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DECLAN JAMES ABERNETHY, GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

BECOMING THE POSTER: MIA HAMM AND THE RISE OF WOMEN'S SOCCER IN THE UNITED STATES

July 10, 1999 was “the most significant day in the history of women’s sports.” More than 90,000 people filed into the Los Angeles Coliseum to witness the final of the 1999 Women’s World Cup between the United States Women’s National Soccer Team (USWNT) and China. Most people picture Brandi Chastain’s sports bra celebration when they think of this match. However, Brandi could only celebrate because the match deciding penalty kick shootout went to its fifth taker. Most of the spectators in the stadium did not brave the California summer heat to see the Americans’ outside back. They were there for the woman who shot before her.

Mia Hamm was women’s soccer singular celebrity. Mia stood alone from her teammates — her monosyllable nickname uttered in the same sentences as Pele, Cruyff, and Maradona. July 10th was a pivotal point both in women’s sporting history and Hamm’s career arc. Mia was intimately tied to the rise of women’s soccer in America and the USWNT.

Born the same year that Title IX passed, Mia’s career trajectory followed the slow opening of doors in women’s sport and women’s soccer specifically. Mia’s path, from the playing fields of Wichita Falls to the University of North Carolina and ultimately the USWNT chronicled institutional change for women in America. Off the field, Mia Hamm had become the face of Gatorade, Barbie, PERT, and Nike in the 1990s and early 2000s.

This presentation discusses Mia Hamm’s public image as symbolic of the period’s ideal of unthreatening beauty, post-feminism, and empowerment rhetoric. A narrative of progress followed the USWNT’s exploits that summer, but placed in the larger trajectory of women’s sports, this narrative backslid into familiar tropes of female beauty. Mia, the presentation argues, was made a star less because of her performances than how she looked.

CARLY ADAMS, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE; JAN TODD, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; JACK W. BERRYMAN, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON; RICHARD C. CREPEAU, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; KEVIN B. WAMSLEY, NIPISSING UNIVERSITY; DAVE K. WIGGINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY PANEL: PRESIDENTIAL REFLECTIONS

This session is composed of previous NASSH Presidents: Jack W. Berryman (1989-1991); Richard C. Crepeau (1987-1989); Kevin B. Wamsley (2015-2017), David K. Wiggins (2019-2021), as well as moderator Jan Todd (2017-2019). Each Past President will have seven minutes to present on major milestones, successes, and/or challenges in their presidencies; the role of NASSH in sport history; and/or the future of the organization. The aim of this session is to celebrate NASSH by offering Past-Presidents an opportunity to reflect on their presidencies, as well as the organization’s past and future.



CARLY ADAMS, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE; JAN TODD, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; JAMES COATES, RETIRED/INDEPENDENT; MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY; STACY L. LORENZ, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA; JENNIFER GUILIANO, IUPUI; STEPHEN WENN, WILFRED LAURIER UNIVERSITY

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY PANEL: GRADUATE ESSAY WINNERS

This session is composed of previous NASSH Graduate Essay winners: Jan Todd, “Benarr Macfadden: Reformer of Feminine Form” (1986); James Coates, “The Racial Segregation of Baltimore Public Parks Systems, 1890-1917” (1987); Mark Dyreson, “The Emergence of Consumer Culture and the Transformation of Physical Culture” (1989); Stacy Lorenz, “A Lively Interest on the Prairies” (1996); and Jennifer Guiliano, “Sports Mascots as Illegitimate Identities” (2002). Award winners will have seven minutes to present on how/why they decided to write about their topics, reflect on the importance of their work, and discuss how their essays positioned them in the field. The aim of this session is to celebrate NASSH by highlighting previous award winners, as well as to discuss how these essays helped shape the study of sport history.

IAIN CHRISTOPHER ADAMS, INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER; GARY JAMES, HONORARY RESEARCH FELLOW AT DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY; KATIE TAYLOR, NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY

WOMEN’S SPORTS IN THE 1918-1939 INTERBELLUM: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The First World War is often seen as an impetus for women’s emancipation as they were needed in jobs usually carried out by men. These jobs gave experience of social and economic independence and led to demands for greater equality. This panel examines the development of women’s sport in Britain, Germany and the USA in the light of social, political and economic forces as the momentum gained during the war initially continued after the cessation of hostilities. However, progress proved difficult, as cultural conservatives were keen to return to their prewar idyll.

The 1919 Treaty of Versailles restricted powered aircraft in Germany resulting in gliding becoming a national sport with thousands of participants, German women establishing numerous world records. Once restrictions on light aircraft were lifted, women began to participate in sport aviation and the Nazi party utilized their potential as non-threatening ambassadors. However, once Germany exhibited air power through a resurgent air force support for the aviatrixes waned.

Women’s soccer teams had flourished during the Great War in Britain providing entertainment and distraction, attracting crowds of up to 32,000. With peace and the return of men to their clubs, the Football Association viewed the women’s game as a threat and banned women from playing in 1921. However, men’s professional teams saw advantages in attracting female spectators and this paper questions the desire of clubs to attract female spectators when female participation was being actively discouraged.

American women’s involvement in war work had demonstrated their capacities and some women took advantage of the cessation of hostilities to become involved in American football.



However, these developments were concurrent with an anti-competitive movement in women's sport. This paper examines how women experienced American football in the Golden Age of American sport.

SHELDON ANDERSON, MIAMI UNIVERSITY

JUMP SHOOTING TO A HIGHER DEGREE: A BASKETBALL ODYSSEY TO COMMUNIST POLAND

Needing to do research in Communist Party archives in Warsaw to finish my PhD dissertation, and with no other means to get into the Soviet-bloc country, in 1987 I managed to get a contract to play basketball for a team in Lublin, Poland. I was one of only a few Americans to play in a communist bloc country, and I am quite sure that I am the only graduate student who did his PhD research while on a basketball junket behind the Iron Curtain.

This story is one chapter of my recently published memoir with Nebraska Press. I will discuss my circuitous route to a visa to get into Poland, my experiences with the team, including travels throughout the country, the many friends I made there, and finagling my way into the communist archives to finish my research, which became my first book.

I illuminate what life was like in Poland shortly before the collapse of the Soviet bloc regimes in 1989, as well as the sporting culture in Poland at the time.

CAT M. ARIAIL, MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

A PERSPECTIVE ON "INSIDE/OUT: A CULTURAL PRISM OF BLACKNESS & WHITENESS IN SPORT HISTORY"

This paper is connected to the Fiftieth Anniversary Panel: "Inside/Out: A Cultural Prism of Blackness & Whiteness in Sport History." In "Inside/Out: A Cultural Prism of Blackness & Whiteness in Sport History," a paper accepted for publication in the fiftieth anniversary special issue of the Journal of Sport History, Amanda N. Schweinbenz and C. Keith Harrison examine the ways in which insider whiteness has dominated the field of sport history. They offer inside/out collaboration as a necessary intervention to expand scholarly knowledge in a racially just fashion. This paper offers a response to the premise and more broadly discusses the role of scholars in writing sport history.

CONSTANCIO ARNALDO, UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, LAS VEGAS; NIKO BESNIER, UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM; TRACIE CANADA, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME; BERNARDO RAMIREZ RIOS, SKIDMORE COLLEGE; GWYNETH TALLEY, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

SPORT ANTHROPOLOGY: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

In 1973, Alyce Taylor Cheska convened a meeting of scholars interested in the anthropology of play. A year later, Michael Salter formalized the Association for the Anthropological Study of Play at the 1974 NASSH conference in London, Ontario and Alan Tindall was elected as the association's first president. However, in 1987, the organization was



renamed the Association for the Study of Play (TASP) and the disciplinary focus slowly began to change from anthropology to education theory. Although TASP is still in existence, there is no dedicated academic society for sport anthropologists today.

In an effort to stimulate the subdiscipline of sport anthropology, this session brings together six early-career and established scholars to discuss and debate the past, present, and future of sport anthropology. The invited scholars and their research backgrounds are as follows:

- Constancio Arnaldo (University of Nevada, Las Vegas) – popular culture; immigration; race and ethnic identity; masculinity; sexuality.

- Niko Besnier (University of Amsterdam) – sex and gender; political and economic processes; transnationalism and modernity; belief systems; emotions; language.

- Tracie Canada (University of Notre Dame) – African-American ethnography; kinship studies; masculinity and gender studies; institutions of higher education.

- Alan Klein (Northeastern University) – published books on Dominican baseball, bodybuilding subcultures, Mexican American baseball, and Indigenous basketball

- Bernardo Ramirez Rios (Skidmore College) – transnational migration; urban studies; culture, youth, and identity studies.

- Gwyneth Talley (American University in Cairo) – gender, kinship, sport/leisure, and human/animal relationships in the Middle East and North Africa.

The roundtable will be moderated by Tom Fabian, guided by questions pertaining to (1) the development of the subdiscipline, (2) current methodological trends, (3) the relationship between sport history and anthropology, and (4) future directions of the subdiscipline.

MATTHEW BARNARD, BOND UNIVERSITY

CONDUCTING ORAL HISTORY IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Despite their continued and growing use in both popular and academic work, the use of oral histories as a data source is hotly contested among traditional historians. Regardless of the criticism as to the reliability and credibility of oral histories as a primary data source for traditional historical research, they nevertheless may serve as a rich text for discursive analysis. Such analysis may provide deeper contextual understanding of the interviewee, place, memory, and time. Further, oral history analysis allows for the highlighting of implicit and explicit biases of the interviewer or researcher, which are often disregarded in traditional literature.

Oral history methodologies and theory have been well established, and its use has become commonplace among sports history researchers. However, the bulk of this theory is designed for oral histories to be conducted and recorded in person.

As with most industries, the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in significant upheaval for academic work. Fortunately, for sport historians, this impact for the most part has been minimal, with the major exception of travel restrictions and limited physical archival access. This upheaval has resulted in the acceptance of alternate data collection strategies and a recognition of new technologies as suitable tools for gathering primary sources.

This presentation will note best practices and pitfalls of conducting oral histories through virtual conferencing software by analyzing 16 collected oral histories with Summer Olympic and Paralympic medalists during the pandemic. This reflection will contribute to best oral history practice to enable researcher to engage with oral history collection despite ongoing challenges



and the COVID-19 pandemic. Further, it may allow for informed funding allocations in preliminary data collection phases of sport history projects and encourage strategies to alleviate financial burdens of traditional narrative storytelling.

SARAH BARNES, CAPE BRETON UNIVERSITY

BURNT OUT: ANGELA JAMES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ATHLETIC FATIGUE

This paper focuses on dominant media narratives surrounding the controversial decision to cut Angela James, a Black woman and lesbian once referred to as “the Wayne Gretzky of Canadian women’s hockey,” from the 1998 Olympic team. At the end of a months-long grueling try out, James was dismissed. This coaching decision was especially dramatic because the 1998 Olympic Games in Nagano, Japan represented the first time women’s ice hockey would be included as a medal event. An intersectional feminist lens permits me to consider this controversy and to understand how race, class, gender, and sexuality have come to bear on popular and scientific conceptions of athletic burnout. The final decades of the twentieth century represent a key period where select groups of elite athletes were identified by medical and sporting authorities as being at a heightened risk of burnout. Mounting anxieties about overtired athletes coincided with new and shifting medical ideas about the value of high-quality sleep for athletes. Like other populations “at risk” for compromised health, athletes who wished to avoid burn out were encouraged to govern their daily habits through elaborate practices linked to self-care and self-examination. A case study of Angela James highlights the limitations of scientific problem solving that privilege biological processes and individual behavior at the expense of understanding how social and historical circumstances impact the way that athletes move through exhausting sport systems. This presentation aims to expand academic discussions about rest and recovery in sport and to illustrate how subjective perceptions of individual “effort,” “attitude,” and biological responses to training are shaped by longstanding ideas about which bodies are heroic or vulnerable in their exhaustion.

SANDIE BEAUDOUIN & PIERRE-OLAF SCHUT, UNIVERSITY GUSTAVE EIFFEL

WOMEN'S ROWING IN FRANCE: A BATTLE ON TWO FRONTS (1900-1939)

The first half of the 20th century was a special time for the development of women's sport. Several works have already been published on women's sport at this time. However, little is known about women’s rowing apart from the work of L. Taylor in the United Kingdom. The study of rowing enriches the historiography on the feminization of sports practices, and also brings elements related to the tensions between the local positions of the leaders related to the admission of women in the societies, and the national decisions of the federation to authorize the female participation in the races. The analysis looks at the local tensions between existing societies accepting or not accepting women as members and the emergence of women-only clubs such as the Club Nautique Fémina founded in 1909 in the Paris region. It also discusses the consequences and effects of the debate at national level between the positions of the leaders of the Fédération Française des Sociétés d’Aviron (FFSA - French Federation of Rowing Societies) and those of the young women's sports federation, created in 1917.



We will identify the ways and forms in which women's rowing groups were established in France. We will then show that the gradual integration of women is built through a double game that mutually enriches each other: on the one hand, the relationship at the national level of the Fédération Sportive Féminine (Women Sport Federation) with the FFSA, and on the other hand, at the local level, the relationship between the rowing societies and women who wish to take up rowing.

For this demonstration, we will rely on a corpus : the *Annuaire de l'aviron français* and the journal *L'Aviron*. This journal contains the minutes of official meetings of the federation and of many clubs, as well as substantive articles.

ADAM PATRICK BERG, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA GREENSBORO

TRUMP, FOOTBALL, AND THE LONG SOUTHERN STRATEGY

This paper examines how between 2015 and 2020, presidential candidate and then President Donald Trump used tackle football to attract conservative working- and middle-class white American voters. The account begins by tracing what political scientists Angie Maxwell and Todd Shields have called “The Long Southern Strategy” (LSS) (Maxwell and Shields 2019). This entails the Republican Party’s effort – from 1964 to recent years – to break up the Democratic Party’s New Deal coalition in the South. Notably, the LSS proved an extend – half a century-long – tactic that entailed a tripartite of appeals aimed at cultural anxieties born from racial, gendered, and religious ideologies. Moreover, the paper concurrently compares the history of the LSS to the popularization of tackle football in the United States throughout the twentieth century. Following sport historian Michael Oriard’s cultural studies methodology of “reading” football as a reflection and producer of culture, the paper reveals how the sport became a practical means for politicians to convey and align themselves with the LSS’s purported ideals. Football has historically cultivated the social norms, structures, and beliefs on which the LSS depended. Finally, with this context laid out, the paper recounts how Donald Trump used football to articulate positions that could cultivate a “populist” right-wing uprising and thus enable him to seize the most powerful office in the world.

ZACHARY R. BIGALKE, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

THE SUN RISES ON CONEY ISLAND: JAPANESE COMPETITIVE EATERS, SPORTIFICATION, AND THE NATHAN’S HOT DOG EATING CONTEST AS GLOBAL SPECTACLE

To no sporting spectacle does Bertolt Brecht’s dictum that “Great sport begins long after it has ceased to be healthy” apply more fully than competitive eating, and especially the consumption of hot dogs. For most of the 20th century, the Nathan's Hot Dog Eating Contest held annually at Coney Island was little more than a local curiosity embedded within larger Independence Day festivities. Open to anyone who wished to test their stomach against the time clock, the event often depended on last-minute entries from the crowd to fill out its field.

This changed in the 1990s, as professional Japanese competitive eaters increasingly targeted the Nathan’s event. Hirofumi Nakajima, Kazutoyo Arai, and Takeru Kobayashi dominated the competition and set new world records year after year, leaving local competitors



to compete for consolation prizes. At a time when Japan and the United States were also competing in an increasingly globalized economy, the appearances by Japanese eaters provided event organizers a window to employ jingoistic tropes to build the event's popularity for partisan crowds clamoring for an American to win the July 4 competition.

The Japanese intervention at Coney Island also catalyzed competitive eating beyond the Nathan's event, leading to the formation of new organizations and leagues to manage rules and competitions. Participation by foreign competitors sparked processes of sportification that transformed the Nathan's Hot Dog Eating Competition from a boardwalk sideshow into a global spectacle. This research focuses on this transformation, highlighting the contingencies that made hot dogs rather than another food item the dominant measuring stick for competitive eaters across the globe.

DOUGLAS BOOTH, THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY

BOOK REVIEWS: A SPECIFICITY OF HISTORICAL PRACTICE

The leading journals in the history of sport all publish book reviews which are a longstanding and visible feature of the discipline. Indeed, some journals allocate almost as much space to reviews as to scholarly articles. In this presentation, I analyze and evaluate the contributions that book reviews make to the production of knowledge and to building disciplinary and social cohesiveness among professional historians in the field. Following Pierre Bourdieu, I argue that book reviews play important roles in communities of professional scholars and the way that members position themselves and engage with, relate to, and judge one another. I illustrate this importance through a case study of 271 book reviews published in *Sporting Traditions* (the official journal of the Australian Society for Sports History) between 1984 and 1995. The case study yields two particularly relevant conclusions. First, the level of historiographical analysis presented in book reviews is typically minimal with rigorous, detailed and perceptive analyses uncommon. Second, most reviewers adopt mitigating strategies to temper or dilute their criticisms.

LUCY JANE BOUCHER, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

THE MOTHER OF PHYSICAL CULTURE: MARY MACFADDEN AND THE EUGENIC LEGACY OF THE PHYSICAL CULTURE FAMILY

"I Married a Health Fiend," reads the lurid headline of *The People* from 23 October 1955. In a confessional piece that would not have seemed out of place in one of media mogul Bernarr Macfadden's magazines, Mary reveals the lurid details of her tempestuous marriage to the 'Father of Physical Culture'.

This paper seeks to examine Macfadden's strategic marketing of his family as physical culture propaganda and living proof of his theories on eugenic breeding. Macfadden used the Physical Culture family to project an image of 'domestic masculinity' which lent credibility and respectability to ideas that had seen him defamed as a 'health nut' or 'pervert'. Through adopting the public persona of the 'family man' with the perfect Physical Culture Family, Macfadden sought to both legitimize himself and his eugenic ideals in the eyes of the American public. His masculinity became tied to his paternalistic image – at once muscular and nurturing. The



publicity generated by the family reveals not only Macfadden's genius for self-promotion, but the deep anxieties that white Americans felt regarding race, gender, and the role of the family in society during the early twentieth century.

Mary Macfadden and the Physical Culture family are a fascinating, yet neglected, aspect of Physical Culture history. The family possessed little agency in the construction of their public image and were reduced to props in Macfadden's self-aggrandizing publicity campaigns. Through private and public deconstructions of the image projected upon them, the family were able to regain authorship of their own narratives.

STEPHEN BRAUER, ST. JOHN FISHER COLLEGE

KOTA EZAWA, COLIN KAEPERNICK, AND THE FRAMING OF BLACK BODIES IN PROTEST

Inspired by Colin Kaepernick, throughout 2016 NFL players protested police brutality and the oppression of people of color by kneeling during "The Star-Spangled Banner." In 2019, at the Whitney Biennial, the artist Kota Ezawa exhibited "National Anthem" – a series of artworks comprised of animated video, watercolors, and lightboxes that portrayed those protests.

Through both still images and animated film, Ezawa's "National Anthem" frames the protests as a small part of a much larger context of players, coaches, staff, and media members of the field – let alone the tens of thousands of people in the stands. The works illustrate how the media made a conscious spectacle of the athletes' protest that ultimately demonized those athletes.

Tommie Smith and John Carlos and Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf all used the National Anthem as a moment of protest in 1968 and 1996, respectively. However, whereas images of those moments tend to show them as isolated and exceptional, Ezawa represents Kaepernick and other protestors as often hidden amongst the large mix of other people on the field and viewers of the images have to work to locate them. In contrast, Ezawa repeatedly places directly in the center of his images cameramen who are filming the protestors. In so doing, he captures how media members sought to place the protestors at the heart of a narrative that Ezawa's own larger framing of the moment subverts and deconstructs.

By considering these works next to images of Smith and Carlos and Abdul-Rauf, I will demonstrate how Ezawa's "National Anthem" captures the dynamics of the media spectacle that led to the demonization of the protestors and the framing of a silently kneeling black body protesting the abuse and oppression of people of color as unpatriotic, dangerous, and a "son of a bitch."

JULIE ELIZABETH BRICE, UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

WOMEN'S BODIES, FEMININITY, AND SPACETIMEMATTERING: A BARADIAN ANALYSIS OF THE ACTIVEWEAR PHENOMENON

Over the past decade, activewear clothing (e.g., tight leggings, crop tops) has become a booming international business and cultural phenomenon. It has been critiqued for its pervasive neoliberal, postfeminist, and healthism rhetoric and the ways it continues to (re)produce hegemonic femininity. While these critiques are certainly valid, here I explore how new



materialist theory, specifically, Karen Barad’s concept of spacetime mattering, can provide an alternative perspective on the production of femininity and feminist politics within activewear. Broadly, spacetime mattering questions the linearity of time and fixity of space. It proposes a more fluid and dynamic understanding, where time and space are continuously (re)made through interactions and where nonhuman matter plays a lively and agentic role in this process. In line with this understanding, this presentation brings together discourses, materialities, and events (both human and nonhuman) from multiple time periods and spaces in dialogue with the current activewear phenomenon and interviews with women in Aotearoa, to think through how activewear contributes to current understandings of femininity. More specifically, I explore how spacetime mattering can help us think about how activewear challenges a history of women being understood as purely objects of beauty, and their bodies considered weak and fragile. In so doing, this presentation speaks to both the ways in which activewear clothing plays a pivotal role in (re)producing femininity, as well as how spacetime mattering can contribute to historical analyses and understandings in sport history research.

SUSAN BROWNELL, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-ST. LOUIS

SPORT ANTHROPOLOGY: HAS OUR TIME FINALLY ARRIVED?

Until recently, sport anthropology had almost no official existence within the discipline of anthropology, such as a national or international association (since the exit of anthropologists from The Association for the Study of Play in the 1990s), a section of the American Anthropological Association, a dedicated journal, or a book series at an academic press. Susan Brownell was the rare anthropologist who actually wrote a Ph.D. dissertation on sport (in China), and therefore dealt with this lacuna for her entire career – from job search to senior scholar. Drawing on that experience, she will review the state of the field over the last four decades. Comparing the past with the present reveals previous obstacles to the subdiscipline’s development as well as its current and future prospects. From her perspective as co-editor of a series on “Sport in World History” at a prominent press (University of California), Brownell will compare the state of the field in sport history and ask whether there is enough common ground between the two subdisciplines to form a more productive alliance. Having just moved into a department of history as a result of the elimination of her anthropology department amidst budget cuts, Brownell will also comment about the impact on the two subdisciplines of the current financial and political crisis in higher education.

JANE BROWNING BUELL, BAYLOR COLLEGE OF MEDICINE

THE ROAD TO EQUALITY: AN ANALYSIS OF RESTRICTIONS AND THEIR NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON WOMEN’S RUNNING

This paper explores how female athletes have been historically oppressed in the sport of running and how that inequality translates to today’s sport. The background of the paper bases itself in two major sources, *The Frailty Myth* by Colette Dowling and Patricia Vertinsky’s “Exercise, Physical Capability, and the Eternally Wounded Woman in Late Nineteenth Century North America.” These sources detail how certain myths and faulty medical beliefs have long



held that women were physically and mentally inferior to men and should, consequently, avoid the intense exercise or competition that constituted the male sphere.

First, this paper contextualizes milestones in women's running in accord with cultural and medical beliefs through various memoirs and medical journals. It illustrates how the frailty myth had to be physically overcome by rebellious female runners in order for changes in culture and policy to occur, citing evolving mileage maximums from the IAAF and the AAU. Second, this research shows that the frailty myth has been reintroduced to sports with the institution of sex testing. For the case of Caster Semenya, her naturally high testosterone levels have barred her from competing in specific events in the Olympic Games. The arbitrary use of testosterone levels and specific Olympic events evidences how biased this ruling is and how it impedes equal opportunity in sport. Using the U.S. Women's National Soccer Team as an example of fully potentiated athletes, I argue that other women's sports need the same amount of resources, media attention, and support to find acclaim. Therefore, I conclude that removing restrictions on women's sport will improve equality in the field of running and allow for greater achievement. This paper would be appropriate in a session on women in sport or in a session on modern Olympic rules.

ERIC BURIN, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

THE BLACK HERO'S JOURNEY: *COLIN IN BLACK AND WHITE* AS BLACK MEMOIR

In August 2016, Colin Kaepernick, a quarterback for the San Francisco 49ers of the National Football League, protested racial injustice by silently sitting (and later kneeling) during National Anthem. Kaepernick's demonstration ignited a political firestorm. Nevertheless, Kaepernick remained steadfast to his cause, both on and off the field. Ultimately, Kaepernick's resolve cost him his job: by March 2017, he was effectively blackballed from the league. By then, Kaepernick was an international icon. He remains one today.

My paper examines *Colin in Black and White*, a Netflix series that Kaepernick co-created with filmmaker Ava DuVernay in 2021. Consisting of six, approximately thirty-minute episodes, the show depicts Kaepernick's adolescent years, when as a biracial, adopted child of a white couple living in a predominantly white California community, he grappled with issues of identity, culture, class, power, and alienation. The tale and its larger significance are conveyed in complex ways: the main storyline portraying young Colin's experiences is intertwined with brief documentaries, historical reenactments, and narration by the adult Kaepernick, who observes and comments on it all from within a stark room, which DuVernay called the "gallery of his mind." Thus conceived, *Colin in Black and White* is a Black memoir, and in it, we see multiple truths: the teenager's racialized coming-of-age as well as the adult's deliberate retrospection both conveyed in an essentially nonfictional version of what mythologist Joseph Campbell believed to be the universal story of the Hero's Journey. As a student of history, Kaepernick understands the role memoirs play in the Black freedom struggle. When asked what he hoped viewers, and especially young people, would learn from the series, Kaepernick replied: "[Y]ou don't have to accept the status quo... You have the power and ability to have an impact and create the change and bring about the future that you want."



JAMES CAMERON CALDWELL, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

**‘IF ONLY THERE WAS AN ALGORITHM’: EXPEDITING HISTORICAL RESEARCH WITH
COMPUTER PROGRAMMING**

Historical research can be time consuming. Yet the time students and researchers have to produce results is shrinking. This project was developed with that tension in mind. As an undergraduate student working with two professors on a project that would have otherwise taken years to complete (Drs. Janice Forsyth, Western, and Evan Habkirk, UBC Okanagan), my role was to create an algorithm that allowed us to accurately mine data about sports, physical activities, health, disease, and death in Canada’s Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864-1990, all available online in digitized PDF format. In this presentation, I will discuss the learnings we gleaned from creating a computer program to carry out archival-based research, focusing on source documents that span decades and have been saved using various PDF formats, not all of which are user-friendly. The emphasis in this presentation will be placed on data extraction, which does not require an in-depth knowledge of computer science. I will share my experience of creating this computer program for archival research, compare the algorithm I designed with other published uses of computer algorithms to conduct historical research (in a burgeoning field called ‘computational history’), highlight the potential pitfalls of this method, and how I attempted to address those pitfalls. This presentation will appeal mostly to students and researchers who use historical documents saved in digitized PDF format and struggle with the time-crunch tension, as well as scholars interested in computational methodologies for carrying out their work.

CHAD CARLSON, HOPE COLLEGE

**A HOLY RIVALRY: CALVIN UNIVERSITY, HOPE COLLEGE, AND THE ORIGINS OF THE
BEST SMALL COLLEGE BASKETBALL RIVALRY IN AMERICA**

In 2005, ESPN ranked Hope College and Calvin University as the fourth best college basketball rivalry in America. Yet, they are not well-known schools like the other top rivalries. These two institutions emerged from the same Dutch American settlement in west Michigan comprised of devout Calvinists. An 1857 schism among these immigrants set forth two Christian denominations with differences so minute as to be inconsequential to anyone outside their enclave. The Reformed Church in America founded Hope College. Calvin University is the school of the Christian Reformed Church in North America. Despite a shared heritage, tribalism prevails: connection to one school or denomination means opposition to the other.

The early Dutch American Calvinists comprising these two denominations were no friends to recreation, amusement, or playfulness. They not only embodied but also helped create the proverbial Protestant work ethic. Yet, in the early decades of the twentieth century, these two institutions slowly began allowing and even supporting their students’ athletic endeavors. In 1920, the two schools began playing men’s basketball games against each other. However, the rivalry stopped for three years in 1925 and for another seven beginning in 1936. Little is known about these two competitive hiatuses except that it had something to do with spectator conduct and emotions antithetical to Christian ideals.



In this presentation, I will explore the reasons for this on-again, off-again era of the basketball rivalry. In doing so, I will describe the Dutch American Calvinist influences on Hope and Calvin athletics in the 1920s and 1930s, including how both institutions fell prey to the Americanizing cultural forces they originally wanted to avoid.

My research will consist of contextualizing the American college sport landscape using prominent secondary sources, along with primary sources from each institution.

**DANIELE CRISTINA CARQUEIJEIRO DE MEDEIROS, UNIVERSIDAD DE LA REPÚBLICA;
MARCELO MORAES E SILVA, UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PARANÁ**

THE NEWSPAPER A GAZETA AND THE NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPORT AND THE URBANITY (SÃO PAULO, 1925-1943)

The newspaper A Gazeta was founded in São Paulo in 1906 and was acquired in 1918 by journalist Casper Líbero. The new owner had the goal of incorporating other elements in the editorial project of the publication. His main idea was to deliver a modern newspaper to a city that grew faster and was, at the beginning of the 20th century, one of the largest cities in Brazil. Among the elements introduced by Líbero were sports. His goal was to associate certain sports practices with the benefits of modernity. This work aims to analyze the role of A Gazeta in the production of meanings concerning sports in São Paulo between 1925 and 1943.

Its action about sports went beyond the sports narratives. In addition to this, Líbero was responsible for creating three of the most significant urban sports competitions in the city of São Paulo:

1. 'São Silvestre', a long-distance running event created in 1925;
2. 'Travessia de São Paulo a Nado', a water resistance race disputed in the Tietê River (1932);
3. '9 de Julho' bicycle race, created in 1933.

In the time frame of this research, which goes from the creation of the first race (1925) until the death of Casper Líbero (1943), it was possible to realize that the newspaper orchestrated a new relationship between sports and the city, promoting important events with the participation of thousands of amateur athletes. The conclusion is that the newspaper, in addition to elaborating its own discourses on sports, promoted a new relationship between these practices and urban life, being fundamental for the sports diffusion in the city in the period analyzed.

JUAN CARLOS CASTILLO, UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN IOWA

MANOLO SANTANA: THE GENTLE QUIXOTIC HERO THAT MADE TENNIS A MASS SPORT IN SPAIN

The concept of the quixotic hero has been proposed as a model to follow during Francisco Franco's regime's (1939-75) nationalizing efforts in Spain. This presentation provides evidence that this aspect of Spanish collective national identity succeeded in portraying certain athletes in individual sports as national idols. Tennis player Manolo Santana was one of the original quixotic heroes of Spanish sport. This work explores how the written press of his era helped promote this image of Santana. His story fits all the characteristics of the quixotic hero: his humble origins as a ball boy in an exclusive tennis club in Madrid; the kinds of adversity he



had to overcome; his role as a hero for Spain, especially when competing in the Davis Cup national team, which he led to two Challenge Rounds against Cup holders Australia. However, two quixotic characteristics are especially evident in the portrait of Santana by the press. Firstly, he was a model for personal conduct: respectful towards his rivals, a loving family man, and courteous with the press and the fans. His signature smile and prominent teeth helped make him a great celebrity in Spain. Secondly, his generous madness led him to bring tennis out of obscurity into a mass sport in Spain. Originally seen as an upper class, members-only, exclusive elite sport, Santana singlehandedly made tennis widely popular as both a spectator and a practice sport. While his first major wins in France and the US received modest media treatment, his 1966 win at Wimbledon became one of the most celebrated triumphs by a Spanish athlete. Presently, the unanimous media reaction after his recent death last December proves that the feats of the Franco era sports quixotic heroes continue to be part of the collective national imagination and identity in Spain.

DEREK CATSAM, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PERMIAN BASIN

FLOUR BOMBS AND DIVIDED FAMILIES: RECONSIDERING THE 1981 SPRINGBOK TOUR TO NEW ZEALAND IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

The New Zealand-South Africa rugby rivalry was (and is) the most intense and meaningful in rugby history and, arguably, in the world of sports. But the spate of mass protests and counter-protests during the Springboks' 1981 visit to New Zealand, which culminated in the notorious "flour bomb" test match in Auckland (during which low-flying planes dropped bags of flour on the playing field, hitting at least one player in the process), had little to do with team pride. Rather the explosive events in New Zealand revealed the extent to which rugby had become a galvanizing force in not only New Zealand politics but in the global campaign against apartheid. This paper will emphasize not only the significance of the events in New Zealand in the southern hemisphere winter of 1981, but will reveal the ways that those events had global significance. The chaos surrounding those two months in New Zealand, for example, revealed ways to oppose apartheid to those Americans were paying attention to events outside of their country's borders. Because the Springboks, and South African athletes more broadly were not welcome in Australia, even to fly through their air space, the South Africans had to fly through the United States to get to and from New Zealand. Without the Springboks playing in New Zealand there would have been no American tour because there would have been no reason for them to be in the United States. Without the tumult in New Zealand there may well have been no serious opposition to the American tour. This paper (and resulting chapter) will examine the New Zealand tour, arguably the most controversial sporting event in history, both on its own merits and within its larger global context.



PASCAL CHARITAS, UNIVERSITÉ PARIS NANTERRE; CYRIL POLYCARPE, UNIVERSITÉ DE FRANCHE-COMTÉ

THE SOUTH PACIFIC GAMES AND FRENCH OCEANIA: GEOPOLITICAL ISSUES, POWER AND INFLUENCE OF FRANCE (1947-1971)

After the Second World War, the six main nations present in Oceania (England, Australia, France, New Zealand, the Netherlands and the United States of America) founded the South Pacific Commission (Canberra Convention, 1947). During the Cold War, the objective of this advisory body was “economic and social well-being and the progress of peoples” serving the interests of these Western powers in order to extend their areas of influence and thus limit the communist extension coming from Southeast Asia to the South Pacific. During the Fourth Conference (Papua New Guinea) in 1959, these western guardianship encouraged the creation of the first Games of the South Pacific (Fiji) which took place in 1963 against the anti-Olympic and pro-communist initiative of the GANEFO of Jakarta in Indonesia (Huebner, 2016). For France, De Gaulle’s policy of national independence depends on the strategic role of Oceania with the overseas territories (TOM): French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Wallis-et-Futuna. In 1963, France transferred its atomic tests to Polynesia and built its nuclear umbrella. It intensified its diplomacy in this region, particularly through an active sports policy with the organization of the 2nd and 4th editions of the South Pacific Games (New Caledonia, 1966 and French Polynesia, 1971). Our study draws on the French, IOC and national and local press archives to understand how these Far West Games can be an analysis of the expression of France’s power in the constellation of the South Pacific. Do these regional sports games represent a geopolitical challenge for France to strategically redeploy its influence in Oceania?

SAMUEL M CLEVINGER, TOWSON UNIVERSITY

ON THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD OF 1889 AND THE ANTHROPOCENTRIC HISTORY OF THE SOUTH FORK FISHING AND HUNTING CLUB

This paper contends that the Johnstown Flood of 1889, which resulted in widespread environmental destruction, including most of the nearby city of Johnstown, and the deaths of over 2,200 people, was at least indirectly, if not directly, catalyzed by the anthropocentric leisure forms and activities of an exclusive, upper-class sporting and leisure club. The historic flood was precipitated by the collapse of the South Fork Dam, an earthen structure designed to hold Lake Conemaugh’s roughly twenty million tons of water. The dam was owned by the South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club, an upper-class organization whose members included Andrew Carnegie, Andrew Mellon, and other industrial elites from Pittsburgh. While the dam was in poor shape due to years of neglect and shoddy maintenance, the Club also made adjustments in the interests of maintaining their sporting pursuits that significantly hampered the dam’s function and capacity. While much has been written on the significance of the flood in the history of so-called “natural disasters” and the key role played by the Club’s neglect of the earthen dam, to date historians have not studied the Club’s activities as a history of anthropocentric sport and leisure. Based on archival research on the activities of the South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club and the decisions made by Club members, this paper suggests the Club prioritized creating the optimal opportunities for fishing, hunting, boating, and extravagant leisure, contributing to the



catastrophic collapse of the dam. In this contemporary moment of impending environmental catastrophe and the ceaseless human activities of the global neoliberal sport industry, the paper uses the case study of the Johnstown Flood of 1889 to underscore some of the important human and more-than-human consequences of anthropocentric forms of modern physical culture.

NOAH COHAN, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY; JOHN EARLY, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY;
DANIELA BOHÓRQUEZ SHEININ, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN; ABIGAIL SMITHSON,
LYON COLLEGE

PUBLIC PARKS, BIAS, AND SCHOLAR-ACTIVISM: RESEARCH AND OUTREACH ON THE RACIALIZATION IN AMERICAN URBAN LANDSCAPES

What do the sporting amenities offered in a public park tell us about who is welcome in that space? How do race, place, and surveillance intersect in the landscape of a city's greenspaces, and what do they tell us about access and equity? In this panel we will attempt to answer those questions as we trace the past, present, and future of signature public parks in St. Louis, Missouri and Queens, New York. Addressing the contemporary absence of basketball facilities in St. Louis's Forest Park, the historical presence of basketball adjacent to the same park for the 1904 World's Fair, and the many ways in which Flushing Meadows Corona Park has functioned as the catalyst for neighborhood formation, and urban and cultural change in New York City, the panelists each demonstrate the ways in which urban power brokers use and control access to public greenspaces to serve their policy goals. This control often involves the strategic showcasing or concealment of the sporting bodies of people of color from white park attendees.

Since the presenters all have backgrounds in visual art or podcasting which they have used to generate and share their work on these topics, we will also discuss how public-facing projects can help scholars engage a broader public. In particular, we will consider how creative practices, activism, and scholarship can work in tandem to raise awareness of the contemporary ramifications of past injustices, and, in doing so make an impact on the physical landscape of city parks going forward. Whether these efforts take the form of Instagram posts, interventions in the landscape, or podcast interviews, reaching beyond the walls of the university to connect with the communities impacted by the legacies of bias in recreational spaces is an urgent part of our responsibility as scholars in 2022 and beyond.

NEVADA COOKE, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

TAKING GERMANY TO NEW HEIGHTS: MOUNTAINEERING AS NAZI PROPAGANDA

Though Nazi Germany made widespread and thorough use of propaganda, sport was initially not given much credence within National Socialism's grand plans. With the realization that sport on the international stage provided a unique opportunity to communicate with the world, the Nazis put a concerted effort into "showing off." While much time and energy was dedicated to training future gold medalists, the Nazi Party's plan for sport propaganda did not begin and end with international athletics. With their sights set on ascending to the summit of international athletics, the Nazis also set their sights on reaching other summits – specifically those literal summits that had been hitherto un-summited. In the mountaineering world of the



1930s, many of the world's largest mountain peaks remained unscaled, specifically within the Himalayas, home to many of the world's largest and most unforgiveable mountains. The Nazis set forth with a concerted effort to summit some of the world's highest and hitherto-unreached points in the name of National Socialism. One of those peaks they focused on was Nanga Parbat. The western anchor of the mighty and imposing Himalayas, the ninth-tallest mountain in the world, Nanga Parbat would, by the end of the twentieth century, have earned itself the nickname "the Killer Mountain" for the unusually heavy number of casualties it claimed during failed ascension attempts. This paper explores National Socialism's interest in mountaineering as a vehicle for propaganda, as well as the Nazi attempts to scale Nanga Parbat in the brief period between the Nazi seizure of power and the outbreak of World War II.

DANIEL COVELL & CLAUDE CATAPANO, WESTERN NEW ENGLAND UNIVERSITY

"THE UNIVERSITY NEEDS ALL OF SUCH EXPOSURE IT CAN GET": COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY MEN'S BASKETBALL AND THE DECISION TO FORGO THE NATIONAL INVITATION TOURNAMENT, 1968-1970

This presentation examines how the Columbia University men's basketball team achieved its best-ever season during the 1967-68 academic year, how the subsequent student-led strikes on the school's campus in April of 1968 served as a significant retardant to the team's long-term ability to maintain that level of success, as well as the University's decision in 1970 not to allow the program to participate in the National Invitation Tournament (NIT). Columbia's program was part of New York City's rich basketball culture, which had been dimmed in the 1950s by the point-shaving scandals at local schools such as City College. The 1968 student-led campus takeover, which occurred a few weeks after Columbia's successful run in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) tournament, cemented the perception among many stakeholders and other competitor schools that Columbia, long considered the least traditional and "WASP-y" of the Ivies, was a font of student campus radicalism. In 1969, the New York Urban League requested that Columbia play in the NITs at New York's Madison Square Garden, to, in the words of assistant director Louis Torrence, "act as a motivational force for the black youngsters in the black ghetto," proximate to which the Columbia campus was situated. Columbia athletic director Ken Germann supported the idea, and lobbied campus leaders to pursue an NIT bid (in the event that an NCAA bid was not forthcoming). Columbia's request to the Ivy leadership of their interest to play in the NIT was rebuffed, and the school's decision to abide by the decision and to stay within the Ivy rules, much like the University of Pennsylvania had done in early 1950s in terminating its football television broadcasting deal with the Mutual Network, meant the school chose to maintain its Ivy identity at the expense of local interests and possible national prominence.

ADAM CRIBLEZ, SOUTHEAST MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY

THE LAST B-BOYS STANDING: HIP-HOP, NEW YORK, AND THE KNICKS

In 1979, the New York Knicks became the first team in the National Basketball Association (NBA) composed entirely of Black players, leading one reporter to christen them the "N*****bockers." At the same time, hip-hop culture, in the form of rap music, b-boy dancing,



and graffiti art created by young, impoverished Black and Latinx women and men, was emerging in the South Bronx, just miles from where these now all-Black Knicks played.

Looking back, this was a cultural crossroads as, during the late seventies and early eighties, these Black-led institutions of New York shifted focus in an effort to appeal to a broader national and racially diverse demographic.

White-dominated record labels and predominately Black artists began creating music appealing to young white suburbanites (the target audience, as well, for the NBA), providing, as one historian explains, “an age-old image of blackness: a foreign, sexually charged, and criminal underworld against which the norms of white society are defined.” White kids in the suburbs tried to “perfect a model of correct white hipness, coolness and style by adopting the latest black style and image.” They watched “Beat Street” and “Body Rock,” memorized the lyrics of “Rapper’s Delight,” pulled on Adidas Superstar sneakers, and enjoyed the sanitized version of hip-hop, shined up to be as non-offensive as possible. Similarly, the Knicks recruited white free agents and draftees in an attempt to shed their identity as an all-Black team.

The intersection of hip-hop and pro basketball emerging from New York City during this time of transition underscores racial and cultural undercurrents intersecting during a formative period in the creation of the now long-standing relationship between hip-hop and hoops.

ERIN CROWNOVER, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; EMALEE NELSON, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; JASON SHURLEY, THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-WHITEWATER

CONVERSATION SURROUNDING RACE IN SPORT HISTORY

In light of significant events in 2020, such as the Black Lives Matter movement, recognizing and targeting systemic racism in this country begins with creating conversation and maintaining a critical lens to achieve racial justice and equity. The topic of systemic racism remains a complicated, multi-layer issue that has developed over hundreds of years. As a society, our collective avoidance of discussing various types of racial inequality has created blind spots to the largest issues within American culture, and even sport. Education and dialogue are the building blocks needed to make changes and shape further understanding around diversity, inclusion and belonging.

This session will focus on a conversation surrounding race in America, specifically the racialization and injustice not just surrounding African Americans, but Asian American and Latino immigrants to the United States. This session will address the following three topics: Sergio Oliva’s defection from Cuba to Chicago in the 1960s, and his transition from weightlifter to bodybuilder during the American Civil Rights Movement; early origins of athletic training and an African American man named Henry Reeves (1895-1916) at the then all-white University of Texas at Austin; and the early years of segregation at the YMCA of Honolulu. It remains necessary to question and draw attention to the racialization and injustice surrounding these three groups, their role and attention in the domain of sports history, the political expectations, and the historical contexts that support assumptions and the development of perspectives surrounding how they are examined and regarded. Jason Shurley will respond.



MALENA SOFÍA DAMIAN TOST, UNIVERSIDAD DE LA REPÚBLICA

THE GENDER AND SEXUALITY ORDER FOR PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE MONTEVIDEAN SCHOOL OF THE 20TH CENTURY

This study aims to present the research advances focused on the identification and analysis of the discourses that configured an order of genders and sexualities for School Physical Education in Montevideo between the years 1892 and 1911.

Without any prior direct records, the analysis of official documents such as curricula, reports and laws that give an account of the process of configuration of school physical education is proposed. Furthermore, the main physical education manuals and some complementary sources are analyzed under the magnifying glass of the following questions: Which were the discourses and practices that established the educational processes of the body on a gender and sexuality order? How can this elements be identified for the specific case of school Physical Education in Montevideo? How were the abjections in the order of gender and sexuality produced and expressed, for the specific case of Physical Education in Montevideo?

The work maintains a historiographic perspective and is nourished by the theoretical contributions of gender studies to analyze how the different discursive formations, the technologies of sex, gender and desire operated for the particularity of the Uruguayan case in the attempt to define the Physical Education at school. This becomes meaningful for the understanding of the field, the knowledge circulation that legitimated it, contemplating transnational processes.

The main conclusions focus on highlighting the forms of construction of masculinity, femininity, and the production of abjections in the school field. They show how biomedical, legal and pedagogical discourses founded metaphors that defined differentiated and regulatory practices for gender socialization processes in school, as well as the productive nature of Physical Education in the social and political matrix of the moment. It is also interested to show how the feminist discourses of the moment contributed to these tensions.

ARI DE WILDE, EASTERN CONNECTICUT STATE UNIVERSITY

WHY DID PROFESSIONAL BICYCLE RACING IN THE UNITED STATES THRIVE IN THE 1930S AND VANISH AFTER?

In the 1930s, the Great Depression reigned. However, alongside the economic collapse, culture-defining activities emerged in dynamic ways. Among others: Six Day Bicycle Racing is associated with the Great Depression and, yet, virtually disappeared after the 1930s. As cultural historian Warren I Susman argued, the Six Day racing along with dance marathons and flagpole-sitting contests “are not just foolish ways out of the rat race, but rather alternative...patterns duplicating in structure what institutionalized society demanded and normally...could provide.” (p. 162). Perhaps after the 1930s, the theory goes, the benefits of six day racing were no longer required.

At the same time, many sports such as basketball grew during the period and would become mainstays later in the 20th century. Therefore, it could be argued that the 1930s set the stage for professional sports for the rest of the 20th century. In this paper, I examine the interplay



between the slow decline of professional bicycle racing during the 1930s and the emergence of other professional sports.

PAOLA DOGLIOTTI MORO, UNIVERSIDAD DE LA REPÚBLICA; EVELISE AMGARTEN
QUITZAU, UNIVERSIDAD DE LA REPÚBLICA

**PHYSICAL EXERCISES AND WOMEN'S GYMNASTICS IN URUGUAY: BODIES, GENDERS
AND SEXUALITIES IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHER TRAINING IN THE 1950S**

In the 1950s, Uruguay had an outstanding international recognition at an educational and cultural level, called the "Switzerland of America". In this context, the Third Pan-American Congress of Physical Education was held in Montevideo and was attended by relevant international individuals. This article analyzes three conferences on women's gymnastics presented at the congress by Uruguayans who played an outstanding role at the national and international level. These texts show the main meanings around the female sex and the effects generated by physical exercises and various movement forms over these bodies. This paper investigates the most recommended bodily practices and adaptations and prohibitions prescribed for women in this context. In addition to being published by the National Commission of Physical Education (CNEF), which regulated physical education and sport at the national level, these texts were part of the curriculum for the training of physical education teachers in Uruguay during that decade. This study is based on the theoretical references of the deconstruction of sex, Judith Butler's critique of sex-gender binarism, and Michel Foucault's sexuality device. It shows how medical knowledge crossed the discourse of sexuality in the field of physical education and was at the basis of the justification of the prescriptions of exercises and movements recommended and forbidden for women based on the heteronormative sexual matrix. The field of physical education has been marked by the rejection of everything that might escape this model: effeminate men, virile women, 'bibelot' or 'flamboyant' women, hysterics, transvestites, homosexuals. Therefore, physical education has been constructed in the country as a place par excellence for the normalization of bodies and behaviors and a stronghold of intolerance towards those who escape the binary and heterosexual ideal.

PETER DONNELLY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO; SUSAN BIRRELL, UNIVERSITY OF
IOWA

...LES CORDÉES FÉMININES: WOMEN IN MOUNTAINEERING REVISITED

Scholarship on women in mountaineering has expanded considerable in the last 40 years. However, an empirically and theoretically intriguing gap remains -- women-only climbing and mountaineering, also referred to as manless climbing or climbing 'en cordée féminine' [a roped party of women]. Ottogalli-Mazzacavallo and Boutroy argues that women "organized manless teams [in the 1920s and 1930s] to meet their unsatisfied social needs of independence, equal rights, and acknowledgement of their capacity. Stockham refers to les cordées féminines as "one of the most important developments in women's mountaineering in the period [1920s and 1930s]," and "revolutionary developments at a time when the Ladies Alpine Club disapproved of women climbing without the assistance of male mountaineers or guides." We argue that, rather than a revolutionary or politicized development, the evidence suggests a much longer and slower



development toward manless climbing, and a similarly protracted development of manless climbing, likely beginning in the latter part of the 19th century.

BENJAMIN JOSEPH DOWNS, BALL STATE UNIVERSITY

“EFFORT AND HARD WORK”: COLLEGE ATHLETICS, CAMPUS PLANNING, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF BALL STATE’S MEN’S PHYSICAL EDUCATION BUILDING

On September 18, 1961, Ball State College President John R. Emens traveled to Indianapolis to persuade the Indiana State Budget Committee to allocate \$1,267,502 in public funds for the construction of the Men’s Physical Education Building. By rule, the state legislature could only allocate public money to construct educational buildings. The Men’s Physical Education Building included plans for a new 7,000-seat men’s varsity basketball gymnasium, dedicated academic space, as well as a fieldhouse for indoor athletic practices and physical education classes during inclement weather. The Men’s Physical Education Building was a key component of a multi-decade plan for campus growth that included a new football stadium, residence halls, auditorium, health center, and academic buildings. The planned campus expansion was positioned as necessary because the 6,500-student enrollment at the college was expected to double by the end of the decade.

Increased university enrollments and subsequent development of university physical plants in the decades following World War II are well documented. During this time, the construction or renovation of college sport facilities at state flagship universities in response to real and anticipated enrollment growth became common practice. This paper seeks to answer the following question: How did Ball State College utilize athletic facility construction as part of a broader institutional expansion effort to secure university status? To answer this question, the author utilized archival data available through the Ball State University Archives, Andrew Seager Archive of the Built Environment, and contemporaneous Indiana and campus newspapers to present how the leadership of Ball State College positioned the construction of a varsity sport facility as an essential component of an expanding institution. Ultimately, the paper demonstrates the central role of athletics and athletic facility construction as part of the administration’s successful effort to transform a state teachers college into a regional university.

MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

THE FOOT-RUNNERS RETURN TO MODERN COMPETITION: THE EPIC RACE FROM CIUDAD CHIHUAHUA TO EL PASO FOR THE 1949 SUN BOWL

In 1928, after running multiple ultra-endurance races in the United States and Mexico during the 1920s, two of the legendary Tarahumara “foot runners” made the Mexican national team and competed in the 1928 Olympic marathon. Although their promoters on both sides of the border predicted that they would easily outclass the world, they instead finished in the middle of the pack, thirty-second and thirty-fifth. Undaunted, their boosters predicted that the marathon has been “too short” for these indigenous paragons of endurance prowess, but that they would adjust and dominate future Olympics. Instead, they disappeared from modern competitions, appearing in modern imaginations in Ripley’s Believe It or Not Cartoon strips and breathless



media accounts of how they ran down deer by chasing them across endless miles of the rugged Sierra Madre.

In the late 1940s, they finally reappeared in actual race, after Robert Zingg, an American anthropologist who lived with the tribe for a year in the early 1930s and co-authored the first major English-language ethnography of the tribe (*The Tarahumara: An Indian Tribe in Northern Mexico*, 1935), returned to Mexico and convinced a group of the “foot runners” to race more than 230 miles from Ciudad Chihuahua to El Paso to promote the 1949 Sun Bowl college football game in the Texas City. Covered widely in press on both sides of the border, this epic race briefly returned the Tarahumara to fame in the global sports-world and rekindled speculation they would return to the Olympics. This essay is based on media coverage in Mexican and U.S. newspapers and archival materials left in various repositories by Robert Zingg. It is part of a larger project on the history of the Tarahumara in modern imaginations for the author’s current book project.

COLLEEN ENGLISH, PENNSYLVANIA STATE BERKS

EMOTIONS AND ANGER IN SPORT: REINFORCING GENDER ROLES

Furious athletes tend to garner significant media attention. In tennis, for example, John McEnroe, nicknamed “Superbrat” was notorious for his on-the-court meltdowns. More recently, Serena Williams received point penalties for racket abuse and abusing an umpire in the 2018 US Open final. While McEnroe and other male tennis players receive penalties for their behaviors, Williams’ point deductions (which had an impact on the match outcome) cannot be divorced from her Blackness and womanhood. Anger, and other emotions, are tied not only to individuals who express these feelings, but also to larger ideas about gender.

Barbara Keys (2013) argued that senses and emotions play an important role in how we perceive the world. She goes on to say that sport scholars have “neglected feelings, privileging cognition over emotion” and that our understanding of sport history would be enhanced by better attending to the emotional underpinnings of the past. In addition to heeding Keys’ call to interpret emotions in order to better understand the past, this presentation is also grounded theoretically in ideas about masculinity and femininity and in the philosophy of anger. Philosopher Amia Srinivasan (2018), for instance, sees the dismissal of anger as “neglect [for] those who are never allowed to be angry,” particularly women of color.

This presentation attempts to answer questions, by looking to sport history, about how athletes demonstrating anger and emotions inform our understanding of sport. This queries how masculinity and femininity play a role in public perceptions of anger in sport. By using examples from sport history and popular culture, this presentation will examine deep-seated ideologies about gender in sport.

This presentation would be at home in sessions about gender in sport, emotions in sport, and methodologies of sport history.



TOM FABIAN, UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA; DARIO NARDINI, UNIVERSITY OF PISA;
YOSHIE ASAHARA, WASEDA UNIVERSITY; GWYNETH TALLEY, AMERICAN
UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO; JEREMY LEMARIE, UNIVERSITY OF REIMS CHAMPAGNE-
ARDENNE

SPORT ANTHROPOLOGY: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

As a subdiscipline of sport studies, sport anthropology, much like sport history, dates back to the 1970s, yet has lagged in recent sport studies scholarship. Yet, the anthropological study of sports and games is essential for our understanding of diverse body cultures and the meanings they hold within disparate societies. Moreover, the cultural history of sport benefits greatly from anthropological perspectives. As such, the significance of this session is its offering of four different international perspectives of historical sport anthropology in an effort to bolster the subdiscipline. First, Tom Fabian (University of Ottawa) and Dario Nardini (University of Pisa) review the relationship between traditional games and nature, situating Indigenous land-based practices, body culture, and environmentalism within the back-to-nature movement. Second, Yoshie Asahara (Waseda University) presents a history of sport anthropology in Japan since the 1950s. Third, Gwyneth Talley (American University in Cairo) develops a populist framework around the sha'bi (folk) game of tbourida – the celebratory equestrian practice of riding horses and firing gunpowder rifles – in the Maghreb region (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya). Fourth, Jeremy Lemarie (University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne) explores ancient Hawaiian surfing (he'e nalu), and the ways it was politicized by both native Hawaiians and Americans during the 19th century to legitimate their respective conception of Hawaii as an independent Kingdom or as a territory of the United States. These individual papers – on nature, Japan, tbourida, and surfing – reflect the diversity and wealth of scholarly perspectives in the subdiscipline of sport anthropology.

VICTORIA FELKAR, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

JUSTIFIED DOPING: PHARMACEUTICAL ESTROGENS AND PROGESTINS AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE ANTI-DOPING MOVEMENT

This paper will trace pharmaceutical estrogens and progestins within the emergence of the anti-doping movement during the 1960s. A primary focus of this paper is to better understand why the use of these drugs did not fall under the gaze of anti-doping regulation.

Since the 1930s, pharmaceutical estrogens and progestins have been studied, described, and used for their performance enhancing potential. Within the middle decades of the twentieth century, opinions about the use of these drugs varied significantly and their "doping" status was heavily debated within sport medicine. Today, it is estimated that between one-third to one-half of elite female athletes use some form of pharmaceutical estrogens and progestins. Recent research suggests many women utilize these steroid hormones for sport-specific purposes, with some individuals even receiving recommendations and access to the drugs from their athletic practitioners and coaches.

Despite the important historical and current significance of these drugs to sport, there has been – and remains a dearth of critical inquiry and scrutiny into the sporting use of pharmaceutical estrogen and progestins. While these compounds were scrutinized by sport



authorities during the formative decades of the anti-doping movement, they remain rarely included in previous historical scholarship on anti-doping, steroids, and use of performance enhancing agents in sport. Using archival sources, historical documents, scientific journals, and media sources, this paper will work to fill this gap in the current literature.

SARAH K. FIELDS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER; RONALD A. SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY; RICHARD C. CREPEAU, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; DANIEL A. NATHAN, SKIDMORE COLLEGE; THOMAS HUNT, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AUSTIN

THE NCAA, BRAIN INJURIES, CTE, AND LAWSUITS

This panel will address the historical events leading up to the current plethora of lawsuits, particularly Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy cases, against the NCAA and its member institutions. In addition to the scholars on the panel, we will also show brief video clips including Megan Kelly's interview with Mike Adamle, a likely victim of CTE, and an interview with Dr. Ann McKee, one of the leading CTE medical experts. The panel discussants include (1) Dick Crepeau who has been involved in concussion law suits and has commented on NCAA issues, including an award winning amicus brief before the U. S. Supreme Court, decided in 2021; (2) Sarah Fields who has been involved in research on concussions and will talk about the Adriane Arrington lawsuit against the NCAA and was also part of the amicus brief before the U. S. Supreme Court; (3) Dan Nathan will interpret the legal issues through his cultural studies background; and (4) Ron Smith who is involved in a current CTE lawsuit because his historical background of the NCAA policies and procedures relative to brain injuries. Smith initiated the amicus brief that Sarah Fields and Dick Crepeau were involved in. Tommy Hunt will moderate the session and his legal background and knowledge of college sport will make discussion and debate lively and productive.

JACOB J FREDERICKS, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

“GENTLEMEN MARATHONERS”: A HISTORY OF BLACK AMERICAN LONG-DISTANCE ROAD RUNNERS, 1952-1968

During the 1950s and 1960s, Black American endurance runners shaped the history of road running in the United States. They claimed Olympic berths, set course records, and built regional and national road running associations in a mainly white sport. Ted Corbitt was the first Black man to represent the United States in the marathon at the 1952 Olympics, to serve as president of the New York Road Runners (NYRR) from 1958 to 1960, and to lead the national Road Runners Club of America. In 1961, Louis White became the second Black man, after Corbitt, to join the executive committee of the NYRR when he accepted the position of vice president. Moses Mayfield set course records on the roads and partnered with white teammates from the Middle Atlantic Road Runners Club to win national championship events, such as the 1964 Road Runners Club of America 10-mile two-man relay. Oscar Moore applied his experience in Northeastern road running races to qualify for the 5000-meter run at the 1964 Olympics. Previously unexamined archival sources from the New York Road Runners, Road



Runners Club of America, and the Amateur Athletic Union reveal Black American long-distance road runners' overlooked contributions to their sport. Expanding the discussion of race and American distance running with the stories of these men shows how their quests for success influenced the history of road running in the United States.

WILLIAM FREEMAN, CAMPBELL UNIVERSITY

THE ACADEMIC LANDSCAPE OF THE EARLY YEARS OF NASSH

When NASSH was founded, it was not a singular event. With Franklin Henry's 1963 call for a discipline of physical education, the field began a major shift in focus from education to the scholarly bases of the field. For about a decade from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, almost every focal area of physical education created scholarly organizations at the national and international level. In the early 1900s, the leaders of American physical education shifted the focus of the field from science and to education. Over the next 50 or so years, scientific research was limited. One result was that physical education was not highly respected. College students majoring in education came to be seen as among the intellectually weakest students. During the 1950s and early 1960s, individuals at a number of the stronger graduate physical education programs increased their focus on the scholarly field. During the 1960s, the focus settled on its "Body of Knowledge". Scholars in the Big 10 Conference held a series of conferences known as the Body of Knowledge Conferences in the mid-1960s. While writers differed on what areas should be included, the most widely accepted areas at that time were Sport Physiology, Sport Biomechanics, Sport History, Sport Philosophy, Sport Sociology, Sport Psychology and Sport Pedagogy. The titles were based on the idea that the focus of the academic field was sport. In 1971, Brockport State offered the first bachelor's degree in Sport Studies. The real expansion of the field as it worked to become a discipline was the expansion into the social sciences and humanities aspects of the field. The creation of NASSH was just one part of a greater whole of created single-discipline organizations during this era. The presenter was a graduate student and Charter Member of NASSH during that era.

DAVID CHRISTOPHER GALINDO, MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN
UNIVERSITY/NORTHWEST VISTA COLLEGE

"FROM THE WEB CEMETERY: COMMUNITY BUILDING IN SAN ANTONIO SPURS FANDOM"

Critics have claimed that the internet creates a life of social isolation and harms many people's holistic health. However, researchers of death and dying countered that some products of cyberspace, specifically the web cemetery, actually reduced social isolation and enhanced social relationships. They contend web cemeteries are a site of meaningful personal expression, community building, and combat modern society's institutionalization of death. These sources allow historians to observe ritual and remembrance in a largely accessible public place. However, sport historians have not investigated them to explore the historical antecedents and evolution of sports fandom. Therefore, this paper analyzes the web cemeteries of San Antonio Spurs fans to uncover what these sources can show us about sports fandom. It argues that these web cemeteries promoted, produced, and prolonged social relationships. They also displayed



how Spurs fandom created and enhanced relationships, and aided survivors of the dead during their bereavement. This paper humanizes fans as fully complicated persons through the use of intimate sources and challenges other historians to do the same when developing historical interpretations of sports fandoms.

JUSTIN R. GARNER, ALABAMA A&M UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORICAL IMPACT OF BLACK MALES IN PROFESSIONAL BASKETBALL

Basketball has become second to soccer as the most popular sport across the world, as the National Basketball Association (NBA) continues its effort to globalize the sport. It is the only major sport with origins in the United States (US) and has grown to have representation of over 100 foreign-born players from over 35 countries. However, the NBA has the highest percentage of black players of all other major professional sports leagues in the US with over 70 percent of its players identifying as black or African-American. Even though basketball was created by a Canadian-American white man, James Naismith, in 1891 and was a predominantly white sport in its origins, the sport has become predominantly black since. While stating his case for the need to improve the number of "white guys" in the NBA because "the majority of fans are white America," NBA legend Larry Bird mentioned that the NBA, "is a black man's game, and it will be forever. I mean, the greatest athletes in the world are African-American."

The purpose of this paper is to explore and trace the historical development of basketball in the United States (US) and the critical role Black males played in its growth and commercial development.

ALEXANDRA LOUISE GIANCARLO, UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

TROUBLING THE CAREER OF DEERFOOT, SIKSIKA RUNNER, AND HIS MEMORIAL AFTERLIFE: BEYOND SETTLER COLONIALISM?

Born about 1864, Siksika (Blackfoot) runner Api-kai-ees—given the moniker Deerfoot by the gambling syndicate that sponsored his races—was an athlete of remarkable endurance who bested professional runners in late 1800s Calgary. He achieved no small measure of fame before a match-fixing scandal and bitter disappointments at the hands of his once allies. After he was caught stealing two blankets from a settler's home, Deerfoot spent two years on the lam. It was a time of unprecedented suffering for the Blackfoot—indeed, for all prairie Indigenous peoples—as their numbers were decimated by illness and governmental policies that resulted in widespread starvation. Deerfoot was intermittently in trouble with the law until his death of tuberculosis in the North West Mounted Police guardhouse in 1897. The definitive—really, only—biography of Deerfoot describes him dying a "broken man" (Dempsey 1990). In the 1970s, Deerfoot's legacy was commemorated by the naming of a new major thoroughfare "Deerfoot Trail." In his biographer's mind, this honor rehabilitated his memory. For the Siksika people Deerfoot is remembered as a hero and for his role as a long-distance messenger via the very route that became the highway bearing his name. A series of road races have been held in his memory and to honor his spirit.

This paper takes up the contention that Deerfoot's legacy, hypervisible in the infrastructure of the city, has actually been subsumed—made invisible—under the weight of



settler colonialism. Though Indigenous athletes of his time were never completely accepted by nascent Canadian society (Kossuth 2019), I argue that the story of Deerfoot necessitates the kind of de-centring that MacLean (2019, 197) proposes, through which his running can be understood as having “autonomous integrity grounded in Indigenous epistemologies and patterns of social significance” that existed from before his entanglements with settler society and, for his descendants, endures today.

JOHN GLEAVES, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY FULLERTON

SHIFTING TO A HIGHER GEAR: PROFESSIONAL CYCLING, DOPING, AND THE NATURE OF MODERN SPORT

Historians have noted that professional cycling not only exemplifies modern sport but also is the first genuine modern sport, as it relies on the invention of a machine. Unlike other sports, such as tennis, football or track and field, it is void of pre-modern traditions. Indeed, it may be the archetypal modern sport. Not only does professional cycling thus contain all of historian Allan Guttman’s seven characteristics of modern sport, but from its inception in the nineteenth century the sport embraced commercial and scientific interests that typify sport in the twenty-first century. At the same time, professional cycling has become widely known for its doping practices. Throughout the sport’s history, its famous races and famous riders have been associated with performance-enhancing substances.

While scholars previously have considered the link between doping, professional cycling, and modern sport, a vast amount of primary source materials has been brought up in the academic literature in the decades since. Drawing upon recent doping research, this article will further explore the ways in which professional cycling and doping are not only products of modern sport but may be inseparable from each other. In this way, the sport’s historical doping culture exhibited in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century is best understood as a distillation of the values and virtues modern society cultivates in its broader sporting culture. Moreover, the tension between the introduction of anti-doping policies in the 1960s and 1970s and the sport’s ongoing acceptance of doping throughout the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, indicates a potentially persistent conflict between the surrounding cultures’ romantic ambition to rid of the sport of riders who use of pharmacological means and the sports’ modern drive to shift their performance to a higher gear.

CRAIG GREENHAM, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

“JUST ANOTHER GOOD GUY:” LARRY BIRD’S RACE AND THE DETROIT PISTONS

The 1987 NBA Eastern Conference Finals pitted the defending champion Boston Celtics against the upstart Detroit Pistons. The Celtics prevailed in a hard-fought seventh game to capture the series and advanced to the league finals. Predictably, Larry Bird factored prominently in the Celtics’ series triumph and was feted by national media accordingly for his enviable statistics and his clutch play. What did surprise, however, was the reaction of two opposing Pistons to the press praise heaped on Bird. Dennis Rodman claimed Bird’s skin color, White, was the only reason he won NBA MVP awards and teammate Isiah Thomas, when asked about



Rodman's remarks (both Black), backed his fellow Piston by saying "If he [Bird] were black, he'd be just another good guy [in the league]."

Rodman and Thomas faced a maelstrom of media criticism and were forced to defend their allegations. The backlash ranged from the unfairness of the declaration to the racism embedded within. Thomas, the bigger star of two Pistons players in 1987, faced the most scrutiny and, instead of doubling-down on his claim, he backtracked and issued a public apology to Bird during an awkward, stilted press conference. Bird issued clemency but the media did not. After all, there were two targets in Pistons' comments – Bird for being White and, in their view, overrated; and the allegedly racist media for their over-appreciation of Bird based on his skin color.

Of particular interest to this study is the press treatment provided to the allegations of Thomas and Rodman and how those interpretations created an echo chamber or challenged industry competitors. Additionally, how did the media markets of Boston and Detroit address this situation and, since it was a local matter to these centers, was it covered differently as a result of relationships with the players and teams involved?

PADRIC HALL, CAPITOL TECHNOLOGY UNIVERSITY

STUDENT ATHLETE COLLEGE CHOICE PROFILE: AN UPDATE IS NEEDED

In 1999, Gabert, Hale, & Montalvo, (1999) developed the Student Athlete College Choice Profile Survey (SACCPS). This survey was created to ascertain student athlete's differences of college choice factors, ranked on 5pt Likert Scale. Still today in 2022, SACCPS is being used survey and collect data asking student athletes what was influential during their college choice process. SACCPS can be seen in literature from (Huntrods, 2019), (Kankey & Quarterman, 2007), (Crowley, 2004), & (Hill-Eley, 2019). Although SACCPS has been used, it presents considerable integral concerns of relevancy, in our current world. One of the SACCPS factors is labeled Social Climate. That designation is very broad and potentially provocative. With the rise in Historical Black Colleges & Universities (HBCUs), a new social climate and landscape is taking the world by storm. A study set in a different social climate and century but used to seek responses from participants, has huge policy concerns.

This project examines college choice factors of influence at a Pacific 12 (Pac12) university in 2022, from the mouths of football individuals. Football student athletes are providing anecdotes and commentary rather than ranking options from a 1990s survey. Serving as one of the few qualitative investigations in football division-1 (D1) competition, this investigation provides a counter viewpoint to a historical 1990s college choice survey.

Reflecting on focus group sessions at a Pac12 university in a semi-structured interview format, exploration divulges four factors of college choice that are influential in selecting this Pac12 university. Of these factors, the most influential being the atmosphere the athletic staff created. SACCPS utilization in current day literature raised questions about relevancy in the 21st century. This investigation adds to historical relevance of collegiate athletic recruiting, through informing coaching staffs on new influences of millennial student athletes.



Y. ANDREW HAO, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA MORRIS; JÖRG KRIEGER, AARHUS UNIVERSITY

SOMETHING'S GOTTA GIVE: BENT RULES, BREACHED BOTTOM LINES, AND THE IAAF'S ENGAGEMENT WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA BEFORE 1978

Although many scholars have extensively studied the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) engagement or lack thereof with the People's Republic of China (PRC) leading up to its recognition of the Chinese Olympic Committee in 1979, few have specifically examined the interactions between International Federations (IFs) and Beijing. In the hopes of filling this gap, this study probes then-IAAF's engagement with the sport authorities and the Chinese Athletic Associations in Beijing and Taipei from 1953 to 1978 based on the documents from the IAAF Archives. Realizing that it is IFs that oversaw the international governance and development of each individual sport, laid the groundwork for the institutionalization of governance in their respective sports in China, and explored measures to accommodate both mainland China and Taiwan in specific events, this study is intended to a) uncover the history of the solving of the "China question" within the sport of athletics, and b) identify and analyze the differences between the IAAF's and the IOC's interactions with the China.

This study finds that the IAAF, despite having adopted early a more pro-Beijing position than the IOC's, could not meet Beijing's excessive political demands in the 1950s, leading to the latter's withdrawal in 1958—the IAAF even resorted to both official and private channels in a futile attempt to retain the Chinese Athletic Association. In addition, it argues that the IAAF enabled the institutionalization of China's track and field governance, especially in the 1970s, and facilitated the potential coexistence of China and Taiwan in world athletics, but often by bending certain rules, especially those regarding regional governance, in Beijing's favor in exchange for the latter's compliance with membership, procedural, and amateurism-related statutes. Reaping the IAAF and other IFs' efforts, the IOC was eventually able to finalize China's concession on the matter of Taiwan.

MOLLY HARRY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF: PATH DEPENDENCE IN INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS

Path dependence is a process theory in organizational literature that argues current institutional conditions are shaped by sequences of previous actions, creating an "inability to shake free of history" (Misra, 2019, p. 291). Path dependence can be used to understand the governance and future of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). At its establishment in 1906, the NCAA encouraged schools to govern themselves in their quest to maintain amateur sports under the Home Rule. The NCAA moved away from Home Rule as it transitioned into a regulatory body in the 1950s.

Over the last several decades, the NCAA has taken a centralized approach to governing its over 1,000 member schools. However, two recent and significant shifts in the college athletics landscape have signaled the NCAA's return to Home Rule: Athlete's rights to profit from their name, image, and likeness (NIL) and the NCAA's impending creation of a new constitution. Rather than establish sanctioned guidelines, enforcement of NIL policies and other guidelines is up to individual institutions.



If history repeats itself, as the adage says, scholars and practitioners should have seen this shift in intercollegiate sports coming. Arguably, however, many in athletics were unprepared for this sudden laissez faire approach and deregulation of the collegiate model. This resulted in chaos as athletics departments struggled to address athlete questions and impending NIL agreements.

This presentation will discuss how path dependence is present in college athletics and how this theory may be used by scholars and practitioners to understand, and potentially project, the future of college athletics. The presentation will begin with an overview of path dependence theory. This is followed by literature on Home Rule and scholarship on NIL rights and the NCAA's new constitution. The presentation will conclude with other athletics topics for scholars and practitioners to examine through the lens of path dependence.

PHIL HATLEM, SAINT LEO UNIVERSITY

MINNEAPOLIS' MID-CENTURY QUEST FOR THE GAMES – AHEAD OF ITS TIME

During its December 2014 session, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) adopted “Olympic Agenda 2020,” a set of 40 detailed recommendations whose goal was to “safeguard the Olympic values and strengthen the role of sport in society” (Olympic Agenda 2020). Included in these recommendations was a requirement for Olympic hosts to make maximum use of existing venues. This certainly fits in line with the IOC's sustainability initiatives (Olympic Agenda 2020 – Closing report).

The images of abandoned and decrepit venues built for previous Games is disheartening. Thus, it is understandable for the IOC to pursue maximum use of existing venues as a goal and the upcoming host cities have responded. Looking ahead, just five per cent of the venues at Paris 2024 will be new, and this figure will fall to zero for Los Angeles 2028 (Tokyo 2020).

The use of existing venues is not, however, a new concept. An interesting case study is the bid by Minneapolis for the 1952 Summer Games, which ultimately went to Helsinki. Following a failed bid for the 1948 games, the initial 1952 bid document from Minneapolis – An Invitation from Minneapolis for the games of the XV OLYMPIAD – details plans to use mostly existing facilities, many still in use today.

This presentation is intended to provide a historical narrative of many of these venues, including their design, purpose, and events that have made them memorable. Evidence is garnered from Olympic, city, and university archives. As the sports world shifts from a half-century of “disposable” stadia to a new normal of reimagining uses for existing venues, the presentation will shed light on a previous effort.

**CONOR HEFFERNAN, ULSTER UNIVERSITY; DAVID CHAPMAN, INDEPENDENT
SCHOLAR; JOHN FAIR, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN**

HEROES, HULKS AND HAWAIIANS: THE OTHER LIVES OF ATHLETES

Centered on the other lives of athletes, the proposed panel examines the film, television and popular culture pursuits of three iconic twentieth century athletes. The first athlete under discussion, Primo Carnera, was a famed Italian boxer and Fascist idol, who later transitioned into



films. As an actor, Carnera became a symbol of Italian masculinity, eschewing his former Fascist connections for a lighter, more popular image. In this, Carnera differed greatly from the second athlete under discussion, Harold Sakata, a Hawaiian weightlifter and wrestler known primarily for his starring role as 'Odd Job' in the James Bond film franchise. Unlike Carnera, Sakata's films roles occurred during his athletic career. This resulted in a strange situation whereby Sakata's in ring wrestling persona became modelled on his fictitious character. Both Carnera and Sakata came to be known, and popularized, through their film careers. In a sense, both men extended their importance far beyond their chosen sport. The final athlete under consideration, Terry Bollea or 'Hulk Hogan', did this as well. From the early 1980s, American wrestling fans fell under the spell of 'Hulkamania', a catch all term used to describe Hogan's fandom. In the mid-1980s, Hogan headlined Hulk Hogan's Rock 'n' Wrestling show. A children's cartoon which aired for two seasons, the cartoon served a vital role in further ingratiating Hulk Hogan's persona into the hearts of his wrestling fans. Taken together all three men, that is Carnera, Sakata and Hogan, capitalized on their athletic feats and popularity to move into the mainstream. Examined in this way, the panel discusses the porous boundaries between sport and popular culture. While this relationship has been discussed in the past, little work exists on the athletes in question who, it will be argued, used their specialized sporting reputations to star in unique popular projects.

ALYSSA HIRSCH, PURDUE UNIVERSITY

AMERICAN FENCING HISTORY: AN OVERVIEW OF THE FIELD

This presentation will be based on the senior honors thesis I completed at Wayne State University, called *Escrime Americana: The History of Discrimination in American Fencing*. I will put this paper in the context of broader American fencing historiography.

The paper focused on the history of discrimination in American fencing from 1700-1950. The time frame covered the colonial origins of the sport in America, through segregation practices up to 1950. It analyzed the origins of classism, sexism, and racism in American fencing, and how it connected to how racism, sexism, and classism have operated in the United States. There has been no previous research conducted into the history of discrimination in fencing exclusively, so this is new territory.

I will provide an overview of where American fencing history is at (in terms of what sources historians use, how they write about it, etc.) and where I think the field can progress.

ANNETTE HOFMANN, LUDWIGSBURG UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION

125 YEARS SV BONLANDEN: THE HISTORY OF A "TYPICAL" GERMAN SPORTS CLUB

In Germany, there are about 90,000 sports clubs (Sportvereine) with 27 million members. Each community has at least one sports club. Some of them have a history that goes back over 200 years. From their beginnings, these sports clubs are run by volunteers and feature a democratic structure.

In 2020, the Sportverein Bonlanden, located in the outskirts of Stuttgart in Germany's south, celebrated its 125th anniversary. It has about 1000 members and offers various sports for all age groups and athletic levels.



The history of this club represents is typical for the sport movement. It was founded in the late 19th century as a bourgeois club (Turngemeinde Bonlanden), only to become a few years later a worker's sports club (Arbeiterturn- und Sportverein). The members even participated at the Frankfurt Worker's Olympics in 1925.

In the 1920s, some soccer clubs were founded in the village as well. According to the political orientation of the members, there was a bourgeois, a socialist and a communist soccer club.

When the National Socialists seized power in 1933, the various sports clubs were forced to merge and change their name into Turngemeinde Bonlanden again. A new leader was announced by the NSDAP who then influenced the social and athletic life. Today's name Sportverein Bonlanden goes back to 1945. In the postwar years, many sports clubs were refounded, often under a new name and the leadership from before the war, if they were still alive. The sports clubs became less politically orientated. The SV Bonlanden eventually opened up for women and also to the many immigrants that settled in Germany.

This paper will give insight into the history of the SV Bonlanden, its athletic offers and also the meaning of the symbolism connected to the club. Here the flag will be used as a special example.

JANE HUNT, BOND UNIVERSITY

AN EXPERIMENT IN NARRATIVE FOCUS: A (BRIEF) WOMAN-CENTERED HISTORY OF USA TRIATHLON

In 1984, Verne Scott became the first paid EO of Tri-Fed, the national sports governing body for triathlon subsequently renamed USA Triathlon. Keen to document the origins of Tri-Fed, he published an essay on its history in 1987. As an organizational representative, Scott maintained focus on the institution, detailing organizational name changes, dates, policies, and key shifts in structure and direction. While Scott noted the names of notable participants at each stage this paper shows that the origins of triathlon governance look different when the narrative focuses on individuals rather than the organization. Further by tracking the individuals mentioned in Scott's history, this paper reveals that only one person consistently appears throughout the narrative of Tri-Fed's first five years – pioneer triathlete and entrepreneur, Sally Edwards. Building on Colleen English's notion of "positive reactionary empowering narratives", this paper revises key USA Triathlon origins accounts by highlighting Edward's presence (2020, 547). It shows that a woman-centered narrative, where the narrative notes the gendering of the past and its histories but is centered on the actions and views of women protagonists, provides illuminating new perspectives on the past.

THOMAS M. HUNT, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

THE RODEO TRADITIONS OF THE BORDERLANDS: A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL EXAMINATION

The rich history of rodeo traditions in the Texas-Mexican borderlands offers unique insights into the complex cultural and political dynamics of the region. Rodeo serves simultaneously as the official state sport of Texas and as (in a stylized form called Charrería) the



national sport of Mexico. Rodeo events moreover range from the small and local to commercialized versions that are truly gigantic. Among the most successful of the latter are the 300 or so competitions put on every year by Professional Bull Riders Inc. (PBR). Although the organization includes bull riders from all over the world, its identity is very much centered on the notion of American exceptionalism. In 2008, the organization entered into official partnership with the US Border Patrol, the agents of whom became “the official federal law enforcement officers of the Professional Bull Riders.” Today, the Border Patrol dedicates millions of dollars to the partnership and recruiting booths for the agency maintain a prominent place at PBR events.

The annual Big Bend Ranch Rodeo held every August in the Far West Texas town of Alpine offers a markedly different picture. In the amateur competitions at the event, working cowboys partake in a set of tasks designed to replicate the realities of their profession. It is also almost certainly the case that a few of the ranches which compete in the event employ a hand or two from Mexico; the working cowboys and vaqueros of the borderlands have a long and deep relationship, after all. Reflecting the fact that Hispanics will soon make up Texas’s largest population group, it is also worth pondering that charreadas have become mainstays in a number of rural communities in the state. In its different forms, then, rodeo offers unique insights into the political and cultural dynamics of the borderlands.

ALEC S. HURLEY & THOMAS M. HUNT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
DOUBLE PLAY: PUBLIC BUILDINGS AS INDOOR SPORT FACILITIES IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

On Thanksgiving Day in 1887, Chicago’s Farragut Boat Club, served as the impromptu facility for the inaugural game of indoor baseball. Scholars have provided substantial intellectual treatment to that story and the game’s history across cities large and small throughout the Great Lakes. However, histories of the facilities that accommodated the surprisingly popular indoor pastime remain woefully unearthed. My work addresses that oversight by examining two of the buildings which hosted games for the most competitive indoor baseball league in Rochester, NY, in 1898. That year, the city’s Turners hoisted the pennant, spurred on by their infamously large and rambunctious crowd of supporters. Thousands of Rochester’s Germans packed the marble floors at Fitzhugh Hall and the Arsenal, where their cheers echoed off the walls to deafening impact.

When not overrun in the evenings with zealous sports supporters, the halls served the city as hubs of public service. Fitzhugh Hall, constructed in 1875, operated as the city’s Main Post Office from its construction until 1930. The Arsenal, built eight years earlier, served as the reserve station for the county’s military presence until 1905. Both buildings resulted from famed western New York architect Andrew Jackson Warner, who was responsible for developing all Rochester’s grandest buildings in the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, both buildings still stand today. Now renovated, updated, and historically protected, they offer a lingering reminder of a forgotten sliver of the city’s sporting past.

Explorations into the duality and intersections of place and space are rooted in Susanne Rau’s recent history on the subject and Pierre Bourdieu’s formulation of fields. Drawing from each, I will present insight aimed at deepening our understanding on the origins of indoor



playing spaces and how they acted as links between the public spheres of civic life with the private sphere of athletic clubs.

BRIAN M. INGRASSIA, WEST TEXAS A&M

SPORTS SPRAWL: ARLINGTON STADIUM AND THE RE-CENTERING OF THE POLYCENTRIC CITY

Arlington Stadium (1965) was home of MLB's Texas Rangers from 1972 to 1993; before that it was called Turnpike Stadium and served as a minor-league ballpark for the Class-AA Dallas-Fort Worth Spurs. Arlington Stadium was hardly one of baseball's legendary parks. Unlike the fabled Houston Astrodome, it was not the eighth wonder of the world, nor perhaps even the eight hundredth. Yet the first ballpark in Arlington was significant because of what it represented about broader changes in urban space. After World War II, many American cities, especially in the so-called Sunbelt, witnessed new growth focused on suburban, freeway-adjacent development. Soon, urban planners began thinking beyond traditional downtowns by reimagining metro areas as polycentric cities: sprawling conglomerations based in multiple, postindustrial nodes. Dallas-Fort Worth had developed into such a polycentric urban area by the 1960s, and even began marketing itself in 1972 as the "Southwest Metroplex," a veritable growth magnet based on leisure, transportation, and low cost of living. Metro-area leaders including Arlington's Tom Vandergriff realized they needed a big-league baseball team to become a big-league city—but first they had to find the right place to put the stadium. This paper, which is based on an in-progress anthology chapter, uses Arlington Stadium's fascinating story to show how sport became geographically central to late-twentieth-century cities. It utilizes extensive research in digital newspapers, as well as rare urban planning documents housed at the University of Texas at Arlington. It engages secondary works including Steven Riess' "City Games" (1991), Robert Trumbour's "The New Cathedrals" (2007), Benjamin Lisle's "Modern Coliseum" (2017), and Frank Guridy's "The Sports Revolution" (2021).

SHIVANI IYER & KATHLEEN BACHYNSKI, MUHLENBERG COLLEGE

A NEW FEELING OF SECURITY? THE HISTORY OF PROTECTIVE HEADGEAR IN WOMEN'S LACROSSE

In 1984, a father in Concord, Massachusetts wrote that he experienced a "new feeling of security" as he watched two teams of girls' lacrosse players wear helmets while competing. The equipment was new: the letter writer observed that in 1983, the Massachusetts Interscholastic Athletic Association (MIAA) decided to begin permitting girls to optionally wear protective ice hockey helmets. This would be followed by a statewide helmet mandate from 1985 to 1995. Although the equipment was novel, the social and safety concerns were longstanding. This project examines how the MIAA's decision influenced broader understandings of safety in girls' lacrosse as the sport rose in popularity at the high school level from the 1980s onwards. Serving as one of the first documented, and more notable, implementations of headgear in the sport's U.S. history, this temporary mandate often serves as a cautionary tale in arguments against implementing headgear in current day girls' lacrosse. However, the ten years of wearing ice hockey helmets symbolize more than just head safety in the sport. The controversial policy also



represented deep-seated beliefs about how girls' lacrosse should appear and should be played, particularly given the sport's perceived greater finesse and lower levels of physical contact as compared to its male counterpart.

Drawing on peer-reviewed medical journal articles and local newspaper accounts published between 1980 and 1995, as well as several semi-structured interviews with former coaches and referees from Massachusetts affected by the helmet mandate, this analysis reveals an array of attitudes toward protective gear and the distinct identity of girls' lacrosse. The headgear mandate raised fundamental questions about what it means to preserve tradition within a sport in regards to its origin, rules and style of play. This history continues to inform contemporary attitudes about headgear, injury prevention, gender and physical contact in sport.

CASSIDY LEA JEAN, THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY

“‘SPLENDID CONDITION AND ENORMOUS GRIT’”: THE SPORTING “OTHER” AND THE CANADIAN IDENTITY

The ink was barely dry on the British North America Act when Canada won its first international sport victory. Canadian identity is mutable, changing in response to outside influences. This phenomenon is especially apparent in sport. This paper focuses on the formation and maintenance of Canadian identity in sport. By connecting the 1867 Paris rowing crew, the 1972 Summit Series, and the 2019 NBA champion Toronto Raptors, this paper seeks to investigate how Canadian identity has been shaped through sport. Using newspaper articles, online editorials, and academic sources, this paper shows how integral the sporting “other” is to the Canadian identity.

TETSUJI KAKIYAMA, FUKUOKA UNIVERSITY

NEW INSIGHTS ON BASKETBALL TRANSFER IN JAPAN

It has been accepted that basketball was fully introduced to Japan in 1908 for the first time by Hyozo Omori, a graduate of the YMCA International Training School, who worked as director of the Physical Education Department of the Tokyo YMCA.

However, Naismith presents a different story in his book (1941). He says Hancock wrote in early 1900 in his book about Physical Education in Japan that Japan's Physical Education curriculum for girls had basketball as a major event, adding that anyway, it is safe to say basketball was introduced to Japan soon after it had been created, and that it was not until around 1913 that the sport was considered as an event for boys.

In 1913, the year mentioned by Naismith, Franklin Brown was sent by the North American YMCA to Japan, and he visited YMCAs in Kobe, Tokyo, Kyoto, and Yokohama to provide comprehensive coaching for Japanese players. He is considered to be the father of basketball in Japan.

I unearthed the description of “the field sports of the girls' school were held at Aoyama. The pupils exercised with dumb-bells, played basket-ball, and most of the day was spent in exercise out of doors.” in *The Quarterly* (Philadelphia, PA., February, 1903), *Woman's Missionary Friend*. In addition, as historical documents to support his description, I discovered a program of a field day held at Aoyama girls' school in Tokyo on November 6, 1903, which



included a basketball performance, and a photograph of a basketball game played at a field day held at Aoyama girls' school on November 2, 1907.

I will present historical documents that support what Naismith wrote about women's basketball in Japan, and mention the possibility that the history of the transfer of basketball to Japan, which has been considered a settled theory, may be overturned.

PATRIK KLICMAN, UNIVERZITA JANA EVANGELISTY PURKYNĚ V ÚSTÍ NAD LABEM

ICE HOCKEY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN YEARS 1946 – 1951

Ice hockey was one of the most popular sports in Czechoslovakia. Even in times of Second World War, hockey league was still on. Probably because hockey competition never stopped in the country, Czechoslovakian ice hockey started to be one of the best in the world. The national hockey team won two World Championships (1947-1949) and team LTC Praha won the Spengler Cup three times in row (1946, 1947 and 1948). However, in Czechoslovakia there were a lot of political changes. In February 1948, the Communist party took power in country and everything had to be adjusted. There was big emigration wave of athletes, officials of old regime were fired from their clubs, secret services watched members of national hockey team. Sport and politic came together. Everything escalated in 1950, when members of hockey national team were imprisoned and convicted in constructed trial.

ROBERT KOSSUTH, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

LETHBRIDGE'S YMCA AND THE COLONIZING OF CANADA'S PRAIRIES

The provision of physically and morally safe places to play emerged from a variety of social organizations in early twentieth Canada. This included private clubs and public recreation initiatives such as parks and playgrounds both of which represented attempts to impose class-based social order on spaces used for sport and recreation. Among these powerful and broadly popular cultural influences that found their way to Lethbridge at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, the YMCA represented a particularly influential force promoting notions of developing strong young citizens—primarily Euro-Canadian males—through recreation and physical competition.

Although not exclusively a site for sport and physical activity, the founding of the YMCA and the construction of a gymnasium facility in Lethbridge represented a milestone of colonial settler achievement. This new building was intended to serve the city's young working men by tacitly balancing the concerns of a growing industrial city with safeguarding the religious and moral sanctity of the community. The YMCA and its core ethos of muscular Christianity also represented critical settler ambitions, and the religious and cultural ideals shared by the organization and the Lethbridge's colonizing elites was visibly demonstrated through the 'work' taking place in the gymnasium. The building of a YMCA was guided by important settler institutions including the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), the local business community, and the project's single largest donor the Thompson family who ranched cattle in nearby Spring Coulee. Thus, by the summer of 1912 when the YMCA facility opened, it immediately became a focal point for sport in Lethbridge and a visible sign of social progress. In many respects, the



YMCA facility represented a testimonial to the community's emergence from pioneer town to industrial prairie city, a tangible monument for the settlers of Canada's prairie west.

ALEXANDER KUPFER, VASSAR COLLEGE

THE INDUSTRIAL LORE OF USEFUL FOOTBALL FILMS IN THE 1930s & 1940s

While motion pictures have long been a central concern to the field of sports studies, scholars have concentrated on a relatively small number of works, typically fictional Hollywood features. This presentation explores how useful cinema, or works that are crafted into a tool that does something beyond entertainment, was central to the mythologization of the football coach in the 1930s and 1940s as venerated authority figures. In the case of coaches like Notre Dame's Knute Rockne or UNC's Carl Snavely, the framing of particular kinds of football movies as "useful" was closely linked to conceptualizations of motion pictures as a means for coaches to fashion their public personas as media experts. The presentation draws on media industries scholar Timothy Havens's concept of "industry lore" and applies it to sports media in order to consider the institutionalized discourses among industry insiders about what kinds of media get produced and the audiences it will attract. This presentation argues that the utility of football films was framed by discourses highlighting their instructional and demonstrational value. These texts were regarded as being uniquely capable of efficiently informing viewers' understanding of the sport and justifying why certain coaches were successful. The discourses around useful football films and forms like game films were never monolithic though as stakeholders competed to shape conceptions of what constituted the appropriate uses of motion pictures in ways that benefited them and their institutions. The usefulness of certain cinematic forms was inherently connected to industry lore that emerged during this period that discursively framed the reception of useful football films, delineated its appropriate uses, and worked to transform viewers. This presentation contributes to our understanding of sports history by providing a more nuanced conception of the history of useful football films, but also how the form directly influence the public perception of the coaching profession.

ROBERT JAMES LAKE, DOUGLAS COLLEGE

PLAYING ETIQUETTE, SOCIAL CLASS, AND THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF TENNIS IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

This project explores the connections between playing etiquette in tennis and structures of social class. Expanding from earlier intersectional studies examining connections between etiquette, gender, and social class in tennis in the late-Victorian era, this present project seeks to discover how changes to the sport in the post-war era mainly at the elite level – notably its rampant professionalization, commercialization and globalization – have impacted on how on-court etiquette is understood, valued, expressed and enforced. Primary source data includes mainly biographies/autobiographies from former players as well as instruction guides – books about 'how to play tennis' – which often included sections or chapters about tennis etiquette. These publications proliferated in the 1970s and 80s especially, at a time when tennis underwent something of a 'boom' in popularity. The presence of these sections/chapters on etiquette attests to its sustained importance. Simply put, knowing how to play the various strokes was not enough



to be a true ‘player’ or to be accepted into a club; one had to learn how to behave on court or risk ostracization. This study concludes by considering why playing etiquette in tennis continues to matter in the 21st century, at both elite and recreational levels, despite the gradual but nearly complete erosion of many forms of what might be termed ‘gentlemanly’ and ‘ladylike’ behavior as an expression of status.

ANDREW D. LINDEN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE; LINDSAY
PARKS PIEPER, LYNCHBURG UNIVERSITY

“THE JESSE OWENS STORY”: JESSE OWENS, MEMORY, AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Many people remember Jesse Owens for his four first-place finishes at the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Cultural lore suggests that his victories refuted Nazi ideology during the early years of Adolf Hitler’s rise to prominence. Journalists and political pundits viewed Owens as an American hero, an embodiment of the democratic state that would lead the assault on totalitarian governments during the following decade, catapulting the country to a leading position on the world stage. As sport historian William J. Baker (2006) writes, Owens “helped Americans to believe something important about themselves” (p. 4). However, such praise flattens Owens from one vantage in one moment in time.

As part of a larger project that explores the historical memory of Owens, in this presentation, we use autobiographies as a point of entry to think about the ways in which Owens himself considered his life and shaped his own story. Sport scholar Jeffrey Hill refers to autobiographies as “active texts” of the past (2006) because they help historians work through how individuals perceived various historical events and eras. To start to understand how Owens thought about his place within historical contexts and how his own words impacted contemporary narratives, we analyze texts such as, *Blackthink: My Life As Black Man and White Man* (1970), *I Have Changed* (1973), *Track and Field* (1976), and *Jesse: The Man Who Outran Hitler* (1985), all authored by Owens. An analysis of these sources shows how he interpreted and navigated racism in sport throughout his life.

CHANG LIU, WASEDA UNIVERSITY; MIWAKO TAKANO, JAPAN WOMEN’S COLLEGE
OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION ; YOU LI1, WASEDA UNIVERSITY; KOHEI KAWASHIMA,
WASEDA UNIVERSITY

SPORT AND THE ISSUE OF “INCLUSION VS. EXCLUSION” BY INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE HUMAN IDENTITIES

Traditionally, in Japan, the impact of sport on the inclusion or exclusion of “others” by identity has often been discussed in the context of MLB’s admission of Jackie Robinson in the United States, the “breaking of the racial barrier,” which assumes that sport-based collective identities can claim its ability to encompass “racial others.” In recent years, however, this interpretation has been challenged through the translation of *The Anthropology of Sport* by Besnier and Brownell with the arguments that sport reflects and produces inequalities based on class, and race/ethnicity, and that sport-based collective identities are rather exclusive against “others” by these identities.



In this session, up-and-coming three Chinese and Japanese scholars examine this “inclusiveness vs. exclusiveness” issue on sport and human identities based on their respective case studies. First, Chang Liu discusses Chinese martial artists who came to Japan in the first half of the 20th century to study judo for the purpose of improving Chinese martial arts. Second, Miwako Takano examines a Japanese dancing master in the middle of the 20th century with the double dilemma on the ideological level of modernism versus postmodernism, and on the occupational level of university teacher versus dancing choreographer. Third, You Li focuses on the sporting practices of ethnic minorities in contemporary Yunnan Province, China. Through these examples, all the three scholars elaborate on the formation and change of identity as either learners or a teacher at either the individual or collective level.

Through these examples, it is shown that the issue of inclusiveness versus exclusiveness on sport and human identity cannot be defined in a unitary or monolithic direction. As anthropologist John MacAloon once correctly described, sport is an “empty form,” whose impact on identity cannot be deduced without a specific examination of the historical and cultural contexts in which sport is practiced.

STACY L. LORENZ, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

“THERE WAS SOME HOCKEY, TOO – IN BETWEEN THE BRAWLS”: FIGHTING, VIOLENCE, AND GORDIE HOWE’S 1950 HEAD INJURY

This paper explores cultural constructions of violence in hockey by examining the events surrounding the serious head injury suffered by Gordie Howe of the Detroit Red Wings in 1950. During the opening game of a National Hockey League (NHL) play-off series against the Toronto Maple Leafs on 28 March 1950, Howe left the ice on a stretcher after crashing head-first into the boards in an attempt to check Ted Kennedy. Howe suffered a skull fracture, a concussion, a broken nose and cheekbone, and cuts to his right eye, and he required emergency surgery in order to relieve pressure on his brain. Although he missed the remainder of the 1950 NHL playoffs, Howe made a full recovery in time for the 1950-51 season.

Using Canadian and American newspapers as the primary research base, this paper analyzes media coverage of Howe’s injury and the remainder of the Maple Leafs-Red Wings series in order to gain insight into attitudes around fighting and violence in NHL hockey. Newspaper reports and commentary discussed the cause of Howe’s injury, the violent response of Howe’s teammates following the incident, and the overall place of fighting and physical play in the sport. For example, the second game of the series featured several fights and stick-swinging incidents, with a Toronto Star headline noting, “There Was Some Hockey, Too – In Between the Brawls.” The debates around hockey violence during this series raised questions about the role of referees and league officials in limiting rough play, the responsibility of players to “police themselves” on the ice, and the level and type of violence that was acceptable and appropriate in such situations.



DAVID LUNT, SOUTHERN UTAH UNIVERSITY

YOU'VE GOT TO FIGHT FOR YOUR RIGHT: HOSTING THE CROWN GAMES IN ANCIENT GREECE

In ancient Greece, the Crown Games presented an opportunity for worshipers and pilgrims to venerate the gods through rituals and festivals, including Games that took place at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea. These temples, shrines, treasuries, dedications, and sporting facilities did not belong to any particular city; they belonged to the gods.

Victory in the Crown Games brought glory to an individual and shared honors for the athlete's city. Besides the glory for the victor, there was immense prestige associated with managing, administering, and presiding at the Games – so much prestige, in fact, that some ancient Greeks showed themselves occasionally willing to use violence to claim the right to administer the Crown Games.

This paper investigates the competition for and the privilege of administering the Crown Games in ancient Greece. Relying primarily upon (ancient) literary sources such as Plutarch and Xenophon, it probes the battle between Elis and the Arcadian League in the precinct of Olympia in 364 BCE, the cruel usurpation of the Nemean Games by Aratus of Sicyon in 235 BCE, and other disruptions to the festivals at Isthmia (Agesilaus in 390 BCE) and Delphi (Demetrius Poliorcetes in 290 BCE).

In each of these examples, the right to administer the Games brought prestige and honor both to the individual leaders and to the city-states that controlled the sites and the Games. Although the sanctuaries that featured the Crown Games remained the property of the gods, the privilege of running the festivals of the great Crown Games proved to be a right worth fighting for. This paper explores the significance of the Crown Games in its broader ancient Greek context and from an unusual perspective – not the competitors nor the spectators, but from the point-of-view of those in charge of running the festival events.

MALCOLM MACLEAN, UNIVERSITY OF GIBRALTAR/THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

(DE)THINGIFICATION: COLONIALITY, EMPIRE AND BRITISH SPORT HISTORY

“One of the insights developed by historians of colonialism is that the experience of the ‘periphery’ is inextricably linked with that of the center, regardless of how distinct they appear.” Suzanne Schneider (2021) *The Apocalypse and the End of History: Modern Jihad and the Crisis of Liberalism* London, Verso, p 53.

The Empire's subaltern peoples and its justification in coloniality are strangely absent from British sport history, despite a key strand of the field being grounded in links between Empire, masculinity and sport: in this the subject reflects gaps and silences in British social history more generally. This paper that is both theoretical and historiographical explores this absence and considers ways that it might be addressed. It first sketches the coloniality of sport history as epistemology and ontology through an historiographic consideration of myths of diffusionism as well as agency and voice (past and present) of Indigenous and colonial subaltern peoples. Although necessarily broad brush the second half will turn to models derived from Paul Gilroy's 1993 work on *The Black Atlantic* to consider ways that studies of colonial and diaspora



cricket can help rethink notions of British sport and in doing so rupture the constraints of nation as anachronism.

LUKE MASHBURN, TROY UNIVERSITY

EXAMINING THE SECOND LIVES OF PURPOSED SPORTS VENUES

The chorus of the still-popular song Big Yellow Taxi includes the line “they paved paradise and put up a parking lot.” That fate, turning into a parking lot, has befallen many stadiums and arenas, even those considered cathedrals or a paradise by fans. Historic venues, including Ebbets Field in Brooklyn, are now parking lots with their history denoted by a small plaque. Others made way for development and are the sites of shopping malls or university buildings today. However, what about those stadiums that outgrew their usefulness as sport competition venues but were spared the wrecking ball?

This presentation examines the “second life” of numerous sports venues around the world. It will feature several unique venues that have continued to function outside of their original purpose. An Olympic competition venue that is now a water park will be featured. So will basketball venues that are a major retail store and the home of a church led by a television evangelist. Arsenal’s Highbury Square, which lives on as an apartment building will also be highlighted. Many of these venues have largely retained their architecture and structure, allowing for sports history to live on.

Repurposing a stadium or arena allows for the history of the venue to be preserved, at least in part. This presentation relates to sense of place of theory, allowing fans to return to the site of special memories, even if it is in a slightly different form. Additionally, it is a sustainable option that leads to urban development while maintaining historical structures.

TYREE MCCRACKIN & PEARLANN REICHWEIN, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

IN PURSUIT OF SNOW: A SPORT BIOGRAPHY OF CANADIAN OLYMPIAN AND CROSS-COUNTRY SKIER DAVID REES

This study examines the life of Canadian Olympian Dave Rees. Rees has played a multidimensional role in the practice and promotion of Nordic ski sport in Canada. Born in 1943, he is an athlete, teacher, writer, coach, administrator, and curator of the Canadian Museum of Nordic Skiing in Canmore, Alberta. Expanding the academic study of Canadian cross-country skiing, we investigate the life experiences of David Rees and his influence on the sport from his earliest ski club in North Bay, Ontario, to racing in the 1968 Grenoble Winter Games, founding the Canadian Masters Cross Country Ski Association in 1980, hosting the 1988 Calgary Winter Games, and creating a community-driven museum, in his work supporting both elite racing and mass participation in Nordic skiing. Rees is a geomorphologist and amateur sportsman whose lifelong pursuit of Nordic skiing demonstrates athlete specialization, technological and training changes, and the growth of cross-country skiing from localized to widespread appeal. Based on oral history interviews and rare archival sources, this biographical study examines Rees’ life in Nordic skiing and how his story fits within a larger cultural context of the little-studied history of postwar Nordic skiing in Canada. We argue that Rees embraced both participatory and elite competition ethics, laying athletic, educational, and administrative groundwork to expand



Canadian development in cross-country skiing, and conclude that this lifelong athlete and volunteer not only witnessed the transformations of Nordic skiing, he has been one of its collaborative architects and memory keepers across six decades.

MARY G McDONALD, GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

LEARNING TO VALUE LABOR: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL BASKETBALL PLAYERS' ASSOCIATION (WNBPA) COLLECTIVE BARGAINING STRUGGLES

The NBA helped to establish the WNBA in 1997 and today the WNBA is the longest operating professional team sport league for women in the United States. The Women's National Basketball Players' Association (WNBPA) was established in 1998 as the first labor union for professional women's team sport. As with other players' unions the WNBPA negotiates collective bargaining agreements (CBAs), facilitates the filing of players' grievances, and helps to develop post-career opportunities for WNBA players. After years of collective struggle with different CBAs along the way, the WNBA and the WNBPA signed a new collective bargaining agreement in 2020 that several observers characterize as progressive as this CBA allows for better salaries, working conditions, and benefits. Drawing upon critical cultural studies and feminist intersectional conceptualizations, this paper returns to the league's first CBA in 1999 to outline key element of the players' struggle for fair compensation and better working conditions. This is achieved through examination of WNBPA documents and popular media accounts. The resulting historical narrative further explicates the dominant gendered and racial labor politics at play in the US at the turn of the 21st century. In doing so this paper makes several contributions including adding to historical understanding of the economics of women's team sport, the recognition of the on-going collective struggle for fair pay, as well as the historical gendered, classed, and racialized dynamics operating at the turn of the 21st century.

JOHANNA MELLIS, URSINUS COLLEGE; CONOR HEFFERNAN, ULSTER UNIVERSITY;
KATHERINE WALDEN, NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY; JENNIFER GUILIANO, IUPUI

TALKING ABOUT TEACHING SPORT HISTORY: HOW WE CAN EMPOWER STUDENTS IN THE 2022 CLASSROOM

Perhaps due to the resurgence of athlete activism and broader social and racial justice movements, societal interest in contemporary sport and its historical roots seem to be thriving. As teacher-scholars, we are always rethinking how we can teach sport history in effective and engaging ways even if most conference panels focus on research and not pedagogy. In the panel, presenters will explore different pedagogical approaches with one aim in common: empowering students as learners, as advocates, and knowledge-producers of sport history. Questions that presenters will discuss include: What kinds of course structure assignments might we use to help students alongside athletes to empower sportspeople to advocate for addressing historical trauma as well as their safety and protection from harm? Which approaches might we use to learn about and meet students' needs, incorporate their input, and offer them agency in the classroom – and what challenges can arise with such student-centered approaches? Finally, how can digital pedagogy take shape in the undergraduate sport history and sport studies classroom in ways that



will present students as the knowledge-producers that they are? By exploring these questions and more, the panel aims to continue past pedagogy discussions at NASSH and spark new directions for student-centered sport history teaching in 2022 and beyond.

JOHANNA MELLIS, URSINUS COLLEGE; EMESE IVAN, ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY;
MATTHEW HODLER, UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND; LESLIE WATERS, UNIVERSITY
OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

COLD WAR SPORTING REALITIES AND LEGACIES: COMMUNITY, MEDIA PORTRAYALS, AND NEOLIBERAL TRANSITIONS

Over the last decade, the scholarly literature about the experiences, institutional and international support for, and representations of Eastern Bloc athletes has undergone much-needed revision to reflect people's lived realities. This work critically pushes back against both pro-Western, capitalist narratives and some Eastern European attempts to distance and absolve itself from the past. The panel will continue this work in three unique ways by starting to answer the following questions: What political and cultural conditions (opportunities and challenges) sparked a Hungarian female basketball team from the 1970s to develop a 50+ year-old community, and what experiences bonded them together such that even today they meet regularly four times a year? How did the Western media portray East German female swimmers in the 1970s amidst their massive success and forced state doping, and how did past and present media portrayals shape meanings of gender, nationalism, and race in sport? How did the International Olympic Committee approach the collapse of the socialist sport programs, and why was it invested in their transition to neoliberalism? By analyzing sources such as preliminary conversations with future oral history narrators, media portrayals from *Swimming World* and other Western outlets, IOC records, and existing historical literature, each presentation seeks to revise our scholarly understanding of Cold War sporting experiences, transitions, and legacies. People today continue to use representations of Eastern Bloc sporting experiences and IOC governance to justify blanket, often inaccurate, and harmful ideas such as wholly-abusive Communist sport practices, trans exclusion, capitalist exploitation in sport. The papers in the panel will therefore not only address the scholarly literature; they moreover have the potential to improve contemporary policies and athletes' conditions today.

ROGER MOORE, OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

POST-WORLD WAR II ACCEPTANCE OF JAPANESE WRESTLERS IN A CONSERVATIVE RURAL COLLEGE TOWN

Following World War II, relations between Asians, specifically Japanese, and American conservatives were strained for myriad reasons. Negative attitudes toward those of Asian descent within the United States dates to the nineteenth century and continued with the internment camps of the 1940s. The brutality of naval warfare and the end of hostilities of World War II with atomic bombs led to obvious mistrust and tensions in the decades to follow. Twenty-first-century attitudes toward a generalized idea of "Asian" have returned to, in some places, nineteenth century means of violence and exclusion due in part to the COVID-19 virus. Examples do exist, however, of a positive co-existence.



Representing a small, rural community in Oklahoma, wrestler Myron Roderick forged a relationship with Japanese wrestling representatives at the 1956 Summer Olympic Games in Melbourne that, in turn, led to a number of Japanese wrestlers attending college at Oklahoma State University in the 1960s. This paper intends to show that wrestling can be used as another model to show sports' ability to soften cross-cultural and racial divides. Despite often negative and stereotypical attitudes toward Japanese elsewhere, a small Midwestern community was able to accept and participate, although minimally, in attempts at healing the racial divide created by World War II.

The contribution is not just to twentieth-century American sports history, but a wider web that includes racial and social dynamics of “others” in rural communities following World War II. This paper will also contribute to the social history through the changing attitudes towards Asians from the 1950s into the 1960s, the relationship between sport and politics in the 1960s and early 1970s, and, finally to the under-researched role of wrestling in American rural culture. Despite its rural, conservative, and predominantly white foundation, since the 1960s a diversified and multi-ethnic dynamic has existed.

PATRICK JAMES MOSER, DRURY UNIVERSITY

GEORGE FREETH AND THE BIRTH OF CALIFORNIA BEACH CULTURE

When mixed-race Hawaiian George Freeth arrived in Los Angeles from Honolulu in 1907, drownings were a devastating but common occurrence. The large influx of Midwesterners to Southern California, many of whom were unfamiliar with riptides and ocean currents, exacerbated the dangers of spending a day at the beach.

Freeth became a catalyst for transforming the popular imagination about the beach. He brought a Native Hawaiian perspective to beach recreation that celebrated all things aquatic. Through his many surfing exhibitions, he showed Southern Californians that riding waves was not just “a royal sport,” as Jack London wrote in the summer of 1907—practiced by Native Hawaiians on distant shores—but something their children could do at the local beach, in their own waves. He gave thousands of lessons from Los Angeles to San Diego in swimming, diving, surfing, and ocean rescue. In his nearly dozen years of residence in the Golden State, he normalized the idea of seeing surfers at the beach. In addition, he taught a generation of Southern Californians that they too could have fun and confidence in the ocean.

Freeth's light skin made it easier for him to interact with the largely white population who frequented the bathhouses and beaches where he worked as a lifeguard. Beyond his athletic skills and congenial nature, as a Hawaiian he was exotic enough to attract attention yet white enough so that Southern Californians felt comfortable around him.

Surfing and lifeguarding grew together in early twentieth-century California, and their combination was key to the rise of a beach culture that is now famous around the world. George Freeth, a mixed-race Hawaiian who arrived in California to surf and stayed to save lives, sits at the headwaters of both those traditions.



ERICA MUNKWITZ, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

**IMPERIAL AMAZONS: HOW EQUESTRIANISM IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE TRANSFORMED
MODERN HORSE SPORTS**

British women participated in a variety of sports and athletic activities from the early Victorian era onward, yet British equestrianism remains an especially understudied topic. In the fifty years between 1880 and 1930, more women than ever before participated in equestrian sports and spread horseback activities throughout Britain and the British Empire. Not only were women riding and foxhunting with men by the 1880s, but by the early 1900s they were riding exactly like them, on the same saddles and in similar clothes. While women in Britain did not pursue riding astride until about 1900, their sisters in the British Empire, and particularly in India, had been riding this much earlier. Imperial space and practicality allowed British women to innovate and change how they rode; thus, this new style of riding was brought back to Britain and instigated a sporting revolution for female equestrians at home. Such sweeping changes in riding styles and clothing (literally, wearing the breeches) indicates women's importance not only in bolstering imperial ideologies, but also in promoting class and gender cohesion (as well as conflict) at home. These changes then spread to other countries and revolutionized global equestrian sports, from local competitions through the highest international levels such as the Olympics. This presentation will examine how equestrianism in the British Empire thus transformed modern horse sports.

RYAN MURTHA, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; LOUIS MOORE, GRAND
VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY; KATHLEEN BACHYNSKI, MUHLENBERG COLLEGE;
BRIAN INGRASSIA, WEST TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE STUDENT PANEL: BOOK PUBLISHING 101

This session is geared toward graduate students who may be nearing the end of their career as students, or are simply interested in the ins and outs of book publishing in the field of sport history. We will have one moderator, and then four panelists. One is a series editor at University of Tennessee Press, and the others have all published books recently--including the book that won the 2020 NASSH Book Award. We will discuss the differences between a dissertation and a book, and how much work it takes to go from one to the other. We will also talk about writing a book proposal, identifying and approaching a press, and what sort of feedback to expect upon submission. Then we will talk about getting to a final manuscript, along with the process of copyediting and indexing. A number of questions will be developed by the panelists beforehand in order to make sure certain topics are hit upon, with ample time left over for questions from the audience.



RYAN TIMOTHY MURTHA, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

WILLIAM BUCKINGHAM CURTIS, THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES, AND THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN SPORTS WRITING

William Buckingham Curtis is well known for his successes as an athlete and as a sporting organizer, founding such significant institutions as the Amateur Athletic Union and the New York Athletic Club. Less discussed is his role as a writer and editor. For two decades, Curtis ran the *Spirit of the Times*, one of the most important sporting publications of the nineteenth century. In this paper, part of my larger dissertation, I will examine Curtis's work at the *Times*, and discuss the factors that made his success there possible. Industrial and societal changes in the decades before he arrived in New York created a situation he was able to take advantage of. Technological advances made printing and distributing papers more financially feasible, and increasing literacy rates widened the pool of potential readers. Additionally, Curtis's religiously informed point of view found a friendly audience in the progressive, reform-minded Americans of the day. I will situate the *Spirit of the Times* in the larger history of American sports writing, and show how it represents an important evolutionary step between the earliest newspapermen to cover sport (at places like the *Clipper* and the *World*), and the so-called Golden Age of Sports Writing that was to follow.

DANIEL NATHAN, SKIDMORE COLLEGE; JONATHAN FINN, WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY; MAUREEN SMITH, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY – SACRAMENTO; CARLO ROTELLA, BOSTON COLLEGE; RUSSELL FIELD, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

SPORT, PHOTOGRAPHY, HISTORY

The papers in this session are part of a larger project that examines iconic sports photographs, their histories, and cultural meaning.

Each paper, which will be about 15 minutes long, reflects on a specific photo—its creation, the contexts in which it is best understood, its sometimes shifting significance, and legacy.

Moderator: Daniel A. Nathan, Skidmore College

The End of Dead Heats? John C. Hemment and Race Finish Photography - Jonathan Finn, Wilfrid Laurier University

Jackie Robinson Steals Home - Maureen Smith, California State University – Sacramento
Ali and Liston: The Dive as Heroic Spectacle - Carlo Rotella, Boston College

“Henderson has scored for Canada”: Photographing Canadian Nationalism in the Cold War - Russell Field, University of Manitoba.



RICHARD BRIAN NAUGHTON, MONASH UNIVERSITY

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN A MAJOR SPORTING FIGURE FAILS TO MEET STANDARDS OF ACCURACY AND FAIRNESS IN STORY-TELLING? THE STRANGE CASE OF BILLIE JEAN KING

The highly successful sporting autobiography of Billie Jean King, published in 2021, titled “All In”, contains a significant amount of provably false material. Some of this material is directed at, concerns, or undermines the playing record of King’s principal rival, Margaret Court, who holds well-known and highly controversial views.

In spite of their apparent animosity, and King’s loathing of Court’s views, is it legitimate for King to engage in the practice of “cancel culture” in respect of Court’s playing record and sporting achievements? What does this mean in term of sports history?

Does Billie Jean King have a special responsibility to ensure that a true version of events appears in a book of this nature considering her position as the founder of the Women’s Tennis Association (the WTA) and her ongoing role as a spokesperson for that organization, and as a Life Trustee of the International Tennis Hall of Fame (ITHF) - the body that arguably exists to preserve and protect the history of the sport.

A final question is whether a book of this nature means that popular sporting autobiographies should be issued with a warning – “Subject to the best recollection of the author but with no guarantee of truth or accuracy!” Consequently, it is difficult to know what a book like this ultimately means for sport historians. Is it a research tool, or some vague indication of the writer’s memories from times long ago?

RAFAELLE NICHOLSON, BOURNEMOUTH UNIVERSITY

THE CASE FOR DEVOLUTION: ORAL HISTORIES OF UK SPORTING AMALGAMATIONS, 1985-2000

In 1993, the UK Sports Council’s new policy document, Women and Sport, recommended that all national governing bodies of sport within the UK ‘establish a single governing body’. Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, almost all women’s sports that were administered separately to their male counterparts therefore ‘merged’ with the equivalent men’s governing body: squash in 1989, football and athletics in 1992, lacrosse in 1996 and hockey in 1996, and cricket in 1998. In practice, these mergers became ‘takeovers’, whereby female administrators were forced to cede governance of their sports to male-run bodies whose priority and focus remained men’s sport.

Internationally, studies of similar amalgamations between men's and women's sporting organizations have found that such processes increase male control at the expense of female autonomy. My current research project examines the extent to which this was also the case within the UK. In this paper, I will share interview clips from oral history interviews which I have conducted with board members from a variety of different sports, reflecting on their lived experiences of mergers. I question whether forced amalgamations can ever be progressive for women’s sport.

Overall, I argue that as historians, our work has relevance for the contemporary policy-makers tasked with achieving gender equity within sports leadership. In the case of my own



work, there is a strong argument to be made that the governance of women's sport should be devolved back into the hands of those who know and care about it. Only then will women feel the same connection to sport and the same desire to shape its governance that they did prior to the 1990s.

RILEY NOWOKOWSKI, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

HOUSE OF ATHLETICS: THE BICYCLE, THE CANADIAN WHEELMAN AND BICYCLE HISTORY IN NORTH AMERICA

The bicycle is an object that permeates our lives daily. Often, we learn to ride while we are very young, and the skill remains through adulthood. When participates bicycling, do they recognize the important role that the machine had in shaping sport history? The place of the bicycle in Canadian society has ebbed and flowed from the 1860s until present day.

The bicycle became a prominent object in many urban centers and was highly sought out by all types of people. Social networks often formed around the new and exciting machine. The upper and middle classes of Canadian society flocked to the expensive machine en masse and made it their own. Often secluding themselves from others while joining exclusive clubs organized with a unique bureaucracy. Bicycle clubs like The Canadian Wheelman's Association served an important role in the communities from which they came. Yearly bicycle gatherings were a feature of the Association which helped foster social connections between those who rode. Very often, those who participated in the Association would partake in tours, which took riders out of the city into the Canadian countryside. Many cyclists purchased a subscription to The Canadian Wheelman; a monthly magazine published in the late 19th century is filled with matter pertaining to cycling interests in North America. The Wheelman dictated rules, decorum, and displayed advertisements for technologies that would shape the cycling community. The Canadian Wheelman served as the pre-eminent gather space for cyclists as it served as the authority on cycling in Canada.

I would like to present some of my findings about the unique magazine The Canadian Wheelman. The C.W. was the published word of the Canadian Wheelman's Association, the eminent cycling society that helped shape the sporting world during its existence.

CHRISTINE O'BONSAWIN, UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

RECLAIMING POWER, PLACE, AND PHYSICAL RESILIENCE: THE FOUNDING OF NIFA AND THE FIRST WORLD INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S SOCCER CHAMPIONS, 1990-2015

As acknowledged in the Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, "Colonial violence, as well as racism, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia against Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people, has become embedded in everyday life – whether this is through interpersonal forms of violence, through institutions like the health care system and the justice system, or in the laws, policies and structures of Canadian society" (Executive Summary, 2019, 4). Canada's sport system may also be recognized as a Canadian institution where racism, sexism, homophobia, and transphobia against Indigenous women and girls resides. Although the literature on Indigenous sporting histories has grown in recent years, its focus has remained mainly on the experiences of Indigenous men and



boys. Thus, the aims of this paper are twofold. First, this paper calls attention to the experiences of Indigenous women in sport, specifically by tracing the history of the Native Indian Football Association (NIFA), beginning in 1990 and culminating with the success of the women's national team at the first World Indigenous Games in 2015. Second, this paper positions the creation of Indigenous sporting spaces, such as NIFA, as critically important for confronting and opposing colonial violence, racism, sexism, and homophobia against Indigenous women and girls. Further, this paper identifies these spaces as central to the resurgence of Indigenous nations, recognizing the ways in which Indigenous women and girls may reclaim their power, place, and physical resilience through such sporting practices. This paper draws from primary and secondary sources, including NIFA archival records and interviews with founders of the association and past and present players.

GARY OSMOND & MURRAY G. PHILLIPS, UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER HISTORY: SPORT, CULTURE AND IDENTITY

This paper aims to investigate sport as a means of understanding the cultures, identities and history of Torres Strait Islanders. The Torres Strait archipelago lies between northeast Australia and Papua New Guinea and links the Coral Sea with the Arafura Sea and Gulf of Carpentaria. Islanders constitute one of Australia's two Indigenous groups: the other is the broadly named Aboriginal people who are based primarily on the Australian continent.

Unlike Aboriginal sport history, which is grounded in a diverse range of scholarship, the historiography of Torres Strait Islander sport is scant. Examining Torres Strait Islander sport as a cultural practice will contribute to disentangling Torres Strait Islander history from Aboriginal history, with which it is frequently conflated under the umbrella 'Indigenous' or, increasingly, 'First Nations'. Ultimately, this paper aims to contribute to a more nuanced history of Indigenous Australia.

Sport was enmeshed in Torres Strait Islander cultural traditions throughout and beyond the 20th century. The thriving presence of sport historically within and between the islands, and between the islands and their regional neighbors, and the complex interplay of sport with culture, all reveal the significance of sport to Islander people and the ways that sport reflected and shaped the distinct history of the Torres Strait.

While sport is one cultural practice among many in the Torres Strait, along with dance, music, art, fishing and hunting, it (contemporary sport in particular) can mask Islander identity in ways that more obviously distinctive cultural practices do not. In this paper, we are concerned with what sport – both traditional and modern sporting activities – can reveal about Islander culture and identity.

ADAM G PFLEEGOR, BELMONT UNIVERSITY

A SCOTSMAN AND THE HOME OF AMERICAN GOLF: DONALD J. ROSS, PINEHURST, AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON MODERN GOLF

Nestled in the North Carolina sandhills, the Pinehurst Resort opened in 1895 on timbered land purchased by James Walker Tufts for \$1 an acre. As part of the resort, Tufts paid Dr. Leroy



Culver to design a nine-hole golf course. As the game gained popularity, Tufts hired little known Scotsman, Donald J. Ross, as Pinehurst's club professional in 1900.

Born in 1872 in Dornoch, Scotland, Ross moved to the United States in 1899 following an apprenticeship with famed architect Old Tom Morris at the Old Course in St. Andrews. It was here Ross gained firsthand knowledge on course design. Following his move to the United States and taking residency at Pinehurst, Ross added nine holes to Culver's course, which became Pinehurst #1. However, it was Ross's 1907 design of Pinehurst #2 that went down in golf lore and helped Pinehurst become the Home of American Golf.

Using a strict naturalist philosophy and signature design elements such diagonal hazards, switchbacks, and green complexes consisting of turtlebacks, punchbowls, volcanoes, double plateaus, and false fronts, Ross rose to national prominence. He designed world-class, private courses including Aronimink (Newtown Square, PA), East Lake (Atlanta, GA), Seminole (North Palm Beach, FL), Oak Hill (Pittsford, NY), and Inverness (Toledo, OH). However, he also was hired with WPA funds to design a plethora of municipal courses. In all, he designed around 400 courses spanning more than 30 states.

Recently the country has witnessed a drastic increase in rounds played. Coinciding with a focus on environmental sustainability and equal access, course design has been highlighted. Modern designers such as Coore and Crenshaw and David McLay Kidd have implemented Ross's philosophy to design challenging, accessible, and sustainable courses that seamlessly blend with nature. This proposed presentation will examine how Pinehurst and Ross have influenced modern golf design trends.

LINDSAY PARKS PIEPER, UNIVERSITY OF LYNCHBURG

IDENTITY CARDS AND SEX PASSPORTS: THE INTRODUCTION OF SEX TESTING IN BASKETBALL AND HANDBALL

The International Basketball Federation (FIBA) was formed in 1932 and the International Handball Federation (IHF) in 1946. Throughout the Cold War, women competed in the championships organized by the international federations (IFs): the FIBA Women's Basketball World Cup and FIH World Women's Handball Championship. Eastern European teams dominated both competitions. In basketball, the Soviet Union won five years in a row, from 1959 to 1975; in handball, the East German and Soviet squads earned three titles apiece, from 1957-1990. When the International Olympic Committee added basketball and handball to the Olympic program for women in 1976, the Soviet Union earned gold medals in each sport.

Not everyone enthusiastically applauded the Eastern European women's success on the court. Cold War divisions encouraged many Westerners to disparage the athletes' excellence and appearance. Western sport leaders and audiences viewed the Eastern Bloc athletes' height, muscularity, and competitiveness as abnormal and offensive. Cold War tensions and gender norms eventually helped convince FIBA and FIH officials to introduce control mechanisms in each event. Using correspondences, meeting minutes, oral histories, and public accounts, this paper analyzes the reasons for the introduction of sex testing in basketball and handball in the 1970s. That FIBA and FIH required checks of its women competitors outside the Olympics show



that conventional ideas about femininity shaped women's participation in numerous sports, not just in athletics.

LINDSAY PARKS PIEPER, LYNCHBURG UNIVERSITY; BRUCE KIDD, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO; SAMUEL R. REGALADO, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY; MURRAY PHILLIPS, UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND; KEVIN WITHERSPOON, LANDER UNIVERSITY; RITA LIBERTI, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY EAST BAY; JANICE FORSYTH WESTERN UNIVERSITY

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY PANEL: NASSH BOOK AWARD WINNERS

This session is composed of previous NASSH Book and Anthology Award winners: Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (1997); Samuel O. Regalado, *Mexican American Sports: A Reader on Athletics and Barrio Life* (2007); Murray G. Phillips, *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame* (2013) & *Deconstructing Sport History* (2007); Kevin Witherspoon, *Before the Eyes of the World: Mexico and the 1968 Olympic Games* (2009) & *Defending the American Way of Life: Sport, Culture and the Cold War* (2019); Rita Liberti, *(Re)Presenting Wilma Rudolph* (2016) & *San Francisco Bay Area Sports: Golden Gate Athletics, Recreation, and Community* (2018); and Janice Forsyth, *Reclaiming Tom Longboat: Indigenous Self-Determination in Canadian Sport* (2021) & *Aboriginal Peoples and Sport in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues* (2014). Award winners will have ten minutes to discuss how/why they decided to write about their topics, reflect on the importance of their work, and explore how their anthologies and/or books shaped the field. The aim of this session is to celebrate NASSH by highlighting previous award winners, as well as to discuss how these books and anthologies helped shape the study of sport history.

ANDREW JONATHAN PLOEG, BILKENT UNIVERSITY

MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL LABOR CONFLICT AND THE RISE OF FANTASY BASEBALL

Fantasy sport is a major force in the contemporary North American sport industry, attracting 59.3 million participants and generating approximately \$7.22 billion in yearly revenue. A group of interactive games, often taking place online, in which participants construct virtual teams of actual players from a particular sport, fantasy sport involves the pitting of those teams against each other in daily, weekly, or season-long competitions. These competitions are ultimately decided by the accumulation of points based on the performances of players in real-world sporting events. Despite the significance of fantasy sport, however, much scholarly work remains to be done on its history, participants, and relationships with the sports that make it possible. To that end, this paper endeavors to shed light on the development of fantasy baseball throughout the 1980s and 1990s. While I have argued elsewhere that the advent of free agency in Major League Baseball (MLB) facilitated the invention of Rotisserie League Baseball in 1980, in this paper I contend that the most influential factor in the evolution of the game since that time was not primarily the increased prevalence of the internet, as most scholars maintain, but rather a series of labor conflicts in MLB during the first two full decades of the free agency era. I briefly examine three of the most consequential of these conflicts—the 1981 strike, the 1990 lockout,



and the 1994-95 strike—in order to assert that these events helped perpetuate a shift in fan attitudes and behaviors that began with free agency and that played a critical role in popularizing not only fantasy baseball but all of fantasy sport. Such an approach demonstrates that the history of fantasy sport is not distinct from but coextensive with the history of baseball and of North American sport itself, offering unique insights into both.

CYRIL POLYCARPE, UNIVERSITÉ DE FRANCHE-COMTÉ; PASCAL CHARITAS,
UNIVERSITÉ PARIS NANTERRE

THE GOODWILL GAMES, A TOOL OF SPORTS DIPLOMACY TO RENEW THE US-SOVIET DIALOGUE BETWEEN 1980 AND 1991

Between 1980 and 1988, Ronald Reagan's presidency encouraged a new arms race, with culture as a representation of capitalism after Mikhail Gorbachev's appointment as head of the Soviet Communist Party in March 1985. The media reported on the confrontations between the two superpowers, including the US boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow and the Soviet Union's non-participation in the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. By 1985, tensions were at their highest. In this context, Ted Turner, a multi-billionaire and media owner, signed an agreement between Turner Broadcasting Systems (TBS) and Soviet sports and broadcasting organizations to set up a new four-year televised sports event: the Goodwill Games. Sport was then used as a diplomatic tool and support for peace, cohesion and conflict management for the benefit of a cultural policy, called sports diplomacy. Capitalist sport then became an instrument for unsettling the communist opponent between 1980 and 1991. Thus, the boycotts of 1980 and 1984 and then the Goodwill Games question sport as a tool of propaganda and ideological domination, under the guise of international cooperation. The use of the IOC archives and the correspondence of the Goodwill Games organizing committee will allow us to better understand the role of sport in American cultural and sports policy, in their relations with the USSR between 1980 and 1991, which we will consider as a tool for promoting peaceful interactions. While the breaking up of the USSR in 1991 did not put an end to the Goodwill Games, they did allow the United States of America to restore their image in the eyes of its population and the rest of the world, by representing themselves as the victor of the Cold War thanks to the powerful support of the American mass media.

ROBERT PRUTER, LEWIS UNIVERSITY

HARRY WILSON AND DENA SCHAPER, MODERN WORKING CLASS HUSBAND AND WIFE TEAM: DRIVING FORCE IN CHICAGO FOR WOMEN'S BASKETBALL AND WOMEN'S SOFTBALL

The great contribution to women's amateur sports by husband and wife team of Harry Wilson and Dena Schaper spanned two separate periods. The first, from 1921 to 1934, was when Schaper as star player and Wilson as coach founded and led the nationally famous Taylor Trunks team that dominated women's basketball in Chicago for more than a decade. The second period, from 1933 to 1954, was when Harry Wilson, as promoter, umpire, rules maker, and writer, became a significant force in the development of softball.



This is an intimate examination of an American socialist working class family in sport history, such examinations have been rare. Both Harry Wilson and Dena Schaper came from large working class families, and both early were ideologically committed members of the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL). The couple's years in YPSL were tumultuous in post-World War I America, as the Palmer raids tore YPSL apart, as their colleagues were put on trial. Labor disputes in the 1920s resulted in the murder of Schaper's father. The couple laid low and emerged in the 1920s as leaders of a Church-sponsored women's basketball team. For the remainder of their careers in sports they were informed by liberal Democratic politics, but were inspired from their early socialism to support sports for the masses.

This paper is based largely on primary sources, mostly newspaper and magazine accounts. Other primary sources include census reports, birth and death records, private papers of George Kidera (grandson of Dena Schaper), YPSL documents, Young Socialists' Magazine, and email interviews with George Kidera. Notable secondary works include *A Century of Women's Basketball. From Frailty to Final Four* (1991), and Ann Hall, *The Grads Are Playing: The Story of the Edmonton Commercial Graduates Basketball Club* (2011).

AISHWARYA RAMACHANDRAN, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA; SAMANTHA WHITE, MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE; ROB LAKE, DOUGLAS COLLEGE; ZACH BIGALKE, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY; MAUREEN SMITH, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY SACRAMENTO

GETTING FROM CONFERENCE PRESENTATION TO JOURNAL PUBLICATION

This session will be geared toward answering questions that newer graduate students might have about publishing in journals. In it, we will discuss the process of taking research that you presented at a conference, and what you need to do in order to make it ready to submit to a journal. We will discuss identifying a journal, what to expect in terms of feedback and response time once you submit, what the review process looks like, and how to handle reviewers' comments on your work. The panel will consist of a moderator from the Grad Student Advisory Committee, three scholars, all with a strong record of publishing (and all who have recently published a paper that began as a NASSH presentation), and the editor of the *Journal of Sport History*. We will develop a number of questions in advance, and also have time for audience members to ask questions of their own.

AISHWARYA RAMACHANDRAN, STEPHEN CHIGNELL & PATRICIA VERTINSKY,
UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

EXAMINING THE RESILIENCE OF BODY CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS THROUGH A MIXED-METHODS SURVEY OF SOMATOTYPE RESEARCH FROM 1940-2022

Somatotyping has long been used as an illuminating and comprehensive approach to assessing body shape and stature. Despite persistent and ongoing criticisms of its racist and sexist foundations and implications, and a lull in its popularity in some academic quarters following WWII, physical educators and sport scientists across the globe have continued to show



interest in using somatotypes to measure, classify, and organize groups of people (e.g., athletes, children).

The purpose of this presentation is to explore the evolving interest in and reach of somatotyping research beginning with its inception in the 1940s to the present moment. We outline the different disciplinary areas the somatotype is used in, key journal articles and books on the subject, the research of certain influential and prolific somatotype experts, and broadly consider the relationships between clusters or groups of somatotype researchers in different disciplinary arenas.

We take a mixed-methods approach to understanding this history, combining science mapping techniques from quantitative science studies with qualitative archival research approaches from cultural history. This includes the construction of collaboration networks and their geographical distribution, keyword clusters, and historiograms visualizing chains of citations through time. We pair these bibliometric insights with in-depth microhistorical case studies of certain selected actors, publications, and events associated with the somatotype.

We then reflect on how these approaches can be creatively applied within a deconstructionist, postmodern approach to physical cultural and sport history and consider how they complement and inform one another, together providing insights about the history of the somatotype that would otherwise be challenging to glean and substantiate.

Lastly, we reflect on how cultural historians interested in using digital and/or quantitative methods can broaden their inquiry to include more macro-level analyses by using science mapping techniques to identify larger themes, discourses, and trends within the research literature.

SUSAN JANE RAYL, SUNY-CORTLAND

“18 INCHES OF DAYLIGHT”: GALE SAYERS “THE KANSAS COMET AT SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY”

Raised in Omaha, Nebraska, Gale Sayers played halfback for the University of Kansas between 1961 and 1964. Drafted by both the Chicago Bears of the NFL and the Kansas City Chiefs of the AFL, Sayers chose to play for Chicago. In his seven years with the Bears, Sayers found great success, earning “Rookie of the Year” honors in 1965, playing in four Pro Bowls, and gaining All-Pro status five times. In November 1968, Sayers experienced a severe knee injury and underwent extensive surgery. Though a bit slower, Sayers returned in 1969, leading the NFL in rushing with over 1000 yards. The 1970-71 season brought several injuries and intermittent play, and a poor performance in the 1972 preseason caused him to retire from the game.

While much is known about Sayers life as a college and professional football player at the University of Kansas and Chicago Bears, respectively, less is known about his life after retirement as a player. This paper discusses Sayers positions as Head Athletic Director at Southern Illinois University (SIU) from 1976 to 1981. In addition to recruiting and public relations, Sayers hoped the use the fund-raising experience he honed at the University of Kansas to make the SIU athletic program one of the best in the nation. However, he found great challenges with drawing fans to football and basketball games, meeting the needs of women’s



sports following the passage of Title IX, and increasing the student athletic fee. Despite these challenges, the women's and men's programs realized success at the national level in several sports. Still, unable to reach the goals he set when he stepped on the SIU campus five years earlier, Sayers resigned his athletic directing position in July 1981 to pursue a private business in computer supplies.

BRITTANY REID, THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY; TAYLOR MCKEE, BROCK
UNIVERSITY

REACHING THE SUMMIT: REIMAGINING THE SUMMIT SERIES IN THE CANADIAN CULTURAL MEMORY

2022 marks the upcoming fiftieth anniversary of the 1972 Summit Series. This hockey series, played between Canada and the former Soviet Union, has become the subject of Canadian cultural mythmaking since Paul Henderson's winning goal for Canada during game eight. In *Home Game: Hockey and Life in Canada* (1989), Ken Dryden and Roy MacGregor identified the Summit Series as a uniquely "Canadian memory" and marked 1972 as a "coming of age" for Canada as a nation (195).

Now, over thirty years since Dryden and MacGregor observed its significance, the Summit Series has continued to pervade broader sporting and cultural discourse in Canada. Despite the fact that younger generations today experience the Series as a received cultural inheritance, efforts to memorialize it continue to appear in many forms. For example, filmic treatments, such as *Summit on Ice* (1996) or *Cold War on Ice: Summit Series '72* (2012), attempted to visually recreate the series' material realities. Within the world of hockey, events such as the 2012 Canada-Russia Challenge, which was intended to mark the series' fortieth anniversary, have been hosted. Finally, the 1972 Canadian Men's Hockey Team was honored with a star on Canada's Walk of Fame in 2012 and an official Canada Post stamp in 2017, two tributes intended to reaffirm their staying power as national icons. As Dryden and MacGregor asserted in 1989, when it comes to the Summit Series, "the specifics of memory do not deliver the resonance of the feeling that lingers" (194). However, the Summit Series continues to occupy a seemingly heightened role in the Canadian cultural consciousness, despite its relative temporal distance now fifty years later.

Our upcoming co-edited collection, *Reaching the Summit: Reimagining the Summit Series in the Canadian Cultural Memory* (2022; JESS Press), will explore the role of the 1972 Summit Series in persisting conceptions of Canadian self-identification. In doing so, we attempt to critically contribute to the existing body of scholarship regarding the summit series, including the collection *Coming Down the Mountain: Rethinking the 1972 Summit Series* (2014) and many other works.

This collection, and our presentation, seeks to create a new approach to this seminal event in Canadian sport history by assembling a concert of voices through diverse forms of criticism or storytelling modes.



TOBY RIDER & MATTHEW LLEWELLYN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY
FULLERTON

THE ENEMIES WITHIN: POST-COLONIAL BRITAIN AND SPORTING RELATIONS WITH APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

In this paper, we aim to explore the right-wing British response to the sporting boycott of apartheid South Africa. Starting in the early 1960s, and intensifying as the anti-apartheid campaign to end British sporting contacts with South Africa began to unfurl, right wing politicians, groups, media, and members of the public, increasingly connected the issues of race and immigration to their defense of sporting links with South Africa. For this particular section of society, we argue, defying the boycott became part of a broader effort to reassert white (predominately male) authority in a rapidly shifting multiracial Britain. Some of the most influential speakers to articulate this view came from the right wing of the Conservative Party. It has almost been missed by historians that none other than Enoch Powell himself, the primary spokesperson for anxious white Britons, perceived the sports boycott of South Africa to be a devastating attack on white British culture and tradition. In his infamous June 13, 1970 “The Enemies Within” speech, Powell framed the boycott, and the demonstrations that it generated, as an assault on hallowed national institutions and the power of the state, as the work of a deluded and irrational mob, defending the rights of an invading and unwanted immigrant minority. “For many people it lifted the corner of the veil,” Powell declared, “for the first time they caught a glimpse of the enemy and his power.”

STEVEN ALLAN RIESS, NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

THE REVIVAL OF NORTH AMERICAN THOROUGHBRED RACING IN THE 1920S

Historians have begun to devote appropriate attention to thoroughbred racing, one of the most popular sports in the world because of the gambling, the excitement at the track, and the rituals that accompany the races. Yet racing in the USA nearly died in the early 20th century because of widespread opposition to gambling based on religious and concerns about criminal behavior and organized crime.

This paper analyzes how and why horse racing made its comeback in the 1920s, becoming the most popular spectator sport in the 1950s. Its success was influenced by the boom in commercial recreation in the 1920s, tied to a big improvement in the standard of living and liberalized social attitudes towards having fun. Horse racing’s development, like prize fighting, and unlike other sports, needed legal actions to become legitimized. In the 1920s, states returning to racing, notably California, Florida, and Ohio, employed oral betting, but the courts closed them up. Illinois was the exception, and in 1927, the state government legalized pari-mutuel betting, which became widely adopted in the 1930s.

Racing in the 1920s was extremely popular with people from all backgrounds who enjoyed gambling and track rituals. They rooted for outstanding horses, jockeys and trainers. The Triple Crown emerged in 1919, and the classic event drew \$50,000 purses. However, the sport continued to be mob connected with such high rollers as Arnold Rothstein and Al Capone, while the underworld ran the illegal enterprise of off-track gambling.



Data for this paper is mainly drawn from the digitized national press, the Daily Racing Form, and the American Racing Manual. My analysis of ARM statistics indicated a substantial growth across the board. Yet American racing was still on shaky grounds, with over one-third of North America racing dates, events, and purses coming from Canada, Cuba, and Mexico.

WESTON ROBERTSON, SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY

THEN AND NOW: AN EXPLORATION OF THE "COLOR LINE" IN MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL

It is common knowledge that Major League Baseball's "color line" was broken by Jackie Robinson. At the time, baseball team owners had collectively forged an unwritten agreement to maintain that their league was to be played by white players. However, while the legacy of Robinson is well documented, the history of black and minority players in Major League Baseball ultimately did not begin with him. Before Robinson's debut, Negro League teams and barnstorming clubs experienced significant popularity and financial success. Players such as Moses Fleetwood Walker, Charlie Grant, and Rube Foster challenged the "color line" and consequently faced varied forms of public backlash, all before Robinson's tumultuous debut in April 1947. This paper will seek to recognize the largely unknown history of "color line" breakers prior to Robinson as well as address the status of race-based discrimination in the state of baseball today. Drawing on works by Rob Ruck, Adrian Burgos Jr., David J. Leonard, as well as several contemporary journalistic pieces, I will compare and contrast racial divides in Major League Baseball across nearly a hundred years; I will explore how Ben Chapman's verbal berating of Robinson in 1947 compares to the Fenway crowd's hateful jeers towards Adam Jones in 2017, and how MLB exploited and extracted talent from the Negro Leagues served as a precursor to the way it currently "acquires" and compensates international players. In the spirit of a well-known adage, "history tends to repeat itself," I will present the troubling relationship MLB has with race and decisively argue that discriminatory practices, transactions, and environments are still prevalent in the league today. In conclusion, the research that I will present contributes to an ongoing dialog regarding the 'white' way to play baseball, the decreasing minority participation rates, and the systematic hiring and gatekeeping practices of Major League Baseball.

JASON ULYSSES ROSE, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

FLYING WEDGES AND FLYING ROBES: CONTESTED IDENTITY AND SPACES IN THE NOTRE DAME KLAN RIOT

The Notre Dame Klan riot in May 1924 may be well known, pitting Notre Dame students and student athletes against hooded racists, but the overarching story is often obscured. Often told in selective, yet powerful, romantic narratives of protecting vulnerable blacks, or sometimes more accurately Catholicism itself, there is a deeper story that does not get told. Underpinning these stories and even the blatant anti-Catholicism that was prevalent in the Klan and its rhetoric, was an argument over Americanism. Reducing the language and the actual physical combat between the parties to its minimalist, one can see that it is a conflict over contested terrain and contested identities. Centered around the rhetoric of being a "true American," the Klan promoted



an Americanism that was centered on Protestantism while those excluded by the Klan, largely African Americans, Roman Catholics, and people of Jewish descent largely, advocated for a more inclusive vision of American society. These versions of Americanism can be seen in the discourse between the Klan, the University of Notre Dame student body, football coach Knute Rockne, and Notre Dame President Father Walsh. What started out as heated debate, boiled into violence as rhetoric turned to action during the riot in South Bend, Indiana between the Klan and Notre Dame students and their anti-Klan allies.

MACINTOSH ROSS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY; ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY

“WHAT YOU SAY BUDDY DAYE?”: OF BOXING AND BLACK ACTIVISM IN 1960S-70S NOVA SCOTIA

Active Learning Classrooms (ALCs) are becoming a larger presence on campuses, mostly Buddy Daye hit the canvas in the fifth round. His undefeated opponent, Jackie Carter looked on from the neutral corner. The vacant Canadian super featherweight title was at stake. Daye had moved up in weight after his career as a featherweight stalled after a pair of championship defeats. It would have been easy to stay down. He had lost before. It would be no easy task battling the young up-and-comer for seven more rounds. However, Daye did get up. He got up and fought like hell, pushing Carter back with volley after volley of punches. After twelve grueling rounds, the announcer said there was a split decision. A split rarely goes to the fighter with a knockdown. The crowd murmured its typical predictions, “Your winner and the new super featherweight champion of Canada, Delmore ‘Buddy’ Daye!”

This is a paper about a boxer, but not exclusively about boxing. Daye’s boxing career was a rollercoaster of highs and lows. However, he had a style people could respect. He would fight like hell. That is exactly what he did for Halifax’s Black community in the 1960s and 1970s. He battled for human rights every bit as hard as he fought in the rings. He was a social worker, dedicating his life to helping others at the Neighborhood Centre in Halifax’s Northend. With the help of the Black Panther’s Stokely Carmichael, Daye, Rocky Jones and a number of other activists founded the Black United Front of Nova Scotia to intensify efforts for racial equality. It is difficult to quantify Daye’s contributions to life in Nova Scotia, but we hope this brief paper will be an important step toward recognizing a too often overlooked force in Nova Scotia boxing and civil rights.

SAM T. SCHELFHOUT, SACRED HEART UNIVERSITY; TANYA K. JONES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY BLOOMINGTON

ALTHEA GIBSON: MISREPRESENTATION OF EQUALITY OF AMERICAN BLACK SPORTSWOMEN THROUGH COLD WAR GOOD WILL TOURS

Sport diplomacy, which is simply defined as diplomatic activities undertaken by sportspeople on behalf of national governments, is a popular topic of study in the United States. Sport diplomacy was popularized by national governments during the Cold War, wielding the propagandic power of sporting events to achieve foreign policy objectives. While there is abundant research on the use of sport diplomacy during this conflict, there remain significant gaps in the literature, especially when it comes to highlighting the impact Women of Color had



in goodwill tours sponsored by the United States State Department. Tennis star Althea Gibson, who garnered international fame for becoming the first Black American woman to win a Grand Slam title in 1956, participated such tours for the State Department throughout the 1950s.

Gibson's talent propelled her over the color barrier during an era of racial divide in America, but her success did not come easily. Gibson's career started in Harlem, where she initially became proficient at paddle tennis. Recognizing her talent, Gibson's neighbors collectively paid for her admission to her first tennis tournament, sponsored by the American Tennis Association, in 1941. Witnessing her success, the State Department commissioned Gibson to highlight gender and racial equality in the United States by sharing her personal experiences with foreign audiences, hoping to exhibit the positive strides the U.S. had made in these areas. Although female athletes were common participants on diplomatic tours, Gibson was the only Black American female tennis player involved. This article aims to examine how the U.S. State Department used Gibson's involvement in these tours to promote a false narrative of gender and racial equality in the U.S. during a time that the tropes of communism were starting to spread across Black communities, both in the U.S. and abroad.

JAIME SCHULTZ, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

A MODEL FOR TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IN SPORT: THE CASE OF THE VAULTING POLE

Using the history of the pole vault, I propose a model for technological change in sport. While technology can mean many things, I adopt philosopher Sigmund Loland's (2009) definition of "human-made means to reach human interests and goals in or related to sport." More specifically, the vaulting pole is what scholar Ted Butryn (2002) classifies as "implement technology."

Over the course of the twentieth century, the world record in men's pole vaulting increased dramatically—from 3.3 meters to 6.14 meters. Sport scientists estimate that approximately 30 percent of that improvement is due to new designs in vaulting poles. In that respect, World Athletics' regulations are relatively lax, stipulating only "the pole may be of any material or combination of materials and of any length or diameter." This has allowed for a series of innovations: from the heavy, rigid poles fashioned from various hardwoods in the 1800s; to lightweight, flexible bamboo used in the early 1900s; to the aluminum and Swedish steel of the 1940s and 1950s; and the adoption of fiberglass poles in the 1960s, to which engineers added carbon fiber in the 1980s.

Based on an analysis of these transitions, my tentative model for technological change in sport includes the obsolescence of primitive and traditional technologies, the advent of new technologies and the circumstances in which they emerge, and the subsequent processes of negotiation, diffusion, adaptation, regulation. The intended consequences of innovation typically involve improved performance, safety, fairness, or commercial appeal. At the same time, there are unintended consequences, such as new concerns about health and safety, questions of performance enhancement and sporting integrity, the widening technology gap, and issues of sustainability, as is evident in the history of the vaulting pole and, arguably, in the broader history of sport.



AMANDA SCHWEINBENZ, LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY; AKILAH R CARTER-FRANCIQUE, SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY; ALGERIAN HART, MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY

LEGITIMIZED, MARGINALIZED AND POLITICIZED: NARRATIVES OF BLACK WOMEN IN PROFESSIONAL COACHING

In 2021, Dawn Staley became the highest-paid Black head coach in NCAA Women's Basketball. This historic moment signaled a move towards gender equality; yet, many wondered what took so long as Staley's coaching resume far exceeds that of her peers. Like many other female coaches, Staley had to be significantly better than her white male peers in order to be considered equal. The introduction of Title IX, meant that more money was directed to women's sport but it also meant that White male athletic directors looked to other White men to lead and coach these women's teams. Female coaches were not considered to have the same expertise despite their years of coaching experiences. Additionally, the intersectionality of race and gender and Black female coaches were further subjugated.

Throughout history, there have been a limited number of Black female coaches who have successfully navigated the challenges of sexism, prejudice, discrimination and racism to acquire NCAA coaching positions. However, even after these women were hired, they faced the task of continuously proving their abilities to administrators. We will examine the history of Black female coaches in the NCAA and the ways in which these women have been marginalized and "Othered". We focus on the intersectionality of race, class and gender as means to oppress Black female coaches and how homogeneous reproduction has and continues to lead to further marginalization. Finally, we will present a path forward through discussion with the audience. Fighting these systems of oppression happens through dialogue and engagement with people who want to be part of the change.

RWANY SIBAJA, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY

STAGING THE NEW ARGENTINA: JUAN AND EVITA PERÓN AS PATRONS OF SPORT

Politicians in Argentina have long used sports to connect to everyday citizens. Liberals of the nineteenth century, like Domingo Sarmiento, promoted physical education and sports in public schools hoping they could help bring about a healthier and more civilized nation. Early twentieth-century statesmen, such as Julio Roca and José Alcorta, attended exhibition matches against visiting football teams from Great Britain because they understood the popularity of sports and the political advantage of being present at events

No two political figures were as closely tied to sports as President Juan Perón and his wife Eva. For the Peróns, forging a "New Argentina" meant extending rights, privileges, and access to public spaces for working-class citizens. They wanted to ensure that "must-see"-events like the 1950 FIBA championships, the 1951 Pan-American Games, and the visit of the English national football team in 1953 were affordable for working-class families. They also worked to increase participation in sports—especially for women and children. Textbooks and propaganda materials portrayed Juan and "Evita" as the "father" and "mother" of Argentina, whose patronage of sports was a gift to the nation.



Building upon historian Raanan Rein’s look at Perón as Argentina’s “First Sportsman,” this presentation examines press accounts, government documents, and records from athletic clubs to assess how Juan and Evita cultivated a reputation as “patrons of sport.” They understood that sports could not only transform their nation’s social dynamics, and expand their political base, but also enhance Argentina’s image overseas. Hosting the FIBA tournament and Pan-American Games allowed the Peronist state to showcase Argentine modernity and cosmopolitanism. The ultimate goal was to stage the FIFA World Cup. In a fútbol-obsessed nation, bringing the World Cup to Argentina would pay massive political dividends for Peronism at home and enhance the regime’s standing on the global stage.

MICHELLE MARIE SIKES, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

"ONE-TENTH OF A SECOND DOES NOT REALLY COUNT": HUMPHREY KHOSI, OLYMPIC ULTIMATUMS, AND THE TORTURED LOGIC OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNION OF 1962

“African Athlete Out of Team,” announced the Johannesburg press in May 1962, ending hopes that Humphrey Khosi, the fastest half-miler in South Africa, would become the first-ever Black member of a nationally representative Springbok team. South African officials named his white rival for the international competition in Mozambique, despite promises that only the best athletes would be chosen from separate trials for Black and white athletes. Four years later, the Black South African star endured another refusal when Kenyan authorities barred Khosi from racing in their country, concerned about casting a favorable light on the apartheid state before the International Olympic Committee. Domestic politics in South Africa and the foreign policy orientations of other African states shaped the trajectory of Khosi’s sporting career, in which he became the South African 800 meters record-holder and recorded Olympic qualifying times for the 1964 and 1968 games. He would never compete at the Olympics nor in East Africa as foreign-policy makers in Kenya used sport to make their nation an active player in international relations in an era of struggle against apartheid South Africa.

JONATHAN SILVERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS LOWELL

BEARS AND HORSES, OH MY: REAL ESTATE AND THE TALE OF TWO CHICAGO RACETRACKS

Located just outside of Chicago, Arlington Park shut down for good in 2021. One of the nation’s most prominent horse racing tracks, and the most important track in the Midwest, it was the home of the Arlington Million, a high stakes horse race, and it had hosted the Breeders Cup, the de facto world championship of horse racing. The track was purchased by whatever entity owns the Chicago Bears (ownership groups are not just ownership groups any more), with the unstated assumption in the air that a new track built on the land might replace Soldiers Field. However, if it were not the Chicago Bears that purchased the 346-acre site, it would have been some other developer who could squeeze more money out of that land than a sport whose reputation was in decline, along with the public’s interest.

Racetracks all over country have increasingly suffered the same fate; the new football stadium for the Los Angeles Rams was built on the grounds of the former Hollywood Park, a



relatively successful track whose enormous footprint and proximity to downtown Los Angeles proved to be detrimental for its future.

That brings us to Chicago's other race track, Hawthorne Race Course, located about 10 miles outside of the city. The track now has a sports book and will soon have a casino, Casinos also use a large amount of land, but they operate continuously rather than seasonally. In this paper, I will explore the tale of two Chicago tracks—one on a mass transit stop possibly converting to a real estate and sports developed and a track outside of the city becoming a casino—essentially tells a primary thread of modern American horse racing history.

TYLER SKINNER & STEVEN SALAGA, UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

THE HISTORY OF BUY GAMES IN COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Both scholars and media describe the phenomenon of "non-major" football programs playing major Football Bowl Series (FBS) schools for pay as a modern trend. However, this is not an accurate representation of "buy" games. While the benefits of such contests have taken different forms over the years, their existence has been consistent and they represent an important revenue generation tool for "non-major" athletic departments.

Recently, Daughters (2010) suggested FBS vs. Football Championship Series (FCS) games have become more common over time (8% of games in 1998; 21% in 2009), but only analyzed this short period. However, prior to the 1930s, differing institutional types would regularly schedule games against each other. Additionally, leadership at non-NCAA member Mississippi Southern noted they scheduled Southeastern Conference (SEC) opponents primarily for money and notoriety (Carver, 1950). However, factors such as the Great Depression and academics led many "smaller" institutions such as Illinois' "Little Nine" (Ingrassia, 2020) and Sewanee of the SEC (Watkins, 2019) to remove themselves from "major" competition. Nonetheless, many "non-major" institutions continued to compete against "major" schools for revenue generation. The 1929 Carnegie Report found across various institution types that profits "are the prime consideration in the making of athletic schedules" (p. 99).

In this study, we examine scheduling decisions of major programs after the post-Depression era. We find 15% of SEC games (1935-1940) were against "non-major" opponents. Further primary source research also shows the historical prevalence of buy games and the benefits they offered "non-majors," primarily through gate receipt splits or other incentives. This research aims to provide historical context for the growing body of research on guarantee games in intercollegiate athletics (e.g., Jones & Black, 2021) and to further our understanding of a longstanding overlooked financial issue in higher education.

ANDREW R.M. SMITH, MARIETTA COLLEGE

JACK PFEFER AND THE EVOLUTION OF PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING IN THE US

When professional wrestling broke through to the mainstream of American sport media in the postwar era, it did so with carefully choreographed performances and entertaining characters who played out national rivalries inside of rings around the country. This was not always the case with professional wrestling in the US. Even during the Great Depression, some wrestling promoters held fast to delivering only "real" contests, and others staunchly defended



the legitimacy of their promotions despite some obvious elements of “kayfabe” in each match. However, one young Jewish-Polish immigrant flaunted all of them by openly admitting to the spectacles he manufactured. Jack Pfefer disrupted the “trust” of professional wrestling promoters but laid a foundation on which the choreographed performances of professional wrestlers could become a multi-billion dollar sport entertainment product in the US and beyond.

Relying on secondary source histories of sports entertainment, as well as primary source material that includes Pfefer’s own scrapbooks, notebooks, and personal records, this paper recreates the life of a significant sports promoter in order to explain the evolution of professional wrestling from the Great Depression through the postwar era. Pfefer’s candid admissions of how he created fake matches around real storylines, based often in national rivalries that he promoted through local newspapers, was an antecedent for the model used by organizations such as the World Wrestling Federation to ironically make this illegitimate sport a legitimate—and profitable—product by the Cold War era and into the 21st century.

MAUREEN SMITH, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY – SACRAMENTO; JONATHAN SILVERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS LOWEL; SAMANTHA WHITE, MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE

SPORT, PHOTOGRAPHY, HISTORY, PART II

The papers in this session are part of a larger project that examines iconic sports photographs, their histories, and cultural meaning.

Each paper, which will be about 15 minutes long, reflects on a specific photo—its creation, the contexts in which it is best understood, its sometimes shifting significance, and legacy.

Sport, Photography, History, Part II

Moderator: Maureen Smith, California State University – Sacramento

The “Black Power Salute” photograph at the 1968 Summer Olympics

Terry Anne Scott, Hood College

One Among Many: Secretariat Wins the Belmont and the Photo that Captured It

Jonathan Silverman, UMass Lowell

U.S. vs. Them: American Nationalism and the Most Famous Photograph of the Miracle on Ice

Chris Elzey, George Mason University

Striking Out: Mo’ne Davis and the Visualization of Postfeminist Girlhood

Samantha White, Manhattanville College

DAVID E. SUMNER, BALL STATE UNIVERSITY

THE ATHLETIC VERSATILITY OF AMOS ALONZO STAGG

While Amos Alonzo Stagg (1862-1965) is widely recognized for his 41-year football coaching career at the University of Chicago, his accomplishments in basketball, baseball, and track are largely neglected by sport historians. He became a nationally famous baseball pitcher as a Yale undergraduate and received six offers to play pro baseball. Yale’s baseball team won five



conference championships from 1886 to 1890, while Stagg compiled a pitching record of 34-8-1. He played Yale football for two years when the team lost only one game, and he was chosen for the first All-America team in 1889.

Stagg rejected the baseball offers to attend Yale's divinity School. After deciding he was not cut out to be a minister, however, he dropped out and enrolled at the International YMCA School (now Springfield College) in Massachusetts to learn how to become a coach. He became friends here with James Naismith and helped him invent the game of basketball and played in the first public basketball game in 1892. He and Naismith were later recognized as inaugural members of the College Basketball Hall of Fame in 1959.

At Chicago, Stagg coached football for 41 years, baseball for 20 years, track for 35 years, and basketball for 4 years. His Chicago football teams won seven Big Ten conference championships and two national championships. His baseball, basketball, and track teams won two-thirds of their games or meets. He served on seven U.S. Olympic Committees and coached the U.S. track and field team in the 1900 Paris Olympics.

Stagg never received the same media spotlight as his peer coaches Knute Rockne or Pop Warner. However, he had the most career wins of any football coach until surpassed by Paul "Bear" Bryant in 1981. His athletic versatility remains unmatched by any modern coach.

SYNTHIA SYDNOR, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

AFTERWARD: A HISTORY OF SYNCHRONIZED SWIMMING

The research studies a controversial Journal of Sport History (JSH) article (Synthia Sydnor, "A History of Synchronized Swimming," Special Issue: The Practice of Sport History. *Journal of Sport History* 25.2 [1998] 252-267, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43610559>), through focus on interrelated aspects of the work: 1) brief historiography of selected academic texts through 2021 that react to "A History of Synchronized Swimming"; and 2) exegesis of the theory-method-scholarship that founded the work. Sydnor discusses in the 2022 presentation that composition and theory of "A History of Synchronized Swimming" were influenced by significant new and also older canonical thought that explored form, genre, and dissemination of historical scholarship.

When the research was published, it was disputed as a postmodern "advance guard" that "invaded and began to devastate the field of sport history" (Allen Guttmann, "Review Essay: The Ludic and the Ludicrous," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25.1 (2008): 101). Others engaged in the piece as they perceived it to be a "part of wide-ranging... debate about... the nature of history..." (Catriona M. Parratt, "The Test of Time: Testing Time," *Journal of Sport History*. 41.3 [2014]: 487-494, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jsporhistory.41.3.487>); too, the JSH article was studied as an example of deconstruction, and/or a cultural-linguistic turn in scholarship (e.g., Douglas Booth, "New Culture: Interpreting Language and Discourse," in *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* [London and New York: Routledge, 2005], 205-207).

Through documentation of various synchronized swimming origin stories, Sydnor's 1998 article sought to highlight the history of sport as complicated. The article's footnotes documented extensive primary archival research that undergird plot and signification. Sydnor concludes that



commentaries that label the work as pioneering/innovative or irrelevant shoddy postmodernism circumvent its contribution as a modern essay with intentional criticism, meaning, and narrative.

CAMERON TARDIF, CORNELL UNIVERSITY

JACKIE ROBINSON, RICHARD LORD, AND THE MYTH OF CANADIAN CANAAN

In 1946, Jackie Robinson described Montreal as “paradise.” His characterization of the city as a racial promised land built upon nearly two centuries of rhetoric that positioned Canada as antithetical to the United States on racial matters. Described by historian Wendell Adjetey as the Paradox of Progress, by calling upon a legacy of British abolitionism and a less outwardly violent history of racism, Canadians use American racial violence as a litmus test to judge themselves and assert a moral authority. Using this framework, my research excavates the racial sporting environments of Montreal by comparing the experiences of Jackie Robinson, a Black American who joined the Montreal Royals baseball team in 1946, and Richard Lord, an African Canadian who lost an athletic scholarship from McGill University because he was Black. During his time north of the border, Robinson frequently affirmed Canada as being welcoming, supportive, and not racist. His experience would seem to mirror and affirm the historical trajectory of the paradox of progress – that anti-Black racism was less pronounced, or even non-existent in Canada. Though Robinson’s experiences are unique due to his positionality as a budding star athlete, this research does not negate his experience, but challenge them by exploring how everyday Black athletes in Canada, particularly Richard Lord in Montreal, confronted racism. Following the withdrawal of his athletic scholarship in Montreal, Lord defied the historical pattern of migration to Canada when he elected to go south. At Michigan State, Lord became one of the first Black NCAA ice hockey players when he suited up for the Spartans in 1950. Using newspaper archives and oral histories, this research explores the twinned histories of Robinson and Lord to demonstrate how Canadian athletes of color were not insulated from racial hostility simply by their relative position or proximity to the border.

DAIN TEPOEL, LOCK HAVEN UNIVERSITY; EILEEN NARCOTTA-WELP, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - LA CROSSE

CONFRONTING THE “GREAT STUMBLING BLOCK”: AN HISTORICAL EXPLORATION OF REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.’S “WHITE MODERATE” IN US SPORT

In April 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote, “I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom...is the white moderate...”

The white moderate in U.S. politics and society remains a steadfast barrier toward racial equity on several fronts: criminal justice, police brutality, housing, education, employment, healthcare, and voting rights, to name but a few. Amid a worldwide surge in protests against anti-black racism during the spring of 2020, US sport organizations and leagues relinquished their long-held silence on racial injustice.

For us, this conjuncture culminated in a discussion about the operationalization of the “white moderate” in professional and collegiate sport, and eventually an article in *Sport in Society*. In the article, we combined Dr. King’s characteristics of the white moderate with



Shannon Sullivan's critique of contemporary white, middle-class anti-racism. Using statements from student-athletes, coaches, and athletic department officials, we revealed a prototypical "good white moderate" response to a recent moment of racial crisis in the University of Iowa football program. We view this article as a starting point for a larger project (book proposal) that will examine how the white moderate operates in sport and maintains its hegemony across various sites.

This paper is a work in progress: an historical exploration of the white moderate's presence, as an idea, a category, a stance, or posture, since Dr. King's delineation of the figure in 1963. Has the term "white moderate" been referred to at all in sporting contexts since the mid-1960s? If so, how, and by whom? If not, what is exposed in the silences surrounding sport's complicity (institutionally) as, what we would argue, a white moderate? A major goal for the paper is to begin developing a historically contextualized approach for the book project, and to continue refining our theoretical framework.

JAN TODD, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; KIM BECKWITH, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; JASON SHURLEY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-WHITEWATER; JACK BERRYMAN, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON MEDICAL SCHOOL

STRENGTH IN THE "LONG-SEVENTIES"

The 1970s were an important decade in the evolution of the strength sports. Arnold Schwarzenegger's rise to fame fueled the expansion of bodybuilding while weightlifting grew in popularity as Olympic TV coverage presented us with a new hero in the beer-bellied Russian, Vasily Alexeyev. For the less well-known sport of powerlifting, the "Long-Seventies" saw its emergence as a new sport in 1965, hold its first men's world championships in 1973, and open its platforms to women in 1977. Women began their fight to compete in Olympic lifting in this same decade. This session contains three papers and a respondent discussing the rise of strength sports in what we call the "Long-Seventies." Kim Beckwith's paper "Fighting to Compete: Politics and the Struggle Over America's First Weightlifting Championships for Women," explores the political decisions made by AAU leaders and members of the Women's Weightlifting Committee that ultimately led to the first U.S. women's weightlifting tournament in 1981. Jason Shurley next explores the expansion of powerlifting into the US prison system with a case study of the events surrounding the 1972 Junior National Powerlifting Championships held in Waupun, Wisconsin. In his paper titled "Prison Powerlifting: The Rise and Fall of the Waupun Correctional Institution Team" Shurley examines how two prisoners were allowed to leave prison in order to compete in that national contest. Jan Todd concludes the session with "Inside Inside Powerlifting: An Admittedly Subjective History" an analysis of the impact the book *Inside Powerlifting*, written by Terry Todd in 1978. *Inside Powerlifting* was the first book written about the sport of powerlifting and included biographies of nine powerlifting "stars," with detailed training information about each of these athletes. More than one journalist has cited it as the impetus for the rapid growth of powerlifting in the 1980s. Jack Berryman will respond.



BOB TRUMPBOUR, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

UNVEILING NEW SPORTSMAN’S PARK IN 1902: THE INCREMENTAL TRANSITION TO SAFER BALLPARKS IN ST. LOUIS

When Cincinnati’s Palace of the Fans was unveiled in 1902, it received substantial local media coverage. The ballpark was modest by today’s standards, but, with some fireproof elements, it was lauded as a major advance in new ballpark construction. During that same year, a new ballpark was planned, completed, and unveiled in St. Louis, Missouri. The new home for the St. Louis Browns was less opulent than Cincinnati’s new ballpark, yet the construction plans of a new Sportsman’s Park was part of a gradual and incremental transition to safer ballparks in North America. The construction in Cincinnati and St. Louis took place one year before Harvard University built Harvard Stadium, America’s first fully fireproof concrete and steel outdoor sports venue. This research will examine various primary and secondary sources related to the 1902 construction project in St. Louis to explain how this construction project marked an incremental transition from the less organized, haphazard construction practices during the late 19th century to more coherent and rationalized construction strategies that became commonplace during the early 20th century. The focus on a transition to greater commitment to safety in media coverage will be explored. The research will further examine how the St. Louis construction project compared and contrasted to other sports related construction during the first decade of the 20th century. The research is significant in that scholarship on this specific project is extremely limited. Numerous sources offer brief references to this construction project, but none, at present, offer a detailed and in-depth focus on the 1902 construction and unveiling of a new Sportsman’s Park.

PATRICIA VERTINSKY, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA; SARAH FIELDS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER; MATTHEW KLUGMAN, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY; CB LUCAS, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR; ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY; ALISON WRYNN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY PANEL: “SPEAKING UP, SPEAKING OUT, AND SPEAKING BACK TO FEMINISM IN SPORT HISTORY”

In “Speaking Up, Speaking Out, and Speaking Back to Feminism in Sport History: Fifty Years on at the North American Society for Sport History,” a paper accepted for publication in the fiftieth anniversary special issue of the Journal of Sport History, Patricia Vertinsky chronicles the development and growth of feminist scholarship in sport history. She highlights important studies that challenged the masculine nature of the field and points to a new generation of young sport history feminist scholars who are building off the work of previous generations to reimagine feminism in the field.

During the proposed session, Vertinsky will have seven minutes to discuss the role of feminism in the history and future of the field. Her presentation will be followed by responses from Sarah Fields, Matthew Klugmann, C.B. Lucas, and Ornella Nzindukiyimana. Each responder will have seven minutes to present their thoughts on the manuscript, as well as more broadly discuss the role of gender in writing sport history.



JIM WATKINS, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH ALABAMA

"EXCESSIVELY INTENSE RIVALRY": WHY THE SEC REJECTED LOYOLA UNIVERSITY IN 1933

During 1932, a combination of thirteen institutions that included flagship universities, agricultural colleges and private universities left the Southern Conference to form the Southeastern Conference (SEC). Loyola University, a private Jesuit institution in New Orleans, Louisiana, attempted to become the fourteenth member. Why did Loyola, who abolished their football program in 1939, attempt to join the SEC? In addition, why did the SEC decide to reject Loyola University?

Other historical research has examined the use of strategic partnerships, such as the formation of or adding members to an athletic conference. Watkins argued that half of the members in the Southern Conference left it to form the SEC, out of a desire to increase the legitimacy of their member institutions. In addition, Austin and Seifried noted that college football programs preferred to schedule other prestigious teams during the Great Depression to improve the relationship with their local community and maximize revenue. This paper seeks to add to this research by examining why members of the SEC refused to partner with an additional university, instead of why they invited members into their conference or agreed to compete in football games against others.

This project will rely on records from university archives in the Southeast, conference meeting minutes, and newspapers. Based on the historical record, this paper argues that Tulane University and other members of the SEC exercised asymmetry by preventing Loyola from joining. This incident is historically significant for two reasons. First, it provides additional evidence that the South's largest institutions focused primarily on football over implementing the liberal arts approach of broad-based athletics. Second, it supports the SEC's philosophy of using contraction instead of expansion in conference realignment. Overall, the incident serves as an example of the widening gap between the resources of public and private institutions in college athletics.

STEPHEN ROBERT WENN, WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

MATCH FIXING OR PLAYING THE GAME? THE 1956 U.S. MEN'S OLYMPIC WATER POLO TRIALS

Members of the Southern California Water Polo Club (SCWPC) entered Melbourne's Olympic pool knowing that some questioned if they were the rightful representatives of the U.S. in the competition. Their path to Melbourne involved match manipulation at the Olympic Trials, but U.S. officials simply fell back on the rules as they existed in advance of the Trials that determined placement in the final round based on each team's goals for and against differentials. SCWPC held the advantage over the Illinois Athletic Club (IAC) in the event of a tie in the final after it was permitted to run up the score on the Los Angeles Water Polo Club (LAWPC), 15-2, with both SCWPC and LAWPC being coached by the same individual. A tie in the final between SCWPC and IAC paved the path for SCWPC to travel "Down Under."

This paper will explore this shrouded piece of U.S. Olympic history through examination of documents located in the Avery Brundage Collection and offer an assessment of the actions of



U.S. sport leaders. It will also analyze linked, intriguing stories. How did events bring former Amateur Athletic Union President Jeremiah Mahoney to the point he warned IOC President Avery Brundage about potential legal action if he continued to intervene in the issue? Why did Mrs. M.A. (Helen) Koblisch from suburban Chicago make it her mission to prevent future men's water polo players from suffering the heartbreak felt by those from IAC. Olympic match fixing and the focus it is receiving today in Olympic circles is a result of the increasing possibilities for reward and the heightened value placed on winning in contemporary society; however, the 1956 U.S. Men's Olympic Water Polo Trials remind us that the tentacles of "rule bending" stretch back in time.

DAVID K. WIGGINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY; AMANDA N. SCHWEINBENZ, LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY; C. KEITH HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; ASHLEY BROWN, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON; KYLE KUSZ, UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND; KATE AGUILAR, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE; DAMION L. THOMAS, SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY PANEL: "INSIDE/OUT: A CULTURAL PRISM OF BLACKNESS & WHITENESS IN SPORT HISTORY"

In "Inside/Out: A Cultural Prism of Blackness & Whiteness in Sport History," a paper accepted for publication in the fiftieth anniversary special issue of the *Journal of Sport History*, Amanda N. Schweinbenz and C. Keith Harrison examine the ways in which insider whiteness has dominated the field of sport history. They offer inside/out collaboration as a necessary intervention to expand scholarly knowledge in a racially just fashion.

During the proposed session, Schweinbenz and Harrison will have seven minutes to discuss the contribution of the inside/out paradigm to sport history and its potential to shape the field. Their presentation will be followed by responses from Ashley Brown, Kyle Kusz, Kate Aguilar, Curtis Harris, and Damion L. Thomas. Each responder will have seven minutes to discuss the insider/outsider premise, as well as more broadly explore the role of scholars in writing sport history.

DIANE WILLIAMS, MCDANIEL COLLEGE

MISSING PIECES: EULOGIZING CHRISTINE GRANT

Dr. Christine Grant passed away in December 2021, leaving behind a life of advocacy on behalf of student-athletes and gender equity. The longtime University of Iowa Women's Athletic Director, Associate Professor of Physical Education, and former AIAW President held many titles and roles in her lifetime, influencing generations of athletic leaders.

Not long after her death, articles summed up her life and work as a pioneer for women's athletics and a Title IX advocate. These articles lay the groundwork for memorializing a visionary leader – yet are written in a sport media, culture, and society bound up in patriarchal power, dedicated to maintaining the status quo. Despite that, there are breakthrough moments where her humor, conviction, voice, and profound humanity shine through.



In this paper, I explore this memorializing-in-action, thinking about what is present, sidelined, tangible, and intangible about the life and legacy of Dr. Grant. Through analysis of my own interviews with Dr. Grant and other AIAW leaders, archival work, and textual analysis of these recent articles, I invite discussion of the politics of memory, gender, and legacy in sport and society. I argue that her influence and significance lie not only with her noted achievements, but also with her commitment to the educational value of sport, her ability to build and maintain relationships, and her unwavering support of women's leadership in and through sport.

KRISTEN WILSON, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AUSTIN

THE SPRING WITHOUT SPORTS: HOW THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC CREATED BLASEBALL AND EXPANDED SPORT FANDOM

This presentation is a critical examination of how fans used Blaseball, a new version of fantasy baseball, to find and develop digital communities of sport fandom during the COVID-19 pandemic. Blaseball, hosted on blaseball.com, is a free fantasy baseball simulator that draws on the basic rules and sabermetrics of baseball as well as the absurdist fantasy elements of roleplaying games. For example, when there is a solar eclipse weather condition in a Blaseball game, there is a random probability that umpires will tragically incinerate players. Fans are able to keep up with these events and more mundane baseball plays on a webpage with updating box scores and text detailing each new event in each game as the simulator spits them out. Unlike traditional fantasy baseball, no individual controls a team; instead, there are a growing number of public teams that fans can choose to support. Fans can vote to change lineups, institute new league-wide rules, build stadium improvements, etc.

The creators of Blaseball directly cite the spring without sports in 2020 as their inspiration for creating Blaseball, which launched in July 2020. Blaseball's vibrant community is evident in how active fans are in collaborating to create backstories, art, songs, and more for each Blaseball player, sport fandom fusing with creative fandom. These creative works endow many Blaseball players with queer or disabled identities, challenging how sport fandom may consider ability, masculinity, and femininity. Even the fact that Blaseball is co-ed is an act of radical imaging, undermining the most basic categorization of sport today and envisioning different possibilities for sport. The transformation and growth of sport fandom during the pandemic is due in part to new frontiers like Blaseball, expanding our conception of sport and reaching new audiences.

ADAM L WINKEL, HIGH POINT UNIVERSITY

SPANISH FASCISM AND THE 1962-73 INTERNATIONAL PLAYER BAN

Following a dismal performance at the 1962 World Cup in Chile, the Spanish sports ministry banned foreign-born players from playing for the national team and from participating in the domestic professional soccer league. This lasted until 1973, when the ban was lifted to allow FC Barcelona to sign Dutch star Johan Cruyff. The prohibition was consistent with FIFA regulations, also adopted in 1962, that resulted in foreign-player bans in England, Italy, and other domestic leagues. The Spanish case is distinctive, however, because the Spanish government was still under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. By this time in the dictatorship, Spain's fascist



organization, the Falange (Phalanx), had lost political power, but its adherents remained in control of many cultural institutions, including those involved in the press, propaganda, and sport. One key event occurred in 1964, when Spain hosted and won the European Championship, thereby giving more emphasis to the regime's celebration of "25 Years of Peace" after the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939.

This paper puts the 1962-73 foreign player ban in the historical context of FIFA rules regarding player movement and of the fascist ideology of those in control of sport in Spain. Through an examination of official declarations, media coverage, and player case studies, I explore how the ban was considered beneficial or detrimental to Spanish football. Fascist authors and authorities expressed views on Spanish nationalism, race, and gender and masculinity that reinforced and celebrated this period of isolationism even while the dictatorship was nearing its end and Spain was opening to the world in other domains.

MICHAEL THOMAS WOOD, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

“INVADING ARMIES FROM YANKEELAND”: US-CUBA GRIDIRON CLASHES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

In December 1923, the Rollins College varsity football team from Winter Park, Florida, traveled to Cuba to play games against teams from the Cuban National Police, the University of Havana, and Club Atlético de Cuba (Atlético). The Rollins College squad won all three contests, defeating the Cuban National Police 59-0, the University of Havana 45-0, and Atlético 31-0. After the first game, a local newspaper, *Diario de la Marina*, referred to Rollins College's team as the "invading armies from Yankeeland." Other Cuban print coverage of the games used similar language, calling the Floridians the "invading football aggregation" and "invaders." Press coverage of this series of games provide examples of a wider trend of martial descriptions of American football games played between U.S. and Cuban teams. Based on primary source research from U.S. and Cuban newspaper and archival sources, my paper will explore the use of these terms set against the history of American football and in the context of the neocolonial relationship established between the United States and Cuba at the turn of the 20th century. Overall, it will expand our understanding of the transnational nature of American football and the place of American football in US-Cuba relations.

MIRIAM WRIGHT, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

“ALL WE ASK IS A FAIR BREAK’: BASEBALL, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE CHATHAM COLOURED ALL-STARS IN 1930S ONTARIO”

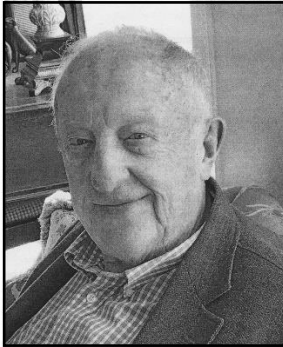
This paper explores the connections between sport and social justice in 1930s Ontario, focusing on the experiences of the Chatham Coloured All-Stars, a Black baseball team that won a provincial championship in the primarily white amateur baseball organization in 1934. While their win was historic, their actions and advocacy later in the 1930s shows the link to social justice more clearly. The team had been relatively inexperienced in 1934, relying on white supporters to help them navigate amateur baseball politics. By the late 1930s, however, the All-Stars had become increasingly willing to speak out publicly about unfair treatment and racism. During the 1939 baseball season, the All-Stars faced conflicts with local and provincial baseball



organizations. When their attempts to negotiate settlements failed, the All-Stars employed such strategies as taking their grievances to the local press, and by appealing directly to the public for support. That year, the team openly challenged the Ontario Baseball Association (OBA) over unfair treatment during the provincial championship, sacrificing a chance to win another title in the process. The All-Stars' public outreach led newspaper sports writers from across southern Ontario to criticize the OBA, forcing the organization to address the team's complaints. Using contemporary newspaper and oral history sources, this paper focuses on three factors contributing to the All-Stars' growing independence: 1) their experiences in southwestern Ontario baseball leagues which gave them a regional prominence and profile; 2) the leadership of their manager, Len Harding, who came from a family with a history of advocacy and 3) growing community activism, as Black groups in Chatham and area organized to address racial inequality. In exploring these themes, this paper will provide insights into the relationship between sport and social justice, and the varied ways that Black people in 1930s southern Ontario worked for social change.



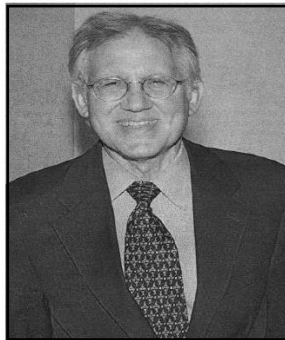
IN MEMORIAM



William John Baker
1938 - 2021



Betsy Glanz Jable
1940 - 2021



George Benson Kirsch
1945 - 2022



Wilma Jo Pesavento
1928 - 2021



Betty Joy Turner
1936 - 2021