development program, Cadets also provided Maskwacis residents with an important site, and discourse, through which to conceive, negotiate, and, at times, contest their ideas about what it means (and doesn't mean) to be Maskwacis in the new millennium. The presentation, thus, builds upon a genre of sport studies literature that has been generally slow to theorize how divergent voices and experiences have shaped the cultural production of Indigenous physical culture in distinct First Nations in Canada.

ROBERT KOSSUTH, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE  
MINING GAMES IN AN INDUSTRIAL FRONTIER COMMUNITY: WORKING CLASS SPORT  
IN EARLY LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA

The community of Lethbridge, Alberta, appeared on Canada's western frontier at a time when Euro-Canadian settlement and cattle ranching interest displaced Indigenous peoples in a region where the Plains Bison (Buffalo) were rapidly disappearing. Although the agrarian economy played a critical role in Euro-Canadian settlement, substantial economic wealth also emerged from exploiting the area's readily accessible coal deposits. Coal remained an important element of Lethbridge's economy into the late twentieth century, and many of the skilled men needed for this work were recruited or migrated from Eastern Europe (Russia, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, and Italy). These 'foreigners', joined by white, English-speaking miners from the British Isles and North America, constituted the majority of the city's working-class population. As a culture of sport participation developed in Lethbridge, local miners created a vibrant athletic community, although their activities were largely overshadowed by the exploits of middle-class merchants and professional men.

The miners who lived primarily in the city's north side brought with them their own cultural practices including the sports and games of their homelands. Generally, the authorities including the North-West Mounted Police, viewed miners as troublesome, violent, drunken, and uncivilized. Yet, these mine workers were well aware of their marginalized social position and



were capable of staging well-planned and tactically astute protests and strike actions when necessary. Similarly, their recreations and sport although at times less organized than those of the town's middle-class sporting fraternity, formed a vibrant and important element of their social life.

By the first decade of the twentieth century the Lethbridge Miners baseball team competed against top teams from cities throughout the prairies. Additionally, sport began to flourish in Adams Park—the first public park created in the city's north side in 1910. Soccer teams such as North Lethbridge United played at this site as early as 1918. By the First World War, baseball and soccer served to provide working-class men the opportunity to reinforce their trade-based class-consciousness, celebrate their ethnic diversity, and overcome their relative geographic isolation north of the railway line. Thus, sport provided one means through which Lethbridge's working class could negotiate relations within a multi-ethnic community. It also served as a site for establishing a common identity, unifying working-class interests and countering the dominance of mine owners, managers, and other middle-class groups in Lethbridge.

ROBERT J. LAKE, DOUGLAS COLLEGE

### IGNORED BUT NOT IRRELEVANT: THE BRIEF BUT MOMENTOUS RISE OF IRISH LAWN TENNIS IN THE 1890S

The fascinating story of the rise of lawn tennis in Ireland in the late-nineteenth century, with few exceptions, has remained untold. Research into key aspects of the sport's social history in Ireland have remained largely incomplete, significantly lacking in detailed critical analysis and characterized by an absence of nuance. Most sport historiography set upon the Irish context during this period has been dominated by narratives of nationalism and politics, and while the Gaelic Athletic Association may have frowned upon lawn tennis as an effeminate pastime, the sport largely escaped GAA-sanctioned bans and much pseudo-political discourse. This perhaps explains its historiographical omission, but given its brief exalted status, the rise (and subsequent decline) of Irish lawn tennis deserves a fuller treatment. This is especially in light of the fact that Irish male and female players during the 1890s being represented among the world's best, winning several Wimbledon singles titles, alongside their coaching-professionals becoming the most sought-after commodities in leading clubs across Europe and North America. Also during this period, the Fitzwilliam Lawn Tennis Club of Dublin was a close second to the All England Lawn Tennis Club, which hosted the Wimbledon Championships, in European if not global status and prestige, while the Irish Lawn Tennis Championships also positioned itself as equal to, if not also for a brief period surpassing, the eminence of Wimbledon. This presentation examines how the sport rose to prominence in Ireland – its amateur players, professional coaches, leading championships and clubs – before assessing briefly its demise in the years preceding the First World War.



MARK LASOTA, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO  
THE YEAR BEFORE THE NFL: AN IN-DEPTH LOOK AT THE 1921 APFA SEASON AND  
THE FORGOTTEN VOICES OF PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

In the United States, professional football has become a national passion and a cultural phenomenon. Since its inception, the National Football League (NFL) has grown exponentially as NFL games have become the most attended events of domestic professional sports leagues in the world and have the largest television contracts of all sports (Forbes, 2017). From September to February, NFL fans from all walks of life diligently follow their favorite teams and players. However, the NFL started with humble beginnings. The roots of the NFL date back to 1920 with the establishment of a little-known organization called the American Professional Football Association (APFA). Before the APFA was established, professional football teams were loosely organized in unofficial leagues which consisted of regional competition. On August 20, 1920, a group of professional football pioneers met in an automobile showroom in Canton, OH, and agreed on a broad outline for this new association. The APFA lasted two seasons before being renamed the NFL in 1922. Although the two-year existence of the APFA was a short chapter in the annals of professional football history, the league had a profound impact on the construction of the NFL. There is little known about these early APFA years and the social implications are rarely discussed. The 1921 APFA season, particularly, marked an important transitional year filled with interesting people, stories, and events. George “Papa Bear” Halas, born into a family of Czech-Bohemian immigrants, helped found the league and served as a player-coach for the Chicago Staleys. Jim Thorpe, a Native American who is mentioned as one of the greatest athletes of the twentieth century, was named the APFA’s first president. The 1920 and 1921 APFA seasons saw the first African-American professional football players take the field, including Jay Mayo “Ink” Williams of the Hammond Professionals, a graduate of Brown University and a blues musician who was the first African-American producer at a major record label. In 1921, Frederick Douglass “Fritz” Pollard of the Akron Pros became the first African-American head coach in NFL history. There were 20 teams that competed during the 1921 APFA season, most of whom no longer exist. The 1921 APFA champion was determined by a tiebreaker rule long removed from the league’s rulebook. Great empires have been built on the backs of extraordinary people and behind obscure stories. As the NFL prepares for its centennial celebration, it is important to remember the pioneers who started the league and reminisce about a time that helped pave the way for future success. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to share the remarkable story of the 1921 APFA season, examine important events that helped shape the NFL, highlight the backgrounds and enduring narratives of several key figures involved, and provide greater historical context in understanding the social, cultural, economic, and political climate during this fascinating time period. Two rare historical artifacts, which may be the only two that exist of their kind, will be revealed and presented to help explain this story.



RITA LIBERTI, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY  
EAST BAY, 'INVESTING IN WOMANHOOD': DAVID DALLAS JONES AND BENNETT  
COLLEGE BASKETBALL IN THE 1930S

Throughout the 1930s, Bennett College, an all-female, historically black institution in Greensboro, North Carolina was home to one of the most successful women's basketball programs in the country. Bennett's history of women's involvement in the game during the 1930s is an interesting case study to more deeply understanding the contours of race and gender politics as they were played out on the basketball court. Importantly, as well, the program sheds light on how some in the black community constructed notions of athletic womanhood, amid tensions around race and gender (Liberti, 1999).

The team's network of support, during this period, came from various corners of the campus and wider community, including the school's president, David Dallas Jones. In *Active Bodies* (2012) Martha Verbrugge argues, compellingly, that ideas about, and programming for, physical education and athletics for women at educational institutions, while guided by national trends, were also driven by institutional priorities and the individual philosophies of campus leaders. Mindful of Verbrugge's emphasis on institutional uniqueness, this presentation seeks to interrogate President Jones' broader philosophy with regard to higher education among black women and his subsequent support for the school's competitive basketball program.

A range of primary source materials, including oral histories and archival materials housed at Bennett College, as well documents in the Robert Elijah Jones (David Jones' brother) papers at the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University are utilized to explore Jones' position with regard to competitive basketball on the campus. I argue that his enthusiasm in support of the activity was part of a larger strategy to empower black women, individually and collectively. In this way Jones' endorsement of the game was, like the campus he led, a site of resistance toward advancing racial and gender justice in the Jim Crow era.

ANDREW D. LINDEN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE  
'NOT A MARXIST CLASS STRUGGLE': CULTURAL POLITICS OF PROFESSIONAL  
FOOTBALL'S PLAYERS UNIONS, 1966-1970

When the National Football League (NFL) and the American Football League (AFL) agreed to play a championship game (that would become the Super Bowl) following the 1966 season, the two leagues ran as independent organizations until they officially merged in 1970. Correspondingly, the leagues' players unions—the NFLPA and the AFLPA—remained separate entities for those seasons. Players in both organizations, however, looked forward to 1970 and hoped to shape union ideology when the two joined. This presentation studies the transformations of ideas about unions in professional football during those four years and how resulting tensions between the two organizations affected the union idea as the leagues merged.

Professional football players had little success in unionizing for much of the sport's history. However, during these four years, though rife with disagreements in their own ranks, a small number of labor idealists brought new ideas to the sport. Some wanted minimal change. Others wanted broader systematic shifts. This presentation mainly focuses on two such individuals: AFLPA President and future Republican Party vice-presidential candidate Jack



Kemp, who wanted moderate advancements, and NFLPA vice-president Bernie Parrish, an ardent union activist (who worked with the Teamsters). Along with press coverage of the era, the presentation draws on the Jack Kemp Papers at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C., and Parrish's 1971 autobiography, *They Call It a Game*.

Led by Kemp, the AFLPA attempted to remain a loose coalition of united workers who believed that, in general, the league's power brokers (that is the owners and league managers) were out for the best interests of the players. The NFLPA, on the other hand, influenced by Parrish, advocated for a union movement influenced by the Old Left Marxist tradition. These differing styles of union activity stemmed from the various players' political affiliations and ambitions. Their divergent worldviews clashed in the late 1960s, affecting the course of the union movement when the leagues finally merged following in 1970.

GABE LOGAN, NORTHERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY  
ADJUSTING THE CARBURETORS: THE RISE AND FALL OF DETROIT'S HOLLEY  
CARBURETOR SOCCER CLUB 1924-1930

From 1924-1930 Detroit's Holley Brothers Carburetor Company sponsored a soccer team in Detroit's Major Soccer League. During its tenure, the Holley Carburetors proved themselves one of the strongest clubs in the league and the Midwest. Unfortunately for the region's soccer, the Holleys became a causality to anti-communism propaganda and economics. By the eve of the Great Depression, the management and the team ceased operations and folded. This presentation outlines the Holley Carburetors and Detroit soccer during the Roaring 20s. It describes how Detroit soccer rose to national prominence both in leadership to the United States Football Association (USFA), and as national contender for the championship trophy. It explains how the period's political unrest and Detroit's strong labor traditions clashed and forced the Holleys to fold.

The Holleys commenced play in the 1924-25 fall season. During their tenure they often finished at the top of the table with a line-up that featured an impressive roster of regional and international talent. As their reputation grew, they attracted additional star players from other soccer playing regions in the Midwest and East Coast, who relocated to Detroit to kick with the club. In 1927, the Holleys represented the "western" region in its bid for the United States' National Open Cup Championship. This tournament and trophy were emblematic of the nation's top soccer side. Although the Holley's lost the final it marked the first time a Detroit team competed in the championship match. In 1929-30, the Holleys were one of two Detroit teams that founded the Midwestern Inter-city League, an early attempt to professionalize soccer. This six-team circuit featured soccer clubs from Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland. With their powerhouse side, the Holleys again finished at the top of the table.

Despite the club's success it became a causality to the Great Depression's political and economic battles that rocked Detroit and the nation. A rival soccer organization, the Workers' Soccer League, affiliated with the United States' Communist Party (CPUSA) developed a strong soccer presence in the city. The USFA President, Armstrong Patterson, an avowed anti-communist and Detroit resident, barred the communist from competing with any USFA team. The Holleys crossed Patterson when they leased their soccer grounds to the Workers for a CPUSA tournament that proceeded the Holley's inter-city match against Cleveland. Patterson



suspended the Holleys for “aiding and abetting the enemy.” Thus, terminating one of Detroit’s finest soccer teams and arguably impeding Detroit’s soccer potential for decades.

EMANUEL MACEDO, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY  
THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-DOPING MOVEMENT AND THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE: AN  
UNEXAMINED INFLUENCE

Sport scholars often date the history of effective anti-doping policies to the twenty-first century with the arrival of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization’s (UNESCO) 2005 International Convention Against Doping. Indeed, WADA and the UNESCO convention come after decades of (fruitless) efforts, by the International Olympic Committee, to eliminate doping from international sport. Nevertheless, these efforts only paint a partial picture. In fact, today’s anti-doping policies are built on a foundation that was already articulated over decades by many different organizations, countries, and people outside the IOC and International Sport Federations (IF). Indeed, another international anti-doping actor, but as yet unexamined, is the Council of Europe (Council), an entity akin to the United Nations that sought to bring unity and peace to Europe after the Second World War.

While not strictly a sporting organization, the Council was an important international federation in post-war global relations that had a strong interest and standing committees devoted to sport and recreation. Indeed, the Council achieved a myriad of anti-doping legislative milestones long before WADA or UNESCO’s convention. Beginning in the late 1950s, the Council effectively mobilized European governments to create an international consciousness about the importance of eliminating doping in sport, even introducing the first international convention against doping in 1984. In addition, the Council’s earliest anti-doping work influenced and translated directly onto IOC anti-doping policies (that would later appear on WADA’s Code of policies). Thus, though many actors played influential roles in what would eventually become the post-WADA anti-doping atmosphere, this paper will highlight the role of the Council in prototyping much of the anti-doping governmental strategies seen or used by the IOC, WADA, and other sporting IFs. More importantly, substantial evidence suggests that the Council influenced the IOC, IFs, and WADA directly, supporting the idea that the Council played a key role rather than serving as a peripheral player. Given that existing scholarship has yet to fully account for the Council’s crucial early work, this leaves a large gap in the history of anti-doping policy.

By combining archival material from the Council, including various media, with existing historiography, this project presents the historical trajectory of the Council’s anti-doping policies. Illuminating the development of these anti-doping policies helps inform understandings of anti-doping governance, providing a more robust picture of the key actors in international anti-doping work. Highlighting the Council’s work should move the Council away from the peripheries of actors in the anti-doping movement and explain, in part, where the IOC, IFs, and WADA drew influence.



MALCOLM MACLEAN, THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND  
RETHINKING SETTLER COLONIAL RUGBY: PROBLEMATIZING SPORT THROUGH A  
DECOLONIAL LENS

The global study of sport is deeply intertwined with empire, especially the second British Empire where sport was and is widely seen as a civilizing tool, as cultural weapon in a mission to create Brown and Better Britons, alongside in some places the development of Better Britains. Sports history, quite properly, puts at the center of this process the public school and upper-middle class ideology of ‘athleticism’, and with it a moralistic ‘games ethic’, where public schools trained young men’s bodies to spread, grow and develop British imperial might: it has been suggested that the best qualification for aspirant members of the Sudanese ‘public service’ was an Oxford blue. Yet analyses of more recent eras to a large degree fail to recognize these imperial and colonial foundations to sports practice.

Even where this historical underpinning is recognized, it tends to rest on a number of presumptions, including a notion of the intentional or consequential diffusion of sport, a narrow specific definition of sport, ignorance of the views of indigenous peoples and those Othered by the implicit and explicit racial and cultural hierarchies of the post-Enlightenment era, and the long term benign effects of imperial and colonial occupation. As a consequence and in the absence of well-developed anthropological sensibility, British imperial/global sports studies in both its historical and sociological forms downplays the agency of indigenous and colonial/imperial Others to construct a universal global sports history rooted in the principles and outlooks of European modernity that marginalizes or denies the foundational roles of histories of colonialism, enslavement, dispossession and appropriation.

Drawing on cases from rugby union in Aotearoa/New Zealand, this paper considers the ways that decolonizing sports history might liberate global sport from its Eurocentric paradigms. The paper will explore the case of captain of the first representative team selected by rugby union’s national governing body in New Zealand and a regional competition in the late 1990s/early 2000s. It will ground those analyses in settlement histories that grant active roles to settler and indigenous societies that replace the universality of European modernity with the pluriversality of global relations and consider colonialism through lenses provided by Utopian Studies to suggest ways in which decolonizing sports studies might extend and enrich the field.

TIAGO J. MARANHÃO, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY  
‘DEANGLICIZED’: PHYSICAL CULTURE, BRITISH IMPERIALISM, AND NATIONAL  
IDENTITY IN MODERN BRAZIL

During the nineteenth century, modern sports—as Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning defined it—were organized and codified by the British and the popularization of those practices had its roots during the expansion of the Empire. In Brazil, a non-British colony, modern sports took place most strongly within social clubs. Examples of the modern bourgeoisie, these institutions appeared in Brazilian cities as centers of physical culture emulating Europe in an effort of popularizing sports through the elite in a more effective way. This case study contributes to the historiography of physical culture, race, and national identity by understanding



the role of modern sports (as a branch of physical culture) to integrate society and its impact on the debates that sought to construct a “Brazilian nation.”

In May 13, 1865, the English newspaper *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* published a text sent by the British community at the Brazilian city of Recife informing about a game of cricket played few months earlier. During the following years, other editions of English newspapers kept noticing about British games played ‘in the tropics’ and how those practices were responsible for ‘awakening up pleasant reminiscences’ of British homeland, even though the place in case never was a British colony.

Analyzing the case of Brazil, the main argument of this paper is that modern sports came to play a pivotal role in the symbolic amplification of British imperialism fundamentally with the transmission of its values to non-British territories during an era in which Britain affirmed its Empire also, and crucially, through moral dimensions. Moreover, this work sheds some light on the web of configuration through which Britons and Brazilian local elites created ties and strengthened a form of control in order to ‘civilize’ a society with a distinct colonial background. Finally, it analyzes this historical, intense agency that took place in Brazil and how it affected the debates on Brazilian national identity. The paper ends by explaining the neologism ‘deanglicized’, used in Portuguese in the twentieth century to exemplify the transition from British influence to a more singular “Brazilian way’ of practicing modern sports. The use of newspapers as primary source material is crucial in this paper given the habitually-overlooked relationship between the industries of modern sport and archival press.

JOHN R. MATCHIM, UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK  
THE BIBLE AND THE BALL: SPORT AND THE INTERNATIONAL GRENFELL  
ASSOCIATION IN THE SUBARCTIC CANADIAN EAST

In the early decades of the twentieth-century the subarctic regions of northern Newfoundland and Labrador, an obscure outpost of the British Empire, attracted growing interest from British, American and Canadian doctors seeking adventure on one of North America’s last ‘frontiers.’ They came to work for the medical-missionary International Grenfell Association (IGA), founded by British surgeon and evangelical Sir Wilfred Grenfell in 1914, and in addition to providing basic medical services IGA clinicians were fired by a desire to ‘improve’ the spiritual and moral condition of the local population. A central part of the IGA’s reforming project was sport and physical activity.

Using the IGA’s official organ *Among the Deep Sea Fishers*, Wilfred Grenfell’s own prolific writings, and the publications of supporting organizations such as the Physician and Surgeons’ Club of Columbia University, many of which have been digitized by Memorial University of Newfoundland, this paper will demonstrate that the promotion of sport and exercise was an important part of the IGA’s founding ethos and constituted one of the IGA’s more significant programs of cultural intervention. While the use of sport as an instrument of missionary work and imperialism was not unique to the IGA, the Association was distinctive in its eclectic array of sports and games. Clinicians from Britain, the United States and Canada brought association football, baseball and ice hockey, as well as the assumption that the cultivation of organized sport and exercise, like the establishment of scientific medicine, was a necessary precursor to the development of a civilized and progressive society.



However, while local Indigenous and settler communities sometimes adopted these sports in whole, they also rejected or modified others while continuing to pursue their own traditional games, games that were designed to help children acquire essential subsistence skills. The result was a sporting landscape unique to the subarctic regions of Labrador and northern Newfoundland, comprising local rural games and the urban sports of three industrial nations. Rather than a simple top down imposition of organized industrial sport by a colonial agent, sport and play in the IGA was negotiated and created opportunities for local communities to define and prove themselves against international medical professionals.

ERIN MCCARTHY, COLUMBIA COLLEGE CHICAGO  
BASEBALL NOT FOOTBALL: THE SPORT THAT MADE STAGG

Based on recently digitized sources and a reinterpretation of existing research, this paper documents and analyses how the sport of baseball—not football--made it possible for Amos Alonzo Stagg to escape what should have been a meager economic destiny and create his own unique path to become the “Grand Old Man of Football.”

The name Stagg has long been synonymous with collegiate football. While his reputation and record as the first professional college football coach is well deserved, acceptance of this often-repeated Horatio Alger-like narrative—which begins at Yale with Stagg’s conversion from champion hurler to football All-American—ignores how Stagg, born into abject poverty, was able to attend an elite college prep school and get into Yale at a time when less than two-percent of seventeen-year-olds went to college.

Born in 1862, the fifth of eight children, Stagg’s unusual journey from Orange, New Jersey, to New Haven, Connecticut parallels the growing popularity of organized baseball during the postbellum period and through the 1880s. Although family lineage could be traced back to the founders of the Oranges, Stagg’s father worked as a day-laborer and the family lived among poor Irish immigrants. Stagg’s baseball “career” started with the neighborhood “gang.” He learned how to throw a curve as a young teenager and continued to play through district and high school. His fervent interest in baseball carried him to Phillips Exeter Academy where he prepared for the Yale entrance exam and quickly earned a starting position on the baseball nine. While at Exeter, news of Stagg’s rising baseball prowess spread, and the captain of the Dartmouth nine did his best to lure Stagg to Hanover. At Yale, Stagg built his collegiate credentials on baseball, the glee club, and as a Yale Daily editor. He rarely played football—often complaining about the beating he took as a scrub or substitute—until the fall of 1888 when he was recruited by Walter Camp to play end full time on the eleven.

By the time Stagg left Yale in 1890, he was the most famous collegiate athlete of his time—he built his fame on pitching (five championships) and secured it with a place on the first All-American football team in 1889.

As he mapped out his future, Stagg couldn’t see a role for himself as a player or a coach in the professional game of baseball--he soon realized football was his future.



MATTHEW L McDOWELL, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH  
TEACHING (THE) HISTORY OF/IN SPORT IN SCOTTISH/UK UNDERGRADUATE AND  
POSTGRADUATE SPORT MANAGEMENT DEGREE PROGRAMS: PROBLEMS AND  
POSSIBILITIES

This paper will examine the author's personal experiences of teaching the history of sport, and teaching sport management, policy, and research methods as an historian of sport, on BSc (four-year) and MSc sport management programs at a Scottish university over the course of the past six years. (The author has a PhD in Scottish history, and spent the first five years of his academic career teaching on history/Scottish studies programs.)

While the rise of sport management programs in the UK is certainly linked to their popularity in the US as means by which students can gain skills for employment (an assumption which is not unproblematic), the specific context of UK academia during the past thirty years has been one of neoliberal expansion, where teaching and research "successes" are increasingly being "scientifically" quantified (Wilton, 2011; De Angelis and Harvie, 2009). The irony of the expansion of sport management programs in the UK has been that, in parallel to the rise of employers' involvement in being able to shape degrees and a new set of metrics examining post-graduation employment, the rollout of the Research Excellence Framework – and its requirements for academics to have active research/publication portfolios – means that it is proving difficult to recruit academics whose expertise lies solely in the management of sport. Inevitably social science/humanities subjects and approaches find their ways into the curriculum.

This paper expands upon the works of Johnes (2004), de Wilde and Seifried (2018), and the author himself (McDowell, 2015) in discussing how an historian works within such a context. The BSc program currently has as part of its required courses a fourth-year module on the history of sport in Scotland and the UK (and, in turn, features tutorials on archival and digital historical research). However, the author has also incorporated historical theory into discussion of management and sporting provision, and has used Olympic oral history transcripts from the LA84 Foundation's online library to help create sessions on analyzing unstructured qualitative data – the latter subject having few guides for how to create classroom activities. History has also shaped how the author has taught writing skills, and how dissertations have been supervised. This paper will take a reflexive, qualitative approach towards examining how successful this teaching has been, what the necessity of teaching history might be in the context of a sport management program, and more problematic dilemmas of how to teach critical history within a program which explicitly advertises its ability to serve the appetites of employers.

This paper is meant to stimulate discussion, and is part of two wider projects which examine the practice of the teaching of the history of sport within management areas, and the rise of sport/event management as a profession and an academic disciplinary field.

TAYLOR MCKEE, WESTERN UNIVERSITY AND BRITTANY REID, THOMPSON RIVERS  
UNIVERSITY  
NORTHERN ROMANTICISM: ROMANTIC NATURE IN CANADIAN HOCKEY LITERATURE

In 2003, the NHL hosted its first outdoor game as part of regular season play. Heralded as the "Heritage Classic," outdoor games have since become a regular fixture of the NHL season,



resulting in the creation of the “Winter Classics,” “Stadium Series,” several more “Heritage Classics,” and other similar events. Resultantly, since 2008, every NHL season has featured at least one outdoor game as part of its regular season schedule, which has spread to many other leagues across North America. As the names of these games and the terms “heritage,” “classic,” and “winter” here connote, the NHL’s movement outdoors is a self-conscious attempt to harken back to an idyllic view of hockey from years past that is inherently pure, seasonal, detached from urbanity, and set against nature. By explicitly evoking bygone images of pond hockey, shinny, and outdoor rinks that pervade modern hockey mythology, these outdoor events key into a pervasive fiction regarding hockey’s irrevocable bond with the great outdoors. Despite the fact that the material realities of the game now mean that fewer players will have directly experienced hockey in such forms, the association between hockey and the natural world still pervades the ways we interpret, identify with, and subsequently market the game. But if hockey has been increasingly removed from this natural context, as Michael McKinley has chronicled in *Putting a Roof on Winter* (2000), why does the lure of the outdoor game persist? Why, in the twenty-first century, is this golden-age fantasy still so compelling for hockey fans and lucrative for professional hockey?

In this paper, we explore how hockey has been intrinsically linked to the natural world through the Canadian literary tradition and interrogate the broader effects of this interrelationship. More specifically, we argue that this thematic connection is enabled through hockey literature’s formal and generic associations with Romantic literature. Romanticism, and its creative exploration of humanity’s relationship with the natural world, became popular in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, leading many authors to write about the beauty and splendor of nature as a site of leisure and a welcome reprieve from city life. Through our paper, we argue that Canadian hockey literature, both historically and in its current state, is a creative corollary of this Romantic literary tradition, especially in terms of the heightened role of natural settings. To complete our analysis, we will explore the various uses of nature in several key texts, including: Roch Carrier’s *The Hockey Sweater* (1979), Richard Wagamese’s *Indian Horse* (2012), and Randall Maggs’ *Night Work: The Sawchuk Poems* (2008). Furthermore, we will situate these examples within the broader tradition of Romanticism to demonstrate how each depiction envisions Romantic nature as a key trope of

Canadian hockey literature. In doing so, we will not only place Canadian hockey literature within the Romantic genre of fiction, but also unpack how this formative myth has directly influenced the way hockey continues to be played, viewed, and commodified in Canadian culture.

BRENDA L. MEESE, THE COLLEGE OF WOOSTER

MARIA SEXTON: A BRIDGE TO COMPETITIVE ATHLETICS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

During the development of sport for women, two groups struggled for control of the direction women’s sport would go. Most women physical educators eschewed highly competitive sport at the high school and college level, advocating instead a philosophy of moderation, modification and separation. Men were not allowed! Outside educational institutions, men controlled sport through such organizations as the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), the U.S. Olympic Committee (USOC), national and international federations, and industrial sport programs. Through institutions such as these, women had the opportunity to play



high-level competitive sport, but very little opportunity to govern or coach within these organizations.

During the 1950's and 1960's, women leaders began to emerge who challenged the notion that girls and women should not be allowed to play high-level sport in high schools and colleges. One such early pioneer, Dr. Maria Sexton, played a critical role in bridging the divide between educational institutions and high-level sport outside the colleges. An early advocate for national championships for college women, Dr. Sexton was one of the three women who wrote the by-laws for the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW). In addition, she served on several national committees within the AAU and USOC, both for track and field and women's basketball. Her advocacy work for girls and women in sport served as a critical bridge between these two groups.

While recognized by various institutions for her work in women's athletics (among them, the Ohio Women's Hall of Fame), surprisingly little has been written about her life and career within athletics. Through an examination of Maria Sexton's personal papers and photographs, the author will explore the various roles this hidden pioneer played in moving women's intercollegiate sport from play days and sport days to national championships. Specific attention will be paid to her role in starting varsity sport at the College of Wooster, her "missionary" work through DGWS and NAGWS in teaching women how to coach and officiate sports, her role in the development of the AIAW, and her service on national committees for women's basketball and track and field at critical times in their development. The author hopes that this paper will ensure that Dr. Maria Sexton's legacy is no longer hidden or forgotten.

**RYAN MURTHA, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN**  
**DAVE WILLOUGHBY, RENAISSANCE MAN**

Despite his significant influence on early weightlifting in the United States, Dave Willoughby's life is yet to receive consummate levels of attention from sport historians. He may not have the name recognition of a Sandow or the records of a Kono, but Willoughby's place in the pantheon of Iron Game legends should be no less assured. It is Willoughby who is largely responsible for the push for legitimacy in the sport during the first half of the 20th century. His skepticism of the supposed feats of strength of other lifters led directly to the bevy of judges and scales that now mark any lifting competition. And his fastidious record keeping offer us a detailed view into the anatomy of his fellow lifters.

But if that was all Willoughby did, there would be little to separate him from any number of trailblazers of the early Iron Games. What makes Willoughby especially interesting is that he managed to have this impact of lifting while also accomplishing so much away from the sport; in fact, his own obituary instead labeled him a "scientific artist," eschewing any mention of his athletic ties. The man was an internationally recognized authority on horses, and worked for a time on the NASA space program. He wrote books on gorillas, and was fascinated by all sorts of large game animals. During the Second World War, he was at Cal Tech, helping to build rockets for the Navy (and all this without a high school diploma).

Despite these varied interests, Willoughby found time to create his own mail-order lifting program, and wrote extensively for many of the big-name lifting and bodybuilding magazines of his day. To talk about American lifting in the 20th century without mentioning Dave Willoughby



would be to provide an incomplete picture, yet thus far no wholistic biography has been written. This paper aims to be the first.

As little secondary literature exists on the man, this paper will draw almost exclusively from Willoughby's own writings for various publications, as well as his personal correspondence, all found in the Lutchter J. Stark Center for Physical Culture & Sports. It would work well in a session looking at physical culture, or one on weight lifting in the United States.

**DANIEL NATHAN, SKIDMORE COLLEGE**  
**AT THE PALIO AND THE LIMITS OF REPRESENTATION**

Hundreds of years old, the Palio is a horse race run twice a summer (on July 2 and August 16) in Siena, Italy, a Tuscan hill town with a Medieval wall encircling it, narrow streets, and “elegantly simple buildings in earthen colors with terra-cotta roofs.” The race features ten half-bred horses and their jockeys, who ride bareback while wearing colorful costumes, each of whom represents one of the city’s seventeen *contrada* (districts or traditional neighborhoods). The race is relatively short. It is three furious laps around the city’s beautiful Piazza del Campo, in the shadow of the Palazzo Pubblico (town hall) and the Torre del Mangia, on a carefully crafted but temporary race track composed of dirt and sand. Once the horses are off, the race takes roughly 90 seconds. Approximately 40,000 people cram into and around the Piazza del Campo to watch the race and cheer for their *contrada*.

It is difficult to overstate this: for most Sienese, the Palio is deeply meaningful and important. It is much more than a mere horse race. It is a bi-annual civic ritual defined by its many traditions, rich pageantry, and the passion it evokes. Historian Gerald Parsons observes that “that the *Palio* is central to the Sienese sense of identity and self-understanding. It sustains and underpins the Sienese perception of their uniqueness and individuality, their proud recollection of a past history as an independent city-state, and their continuing belief in the distinct and special character of Siena and its culture, history, and institutions.”

Part film review of Cosima Spender’s documentary *Palio* (2015), part book review of John Hunt’s *Palio* (2015), part travelogue of my experience at the Palio in July 2018, this paper is a meditation on different forms of historical and cultural knowledge, on different kinds of texts and perspectives, issues which have long fascinated me. It compares and contrasts the experience of being at the Palio with the versions of the event that Spender and Hunt have crafted and argues that the Palio exemplifies the limits of historical representation.

**Alex Nunez, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA**  
**A CATCHER'S MASK: VINCENT NAVA, BASEBALL'S COLOR LINE, AND MEXICAN**  
**AMERICAN RACIALIZATION**

As the baseball community prepares to celebrate Jackie Robinson's 100th birthday this year, his legacy continues to serve as a constant reminder about the strides the sport has taken to become more diverse, inclusive, and global. Yet for more than six decades before he breached the color line, other nonwhite individuals attempted to participate in baseball's highest professional ranks, calling into question not only the tenant of racial segregation, but also how to



precisely define inclusion and exclusion. For those whose "race" was unclear, the baseball field became a middle ground of citizenship, politics, and ideas about belonging.

The career of Vincent Nava, a Mexican American from San Francisco, highlights the tenuousness of baseball's color line and the simplicity of its imposed black/white binary. When Nava signed with the Providence Grays in 1882, it forced the sport to question if an ethnically Latin player should be allowed to participate in a profession designated for white men, complicating their understanding of racial logic and propelling negotiations of acceptance among the press, fans, players, and administrators. More importantly, Nava's career and the conversation of his inclusion in the sport also symbolize the pursuit of equality and citizenship for other Mexican Americans living in the postbellum United States, whose racial ambiguity often transcended the binary constructions of race that had been so entrenched in American institutions of power. For Nava, baseball was a way to demonstrate belonging through the projection of ideal forms of masculinity, social mobility, and other characteristics associated with whiteness, and his quest to participate in the sport aligns with the goals of many other Mexican Americans to enter into and participate in traditionally white spaces. This line of reasoning suggests that rather than highlighting divergent aspects of their heritage as positives, Mexican Americans often engaged in forms of racial passing in order to gain acceptance and take advantage of the benefits of white racial structures. At the same time, these efforts also illuminate the unique forms of discrimination and exclusion that Mexican Americans experienced in the process as a result of their color and culture. But for Nava and others, in-between-ness did not mean powerlessness, and their attempts to circumnavigate the color line in all aspects of American society deepen our understanding of the fluidity of the race-making process, how nonwhite populations resisted oppression, and how sports can enrich those conversations.

ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY  
ON THIN ICE: SITUATING TWENTIETH CENTURY BLACK ATHLETES WITHIN  
CANADIAN SOCIETY

At the onset of the 20th century, Canada's British roots fuelled a tenacious belief among nationalists that Anglo-conformity (i.e., a White Canada) was the only solution to ensuring unity. Thus, Black Canadians occupied the lowest rung of the ladder, alongside other groups such as Indigenous and Chinese peoples, with White British Protestants on top. The myth of the Promised Land persisted even as targeted immigration policies led to a decline in the Black Canadian population size between the 1930s to the 1950s. As a nation, Canada continued to be defined by its ambition to establish itself as a mirror of Great Britain, making it difficult for Black Canadians to reach for the same opportunities as their fellow White Canadians. The latter also became convinced that Black people did not belong, as 'proven' by the United States' tense racial relations and enactment of Jim Crow laws. Yet, one could not have easily construed this conflict from a cursory glance at the Canadian sporting field which, with a few exceptions, displayed widespread integration by the mid-20th century. High profile Black Canadian athletes from the 1910s to the 1960s projected an image of integration within society that hardly held up inside the sport arena, and even less outside of it.

Analysis of newspapers, autobiographies, oral histories, and secondary sources establish that perceived access and inclusion constituted a veil for unwritten rules that set limits for



individuals' progress in and out of sport. Lack of transparency with regards to racial relations meant that the ideal presented was illusory; even contemporary White sport journalists took notice. Evidence suggests that, during most of the 20th century, integrated sport effectively reflected the fallacy of equal opportunity in the de facto segregated nation. Notably, baseball pioneer Jackie Robinson's successful passage through Montreal has been found to have created a myth of upward mobility and of "benign treatment of Black people in Canada." Other individual athletes' narratives also suggest that, while some relationships were forged between Blacks and Whites through sport, they were mostly insubstantial. Instead, a pattern emerges from sport that underscores the superficiality of Black people's integration within Canadian society.

THOMAS P. OATES, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

### BLACKBALL: CONNIE HAWKINS, RACE, AND COMMERCIALIZED BASKETBALL

During the 1950s and 1960s, playground basketball emerged as a key site in the gambling scandals that threatened the game's viability. During this same period however, aspects of basketball associated with the playground increasingly found traction with mainstream audiences. By grappling with these early attempts to profit from and contain the playground game, this paper aims to build a genealogy of the "ghettocentric logic" characterizing basketball marketing in the early 21st century.

This paper offers a focus on Connie Hawkins' basketball career as a means to explore mainstream U.S. culture's enduring, yet fraught relationship with playground basketball. News accounts from the period as well as popular retellings of Hawkins' career offer a window on the ambivalent (but steadily growing) influence of urban black culture on elite basketball. Hawkins' reputation was forged at Harlem's Rucker Park and other outdoor venues. Though one of the most gifted players of his generation, Hawkins found himself implicated in a point shaving scandal and was banished from college basketball and the NBA. As a figure from New York City playgrounds, he was portrayed in the popular press as part of a morally compromised subculture, a contagion from which the legitimate game needed to be protected. Hawkins was expelled from Iowa and went undrafted by the NBA for several years, until a lawsuit forced a settlement that allowed Hawkins to play in the league in 1969, when he was 27.

Before that, Hawkins carved out a career at the margins of professional basketball. He first played in the American Basketball League (ABL), then with the Harlem Globetrotters, followed by a stint in the American Basketball Association (ABA). The paper examines each of these organizations to understand their attempt to market features of playground basketball to mainstream consumers.

The paper examines the tension between moralistic revulsion and aesthetic attraction characterizing mainstream attitudes toward the playground game. Understanding these attitudes can help us better appreciate the dynamics and contradictions of what George Lipstiz calls the "white spatial imaginary," an organized form of thought that helps perpetuate racial segregation and other forms of racial and spatial injustice.



CHRISTINE O'BONSAWIN, UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA  
PROVISIONAL RECOGNITION, PRECARIOUS POSITION: INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTY,  
LACROSSE, AND THE OLYMPIC MOVEMENT

In November 2018, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) granted World Lacrosse provisional recognition, formally accepting this international sports federation (IF) within the Olympic movement. World Lacrosse's application for provisional recognition was, nonetheless, only the first of numerous steps required in the movement's lengthy and involved process for full recognition. Various obstacles remain in place, some of which will inevitably forestall, and perhaps preclude, the federation's full acceptance in the movement in the imminent future. Some of these hurdles include the need for higher global athlete participation, field and format considerations, gender equity, and inconsistent approval processes for member nations. Concerning the latter, World Lacrosse is the only IF to recognize an Indigenous nation as a constituent member. The IOC, on the other hand, has no mechanism for recognizing Indigenous nationhood.

World Lacrosse is in a precarious position indeed. In seeking full acceptance within the Olympic movement, it is expected that the federation will take the necessary steps to resolve obstacles encumbering the sport internationally. The organization's longstanding practice for recognizing the Haudenosaunee – a confederacy of six nations spanning across the imposed borders of settler colonial Canada and the United States – as a full constituent member is perhaps the most politically and legally involved process for World Lacrosse and the IOC to disentangle moving forward. This seemingly incommensurable obstacle is not insurmountable, however. This paper first traces the return of the Haudenosaunee to international lacrosse, positioning the reformation of the team in the 1980s as both rooted in Haudenosaunee cultural practice and as a temporal response to the apparatuses of settler colonialism. Second, this paper examines practices within the Olympic movement affecting Indigenous peoples, communities, and nations across the globe, identifying historical disregard for such peoples as well as deliberate efforts presently to circumvent mounting international pressure to recognize and affirm the rights of Indigenous peoples across the globe. As World Lacrosse seeks full acceptance in the Olympic movement, the IOC must acknowledge that Indigenous nations around the world continue to possess inalienable rights, increasingly recognized in national and international spheres. As such, the IOC must transcend historical and enduring conformist failures sustaining the interests of settler colonial states, no longer tenable nor tolerable in this era of decolonization, cultural revival, and Indigenous resurgence.

This paper consults existing literature as well as primary sources, including organizational Charters, strategic plans, minutes, etc., to juxtapose the historical practices of World Lacrosse and IOC and ultimately differentiate the federation's longstanding practice of recognizing Indigenous sovereignty from the IOC's conventional process for establishing its membership. Further, this paper consults documents of the IOC and United Nations, specifically Olympic Charters and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). If the IOC seeks to recognize sovereign Indigenous nations as full member nations in the imminent future, it may draw from its partnership arrangements with the UN, notably the UNDRIP



document, thereby applying familial mechanisms for overcoming its orthodox framework for determining membership.

GARY OSMOND, THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND  
SPORT IN THE TORRES STRAIT: ISLAND STUDIES, THE ARCHIPELAGIC TURN AND  
IDENTITY

Torres Strait Islanders and Aboriginal people constitute Australia's Indigenous population. While historians have extensively documented and analyzed the sport history of Aboriginal Australians, the same cannot be said for the Torres Strait, a region between Cape York in Australia's north-east and New Guinea. Comprising 274 islands, of which 17 are populated today by people of two traditional language groups, the Torres Strait Islands were administered by the Government of Queensland under repressive colonial legislation for most of the twentieth century. During that period, some traditional sports continued but Western sports, particularly basketball and rugby league football, thrived. These introduced sports contributed not only to social life in the Torres Strait, but also to identity building as the islands emerged from the colonial period.

My focus is on Thursday Island, the administrative and commercial capital of the Torres Strait, from which Islanders were effectively excluded as residents until after the Second World War, and the role of sport in identity development during the 1960s and 1970s. Based on archival documents, newspaper reports and oral history interviews, I argue that sport contributed to racial integration on, and the re-indigenization of, Thursday Island. My second focus is on the role of sport in building a broader Torres Strait identity by connecting Thursday Island not only with the outer islands but also with close regional neighbors in Cape York Aboriginal communities and in Papua New Guinea. Conceptually, I am guided by the field of island studies, which emphasizes the uniqueness and significance of islands historically, culturally and in others spheres, and by the archipelagic turn in island studies that theorizes island interconnectivity.

TOLGA OZYURTCU, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
BLACK AND WHITE AND SHRED ALL OVER: *SKATEBOARDER* MAGAZINE AND THE  
INVENTION OF A SPORT

With two years to go before skate boarding's Olympic debut at the Tokyo 2020 games, it is hard to question the legitimacy of the sport: supported by a multibillion-dollar industry and massive global fanbase, the once-rebellious pastime is now firmly part of the mainstream. Of course, this was not always the case. The sport enjoyed a brief—yet intense—burst of popularity in the mid-1960s, but had essentially disappeared by the start of the next decade. Driven by new technologies, skateboarding returned in the mid-1970s and survived the bursting of an industry bubble in the early 1980s before beginning the slow roll toward its commercial and Olympic destiny.

Skateboard media today are multi-platform and seemingly ubiquitous. From ESPN's massively successful X Games franchise to the Thrasher brand, which has transitioned from an insider's magazine to a full-blown lifestyle brand. But, in the beginning there was *The Quarterly Skateboarder* (TQS), the first magazine dedicated solely to skateboarding. The brainchild of



legendary Surfer magazine publisher, John Severson, *TQS* debuted in 1965, quickly becoming the editorial voice of the sport. By 1966, as kids ditched their skateboards in pursuit of the next fad, the magazine ceased publication. A second act would follow, when the rebranded *Skateboarder* made its debut in 1975 and emerged as the key publication of the “second wave” of the sport.

Primarily drawing on the original press runs of *TQS* and *Skateboarder*, this paper examines and explores the role of print media in the invention and early development of skateboarding as a sport. These magazines were not simply chronicles of the nascent sport, but played an active part in shaping the behaviors, beliefs, and core values of the skateboarding community at-large. In editorial content, interviews, and advertising, early skaters considered a wide range of issues, such as the importance of competitions vs. riding for pleasure, the influence of advertising and sponsorship on the ethos of the sport, matters of gender and class, and the social and moral responsibilities of skaters as athletes and community members. As the sport found its footing, these magazines provided a sense of community, coaching and instruction, a marketplace for equipment and accessories, and the aesthetic imperatives that birthed the notion of the skateboarding “lifestyle.”

The paper also considers mainstream media coverage of skateboarding from the 1960s and 1970s, including popular newspapers and magazines, as well as the occasional moments that the sport appeared on network television. Contextualized via these sources, my exploration of the early skateboard magazines aims to achieve two goals. First, the paper traces the trajectory of major themes in the skateboard industry and subculture, with particular attention to how these themes first emerged and have since been adapted and reimagined as the sport has evolved. Second, from the close analysis of skateboarding, the paper offers broader insights toward understanding how some activities “become” sports and how subcultural lifestyles are developed, adopted, and negotiated.

VICTORIA PARASCHAK, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

ASSESSING TRC CALL TO ACTION #87: PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT THROUGH WIKIPEDIA  
AND INDIGENOUSSPORTHISTORY.CA

In 2015, the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was released in Canada. Ninety-four Calls to Action were included to address the damages that had been wrought on Indigenous children through the Indian Residential School system, with five specifically addressing Indigenous sport in Canada. Drawing on a strengths and hope perspective, we have worked to facilitate the generation of easily-located Wikipedia entries on elite Indigenous athletes since 2017, and a website, [indigenoussporthistory.ca](http://indigenoussporthistory.ca) since 2018. The intention behind these two public history projects is addressing TRC Call to Action #87: “*We call upon all levels of government, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, sports halls of fame, and other relevant organizations, to provide public education that tells the national story of Aboriginal athletes in history.*” (TRC, 2015, 336). Josh Howard (2018) recently explored the relationship between public history and sport, defining public history as “the presence, usage, and effects the past has on our everyday lived realities...an entire way of doing professional historical work for audiences beyond other academics.” (pp. 24-25) In this presentation, we begin to assess the effectiveness of these projects for public education “beyond other



academics”. Statistics tied to Wikipedia usage as well as to the website are the starting point for this assessment. Given that our desired end point is laying the foundation for widely-accessed public knowledge about Aboriginal athletes in history, we first highlight the strengths currently present in the two formats we’ve chosen to deliver this public education. We then reflect on additional efforts or ‘next steps’ related to our current projects that might further enhance public engagement with this information. Our suggestions relate to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences.

The public usage measure for this assessment draws on available statistical traffic data tied to the 181 Wikipedia entries and the website. The use of academic presentations about and student assignments to enhance these projects are then examined to assess academic awareness about these projects amongst both professors and students. Engagement in these projects by Indigenous athletes, researchers on Indigenous sport, and programmers of Indigenous sport opportunities are also explored. We argue that the foundation for widespread academic usage of these avenues for public education has been laid. However, to reach the broader public, we recommend the creation of school lesson units incorporating the use of these materials, which would greatly enhance the wider public’s awareness and use of this material. This presentation assists us, and other sport historians to reflect on how best to tell “the national story of Aboriginal athletes in history”, which is the beginning point of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada, as laid out in the TRC report.

ANDREW B. PETTIT, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

### PROGRESS AND THE STRUGGLE: PIERRE DE COUBERTIN, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, AND THE PROGRESSIVE CHARACTER OF OLYMPISM

In April 1899, recently returned war-hero Theodore Roosevelt gave a speech in Chicago where he espoused the virtues of the strenuous life. “I preach to you,” said Roosevelt, “that our country calls not for the life of ease but for the life of strenuous endeavor.” Roosevelt concludes arguing, “for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.”

Nine years later, the founder of the Olympic Games would similarly invoke the virtue of the strenuous life while giving a speech at an event hosted by the British government honoring guests of the ongoing 1908 Olympic Games in London, England. Coubertin decreed, what is perhaps the most well-known and celebrated Olympic maxim, that “the important thing in life is not the triumph, but the struggle; the essential thing is not to conquer, but to fight well.” Continuing on, Coubertin further declared that “to spread these precepts is to create a more valiant, stronger humanity, one that is also more scrupulous and more generous.”

Ripe with ideological imagery and rhetorical flare, these passages are apt examples of the progressive ethos which permeated and influenced a great amount of diverse populations throughout Western Europe and North America during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. While progressivism was never a unified movement which can be narrowly understood, historians Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick broadly situate the progressive movement as a socio-political phenomenon originating from enlightenment thought and the advent of industrialization. The one unifying element amongst the so-called progressives being a strong reformist ethic which informed their causes.



The purpose of this paper is to situate Pierre de Coubertin, as exemplified through his reverence of and relationship with Theodore Roosevelt, within the context of the Progressive Era. By doing so, this paper seeks to investigate the progressive influence on Coubertin's continuously developing conception of his ideology of Olympism. This will be done through a comparative textual analysis of the vast amounts of primary source documents written and orated by Coubertin and Roosevelt. Indeed, Coubertin saw Roosevelt as a kindred spirit relating to matters close to the Olympic Movement and physical education reform. As such, Coubertin actively sought the 26th American President as an ally and patron of the International Olympic Committee- to which Roosevelt passively obliged.

Using the idea of the struggle as a springboard into the progressive thought that guided both Coubertin and Roosevelt through much of their practical and intellectual endeavors, my argument is that the Olympic Games are very much a product of the progressive era. In accepting this as such, I proceed to craft an understanding of key Olympic doctrines regarding the individual and community, democracy, and peace among nations through the progressive lens. The importance of this being to provide a more holistic insight into the ideological foundations and nature of a sporting movement that continues to exert great influence on governments and people's lives to this day.

LINDSAY PARKS PIEPER, UNIVERSITY OF LYNCHBURG  
ROBERTA PARK'S INFLUENCE ON PRESENT AND FUTURE SPORT HISTORY  
SCHOLARSHIP

The first issue of the *Journal of Sport History (JSH)* was published in the spring of 1974. Volume 1, issue 1, included three articles on baseball history, one historiographical essay, and four book reviews. Three years later, Roberta J. Park authored her first article for *JSH*, joining Ellen Gerber and Nancy Struna as the pioneering female scholars published in the journal. Park's piece published the following year, "Embodied Selves," won the *JSH* Best Article of the Year for 1978, an honor bestowed on her work two additional times, for 1987 and 1991. Her numerous (over 100) publications appeared in a variety of other journals, including the *International Journal of the History of Sport*, *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, *Quest*, and *Stadion*. The sheer number of sport-related publications she authored, combined with the awards her articles earned, illustrate the breadth and importance of Park's scholarship.

This paper discusses Roberta J. Park's influence on sport history scholarship. Her canonical writings on eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries physical education, health, and exercise have been foundational. She not only highlighted the importance of recreation and exercise in these eras, but also connected the past to the present to argue for the importance of physical activity in contemporary settings. Moreover, she deployed a broad definition of exercise, recreation, and sport to illustrate the historical trajectories of different disciplines, such as physical education and sport science. Finally, Park was one of the first sport historians to bring women and a gendered lens into the conversation. As a result, her work has been cited by sport historians and scholars from other disciplines, including those in American studies, communication studies, exercise physiology, gender studies, physical education, and sport science. Park's scholarship demonstrates the importance of critical interdisciplinarity work in the



history of health sciences, which provides a useful model for sport historians who are increasingly finding academic homes in kinesiology programs.

AISHWARYA RAMACHANDRAN, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA  
REIMAGINING THE *NAUTCH* GIRL: THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN DANCE SCHOLARSHIP  
THROUGH THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES

For a long time, dance in India was perceived to be the domain of men, its “purity” preserved by lineages of male students and teachers, while female dancers were accused of sensualizing and ultimately debasing the performing arts. Only in recent scholarship have women’s contributions to the development of Indian classical dance begun to be fully recognized. This paper will trace the historiographical debates surrounding Indian classical dance from the 1960s to the present, with a specific focus on the *nautch* or “dancing” girl.

*Nautch* girls were courtesans, patronized by Mughal and other indigenous aristocrats, who were trained primarily in dance and music among other gesturing forms in Indian aesthetics. They were part of a highly competitive and hierarchical system of performers, undergoing rigorous daily training, called *riyaz*, in a number of different dance forms, for several years. Often beginning the process in childhood, only a select number of *nautch* girls were talented enough to be able to find long term or aristocratic patrons. Until the 20th century, they tended to be educated and wealthy, but the loss of royal patronage and the efforts of British officials, missionaries and Indian nationalists to ban the profession led to the successful organization of an “Anti-*Nautch*” movement at the fin de siècle. The campaign declared all classes of dancing girls to be prostitutes, and as a result, by the early 20th century, performing dance in public was considered improper for women.

From the 1960s, much of the research on dance focused on furthering the “dominant narrative”, which suggested that Indian classical dance originated in an ancient Hindu past and was associated with Sanskrit dramaturgy texts and discourse. It also claimed that by early Mughal period, which saw the establishment of a tradition of royal patronage for female performers and courtesans, dance became increasingly superficial and debauched due to the *nautch* girl’s involvement in sex work. By the mid-1980s however, researchers from History, Anthropology, Women’s and Gender Studies and the Performance Arts were examining the *nautch* from a postcolonial and feminist perspective. Significantly, these authors claimed that the *nautch* girl was a talented performer in her own right, led a relatively emancipated lifestyle, and suggested that the anti-*nautch* movement of the late 19th century was due to Victorian and Hindu conservatism, and concerns around respectability.

Throughout the 21st century, scholars have continued to adopt a feminist stance in their examination of the *nautch* girls, treating them as central to their research, and focusing on their significant contributions to Indian classical dance. Importantly, recent studies have attempted to move beyond the basics, and thus essentializing narratives that either wholly denigrate the *nautch* girl for her involvement in sex work, or celebrate her as an idealized figure of emancipation or resistance. There is also a growing interest in supporting historical sources with anthropological methodologies, primarily ethnographic fieldwork, to study contemporary groups of female dancers, focusing on their continuing marginalization by the postcolonial state.



DANYEL REICHE, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT  
THE HISTORY OF ELIGIBILITY RULES IN RUGBY: NATIONAL REPRESENTATION  
WITHOUT CITIZENSHIP

Who can represent a country in major events and under which conditions? Who is included in global sporting competitions, and who is excluded and cannot participate? I will concentrate on both codes of rugby, rugby league and rugby union, which have rules of the game that deviate from the eligibility criteria of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and major federations.

Citizenship is not the only criterion in rugby league and rugby union that makes possible inclusion in a national team. There are two other options: proof of ancestry, defined as citizenship of parents or grandparents, and proof of residence (five years in rugby league; currently three years in rugby union and five years from 2021 onwards). The latter option is described by World Rugby as a “sporting naturalization procedure, based on a geographical/presence test.”

The rules from the Rugby League International Federation (RLIF) and World Rugby are different from those within the Olympic eligibility criteria. The Olympic Charter states, “Any competitor in the Olympic Games must be a national of the country of the NOC which is entering such competitor.” Consequently, in the Olympics (which readmitted rugby union into the Olympic program in 2016 with the rugby sevens shortened version) World Rugby is required to respect the IOC rules (which stand above the federations’ rules in this case) and may only allow players who have obtained citizenship from the country they represent to compete. In contrast, at the 2015 rugby union World Cup 131 out of 620 players (21%) did not hold citizenship from the country they represented. At the 2017 rugby league World Cup, there were even entire national teams, such as Lebanon, comprised of players without citizenship who qualified via the ancestry rule.

Rugby union is lenient in defining nationality but quite strict when it comes to proof of loyalty to the country represented. Since January 2000, rugby union players are required to commit for life to a national team. Rugby league has such a “one-country-for-life” rule only for the narrowly defined group of Tier 1 countries, comprised only of Australia, England and New Zealand.

My presentation will start with an explanation of the differences between rugby league and rugby union and how both sports have evolved over time, with rugby union becoming the far more popular code globally. I will then explore the historical roots of rugby league and rugby union’s unique eligibility criteria and analyze World Rugby and RLIF’s rationale for keeping these criteria the same, before discussing the consequences for different stakeholders such as governments, international and national federations, players and fans.

PEARLANN REICHWEIN, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
MAKING SNOW, TRAILS, AND TRACKS: THE MANUFACTURED LANDSCAPES OF  
CANADA’S FIRST OLYMPIC NORDIC SKI VENUE, 1984-2008

This paper investigates the Canmore Nordic Centre Provincial Park (CNC) as a sporting landscape manufactured for the 1988 Calgary Olympic Games in the Canadian Rockies. How did



the CNC emerge as Canada's first Olympic Nordic ski venue and what was its role in landscape transformations for sport? I demonstrate that the CNC in Canmore, Alberta, began with construction of a dual-purpose public park enmeshed in the ongoing production of terrain for Nordic skiing and biathlon, further expanded to other sport practices, that contributed to the transformation of Canmore and the Bow Valley as an enduring Olympic legacy. The paper draws on David Whitson's ski resort studies and John Bale's sporting landscapes concept in an analysis of evidence from archival records, plans, photos, drawings, and newspaper sources.

The CNC is a unique provincial park with international resonance as a post-Olympic venue and host to FIS World Cup finals. It has 100 km of connected trails in the Bow Valley forest, adjacent to the town of Canmore, on public land with facilities administered and operated by Alberta Parks in Treaty 7 territory. Reclaimed coal mining lands were redesigned for the Calgary Games leading up to 1988. A dual-purpose park was conceived in master plans to serve both elite and recreational skiers. Snow making and groomed trails were integrated as a manufactured landscape of skiing and sport. Later upgrades renovated and extended the trail system, day lodge, hut facilities, and snow caching in the lead up to 2010 Olympic training programs and for public recreation. The CNC was closely connected with and promoted elite training, club use, public access, and family recreation. Despite extensive use of its 480 hectares, a substantial gap persists as to the history of the CNC as a sporting landscape and Olympic sport legacy.

Mountains mined for coal ultimately became a sport park for Nordic skiing and multiple recreations as a result of landscape design, environmental modification, and park management driven by complex imperatives catalyzed by the 1988 and 2010 Olympic Winter Games. In contrast to alpine downhill lifts and trail systems, Nordic ski trails were often assumed to be "natural" yet the CNC acted as a design mechanism for sport and outdoor life that also contributed to the emergence of Canmore's Olympic sport legacy and broader urban transformations of gentrification in the Rocky Mountains. Ultimately the CNC was valuable cultural capital and a public asset emerging from the Olympics as Canmore became a key gateway community near Banff National Park and a mountain resort town transformed into gentrified landscapes of sport, recreation, and tourism in western Canada where nature was manufactured and repositioned for skiing where mining once predominated as industry. In this regard, its impacts were both local and regional with larger implications for skiing and mountain sport internationally particularly related to sustainability and climate change.

SAM SCHELFHOUT, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

### TOGETHER WE ARE STRONG: THE RISE OF PHYSICAL CULTURE IN ESPORTS

Competitive video games and esports have been historically perceived as arenas where cultural obstacles promote a singular social order where "gamers" not only thrive, but actively exclude members outside of their own conventional lifestyles. The common stereotype of the "gamer" evokes the image of an overweight, acne-ridden teenager with his (usually his) hair slicked down and wearing glasses. However, with the increasing global popularity of competitive esports and the advent of streaming, the primary aims for gamers have not only focused on in-game performance, but also screen presence and congeniality for the millions of potential viewers on streaming websites such as *Twitch* and *YouTube*. To maximize this impact, gamers actively attempt to shed these outdated stereotypes and focus on their own physical appearances.



The employment of physical fitness programs for teams and individual players in competitive video gaming has become an increasing trend to achieve an array of goals related to video game performance. Professional esports leagues, such as the *Overwatch* League, actively employ physical fitness programs into training regimens to enhance in-game performance. In 2018, the inaugural season consisted of 12 teams represented in cities across the globe, each with their own personal fitness coaches and training systems which incorporated exercises for both the improvement of game-playing and the bodies of the players that were competing in these games.

Scholars and fans should support a more inclusive definition of who belongs in this “gamer” stereotype as the population of this group skyrockets and fits an array of diverse demographic and social traits, which includes weight and level of physical fitness. What this paper will ultimately find is that physical fitness programs are not only encouraged for professional video gamers but will soon become mandatory practices for teams seeking to enhance performance and attract potential viewers. The assumption that professional video game players do not need to be physically healthy and active is short-sighted; given their sedentary lifestyle in combination with the psychological stress they face in competition, it becomes readily apparent that they need physical fitness more than anyone.

This paper will first summarize a broad history of the relationship between competitive video gaming and physical fitness, as well as the benefits and risks associated with the frequency of physical fitness gamers engage in. Next, a theoretical background on why these gamers participate in physical fitness activities, both for physical and social reasons, will be discussed. Finally, examples of the experiences of players, coaches, managers, and physical fitness trainers in the *Overwatch* League will make connections between the theories presented and the activities that they participate in.

PIERRE-OLAF SCHUT, UNIVERSITY PARIS-EST MARNE-LA-VALLÉE AND SANDIE  
BEAUDOUIN, UNIVERSITY

PARIS-EST MARNE-LA-VALLÉE, PARIS AND OLYMPISM: A LEGACY?

The Olympic movement is promoting a legacy policy, recently formalized in the Legacy Strategic Approach (IOC, 2017, 2): "Olympic legacy is the result of a vision. It encompasses all the tangible and intangible long-term benefits initiated or accelerated by the hosting of the Olympic Games / sport events for people, cities / territories and the Olympic Movement ". The purpose of our work is to show that this notion of legacy is also based on a form of reciprocity, between cities and the Olympic movement. The relationship between the host city and the Olympic movement before, during and after the event transforms places and institutions. Cities are also building the legacy of the Olympic movement.

To illustrate our point, our reflection focuses on an analysis of the relationship between one city, Paris, and the Olympic movement. We shall rely on several significant episodes related to the encounter between Olympism and the French capital. The first one is the renewal of the Olympic Games at the Sorbonne on June 23, 1894, instigated by Pierre de Coubertin. This atypical event – insofar as it is not connected with a sports event – remains a decisive founding act nonetheless. It led Paris to host the Games soon afterwards, in 1900. That first Olympiad in the City of Light, concurrently with the World Exhibition, was an opportunity to set the place of



sport and position the event within the socio-cultural life at the turn of the 20th century. The Paris Olympics of 1924 marked the end of Pierre de Coubertin's influence and the development of sport which started to take a full part in Parisian life. At the end of the 20th century and especially at the beginning of the 21st century, Paris wanted to host the Games again. Applications kept being made for the Olympiads of 1992, 2008, 2012 and 2024. Now Paris is building and/or enlarging sports facilities to host the Olympic Games of 2024, while these have become a high-profile world event.

For each of these episodes, archives (application files, Olympic report, IOC / NOC archives) and press articles have been analyzed to take into account the changes initiated or realized when the French capital hosted the international Olympic movement. This diachronic approach over a period of more than a century challenges us to focus on the tangible and intangible elements which have persisted both in Paris and in the Olympic movement, long after the event.

AMANDA N. SCHWEINBENZ, LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY  
CANADA'S RESPONSE TO THE 1976 TORONTO OLYMPIAD FOR THE PHYSICALLY  
DISABLED AND SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID

In August of 1976, Etobicoke, Ontario hosted the Toronto Olympiad for the Physically Disabled. Over 1500 wheelchair and visually impaired athletes from 38 countries descended on this Toronto suburb, including black and white para athletes from South Africa. While South Africa had been banned from major sporting events, including the Olympic Games since 1964 because of apartheid, para sport had largely been unrecognized as part of the international protest. The organizers of the 1976 Toronto Olympiad for the Physically Disabled were adamant that sport and politics should not mix and that all para athletes from across the world should have the opportunity to participate in these games. More specifically, the organizers argued that since the South African team was integrated, it signaled that para sport had the ability to unite a divided nation. Organizers argued that sport for people with disabilities was about good will and participation. Yet the Federal Government would not bend; if South African athletes attended, then there would be no federal finances offered. Defying the demands of the Federal Government, organizers proceeded and refused to exclude any athlete not matter their country of origin. This paper examines the Canadian Government's history related to anti-apartheid and how this complicated and often hypocritical policies influenced the hosting and media coverage of the 1976 Toronto Olympic for the Physically Disabled.

STEVEN SECULAR, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA  
THE 1988 ATLANTA HAWKS TOUR AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF AMERICAN  
BASKETBALL

The electricity has been out for two days at the Soviet Olympic Training Center in Sukhumi. As goats roam around the property and tires float along the nearby Black Sea, Sarunas Marciulionis plays guitar in the dark for a cadre of Soviet and American basketball players and personnel. It is July 1988 and the Atlanta Hawks have undertaken an almost two-week exhibition tour of the Soviet Union, traveling from Sukhumi to Tbilisi to Vilnius to Moscow, as both a



diplomatic act of goodwill and an attempt to grow the global footprint of NBA basketball. This paper examines the state of American pro basketball at a pivotal moment in its globalization.

Following the NBA's 1986 decision to regain their own international television rights from CBS, the league initiated a widespread project of global deal-making with various national broadcasters, including China's CCTV and Spain's TVE. NBA officials hoped to secure similar Soviet television distribution, while lobbying the Soviet government to allow their biggest stars, including Sarunas Marciulionis and Arvydas Sabonis, to play professionally in the United States. The Hawks tour, in conjunction with the NBA's pursuit of more extensive satellite and cable distribution around the world, culminated in a newfound global visibility for the National Basketball Association.

Using archival materials, news sources, and interviews with key tour participants, this paper highlights the complex interrelationship between pro basketball, politics, commercialism, and global media flows. The trip allowed the NBA to accelerate its broader commercial ambitions under the guise of Glasnost-era diplomacy, drawing on support from both the U.S. State Department and Hawks owner Ted Turner, who had government contacts and an established presence in the USSR since the inaugural "Goodwill Games" in 1986. Following the tour, the Soviet Union continued to emerge as a basketball hotbed and would soon thereafter permit their athletes into the NBA, given the International Basketball Federation's 1989 decision to allow professional players into the Olympics. The 1988 Hawks Tour thus illuminates the evolution of the NBA as well as the wider sports media industry, illustrating the state of global basketball to that point and serving as a catalyst in its further expansion.

JASON SHURLEY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN – WHITEWATER

**'LIKE A NEW HEATHEN COMING INTO CHURCH': C.H. MCCLOY'S STRENGTH  
TRAINING ADVOCACY IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY**

"I don't want to hear about you doing any of that [weight] lifting," Clarence "Biggie" Munn declared to a Michigan State University football player in the mid-1950s, "it's bad for you." That a coach who had won a National Championship and a Rose Bowl would advise a football player not *only not to lift weights*, but also that such training was *bad for him* may be surprising to a modern reader. Contemporary athletes in college football's highest division are not only encouraged to lift, but generally required to do so. Moreover, that lifting is often done in palatial weight rooms run by strength coaches who may make upwards of \$500,000 annually to supervise such training. The shift of strength training from an outlawed activity to one which is obligatory was precipitated by a variety of social factors and many individuals. This presentation will explore the work of one of those individuals, Charles H. McCloy.

McCloy's interest in strength training for athletes began in the early 1940s when, as a Research Professor of Anthropometry and Physical Education at the University of Iowa, some of his students inquired about his opinion on the matter. McCloy turned to the scientific literature on the subject and found, in his words, "almost nothing." Moreover, of the little work that had been done on strength training, none of it had been done using athletes as subjects. In response to this glaring omission, McCloy began to encourage Iowa graduate students to pursue systematic studies of strength training. They took up his call with vigor and churned out numerous theses on a variety of related topics. By the mid-1950s, McCloy's graduate students were even working



with the varsity athletic teams at Iowa, playing a crucial role in consecutive conference championships for the Hawkeye men's basketball team. McCloy himself became a fervent advocate for the utility of strength training for athletes. He regularly called for more "unprejudiced investigation" of the subject, was adamant that women could benefit just as much as men, and even challenged stereotypes about weightlifters, asserting that weightlifters were not eccentric introverts. Quite the contrary, "a new member in a weight training gymnasium," he said, "is received like a new heathen coming into church."

While McCloy's work has been detailed elsewhere, his role in transforming the world of strength training for sport has been drastically underappreciated. Previous work has examined his important role in the field of physical education, but only one brief biographical sketch has discussed his pivotal role in providing scientific validation for strength training. Whereas other researchers like Thomas DeLorme provided support for strength training by the medical community, McCloy's work was crucial in gaining acceptance of strength training by physical educators and coaches. Sources for this presentation include the McCloy collection, housed at the University of Iowa, as well as journals available through online archives. This research has been funded by a grant from the Iowa State Historical Society and is part of a larger project exploring McCloy's promotion of strength training.

### RWANY SIBAJA, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY ACTIVE LEARNING IN THE SPORTS HISTORY CLASSROOM

Active Learning Classrooms (ALCs) are becoming a larger presence on campuses, mostly as a response to the growth of distance education programs. With the ability to deliver an entire course online, faculty and administrators have asked themselves a simple question: what is the relevance of face-to-face instruction in the digital age? In other words, what does the physical classroom offer that is difficult to replicate online? Inspired by a series of research studies featured in *A Guide to Teaching in the Active Learning Classroom* (Stylus Publishing, 2016), and the notion of "pedagogies of engagement," this presentation examines the extent to which an ALC environment increases students' engagement in the sports history classroom.

Most literature on ALCs focuses on two elements: the impact of the physical space of a classroom and the collaborative environment that results from a purposeful re-design of the classroom space. ALCs typically include moveable furniture, tables that allow small groups of students to face each other (rather than rows of students staring at an instructor), whiteboards for brainstorming, and LCD/TV monitors to display work at various stages of production. The idea is to use the physical space to disrupt traditional lecture halls and classrooms. Wireless technology allows an instructor to move across the entire classroom, thus breaking free from the front-center-rear of a classroom space. In large spaces, microphones at each table allow participants to engage with the instructors and peers, regardless of whether the classroom consists of 80 or even 300 students. Inspired by the first SCALE-UP classrooms at North Carolina State University in the 1990s, institutions like the University of Minnesota have embraced ALCs to such an extent that entire buildings have been designed or re-engineered to house active learning spaces.

This presentation uses data gathered across various semesters of teaching in an ALC, with a particular focus on my experiences teaching sports history. I suggest that the concept of an ALC is in danger of being solely defined by technology and furniture. If the goal is to move



away from a “pour it in” model, where information passes from an instructor’s notes to a student’s notebook (without real absorption and application), and towards a collaborative approach, where students develop habits of mind and work together to practice disciplinary skills, then active learning is not necessarily dependent on technology and furniture. Instead, a healthier approach should consider how a room’s unique composition and features shape attitudes and perceptions. Instructors can maximize student engagement by considering how to best make use of their classroom for curricular purposes. In the case of an ALC, such an understanding can help instructors make sense of how to re-design the sports history curriculum – especially if the goal is to foster meaningful learning experiences, increase collaboration, and help students apply historical thinking skills. By examining the differences between traditional and active learning classrooms, this presentation will encourage discussion of how diverse learning environments can maximize the interdisciplinary and multisensory nature of a sports history course.

MICHELLE SIKES, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

### AFRICAN REPRISALS: THE CASE OF THE 1974 BRITISH LIONS RUGBY TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA

In 1974, the British Lions rugby team toured South Africa, despite an intensifying global campaign to fend off all sports contact with the apartheid state. With their sporting ties to South Africa long sundered, several African countries announced the severance of sporting ties with Britain as a result of the 1974 tour. Kenya was among the states to impose a reprisal ban on sporting fixtures with British teams. Unimpressed by the British government’s failure to stop the tour, Kenyan officials initially took a no-holds-barred approach, recognizing the significance that rugby tours between Britain, South Africa, and New Zealand held for those countries. The tour aroused a great deal of interest in Britain, South Africa, and Kenya, with Parliamentary questions, press reports, and letters from the public expounding the political arguments for and against the tour in all three countries. While drawing from these sources, and discussing the positions taken by British and South African protagonists, the focus of this paper falls on Kenya, and its exchanges with anti-apartheid activists and politicians in Britain and other parts of Africa. Some argued that the Lions’ sound defeat of the Springboks did more to accentuate the international isolation in sport than any boycott could have achieved. Yet it was the boycott itself that was the primary cause of the defeat, with the bulwark of resistance to be found in African nations’ uncompromising strategy of isolating South Africa.

JONATHAN SILVERMAN, UMASS LOWELL

### HORSE POWERED: A BRIEF HISTORY OF HORSE RACING AND TECHNOLOGY

George Washington rode his horse everywhere, either atop a saddle or behind their team, as he oversaw his land in Virginia. Today, we see horses in brief moments, often with a policeman astride it, or at a farm, or at a racetrack. In other words, horses do not mean the same thing to us as they did to George Washington’s generation. Industrial, social, and cultural forces have re-shaped racetracks and changed their contextual place in American culture. Television shows like *Lassie* and *Mr. Ed* posit animals as purveyors of thought and feeling and not just



livestock. Horses rarely work anymore, and the work they do is often ceremonial or for our leisured interests. NASCAR, the car-racing series that takes standard cars and amps them up to dangerous and exciting speeds, is now the sport equivalent of horse racing in 2018, racing the vehicles with which we are most familiar.

In this presentation, I want to talk about the racetrack as a place where technological developments have shaped its growth and its relationship to society. Technology is a word that often refers to inventions or new cultural forms that result from them. Because horse racing has been around so long, technological changes that we have assimilated in the modern era were once culture changing ones in previous era, ones that the sport absorbed or resisted.

Telling the stories of technological change and the racetrack is a way to examine the cultural impact of these changes, explain the rise and fall of horse racing, and show why horse racing remains a potent if declining symbol of human relationships with animals—and machines.

RONALD A. SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY  
SMALL COLLEGE ATHLETIC RESEARCH: SELDOM DISCUSSED QUESTIONS

My paper is part of a book-length manuscript about intercollegiate amateurism, athletic scholarships, and the various ways in which college athletes have been paid since the first commercialized intercollegiate contest in America, which was in 1852.

This paper raises questions about the anxieties, claims, and motives of small colleges in their century-long conflict with big-time colleges in the administration of “amateur” intercollegiate athletics. Some more recent questions were effectively raised in 2001 by James L. Shulman and William G. Bowen’s *The Game of Life: College Sports and Educational Values* (2001), in which the two scholars showed the divide between intercollegiate athletics and the academic mission of small colleges that are free from many of the special problems of commercialized and professionalized college athletics. William G. Bowen and Sarah A. Levin in *Reclaiming the Game: College Sports and Educational Values* (2003) furthered the debate about the place of intercollegiate athletics in a study of selected small colleges, showing a growing gap between the small college non-scholarship athletes and academic values.

I will look at the following seldom discussed problems and questions: 1) small colleges and their attitudes toward recruiting and athletic scholarships, especially in the NCAA Sanity Code of the late 1940s, 2) the role of small colleges in the development of the “Freshman Rule” for more than half of the twentieth century, and 3) arguments for and against limiting the telecasting of small and large college football games, particularly in the 1950s.

The major documents in this paper are found in several college archives, the NCAA Proceedings, and insight from Shulman and Bowen’s *The Game of Life* and Bowen and Levin’s *Reclaiming the Game*.

JEANETTE STEINMAN, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA  
A BRIEF HISTORY OF HOMELESSNESS AND BICYCLING

This research examines relationships between people experiencing homelessness and bicycling. In recent years bicycling has been taken up in large numbers by upper- and middle-class people in Western nations as a mode of transport that is economical, environmentally-conscious, and healthy. However, there is a lack of research on people living in poverty who may



be dependent on walking and cycling for transportation and for their livelihood. This paper will examine the historical relationship between poverty and cycling in cities in North America. In particular, this paper will examine the histories of community bike shops, where homeless people often go to fix their bikes, such as Edmonton Bicycle Commuters, the oldest community bike shop in North America, and Bicycle Inter-Community Art and Salvage, a community bike shop in Tucson that has focused on providing employment opportunities and bicycle mechanic skills to homeless people since the 1980s. Related to the history of community bike shops are the unique technologies employed by homeless people on their bicycles and how these technologies have changed over time. For example, Tony Hoar, a 1955 Tour de France competitor, has been making a range of custom bike trailers for two decades in British Columbia, including one designed especially to be used as a shelter for people experiencing homelessness. My presentation, therefore, will focus upon the roles of cities and how they have implemented policies and infrastructure that may target homeless cyclists. It will discuss my documentary analyses of community bike shop webpages and city policy documents, as well as the results of interviews with homeless cyclists, trailer manufacturers, and bicycle mechanics. This research will add to the growing body of bicycle scholarship and contribute to literature regarding the background to new understandings of poverty, mobility and shelter.

### DANIEL TARADASH, HOLOCAUST AND INTOLERANCE MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO PIPE DOWN AND PUNCH: SONNY LISTON AND THE 1963 BIRMINGHAM CHURCH BOMBING THAT KILLED FOUR LITTLE GIRLS

In February of 2018, NBA stars LeBron James and Kevin Durant voiced their concerns and opinions on the state of American race relations, societal norms, and our current political climate under President Donald Trump. Their comments drew the immediate ire of conservative talk show host Laura Ingraham, who suggested that it was “unwise to seek political advice from someone who gets paid \$100 million a year to bounce a ball,” that they should keep their comments to themselves and “shut up and dribble.” Fifty-five years earlier, another Black athlete, navigating the realities of an America crippled by near daily displays of racial violence, learned of the bombing of a church in Birmingham, Alabama while on a European tour. Addressing the press on the violence in Alabama, world heavyweight champion Charles “Sonny” Liston asserted that he was “ashamed to be an American.” This single sentence demonstrated not only the rage and disgust many African Americans had been experiencing for generations but also gave voice to the bitter realities and heartbreak that defined African American life during the civil rights era, even for the heavyweight champion of the world. Conversely, his simple statement provided ammunition to mainstream white reporters who, like Ingraham, immediately derided and insulted Liston, which included continued references to his felonious past, illiteracy, and even the unknown year of his birth. And, like Ingraham, many reporters, and much of White America more generally, did not just like their Black athletes apolitical, silent, and charmingly deferential, but demanded it of them, and attempted to use the power of the press to silence, squeeze, and shape Black athletes into creatures that were more to their liking. This paper will examine the multiple identities and meanings of Sonny Liston within the context of the American civil rights movement, the 1963 Birmingham church bombing, and the distortion of his message and image by the mainstream White press.



KATIE TAYLOR, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY

‘UNDEFEATED SINCE 1861’ – EXPLORING AND EXPLODING VASSAR’S FOOTBALL MYTHS

The Vassar College shop in Poughkeepsie sells a t-shirt in both male and female sizes that has a football on it and proudly proclaims ‘Undeclared Since 1861’. This tongue-in-cheek comment suggests that Vassar is proud to be a football-less establishment. However, despite this claim, Vassar actually has a rich history in the sport. Beginning with its mock games in the 1910s to the formalization of touch football as an intramural sport in the 1930s, it is the Seven Sisters college with the most evidence of football in its history. This paper explores this history and will demonstrate that their undefeated claim can be rejected. The paper explores the students’ reasons for playing these games as well as the various forms of football that they played. This includes mock Harvard-Yale games, games played by the Outing Club and games that were supported by the physical education department.

The paper will also contradict Vassar’s own claim that students began playing touch football in the 1960s and demonstrate that this happened several decades earlier. The paper is based on archival evidence from Vassar College but is also supported by archival documents from Radcliffe, the University of Texas at Austin and student newspapers at the University of New Hampshire which all demonstrate that touch football was increasingly utilized by physical education departments across the country. These departments viewed the sport as a means to engage students who were previously disinterested in physical activity and became a popular sport among collegiate women.

The paper provides further insight into the use of team sports by physical education departments to engage female students. Importantly, it also helps increase our knowledge of the various ways in which young women accessed football and their long history playing the sport; a history that remains largely hidden, even from the very places where the sport was being played.

LISA TAYLOR, MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY AND RIVER & ROWING MUSEUM

TESTING THE WATERS: BRITISH PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN’S ROWING, 1951-1954

In 1954, the first European Women’s Rowing Championships took place in Amsterdam, under the purview of the Fédération Internationale des Sociétés d’Aviron (FISA). This was the start of sanctioned international events for women, and was preceded by three test events held in Mâcon (France), Amsterdam and Copenhagen. This paper argues that these events were experienced by the British women’s rowing community in two important ways. Firstly, that they carried considerable sporting significance: it was a competitive destination for representative national teams, raising aspirations and opportunity, potentially offering higher levels of competition for women, and representing a step towards greater equality with the men’s sport. All of these had been important, explicitly stated goals for women’s rowing administration in Britain for decades. Secondly, that the social significance of these events was substantial. Gathering European countries together so close to the end of the Second World War – to compete at sport – carried a distinct and important set of values around international relations,



cooperation, and reconstruction. These events represented a rare opportunity to spend time abroad, independently, with women from other European nations, and this paper considers social opportunity in close connection with questions of amateur sport and sporting opportunity for women at this time.

Using archival material from the River & Rowing Museum archive, the British Rowing archive, and British newspaper archives, and oral histories of two women who competed at the first European Women's Rowing Championships in 1954, this paper considers the response of British women to the prospect and experience of international competition. It explores the impact of the war on women's rowing and the process of its revival as the country returned to peace, and suggests that the shadow of war exerted considerable influence on how these events were experienced by British women. As such, it is a contribution to the growing – yet, still limited – body of literature pertaining to women's sport history, addressing broader themes of female sociability, agency and aspiration in the context of post-war Britain.

**BRADEN TE HIWI, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA**  
**FROM COLONIAL THREAT TO COLONIAL OPPORTUNITY: THE EMERGENCE OF INDIAN**  
**RECREATION ASSOCIATIONS AS INDIAN LEADERSHIP IN CANADIAN SPORT AND**  
**RECREATION POLICY, 1946- 195**

The incorporation of Indigenous leadership has been a central issue for the Canadian government in the administration of Indian policy from confederation to the present. The existing literature on Indigenous sport leadership acknowledges the importance of Indigenous leaders in shaping public policy, yet it also speaks to the ways in which Indigenous peoples' leadership has been silenced and delegitimized by the government. The exclusion of Indigenous peoples from policy in Canada is no more complete than in the period from the late 19th century through to the middle of the 20th century, which was an era of Indian policy characterized by increasing governmental unilateralism, paternalism, and, at times, coercion. In a complete turnabout of policy after World War II, the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) – the relevant administrative branch of the federal government – initiated attempts to develop Indian leaders and Indian Recreation Associations. What series of events led to such a dramatic change? What was the purpose of the new policy direction, which initiated the highly novel development of sport and recreation leaders in communities across Canada?

I present an understanding of the transition to the post-war sport policy and programming of the DIA that begins with the appointment of a special joint committee in 1946 – an ad hoc body established by the federal government to examine potential amendments to national legislation. I conclude the timeframe of analysis with the conclusion of the first Supervisor of Physical Education and Recreation at the DIA, Jan Eisenhardt, whose tenure ran from 1950 to 1951. To gather sources for this time frame, I collected archival documents from the rare books collection in the Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada Library in Gatineau, QC, and also from the Jan Eisenhardt Collection that is housed at Western University, London, ON.

In this paper I argue that the intended development of Indigenous sport and recreation leaders was not a shift in policy thinking to fully leverage Indigenous peoples' ideas, knowledges, and aspirations in directing sport and recreation. Instead, Indian leadership was intended to be a community-level expression of an imposed agenda for First Nations community



development. To achieve the DIA's newfound goal of community development, it moved away from a top-down policy orientation often characterized by paternalism and coercion with regards to First Nations leadership, to a bottom-up approach that required First Nation participation in the policy direction of the DIA. My hope is to contribute to an understanding of the ways in which the federal government expressed its colonial agenda, even as it promoted and enhanced sport and recreation capacity on First Nations reserves.

JAN TODD, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
DOCUMENTING THE LIFE OF STRONGMAN ARTHUR SAXON: A NASSH QUEST

This paper discusses the life of professional strongman Arthur Saxon through the lens of the research process employed to create a documentary film of his life. While a widely-known figure in strength-history circles, the actual details of Saxon's life and career had been sadly neglected until Terry Todd and I were asked by filmmaker Todd Sansom assist with a documentary on the life of this remarkable strength athlete. The gathering of materials for this documentary has involved conversations with an amazing number of current and former NASSH members—Allen Guttman, David Chapman, Jerry Gems, Annette Hofman, Arnd Kruger, Bernd Wedemeyer, Kim Beckwith, and the NASSH List-serve; and non-NASSH historians Thomas Klose, David Webster, Joseph Roark, and Michael Murphy. Three NASSH members Gertrud Pfister, Florian Hemme, and Conor Heffernan-- are major contributors to the project-- are German historians Gerlinde Rohr in Leipzig, Thomas Klose in Witten, Andreas Mueller in Werdau, and Franz and Gisela Winkler in Berlin.

The collaborative nature of preparing to create a documentary film is a different research process than writing a monograph. If it were not such a cliché...one might suggest paraphrasing Hillary Clinton... “It takes a village...to make a movie.” Conor Heffernan, for example, played the most significant role in establishing the nature of Saxon's life in England. Florian Hemme did much of the German language research on this project and wrote dozens of letters of inquiry for me. Gertrud Pfister opened many, many, doors for us in Berlin and Leipzig and the film would quite simply not have been possible without her. Florian Hemme, who grew up in Germany and now teaches in North Carolina, helped immensely with German translation and in contacting agencies and museums in Germany.

As for what we found, Arthur Hennig was born in Leipzig, in 1878 in the area then known as Saxony, Germany. At age 16, Arthur began training seriously with barbells and joined the Atlas weightlifting club where he quickly became a star. At age 18, he was so good that he was invited to join two of his countrymen in an act called the Saxon Trio and he then moved to England which became his home until World War 1 began in 1914. The three-man strength act proved to be a hit—and Arthur soon became known as “The Saxon” or “The Iron Master.” When his brothers Hermann and Kurt grew older, they joined him in the act, replacing the original founders. The Saxon Trio—and especially the man who became known simply as Arthur Saxon—soon rivalled Sandow in fame and he set lifting records at a bodyweight of approximately 200 pounds that still stand to this day. World War 1 destroyed Saxon's career, separated him from his English wife and children, and left him undernourished and with tuberculosis. He died in August of 1921 but has never been forgotten. Unlike most performers, Saxon did not like “showy acts.” He primarily lifted barbells and this fact made him an



important figure of the evolution of weightlifting from pre-modern to modern sport. For the rest, you'll have to watch the movie.

DAIN TEPOEL, LOCK HAVEN UNIVERSITY

## TO MOVE A MOVEMENT: ENDURANCE AS STRATEGY AND PREFIGURATION IN LONG-DISTANCE WALKS, 1960-1986

Sport historians have occasionally commented on the relationship between physicality and oppositional politics outside of sport or athletic contexts. For example, David Zang argued that countercultural opposition to establishment causes during the late 1960s and early 1970s took shape in affective, dramatic and physical forms. Further, Jaime Schultz analyzed physical activism, or the articulation of physical activity and political activism, through two suffragette hikes in 1912 and 1913.

This paper offers a fuller consideration of physical activity within the larger contexts of social movement history, philosophies, decision making, strategies and tactics. What is the relationship, for instance, between long-distance walks or marches, and the politics of social movements? And how have participants themselves made meaning out of taking political action through collective feats of physical endurance? All social movements must negotiate the tension between structure and spontaneity, and organization and community. Social activists and organizers have adopted long-distance walks in particular as participatory democratic practices for strategic reasons in addition to their expressive or ideological value.

In this paper, I examine Schultz's categorization of physical activism in combination with strategic politics and prefigurative politics. New Left activist and scholar Wini Breines defines the former as the commitment to building organization in order to achieve major structural changes in the political, economic, and social orders, whereas the central task of the latter is to create and sustain within the live practice of the movement, relationships and political forms that "prefigure[d]" and embody the desired society. I trace instances of overtly politicized long-distance walks to illuminate the U.S. long-distance walk as a particular strategy deployed by specific movement actors to create a platform from which to promote their cause. These walks include two organized by the Committee for Nonviolent Action – the 1960-61 San Francisco to Moscow March for Peace, and the 1963-64 Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace – as well as the cross-coalition Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice in 1976, and grassroots mobilization of the Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament in 1986.

I argue that physicality and endurance actions – literally but also symbolically and metaphorically – signify particular meanings of *movement for social movements*, such as persistence, focus and determination to stretch sociopolitical limits and boundaries. Participants endeavor to accomplish difficult physical challenges and maintain the solidarity of their communities to analogize the coming into existence of equally extraordinary visions of social or political transformation. The paper draws from primary and secondary sources of the aforementioned marches, and interviews with twenty activists on the Great Peace March to produce a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which physicality and endurance constitute and reflect issues related to participation, strategy, philosophical debates and ideological division within social movements. During this recent wave of athlete activism, I encourage sport historians to use a wider framework to interpret the links between physical



activity, social activism and oppositional movements, that is, one inclusive of non-athletes undertaking physical challenges in non-sport settings.

COURTNEY VAN WAAS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY  
MORAL REVISIONISM: JEROME DAVIS, THE YMCA AND SPORT FOR GERMAN  
PRISONERS OF WAR IN CANADA

Jerome Davis, head of Young Men's Christian Association War Prisoner Aid was a devout Congregationalist Pastor who believed in supporting the basic needs and sporting endeavors of German Prisoners of War stationed in Canadian POW camps during the Second World War. Having worked with German prisoners of war in Russia during the First World War, Davis firmly believed that "when an establishment cannot morally justify certain practices, it must either change its morality or change the practice- a sort of moral revisionism" (Overman, 2011). Davis believed that the vilification of German POWs was not only wrong, but short-sighted. His firm views as to the provision of basic comforts as well as sport programming for POWs came directly from his Congregational up-bringing. Born and raised by Congregationalist Missionaries in Kyoto (Japan), Davis was the son of a prominent American Civil War hero and religious missionary, Jerome Dean Davis. His father believed in a Christian education for all irrespective of race, ethnicity, or means by which to attain it. Davis grew up with these values instilled within him. Graduating from Oberlin College in 1913 Davis immediately moved into mission's work in Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as in New York City at the Presbyterian Broadway Tabernacle. From 1914-1916 he was head of all YMCA operations in Russia. After returning to the United States Davis completed his Seminary and doctorate program in 1922 at Union Theological seminary. Davis' desire to provide sport equipment and help in sport programming organization for German POWs is a direct reflection of his life's work and can clearly be seen in his handwritten diary of 1942 in which he directly connects biblical scripture to the work he was undertaking for German POWs of World War ii. Davis was a man who desired to reach German POWs through sport and Christian love, missions which the YMCA had been undertaking for all mankind for over 90 years. The study is based on the personal diary of Jerome Davis, YMCA reports, as well as Canadian government documents and secondary sources.

MARIA VERI, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY  
BLACK ATHLETE ACTIVISM AND THE SF STATE STUDENT STRIKE OF 1968

From November 6, 1968, to March 21, 1969, the longest campus strike in United States history ground classes to halt at San Francisco State University (then San Francisco State College). The SF State Student Strike was led by the Black Student Union and a coalition of other on-campus organizations in demand of equal access to public higher education for all, better resources for students of color, the hiring of more faculty of color, and a curriculum more inclusive of the history and culture of ethnic minorities. The strike resulted in significant changes at the University, including the creation a Black Studies Department and in 1969 the establishment of the first ever (and still only) College of Ethnic Studies in the nation.



Concurrent to the escalating campus demonstrations and protests that built up to the strike, the Olympic Project for Human Rights, led by Dr. Harry Edwards at nearby San Jose State University, was gaining momentum. While black athlete activism of the 1960s has been well chronicled in historical analyses of the Civil Rights Movement, especially as we marked the fifty-year anniversary of the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, considerably less is known about the involvement of black student-athletes in the events of 1968-1969 at SF State, or the connection between its Black Student Union and the OPHR.

The purpose of this paper is to chronicle the activism of black student-athletes at SF State in the late 1960s and the connection between campus protest leaders and the national Olympic boycott movement. My examination relies on oral history interviews, archival materials, and contemporary American newspaper accounts, including those published in university student newspapers and the Black Press.

JON VERRIET, RADBOUD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN

FROM 'NUTRITION FOR SPORTSPERSONS' TO THE POPULARIZATION OF 'ATHLETIC LIFESTYLES': GOVERNMENT AND THE STRUGGLE OVER HEALTHY LIVING (1945-1980)

In our current age, the increasing interest in the athlete's diet constitutes a transnational trend. Some sport stars are able to publish several fashionable cookbooks, whereas others issue an entire line of nutrition or fitness-related products. While the emulation of the lifestyle of sportspersons is a practice that is more than a century old, it became more widespread in the period after World War II. In those decades it converged with a growing attention for healthy living that involved a complex interplay between various actors with diverging interests. Scientists, for instance, worried about rising obesity levels, while the food industry sought to capitalize on the changing interests of consumers with health products. Consumer organizations and governmental agencies, too, tried to win the favor of a public losing itself in the emerging nutritional cacophony

This paper will examine the role of the premier Dutch governmental foundation engaged in lifestyle guidance, the Bureau for Nutrition Education, to understand the historical struggle for the physical well-being of the public. On the one hand, this organization signaled a decrease in its sway over consumers, having difficulty maintaining its position as a traditional authority in post-war decades. Yet on the other hand, after altering its messaging, it scaled up its ambitions: by the 1970s, the Dutch were not just told how to eat right, but also how to exercise, work, relax, and sleep. Tracking the myriad ways in which the Bureau attempted to incentivize a 'healthy' or 'athletic' lifestyle, this paper asks the question: how did this authority on lifestyle interpret its own diminishing societal impact, and how did it respond?

For its analysis, this paper combines a deep dive into the Bureau for Nutrition Education's official archive with a broad overview of the existing literature on lifestyle advice to put the Dutch case in an international context. Employing sources such as the Bureau's promotional material, publications by staff, and notes of meetings and internal reports, it concludes that the dwindling influence over the consumer necessitated a change in the conceptualization of the consumer, namely that of an emancipated individual making their own choices. The Bureau's stance, however, was complex: its ideal consumer was never consistent,



and staff kept feeling both powerless and responsible regarding the ways of living of the Dutch public. Thus, by focusing on two of the most profound ways in which people shape their lives – nutrition and physical exercise – this paper brings the history of food to sport history, which remains a severely neglected topic in the field. Focusing not just on sport history but on the history of physical culture as a whole, it not only offers a unique inside look at the mechanics of governmental lifestyle policies, but also sheds light on the history of the shifting balance of power with regard to advice on physical health.

NICHOLAS VILLANUEVA, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER  
A RODEO TO CALL THEIR OWN: LGBTQ VAQUEROS AND THE GAY RODEO OF THE  
AMERICAN WEST

This paper examines the LGBTQ-Latinx community through the vaqueros of the gay rodeo. I argue that Latinx-LGBTQ rodeo participants are reclaiming vaquero as the authentic cowboy, and in doing so, has made vaquero identity a more inclusive and gender non-conforming term in the hegemonic masculine sport of rodeo. This paper examines the cultural changes in greater US society for LGBTQ people and the Latinx community, the appropriation of cowboy identity by white Americans in the West, and the LGBTQ-Latinx vaqueros who have reimagined what rodeo can be in the American West. In Colorado, the LGBTQ-Latinx community helped organize the Rocky Mountain Gay Rodeo and Denver's Latino Gay Pride. Through their efforts, Latinx Coloradoans are reclaiming the term Vaquero as the "authentic" cowboy, an identity acquired by white Americans in the late nineteenth century. The dominant group associated with rodeo (white, male, Christian, and heterosexual) might regard this as an attack, or a threat, but it is about Latinx people reclaiming what belongs to their culture. A rodeo culture that has been under attack or appropriated for over a century.

THERESA WALTON-FISETTE, KENT STATE UNIVERSITY, MARC KIRBY, KENT STATE  
UNIVERSITY, AND MICHELLE DONNELLY, KENT STATE UNIVERSITY  
TEACHING SPORT HISTORY WITH REACTING TO THE PAST: THE 1905 FOOTBALL  
CRISIS

At Kent State we offer a writing intensive course, History and Philosophy of Sport and PE, which is required in two majors and a minor. While we have strong faculty commitment to teaching this course, students generally are not excited about taking it. Already many of the students have a negative perception of learning about history and philosophy. This may be related to the way that history in general was taught at the secondary school level, with an emphasis on names and dates and the extensive use of dryly written textbooks (Loewen, 2000). 'Reacting to the Past' (RTTP) is a transformative method that has been put into place to teach history and philosophy.

RTTP employs carefully constructed 'games' which require students to read primary source texts, supporting material to write position papers and debate with one another in an elaborate role-play to reenact the past. Research shows that employing RTTP: increases student skills in thinking critically and analytically; increases engagement with their classmates; increases their active involvement in the learning process; helps them to be able to analyze real



world problems; helps them to be able to engage with diverse perspectives; increases their skills in synthesizing and organizing material in a meaningful way; increases their ability to judge the value of information, arguments or methods; and improves their ability to apply theories or concepts to practical problems or new situations (Lightcap, 2009).

For our course, we are currently developing a sport history specific module focused on the 1905 football crisis. That crisis centered on a reported 20 young men who died playing football across the United States. This had come at the end of a period of increasing criticism from university faculty, administration and Progressive activists over the dangers of football on college campuses across the country. According to the *Washington Post*, at least 45 football players had died from 1900 to 1905. Major universities like Columbia dropped their programs and powerhouse Harvard's team was under constant threat of being banned. President Roosevelt was a proponent of football who thought it was a good vehicle to shape the character of young men. However, in 1905 it seemed apparent that the game needed to change course or become extinct.

This case allows the opportunity for a dramatic reacting to the past game with historical figures who were champions of football, those who wanted particular rule changes, as well as those who called for football to be abolished from college campuses. RTTP allows for an engaging and interactive learning environment when teaching sport history. In this paper, we discuss Reacting to the Past as a teaching method and explicate how we are building a game centered on the 1905 football crisis. We believe this topic has the potential to effectively engage our students because so many of the same debates about football are happening today.

TOM WEIR, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY

### THE DIFFICULT BIRTH OF SPECIAL OLYMPICS GREAT BRITAIN (1977-82)

Special Olympics GB, which formed officially in 1978 having received the blessing of Eunice Kennedy-Shriver, can trace its existence to a very specific moment in time a year earlier. Chris Maloney noticed the enthusiastic cheering of Paul, who had Down Syndrome, at poolside during a swimming lesson and determined to teach him. This origin has been well documented, but less well known is the difficulties encountered in the first few years. It was regarded with resistance and suspicion by other British disability and sporting organizations. Such were the passions of the debate around Special Olympics it nearly resulted in a brawl between a member of the House of Lords and the Vice-President of the Sports Council, fortunately mediated by an actor most famous for comically dropping his trousers.

This paper draws on previously unexplored archives, letters, and interviews conducted with a number of key individuals, including Maloney. These form a key part of my wider thesis research into the history of learning disability sport in Britain between 1960-2012. In order to fully contextualize the position and role of Special Olympics GB the presentation will highlight what other provision existed for people with 'mental handicap' in Britain during the 1970s and 1980s. This ranged from Sport in Asylums, Mencap Gateway clubs, Adult Training Centres through to the 'Mini-Olympics.' It will also discuss the reluctance of the British Sports Association for the Disabled (BSAD,) then led by Sir Ludwig Guttmann, to support initiatives for people with learning disability.

Ultimately Special Olympics GB succeeded, when hundreds of athletes competed at the first British games in Knowsley (Liverpool) in 1982, crowning what had been an immensely



hard-fought success. That it happened owed to a mixture of motivated individuals, crucial high-level government support, and the hundreds of local volunteers that rallied to support clubs and games organized around the country. Through this paper, their story is finally brought to light.

STEPHEN R. WENN, WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

## PICKING UP THE PIECES: IOC/USOC RELATIONS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE IOC'S 2009 COPENHAGEN SESSION

In 2017, International Olympic Committee (IOC) President Thomas Bach demonstrated some ‘out-of-the-box,’ yet necessary thinking, backed up by his successful orchestration of the IOC Session’s consent, to award of successive Olympic festivals (2024 and 2028) to Paris and Los Angeles, respectively. ‘Out-of-the-box’ in the sense that the IOC’s traditional pattern of granting hosting rights (since the mid-1980s) reflects a seven-year preparation period for selected, individual cities. However, such action was necessitated by a demonstrably suppressed host city bidding environment brought on by the massive and intimidating expenditures reported by Beijing (\$43 billion) and Sochi (\$51 billion), and the realities of a global economy not yet fully healed from the turbulence of 2008-2009. Bach and his colleagues had no interest in losing one of these qualified bids through a competitive process and vote given defeated cities often take a step back from the process in the immediate future. Negotiations resulted in Los Angeles accepting the hosting opportunity with the extended timeline in light of financial concessions tabled by the IOC.

Los Angeles’ standing as a bid city was the result of the IOC and the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) solving (in 2012) a long-standing source of friction between the two organizations tied to the distribution of television money accrued from the U.S. market and the global TOP (The Olympic Partners) sponsorship program. Following Chicago 2016’s demise at the 2009 IOC Session when Rio de Janeiro emerged the victor, the USOC withdrew support for any U.S. bid city for the 2018, 2020, and 2022 competitions. Though IOC officials differed on the role played by existing tensions between the two organizations in Chicago, 2016’s unceremonious exit on the first ballot, there was little debate in Colorado Springs. USOC Chairman Larry Probst and newly-appointed Executive Director, Scott Blackmun (2010), invested time and energy in re-building relations with the IOC. Without this effort, they calculated Chicago’s fate would be suffered by future USOC-backed bid cities.

This paper explores Probst and Blackmun’s path to establishing an improved dynamic in IOC/USOC relations. Their strategy was multi-faceted. First, it was deemed imperative that high-ranking USOC executives become more engaged with regional organizations such as the Pan American Sports Organization (PASO). Second, the USOC needed to display a measure of goodwill in settling an old dispute, namely the USOC’s lack of participation in offsetting costs of IOC operations at Olympic sites (ex. Doping Control and the Court of Arbitration for Sport). An agreement on this front might serve as a springboard for more fruitful discussions concerning the USOC’s share of U.S. television revenue (first established by the Broadcast Marketing Agreement signed in 1986) and TOP revenue (first established as the price of the USOC’s consent for the operation of the TOP program in U.S. territory resulting from its decision to waive rights accorded to it via the Amateur Sports Act [1978]). Of course, the question remained would then-IOC President Jacques Rogge and other IOC officials reciprocate in seeking better



inter-organizational relations? The analysis of this extended three-year period of dialogue critical to the future of the Olympic Movement is based on IOC archival material, personal interviews with key historical actors, and an extensive review of contemporary media reports.

DAVID K. WIGGINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

### CHARLES HOLSTON WILLIAMS: HAMPTONIAN LOYALIST AND CHAMPION OF RACIAL UPLIFT THROUGH PHYSICAL EDUCATION, DANCE, RECREATION, AND SPORT

This essay examines the career of Charles Holston Williams, a long-time faculty member at Hampton Institute, the historically black college and university founded by the American Missionary Association that trained both African American and Native American students. A native of Kentucky and alumnus of Hampton Institute who took an undergraduate degree in physical education from Springfield College and master's degree in education from Harvard University, Williams directed the physical education and athletic programs at Hampton Institute and established the legendary Hampton Institute Creative Dance Group. He was also one of the co-founders of the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association, was an author of books and articles on sport and related topics, and president and manager of the popular Bayshore Resort. These initiatives, along with seemingly everything else he did, was largely about racial uplift, an effort to prove the worthiness of African Americans and that they served to be full participants in American society.

DIANE WILLIAMS, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

### THE ASSOCIATION FOR INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS FOR WOMEN (AIAW) AND THE EDUCATIONAL MODEL: IN PRACTICE

The Association for Intercollegiate Athletics (AIAW) facilitated women's intercollegiate athletics during the 1970s and early 1980s. With roots in women's physical education programs, this women-led organization developed an educational model for competition that centered the educational potential of intercollegiate athletics, focusing on the well-being of student athletes over profit. AIAW articulated the model in its Constitution, Bylaws, and Code of Ethics, describing a model that valued high level competition and they ways in which participants were treated, developed, and engaged. In the educational model, process and outcome mattered. As AIAW began hosting championships and grew to over 970-member institutions, it faced internal and external challenges, and its model evolved and changed. These changes led some to believe AIAW abandoned the educational model.

In this paper, I argue that the educational model was integral to AIAW's operations and philosophy of sport during the entire time it oversaw women's athletics. The model was designed be responsive to the needs and interests of participants, and during the tumultuous years while Title IX was being interpreted, this flexibility enabled AIAW to maintain its philosophical and logistical position leading women's intercollegiate athletics. Through analyzing archival research and oral histories, I explore moments when AIAW's commitment to its model were challenged and questioned, including the decision to allow scholarships during its first championship season in 1973, and to separate from its parent organization, the foremost professional organization for physical educators (AAHPER) in 1979. In both moments, AIAW's decisions were read



externally, and sometimes internally, as changes that indicated shifts away from its educational principles.

In my work, I find both of these situations shed light on AIAW's commitment to its educational model, while adapting strategically to the needs and demands of its growing organization. Additionally, I address the involvement of AIAW leaders in the interpretation of Title IX and the Amateur Sport Act as instances where the influence and legacy of the educational model remains. This paper complicates narratives of AIAW and highlights the importance of its educational model. AIAW, through the educational model, created and maintained a sport culture that was not just about winning and losing, but dedicated to the importance of articulating *why* we play, *how* we play, and *who is allowed* to play.

KRISTEN WILSON, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN  
THE RUNNER VANISHES: THE TROUBLED RELATIONSHIP OF SECOND WAVE  
FEMINISM AND THE WOMEN'S MARATHON, 1966-1984

One of the enduring images of first wave feminism is that of “The New Woman,” often pictured as an athletic woman astride a bicycle or a woman in a long sash marching down a city street, such figures asserting their physicality and the right of women's bodies to occupy space, to be seen in public spaces, to traverse private and public spaces alike on one's own time and under one's own power. While marching and occupying space remained an important strategy of second wave feminism, second wave feminists tended to separate themselves from the revolution in women's athletics that coincided with the political and social revolution of the 1970s, this largely due to a “lavender scare” that saw lesbians and perceived lesbians as dangerous to the ability of the movement to win mainstream support. The rift is still evident today in the scarcity of women athletes and women's athletics mentioned within scholarship about and contemporary accounts of second wave feminism and in the often depoliticized nature of women's physical culture scholarship and women athletes (Mary Jo Kane's “the female apologetic”); this is remarkable considering how much of the second-class legal and social status afforded to women relied on understandings of women as physiologically delicate, incapable, and inferior to men, something that women's athletics of the 1970s was especially poised to challenge.

The women's marathon was a key battleground in women's athletics of the late 1960s and on through the 1980s, with U.S. domestic governing body (The Amateur Athletic Union, AAU) claiming until 1972 that it was dangerous for women to run distances greater than half a mile, concerns ranging from displaced or falling uteruses to the masculinization of women. The International Olympic Committee (IOC), who had helped originate such concerns in its early history, did not sanction a woman's marathon until 1984. All the while, women marathoners—and particularly American women marathoners—fueled the freefall of the women's marathon world record, a world record 3:02:53 in 1970 eventually a 2:30:27 in 1980, a difference of over half an hour. In the nearly forty years since, the time has only dropped to 2:15:25.

The spatial qualities and physical demands of the marathon make it an ideal event with which to think about how women are allowed to occupy space and practice public physicality while also bearing a particular burden of representation, battling against personal limitations lest they seem limitations of the gender. My presentation takes as case studies the 1966/1967 Boston Marathon runs of Roberta Gibb and Katherine Switzer, in how coverage of Gibb and Switzer



differed and offered a platform to Switzer, the less politically conscious of the two and the one with a male coach and boyfriend on whom to displace and justify her success and abilities (if a woman can run a marathon, it must be because a man taught her, etc.). My end point is Joan Benoit's 1984 win at the first Olympic women's marathon.

ADAM L. WINKEL, HIGH POINT UNIVERSITY  
THE SPANISH COPA DEL REY FINAL AS A SITE OF FAN PERFORMANCE

This paper explores how Spanish soccer fans have used the Copa del Rey Final as an opportunity to express both conformity and dissent towards their ruling government. Founded in 1903, the Copa del Rey (King's Cup) is Spain's oldest national soccer/football competition. During its 115-year history, it has been held under a variety of political systems, each of which has altered the cup's name to match the ruling head of state: a monarchy ("His Majesty King Alfonso XIII's Cup"), a republic ("President of the Republic's Cup"), a dictatorship ("His Excellency, the Supreme General's Cup"), and, now, a constitutional monarchy ("His Majesty the King's Cup"). These shifts in political regimes have not only affected the cup's identity but also the competition's meaning, as it has always been closely tied to the dominant governmental authority of the time, thus symbolizing centralism in a nation that has maintained a tension between center and periphery throughout its history. These tensions have developed based on geographic, linguistic, and cultural differences that challenge the notion of Spain as a single nation with a coherent national identity. Depending on the teams that have reached the final, the championship can be interpreted as upholding the regime in power or as a unique opportunity for fans to show their disapproval of the centralized system.

Through an examination of newspaper archives, match reports, and sports histories, this paper questions how fan involvement in the Copa del Rey Final has reflected historical tensions within Spain. By considering fan participation as a type of performance, this paper adds to the field of sports history by examining how one long-standing event has been shaped by the political and cultural circumstances in which it was held. Because this has changed over time, we can interpret fan participation in the Copa de Rey Final as a representation of social tensions within the Spanish national context.

KEVIN B. WITHERSPOON, LANDER UNIVERSITY  
68/50: THE 1968 U.S. OLYMPIC TEAM 50 YEARS LATER

In October 2018, more than 100 members of the 1968 U.S. Olympic Team gathered in Colorado Springs, CO for their 50th anniversary reunion. As far as anyone involved could remember, this is the first such reunion of its kind, and certainly for U.S. Olympic teams this gathering was unprecedented. Officials at the U.S. Olympic Training Facility in Colorado Springs (the site of a significant portion of the reunion) confirmed that previous U.S. Olympic teams have not reunited in this way.

This paper will discuss the origins, organization, and various speeches and activities from this unique event. More importantly, it will address issues such as collective memory, oral history, and the changing interpretations of the events of 50 years ago. Designated as the official historian of the '68 U.S. Olympic team by organizers of this event, I not only served as a "fly on the wall," listening to and observing the proceedings, but I also interviewed and engaged in



conversation with many of the athletes and others in attendance. These discussions, along with the extensive research I have conducted on the '68 Olympics, will serve as the foundation for this paper.

The events of 1968, and particularly those associated with the '68 U.S. Olympic Team, seem to have had an especially searing impact on those who lived through them. These events, coupled with the spectacular record-breaking achievements of the team, have forged a link connecting the hundreds of athletes and their families even as decades have passed. This collective identity - unique to the '68ers - was a central motivation driving the movement to reconvene and celebrate their accomplishments 50 years later.

This paper will address a number of themes tied to this identity, most importantly the "Black Power" protest of Tommie Smith and John Carlos and its impact on the team. While every member of the team was touched in some way by the protest, I will focus in particular on the rowing squad, which was deeply divided over the protests of the black athletes. Many will remember that the Harvard crew team supported the black athletes; however, many other U.S. rowers opposed their protest. The rift between these athletes remains surprisingly deep even 50 years later, one aspect of the dynamics at the reunion that stood out to me. I will also discuss other black athletes on the team, female athletes and the role of women's events at the '68 Olympics, Lance Wyman and the '68 iconography, and the significance of the elevation and thin air in Mexico City (and the various venues of the Olympic Trials).

Finally, this paper will briefly address the significance of reunions/anniversaries in general, and the relevance of 50th year anniversaries in particular. Considering that most of the athletes in attendance were remarkably energetic, spry, and coherent in their thinking, 50 years later is an ideal time to reconsider the impact of any event (and athletic events in particular).

## JOHN WONG, WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY CULTURAL TRANSMISSION IN SEATTLE: THE FIRST AMERICAN CITY TO HOIST THE STANLEY CUP

Located in the scenic Puget Sound, Seattle emerged as a major West Coast city of the United States in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Although a transcontinental railway chose Portland, Oregon as its terminal, Seattle grew both in population and prosperity nonetheless as an extended track linked both cities. Certainly, the railroad fostered a closer link between Seattle and the rest of the country politically, economically, and culturally. As a popular culture endeavor, sporting activities in the city, however, remained very much regional in scope. In 1915, the city joined the Pacific Coast Hockey Association, a major professional hockey league that included franchises in both Canada and the United States. Only two seasons later, the Seattle team captured the Stanley Cup – the first American city to win the prestigious trophy which originated as a championship award for the Dominion of Canada.

Drawing on both primary and secondary sources, this paper argues that Seattle provides a useful case study on cultural transmission running vertically rather than horizontally despite the presence of an international border in North America at the turn of the twentieth century. Moreover, cultural transmission was not necessarily a south-to-north phenomenon as many in Canada, to this day, are so apprehensive about the possibility of being slowly but surely absorbed as the fifty-first state in the American republic as American popular culture seemingly crossing



the border unimpeded. Lastly, this study examines cultural transmission from the commercial perspective in order to understand sport entrepreneurs' role in promoting a new sport.

MICHAEL T. WOOD, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

### THE HAVALANTA GAMES: U.S.-CUBAN TRANSNATIONAL SPORT EXCHANGES IN THE 1940S AND 1950S

A chance meeting between Harry S. Glancy of the Northside Atlanta Kiwanis Club and Cuban swimming coach Carlos de Cubas in December 1948 laid the groundworks for an international goodwill competition between young people from the Atlanta area and representatives from Havana's Big Five social athletic clubs. Dubbed the "Havalanta Games" by Glancy, Emory University hosted a modest initial swim meet in March 1949. Alternating between Atlanta and Havana, the games grew in both participation and scope with each subsequent encounter through the mid-1950s. Advocates praised these events as promoting youth physical health and development in both countries and for strengthening ties between the United States and Cuba. My paper will examine the Havalanta Games in the context of transnational sport diplomacy during the early stages of the Cold War. Particular considerations will be made regarding race, class, and gender in the U.S. South and Cuba.

CALEB WRIGHT, UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

### FORGING HEROES AND FIGHTING HOOLIGANISM: THE SOCCER PLAYER AS A MODEL SOVIET CITIZEN

World War Two devastated the population of the Soviet Union; the massive loss of life most profoundly affected the populace of young men. Women filled both military and industrial roles and attained prominence in both public and private spheres. Therefore, after the end of the war, Soviet society was more feminine than ever, and in the eyes of Soviet officials, in need of "remasculinization." Soviet men and boys needed role models that were both masculine, but also promoted the values of the Soviet Union. Therefore, masculinity in the Soviet Union consisted of more than physical fitness and achievement, but also modesty, cultural engagement, and political awareness. War Heroes and Cosmonauts were natural choices, but athletes, especially soccer players, were perhaps the most visible potential role models in the Soviet Union.

Using Soviet sports periodicals and player autobiographies, this paper seeks to understand how Soviet media portrayed soccer players as role models differently than those in outside of the Soviet Union. How did players represent or fail to represent Soviet masculinity and what were the rewards or consequences? Furthermore, did the use of soccer players as examples of Soviet masculinity translate to the fans? How did Soviet fans behave differently than their Western counterparts? Ultimately, this project shows that initially, the USSR did achieve a unique sports environment based on Soviet values. Players and fans alike largely showed respect for officials and opponents. The media judged players not solely on physique or performance, but also their politics and behavior both on and off the field. Yet, as Soviet soccer began to integrate more with world soccer, outside influences slowly transformed the soccer culture. Soviet players began to resemble foreign players in appearance and action, while fans



witnessed Western forms of soccer fandom, including hooliganism and rioting, which began mixing with and undermining Soviet soccer culture.

Overall, the efforts to create a uniquely Soviet soccer culture succeed while the USSR remained relatively isolated from the rest of the soccer world. Such separation ended when the Soviet Union sought to prove its superiority over the capitalist world through success in the sporting arena. By opening an avenue to compete against the West, foreign influence unavoidably infiltrated the Soviet Union. This research shows how soccer was another form of cultural exchange between the Soviet Union and the West; it was an exchange which took place through direct and objective competition. The head-to-head nature of this cultural exchange can easily keep historical focus on the results on the field, but this paper demonstrates that what happened in the stands, was viewed on television, and what was read in the newspaper affects culture more than wins and losses.

ALISON W. WRYNN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR,  
DID WE NEED A RENAISSANCE OR REFORMATION? CONSIDERING ROBERTA PARK'S  
ANALYSIS OF THE DISCIPLINE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION'S FIRST 100 YEARS

In 1988, Roberta Park presented the 22<sup>nd</sup> *Amy Morris Homans' Lecture* entitled, "The Second 100 Years: Or, Can Physical Education Become the Renaissance Field of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?" Park posited that at the beginning of its second century, physical education was poised to "become the renaissance profession of the new millennium." Through an analysis of the rise of the profession of physical education at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, parallel to the emerging transformation of medical education in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Park contended that physical education could learn from the now-highly respected medical profession. It would take an "attitude that prizes systematized knowledge, constant questioning and the ability to forge logical links and see interdependencies..." This paper will analyze Park's Homans' lecture alongside my 2015 SHAPE *Raymond Weiss Research Lecture* "The Present Catches up to the Past: Understanding the Scientific Roots of Physical Education," personal reflections and other works to establish if the renaissance has happened or, if more than 30 years later, the field has instead been reformed or transformed in other ways.

DAVID W. ZANG, TOWSON UNIVERSITY  
WRESTLING'S GABELIAN KNOT

In March of 1970, Dan Gable of Iowa State University lost the final match in what was to that point an undefeated scholastic career. As America's most celebrated wrestler, the match generated—and continues to generate—discussion that revolves around the loss and Gable's subsequent ascent to Olympic gold and an unparalleled run of success as a college coach. Always, the two things—the fall and the redemption—are seen as connected pieces that led to the veneration of Gable as a symbol of hard work and self-discipline that stood as a stark rebuke to the surging fun crusades of the Vietnam era counterculture.

This essay is an intuitive and speculative disquisition that seeks to address in more specific (and, one hopes, meaningful) terms the famous match and its impact on Gable's career; on Gable's immediate and long-term impact on the history of intercollegiate wrestling; on the



nature of wrestling as a sport and its place—or lack of place—in America’s hierarchy of sport; and what all of these things indicate in terms of what sport historians ought to—but nearly always do not include in their study of America’s past.

**WANJIANG ZHOU, SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE**  
**THE INFLUENCES OF FIVE SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE CHINESE ALUMNI ON THE**  
**DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE BASKETBALL: BASKETBALL LEGENDS**

James Naismith invented basketball at Springfield College (SC), at that time called the International YMCA Training School, in 1891. By 1895 the game was spread to China through the Young men’s Christian Association (YMCA). The first basketball game was organized to play as an exhibition basketball game right after the International YMCA sent its first representative to set up the first city YMCA in Tianjin. To expand the YMCA programs, many Chinese YMCA students were sent by the International YMCA to train and be educated in physical education and sport at the college. Chinese basketball practitioners learned basketball at SC through this college’s unique connection with the International YMCA. Notably, five of them returned to China and took influential positions in Chinese basketball. This paper centers on five Springfield College Chinese alumni who make major contributions to the development of Chinese basketball and how their works promote Chinese basketball both nationally and internationally.

The paper begins with a short historical overview of the spread of basketball in China. This includes how the YMCAs were established in China, how the YMCA physical secretaries facilitated the game, and how the game was organized to play regionally, nationally. In this case, the authors further illustrate the growth and organization of the basketball competitions. Then the authors outline the careers of five Springfield College Chinese alumni, Shiqing Wang, Junfu Song, Hong Shu, Shouyi Dong, and Zuoyun Mou, with emphasis on how they contributed to the development of Chinese basketball in domestic competitions, the Far Eastern Championship Games (FECG), and the Olympic Games in different roles. The authors also address their achievements which not only have boosted Chinese basketball in different ways but also have inspired generations of Chinese in the fields of physical education, sport, the Olympics, and the current initiatives put forth by Ming Yao for the Chinese Basketball Association (CBA): cultural development and operation system.

**JELLE ZONDAG, RADOUD UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN**  
**UNIVERSALIST IDEALS AND COUNTER NARRATIVES: A CASE-STUDY OF THE 1928**  
**SUMMER OLYMPICS AND 1937 WORLD JAMBOREE**

Both the Olympic Movement and the Scouting Movement are based on the belief that physical activities are pedagogical instruments to be put in the service of the greater good. Both the Olympic Movement and the Scouting Movement also claim that physical activities and big sporting events can create peace, friendship and harmony around the world. In 1928 and 1937, the Summer Olympics and World Scouting Jamboree were organized in the Netherlands. In this paper, these events serve as case-studies to examine the transfer and appropriation of the



Olympic and Scouting ideology by Dutch pedagogues and sports officials, as well as the counter-narratives Dutch actors ascribed to these events.

In their propaganda to gain support for the 1928 Summer Olympics, Dutch sport officials used both internationalist and nationalist arguments. The Amsterdam Games were the first Olympics after World War I in which all former belligerents were allowed to compete, which supported the Olympic claim for universal peace and harmony. In their propaganda however, Dutch officials mainly stressed that the Games would benefit the Netherlands economically, as well as militarily, as the sporting competitions would function as an encouragement for the Dutch public to start exercising themselves. The Amsterdam Olympics were mainly supported by the liberal middle-classes. Catholic spokesmen were mostly indifferent to the Games, while socialist and protestant commentators were fiercely opposed. To them, the Olympics were decadent and a waste of money, and the Olympic ideology a fraud.

Dutch scouting officials were more adherent to the universalistic scouting ideology as their Olympist counterparts. In their propaganda, they mainly presented the 1937 World Jamboree as a gathering which brought friendship, peace and brotherhood around the world. During the Jamboree, nationalist and imperialist motives also came to the fore, for instance when Javanese scouts had to pledge their allegiance to the Dutch Queen. As the Olympic Games, the World Jamboree was mainly an event for the liberal middle-classes. Socialist youngsters had their own youth movements and gatherings, while catholic scouts did participate in the Jamboree, but only in separated sub-camps. To them, the Jamboree had a distinct internationalist meaning, as they met Catholics from around the world, which made them feel part of a religious international brotherhood.

By making use of Dutch primary source and archival material, this paper states that the universalist and inclusive Olympist and Scouting ideology was often appropriated in a much more exclusivist way. Also, Olympism and Scouting were only supported by a limited part of Dutch society. This paper thus elaborates our understanding of Dutch sports history and makes Dutch historical material about international sporting events available to an international audience.

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## PRESENTATION PANEL: FACILITATING NASSH'S STRATEGIC POSITION: DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER ACADEMIC SOCIETIES

### CO-MODERATORS:

CHAD SEIFRIED, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

SARAH FIELDS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER

### PANELISTS:

DANIEL COVELL, WESTERN NEW ENGLAND UNIVERSITY

JOHN WONG, WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

HEATHER DICHTER, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY

Like many other professional or academic associations, the North American Society for Sport History (NASSH) desires to expand its membership, retain or recover members, and provide better quality research experiences and services for the field. With such goals in mind, it appears useful to explore the potential of establishing relationships with other associations and societies to strengthen and expand the current strategic position of NASSH.

The Academy of Management (AOM) Management History Division and the North American Society of Sport Management (NASSM) exist as two of many possible history or sport-related external relationships NASSH could establish. These societies among others (e.g., AHA, NASSS, IAPS, SRLA) often expressed interest in working on topics related to the sport industry and with archival information, oral testimonies, and developing datasets from primary and secondary sources to conduct analyses and generate or advance theory (Day, Gordon, & Fink, 2012; de Wilde & Seifried, 2012, 2018; Katz, 2001; Seifried, 2017; Wolfe, et al., 2005). With such potential respect for historical research, there is a noticeable cohort of faculty that attend other association conferences who might be interested in learning about NASSH and vice



versa to establish a formal or informal relationship for both their benefit. The purpose of this panel is to engage/inform a group of NASSH members in an interactive discussion about other sport-related and/or history association conferences. Within we aim to discuss:

- Why should NASSH connect with other academic or professional societies?
  - How can attending AOM, NASSM, and other history or sport-related conferences be a conduit for relationship building between the societies?
    - How can such relationships help individual faculty and doctoral students with their career goals?
  - How does establishing a presence at and relationship with other academic societies help realize the goals to extend knowledge about sport history discourse and to bring other discourses into NASSH?
  - How can such a relationship be established?
- What are the realities of non-sport history conferences like AOM, NASSM, etc.?
  - Similarities and Differences between submission processes, reviewing, and session types
- What type of networking is available at non-sport history conferences?

The current Symposium includes both females and males and will be appropriate for all faculty and graduate students across all stages of their career and graduate work. The universities differ in size, research mission, and promotion/tenure requirements. Furthermore, the panelists enjoy diverse research foci, attended various conferences, and are members with numerous academic societies. The session chair will serve as the moderator and invite audience questions and possibly participation. Finally, we argue this panel is relevant to NASSH because it can help address any misconceptions about non-sport history conferences and associations as either too large, unfriendly, or difficult to manage.