

2023

North American Society for Sport History

Proceedings

Of the

51st Annual Convention

Washington, DC

Hyatt Regency & Virtual via HopIn

May 26-29, 2023



North American Society for Sport History

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT	Murray Phillips
PAST-PRESIDENT	David Wiggins
PRESIDENT-ELECT	Sarah K. Fields
SECRETARY	Lindsay Pieper
TREASURER	Thomas M. Hunt
PUBLICATIONS BOARD CHAIR	Toby Rider
MEMBERS-AT-LARGE	Johanna Mellis Matthew P. Llewellyn Samuel O. Regalado
STUDENT MEMBER-AT-LARGE	Ryan T. Murtha
MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE CHAIR	Andrew McGregor
NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE CHAIR	Carly Adams
BOOK AWARD COMMITTEE CHAIR	Adam Criblez
BUDGET AND FISCAL COMMITTEE CHAIR	Thomas Hunt
DISTINGUISHED LECTURE & HONOR AWARDS COMMITTEE CHAIR	DAVID WIGGINS
GRADUATE STUDENT ESSAY COMMITTEE CHAIR	Murray Phillips
<i>JOURNAL OF SPORT HISTORY</i> , EDITOR	Maureen Smith
PROCEEDINGS EDITOR	Amanda N. Schweinbenz
INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE CHAIR	Tom Fabian
TIME AND SITE COMMITTEE CHAIR	Ornella Nzindukiyimana
BYLAWS AND OPERATING CODE COMMITTEE CHAIR	Georges Kioussis
ARBENA SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEE CHAIR	Michael T. Wood
NASSH DISSERTATION RESEARCH COMMITTEE CHAIR	Robert Kossuth
LEGACY COMMITTEE CHAIR	Bob Barney
PROGRAM COMMITTEE CHAIR	Sarah Fields
Dissertation Prize Committee	Jörg Krieger Erin Redihan
Equity, Diversity, Belonging, and Decolonization Coordinating Group	Malcolm MacLean
Internationalism Committee	Pierre-Olaf Schut Annette Hofmann
Sponsorship Committee Chair	Tanya Jones

PROCEEDINGS EDITOR

Amanda Nicole Schweinbenz

School of Kinesiology and Health Sciences

Laurentian University

Sudbury, Ontario

P3E 2C6

ISSN 0093-6235

ISBN

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 74-642308

©Copyright 2023

By the

NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR SPORT HISTORY

All rights reserved. No part of this volume may be reproduced in any form or by any process without permission in writing from the copyright owners.

CARLY ADAMS, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE “YUME O OIKAKE”: JAPANESE DANCING, STORYING COMMUNITY, AND THE NIKKEI MEMORY CAPTURE PROJECT	15
IAIN CHRISTOPHER ADAMS, INDEPENDENT VIVERE SAT VINCERE: THE SPORTING LIFE OF A BRITISH ARISTOCRAT DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION	15
RUTH ALEXANDER, COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY; ANNIE COLEMAN, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME; FRANK GURIDY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; AMANDA HARDIN, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SPORT, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THE POLITICS OF PLACEMAKING	16
CAT M. ARIAIL, MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY JUST HAIR(DO) IT: HOW HAIR EXPLAINS THE INTERSECTIONAL POLITICS OF THE WNBA	16
ZACHARY NATHANIEL ARMS, LEHIGH UNIVERSITY RUNNING INTO THE DIGITAL AGE: HOME COMPUTERS AND THE EARLY DAYS OF FITNESS TRACKING IN THE 1980S AND 90S	17
EDWIN BANCROFT HENDERSON, BLACK LEGACY ASSOCIATES; NIKKI GRAVES HENDERSON, TINNER HILL HERITAGE FOUNDATION; BARRINGTON SCOTT, UNIVERSITY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA; SUSAN RAYL SUSAN, SUNY-CORTLAND DR. EDWIN BANCROFT (E.B.) HENDERSON: PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND BASKETBALL PIONEER	18
ROBERT KNIGHT BARNEY, WESTERN UNIVERSITY, CANADA ““ONE OF THREE”: THE CANADIAN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE DISTINCTION OF LABATT MEMORIAL PARK	18
MARTIN BARRETT, FROSTBURG STATE UNIVERSITY THE HISTORY OF PROFESSIONAL T20 CRICKET IN THE UNITED STATES, 2004-PRESENT.....	19
KIMBERLY BECKWITH, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN BILL CLARK: ADVOCATE AND PROMOTER FOR THE STRENGTH SPORTS	19
ADAM PATRICK BERG, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA GREENSBORO PARAGON OF THE LONG SOUTHERN STRATEGY: THE POLITICAL DEPLOYMENTS OF TIM TEBOW	20
ZACHARY R. BIGALKE, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY SPORTING CITIZENSHIPS OF CONVENIENCE: A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR CONTEXTUALIZING NATIONALITY IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIONS.....	20
AARON BONSU, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY ECHOES OF THE PAST: THE 1976 LOS ANGELES OLYMPIC BID AND THE ORIGINS OF THE FUTURE HOST COMMISSION	21
DOUGLAS BOOTH, THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY REVISITING OLYMPIC HISTORIOGRAPHY: NEW SOURCES, REVISED ARGUMENTS, OLD NARRATIVES.....	21
LINDA J. BORISH, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY TEACHING, RACE, ETHNICITY, AND AMERICAN SPORT IN AN UPPER LEVEL HISTORY WRITING COURSE	22
LINDA BORISH, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY; ANNETTE HOFMANN, LUDWIGSBURG UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION; PIERRE-OLAF SCHUTGUSTAVE, EIFFEL UNIVERSITY DIDACTICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES ON TEACHING SPORT HISTORY	22
LUCY JANE BOUCHER, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN “WEIGHTLIFTING IS NO MUG’S GAME, BUT A SCIENCE”: THOMAS INCH AND SCIENTIFIC LIFTING IN LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITAIN	23

STEPHEN BRAUER, ST. JOHN FISHER UNIVERSITY AUTHORING THE GAME: GRANTLAND RICE AND STORYTELLING TECHNOLOGY	23
LETISHA ENGRACIA CARDOSO BROWN, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI; A. LAMONT WILLIAMS, SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY; AMANDA N. SCHWEINBENZ, LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY; ANN PEGORARO, UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH HOLDIN' IT DOWN: BLACK FEMINISM AND ATHLETE ACTIVISM	24
SUSAN BROWNELL, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-ST. LOUIS; ALAN KLEIN, NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY; THOMAS CARTER, UNIVERSITY OF BRIGHTON; NIKO BESNIER, LATROBE UNIVERSITY; MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY THE INTERSECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY IN SPORT STUDIES	25
RAUL T. CANDELARIA, KALEMA E. MEGGS & AMA APPIAH-KUBI, HOWARD UNIVERSITY THE NBA'S HISTORICAL PATH AND RELATIONSHIP WITH DEI: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TWITTER RESPONSES	25
ANTONIO CARREÑO, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY CHRISTOLOGICAL IMAGERY IN THE REPRESENTATION OF FC BARCELONA'S HISTORY AND IDENTITY	26
THOMAS CARTER, UNIVERSITY OF BRIGHTON THE POWER OF SPORT: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SHAPING OF HISTORICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP OF SPORT.....	26
JUAN CARLOS CASTILLO, UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN IOWA MOTORCYCLING QUIXOTIC HERO ANGEL NIETO: A VERY SANE MADMAN.....	27
DAVID CHAPMAN, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR; CONOR HEFFERNAN, ULSTER UNIVERSITY ULSTER UNIVERSITY; RACHEL OZERKEVICH, KENYON COLLEGE VIXENS, AMAZONS OR CHAMPIONS: SHIFTING IMAGES OF 20TH CENTURY STRONGWOMEN	27
PASCAL CHARITAS, UNIVERSITÉ PARIS NANTERRE & CYRIL POLYCARPE, UNIVERSITÉ DE FRANCHE-COMTÉ, FRANCE THE FIRST GAMES OF LA FRANCOPHONIE IN MOROCCO (1989) AND FRANCE (1994) AS REFLECTIONS OF MULTILATERAL SPORTS COOPERATION OR AS NATIONAL ISSUES?.....	28
ZACHARY ADAM CONSITT, YORK UNIVERSITY CANADA ON DISPLAY: EXPRESSING A CANADIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH CULTURAL DISPLAYS AT WINTER OLYMPIC CEREMONIES, 1988-2010.....	28
NEVADA COOKE, WESTERN UNIVERSITY PRIDE FC: A HISTORY OF INSPIRATION	29
DAN COVELL, WESTERN NEW ENGLAND UNIVERSITY AN AMERICAN WAY: THE HOCKEY ODYSSEY OF DANNY BOLDOC.....	29
ADAM CRIBLEZ, SOUTHEAST MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY DOUBLE-PLAYS, DEAD BALL, DUGOUTS...AND DICE?	30
ERIN JANE CROWNOVER, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN "HE WAS ONLY A NEGRO": HENRY REEVES, FIRST ATHLETIC TRAINER OF THE TEXAS LONGHORNS	30
ARTHUR A. DAEMMRICH, ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE OF NEW SPORTS TECHNOLOGIES: NEGOTIATED INNOVATION	31

JACK DALY, PENNSYLVANIA STATE HARRISBURG CONSPIRACY CONTINUUM: THE ROLE OF CONSPIRACY IN AMERICAN SPORTS	31
HEATHER DICHTER, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY; KATE AGUILAR, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE; JOHANNA MELLIS, URSINUS COLLEGE ; ALEXANDRA MOUNTAIN, SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIAN GENEALOGISTS ; SETH TANNENBAUM, MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE WHERE ARE THE HISTORIANS?: NASSH AND ACADEMICALLY-TRAINED HISTORIANS	32
CINDY DICK, ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY DISCOVERING RARE WOMEN’S SPORTS CARDS AND THE HISTORIES THEY REVEAL.....	33
PETER DONNELLY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO UNESCO, PEACEBUILDING AND THE FOUNDATION OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARLY ASSOCIATIONS	33
MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY INVENTING THE CONTEMPORARY MYTHOLOGY OF BORN TO RUN: RARÁMURI RE-APPEARANCES IN MODERN FOOTRACES IN THE 1990S.....	34
MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY; DAVID WIGGINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY; KEVIN WITHERSPOON, LANDER UNIVERSITY; LOUIS MOORE, GRAND VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY; RITA LIBERTI, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY; MICHELLE SIKES, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY; DAMION THOMAS, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE--SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION BLACK MERCURIES AND THE CHALLENGE OF C.L.R. JAMES: WRITING ABOUT SPORT AND RACE IN AMERICAN HISTORY FOR POPULAR AND SCHOLARLY AUDIENCES--A NASSH ROUNDTABLE ON CURRENT PARADIGMS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS	35
YOMI EBENEZER EJKUNLE, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE NIGERIA SAT ON THE FENCE: THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT AND NIGERIA AT 1968 MEXICO OLYMPICS ...	35
RICK ECKSTEIN, VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY, Y. ANDREW HAO, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA MORRIS COLLEGE ATHLETE STRESS, ANXIETY, AND SUICIDE: A SYSTEMIC PERSPECTIVE.....	36
LEO EIGEN, RAMAZ UPPER SCHOOL PLAYER EMPOWERMENT IN THE NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW.....	37
SARAH EIKLEBERRY, ST. AMBROSE UNIVERSITY WORK, PLAY, AND THE POLITICS OF THE WAAC RECREATION NEWS IN A SEMI-SEGREGATED WOMEN’S ARMY CAMP, 1943-1945	37
GEORGE EISEN, GLOBAL EDUCATION CONSULTING BOXING IN AUSCHWITZ	38
CHRIS ELZEY, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY ICING THE SOVIETS: AMERICAN NATIONALISM AND <i>SPORTS ILLUSTRATED</i> ’S FAMOUS PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MIRACLE ON ICE.....	38
RUSSELL FIELD, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA COMPETITIVE ATHLETE/AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER: PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE	39
RUSSELL FIELD, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA; VICTORIA PARASCHAK, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR; ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY; AMANDA N. SCHWEINBENZ, LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY; JANICE FORSYTH, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA; BRUCE KIDD,	

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO; MACINTOSH ROSS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY PATRICIA VERTINSKY, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA	
WRITING IN/BEING WRITTEN OUT OF CANADIAN SPORT HISTORY: DEBATING THE REMOVAL OF BOBBIE ROSENFELD’S NAME FROM THE AWARD FOR CANADIAN FEMALE ATHLETE OF THE YEAR.....	40
SARAH K. FIELDS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER & C. KEITH HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA	
ALLYSHIP: WHAT CAN WHITE NASSH FOLKS DO? (BIPOC SCHOLARS & ALLIES DISCUSSION)	40
JACOB JAMES FREDERICKS, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS URBANA-CHAMPAIGN	
“THE FATHER OF AMERICAN ULTRA-MARATHONING:” TED CORBITT, BLACK AMERICANS, AND THE REBIRTH OF AMERICAN ULTRA-LONG-DISTANCE RUNNING.....	41
WILLIAM FREEMAN, CAMPBELL UNIVERSITY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
BILL BOWERMAN OF OREGON: THE IMPACT OF A LIFE	41
DAVID GALINDO, MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY/NORTHWEST VISTA COLLEGE	
BONDING OVER THE SILVER AND BLACK: THE SURPRISING FRIENDSHIP OF GEORGE GERVIN AND GEORGE VALLE	42
SAMUEL L. GARDNER, SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY	
THE X’S AND O’S OF 21ST CENTURY SPORTS CAPITALISM: CRITIQUES ON BLACK LABOR AND MARX’S (IR)RELEVANCE.....	42
STEVEN GIETSCHIER, THE SPORTING NEWS; ANDREW SCHUSTER, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO; ERIN TWOHIG, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY	
SPORT IN TIMES OF SOCIETAL CRISIS	43
GERALD ROBERT GEMS, NORTH CENTRAL COLLEGE	
NEURASTHENIA, THE CRISIS OF MASCULINITY, AND THE RISE OF SPORT	43
RHONDA C. GEORGE, YORK UNIVERSITY & JENNY ELLISON, CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY	
BEYOND COMMEMORATION: REFLECTIONS ON COMMUNITY BASED SPORT HISTORY	44
C. KEITH HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; RICHARD LAPCHICK, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; PYAR SETH, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY; JEFF O’BRIEN, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; TANYA JONES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY	
ALLYSHIP, WHITENESS AND WHITE/BLACK/BROWN VOICES.....	45
MOLLY HARRY, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS	
AMATEURISM AS A CASE FOR USING PATH DEPENDENCE THEORY IN COLLEGE ATHLETICS	45
MOLLY HARRY, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS	
HISTORY IN THE MAKING: UNDERSTANDING COLLEGE ATHLETES’ EXPERIENCES DURING THE UNPRECEDENTED CORONAVIRUS.....	46
YOLANDA HESTER, ARTHUR ASHE LEGACY AT UCLA	
EXPANDING THE NARRATIVE: THE ARTHUR ASHE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT	46
ERIC S. HINTZ, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION	
ATHLETES AS USER INNOVATORS.....	47
MATTHEW R. HODLER, UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND	
"BY THE COMMON MAN, FOR THE COMMON MAN": POPULAR MISOGYNY AND THE ORIGINS OF BARSTOOL SPORTS	48

ANNETTE HOFMANN, LUDWIGSBURG UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION THE REMNANTS OF 175 YEARS OF TURNEN IN GERMANY AND THE US	48
YI-CHUN HUANG & DONG-JHY HWANG, NATIONAL TAIWAN SPORT UNIVERSITY SPORT AND POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE MULAN FOOTBALL HISTORY IN TAIWAN FROM 1970 TO 1980s.....	49
WILLIAM HUDDLESTON, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE ‘LA VICTORIA DE NUESTRO EQUIPO HA SIDO UNA VICTORIA PARA EL URUGUAY COMO PAÍS’: STYLE, NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTER AT THE 1924 OLYMPIC FOOTBALL TOURNAMENT	49
CHUANSONG HUO, CHENGDU SPORT UNIVERSITY, YUHUAN LI, BEIXIN EXPERIMENTAL PRIMARY SCHOOL INTERNATIONALIZATION AND NEW COUNTRY IMAGE: CHINA'S SPORT DIPLOMACY IN 1980s	50
ALEC HURLEY, ST. JOHN FISHER UNIVERSITY LEISURE OR LAUGHTER: EXPLORING THE FAT MAN’S RACE AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY	51
JANE HUNT, BOND UNIVERSITY OPPORTUNITIES FOR WHOM?: READING TRIATHLON INCLUSIVITY AS NEOLIBERAL STRATEGY	51
THOMAS M HUNT, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN UNMANNED AERIAL TECHNOLOGIES AND THE WORLD OF SPORTS: AN HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT	52
TANYA KATHLEEN JONES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY BLOOMINGTON RICHARD LAPCHICK AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CENTERS ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES: THE ATHLETIC LINK AND THE IMPACT ON SOCIETY	52
TETSUJI KAKIYAMA, FUKUOKA UNIVERSITY BASKETBALL'S CONNECTION TO TWO AMERICAN WOMEN MISSIONARIES WHO INTRODUCED BASKETBALL TO JAPAN BEFORE THE ESTABLISHED THEORY	53
GREG KALISS, YORK COLLEGE OF PENNSYLVANIA THE ABA AND THE RISE OF HIP-HOP AMERICA	53
KOHEI KAWASHIMA, WASEDA UNIVERSITY MODERN SPORTS AND GENDERING IN JAPAN IN THE MEIJI, TAISHO AND EARLY SHOWA ERAS (1868-1941)	54
JORDAN HALE KEESLER, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA STORIES OF EXILE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRANS ATHLETES AS A POLITICAL CATEGORY	55
OZZY KELES, WESTERN UNIVERSITY WHO IS THE CHAMPION OF THE 2010 – 2011 TURKISH SUPER LEAGUE? – FIXING GAMES CRISIS IN TURKISH SOCCER	55
MATTHEW KLUGMAN, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY REPRESENTING, DEBATING & PROTESTING THE NATION: TOWARDS A VISUAL HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN SPORT	56
ROBERT KOSSUTH, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE “MOOSE BOXING CLUB”: SPORT AND BENEVOLENT FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY SOUTHERN ALBERTA.....	56
YOU LI, WASEDA UNIVERSITY A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF TIYU-FOR-GOOD: RE-EXAMINING THE WIDER ROLES OF MODERN SPORTS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN NEW CHINA	57

YONGXIN LIU, WASEDA EXAMINING THE PREVALENCE OF THE STEREOTYPE OF BLACK ATHLETIC ADVANTAGE IN FITNESS COMMUNITIES IN JAPAN AND CHINA	57
GABE LOGAN, NORTHERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY; KEVIN TALLEC MARSTON, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY; CHRIS BOLSMANN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY NORTHRIDGE; DAVID KILPATRICK, MERCY COLLEGE; GEORGE KIOUSSIS, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY NORTHRIDGE US SOCCER PAST AND PRESENT: STRIKES, EXCLUSIONS, TOURS, AND MONOPOLIES	58
LULU LIU & JEFFREY MONSEAU, SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE LAYS JOHN MA'S WHOLE-LIFE SPORTS THEORY	59
STACY L. LORENZ, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA "ATHLETIC SPORTS PROPERLY CONDUCTED BRING OUT SOME OF THE FINEST QUALITIES OF MANHOOD": SPORT, MUSCULAR CHRISTIANITY, AND MASCULINITY IN LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY CANADA	59
ASHLEY J. LOUP, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA SPORTING BODIES AND ARTISTIC LEGACY AT THE LOS ANGELES MEMORIAL COLISEUM.....	60
SHELLEY LUCAS, BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY & LAURA FRANCES CHASE, CALIFORNIA STATE POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY SUSTAINING A CLUB AND A VISION: WOMEN'S MOUNTAIN BIKE & TEA SOCIETY	61
MALCOLM MACLEAN, UNIVERSITY OF GIBRALTAR/THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND/DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY BECOMING LOCAL, BEING WHITENED: 1969, BASIL D'OLIVIERA AND THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN WORCESTER	61
MARTA N. MACK, UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY BLACK BASEBALL'S UNRULY BLACK LADY TALKS BACK, 1945-1949.....	62
CALLIE ELIZABETH MADDOX, MIAMI UNIVERSITY "IS CURLING ANY MORE EXCITING?": USA YOGA, THE SPORTIFICATION OF YOGA ĀSANA, AND THE QUEST FOR OLYMPIC INCLUSION	62
CAM MALLETT, PENNSYLVANIA STATE "TO HAVE MAJOR LEAGUE SPORTS WE MUST HAVE BIG LEAGUE DEMOCRACY": THE ROLE OF BLACK CLUBS AND SPORTSWRITERS IN ATLANTA'S QUEST TO ATTRACT PROFESSIONAL SPORTS	63
VEENA MANI, STELLA MARIS COLLEGE; BERNARDO RIOS, SKIDMORE COLLEGE; GABRIEL TORRES COLÓN, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY; TRACIE CANADA, DUKE UNIVERSITY RACIALIZED BODIES, ATHLETIC EXPERIENCES: COMMUNAL STRATEGIES OF RESISTANCE.....	63
LUKE MASHBURN, GEORGIA HIGHLANDS COLLEGE FAN EXPERIENCE: THE PRACTICAL AND ACADEMIC HISTORY OF AN OVERLOOKED MARKETING CONCEPT	64
LUKE MASHBURN, GEORGIA HIGHLANDS COLLEGE THE FIVE MODERN MLB FORFEITS: HISTORY AND LESSONS	65
STEVE BOOTH MARSTON, TRINITY COLLEGE CYCLING IDENTITIES: GREG LEMOND'S REPRESENTATION OF (TRANS)NATIONALISM AND GLOBAL CAPITALISM, 1981-1990.....	65
ERIN MCCARTHY, COLUMBIA COLLEGE CHICAGO STELLA STAGG: DID SHE OR DIDN'T SHE?.....	66

MARC McLEOD, SEATTLE UNIVERSITY JAI ALAI, GAMBLING, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN REPUBLICAN CUBA	66
JOHANNA MELLIS, URSINUS COLLEGE; ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY; CHEN, UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT; ANTHONY WEEMS, FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY; MALCOLM MACLEAN, UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND, AUSTRALIA SUSTAINING COUNTER-HISTORIES OF SPORT: REVISITING POSTCOLONIAL ANALYSIS IN WESTERN SPORT HISTORIES	67
P. JOSEPH MILLER, SHEFFIELD HALLAM UNIVERSITY & CRAIG G. GREENHAM, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR, CANADA OFF THE ICE: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE SWIFT CURRENT BRONCOS' RELATIONSHIP WITH HOCKEY	68
CHARLOTTE ALINE MITCHELL, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA FLYING IN THE FACE OF ADVERSITY: AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATIONS OF WOMEN'S SKI JUMPING, CONTESTING INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE DISCRIMINATION, AND RESISTANCE, 2007-2014	68
LOUIS MOORE, GRAND VALLEY STATE; MAUREEN SMITH, SACRAMENTO STATE UNIVERSITY; DANIEL NATHAN, SKIDMORE COLLEGE; DAVID WIGGINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY AFRICAN AMERICAN SPORT AND THE POLITICS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT	69
PATRICK JAMES MOSER, DRURY UNIVERSITY TOM BLAKE'S HAWAIIAN SURFBOARD AND THE WRITING OF SURF HISTORY	69
COLLEEN NICOLE MOYER, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA A FIRST LOOK AT THE 1967 PARAPLEGIC GAMES: BARRIERS AND IMPACTS	70
TIMUR MUKHAMATULIN, RUTGERS UNIVERSITY "I DIDN'T THINK RUSSIAN GIRLS WOULD LOOK SO FEMININE": SOVIET WOMEN'S GYMNASTICS TEAM'S TRIPS TO THE US IN THE 1960-S-1970S	70
ERICA MUNKWITZ, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY REACHING THE SUMMIT: REIMAGING HORSE POWER: SPACE, PLACE, AND EQUESTRIANISM IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND	71
RYAN MURTHA, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN DAILY NEWSPAPER SPORTS COVERAGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA	71
EILEEN NARCOTTA-WELP, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - LA CROSSE & ELISABETH ERICKSON, LINDENWOOD UNIVERSITY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 'ACT AS IF': THE POLITICS OF ACHIEVING THE AMERICAN DREAM IN THE NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION	72
EMALEE NELSON, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN TEN CENTS FOR YOUR THOUGHTS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE 1905 SPALDING'S OFFICIAL BASKET BALL GUIDE FOR WOMEN	72
KRISTINE NEWHALL, SUNY CORTLAND WHO IS A WOMEN'S SPORTS ADVOCATE?	73
CLAIRE NICOLAS, SOAS, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON FROM ACCRA TO TOKYO: GHANAIAN SPORTSWOMEN BETWEEN PANAFRICANISM, GLOBAL SPORTS AND GENDER NORMS (1957-1966)	73

RILEY NOWOKOWSKI, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO “FETED, TREATED, GREETED, MEETED AND CHEATED OUT OF SLEEP,” AN EXPLORATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE ANNUAL CANADIAN WHEELMAN’S ASSOCIATION MEET	74
LINDSAY PARKS PIEPER, UNIVERSITY OF LYNCHBURG IDENTITY CARDS AND SEX PASSPORTS: THE INTRODUCTION OF SEX TESTING IN BASKETBALL AND HANDBALL	74
ANDREW JONATHAN PLOEG, BILKENT UNIVERSITY FANTASY SPORT, DAMAR HAMLIN, AND THE HISTORICALLY ANOMALOUS	75
PAUL EMORY PUTZ, BAYLOR UNIVERSITY; RAJA MALIKAH RAHIM, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY; CURTIS HARRIS, EDMOND BURKE HIGH SCHOOL; THOMAS AIELLO, VALDOSTA STATE UNIVERSITY NEW DIRECTIONS IN BASKETBALL HISTORY	76
RAJA RAHIM, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY & RITA LIBERTI, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVISM AND THE ROOTS OF THE BLACK WOMEN'S SPORT FOUNDATION	76
SUSAN JANE RAYL, SUNY-CORTLAND THE UNHERALDED ROLE OF PLAYFUL PLAY IN THE DESEGREGATION OF SPORTS	77
SUSAN JANE RAYL, SUNY-CORTLAND WHAT ABOUT BOB? THE SUCCESS OF BOB DOUGLAS AND HIS NEW YORK RENAISSANCE FIVE, THEN AND NOW	78
AISHWARYA RAMACHANDRAN AND PATRICIA VERTINSKY, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA THE DARTINGTON CONNECTION: WILLIAM SHELDON, ALDOUS HUXLEY, AND THE INFLUENCE OF BODY TYPING SCHEMES ON PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL REFORM.....	78
ERIN REDIHAN, SALVE REGINA UNIVERSITY “VOLLEYBALL DA, SOVIET ANTISEMITISM NYET”: JEWISH AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS	79
BRITTANY REID & TAYLOR MCKEE, BROCK UNIVERSITY PASSION PLAYS: MELODRAMA AND THE PERFORMANCE OF EMOTION IN POST-GAME DRAMAS	79
STEVEN ALLAN RIESS, NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND ITS IMPACT ON THOROUGHbred RACING	80
TOBY RIDER & MATTHEW LLEWELLYN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, THE MONDAY CLUB, CONSERVATIVE POLITICS, AND BRITISH SPORTING LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA.....	81
WESTON ROBERTSON, SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY TRANSIENCE IN BLACK BASEBALL: THE HOMELESS HOMESTEAD GRAYS	81
ROBERT ROMANO, ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY THE MASSACRE AT MUNICH: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED TO THE COACHES AND ATHLETES WHO WERE HELD HOSTAGE DURING THE 1972 SUMMER OLYMPIC GAMES	82
ROBERT ROMANO, ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY THE CAMINO DE SANTIAGO A 500 HUNDRED MILE HIKE ACROSS SPAIN – ONLY TO FIND HOME.....	82
MACINTOSH ROSS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY “THE UNIVERSITY IS A CRITICAL INSTITUTION OR ITS NOTHING”: PUBLIC SCHOLARSHIP, SPORT HISTORY, AND THE FUTURE OF ACADEMIA	83

GREG RYAN, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY	
THE JOY OF WINNING OR THE RELIEF AT NOT LOSING: REINTERPRETING RUGBY AND NATIONALISM IN NEW ZEALAND.....	83
JAIME SCHULTZ, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY	
AGE LIMITS IN WOMEN’S ELITE FIGURE SKATING: SHALLOW SOLUTIONS, DEEP PROBLEMS	84
JASON SHURLEY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN	
“INDEFENSIBLE FROM A HEALTH STANDPOINT”: THE PROHIBITION OF INTERCOLLEGIATE ROWING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, 1914-1924.....	84
RWANY SIBAJA, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY; RAJA M. RAHIM, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY; ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY, CANADA	
MAKING SPORT HISTORY RELEVANT TO STUDENTS: RE-EXAMINING COURSE DESIGN TO MEET STUDENT AND FACULTY NEEDS.....	85
MICHELLE MARIE SIKES, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY	
“WE BECOME POLITICAL WEAPONS, AND WE END UP SUFFERING”: KENYA AND ANTI-APARTHEID SPORT ACTIVISM OF THE EARLY 1980S	86
JONATHAN SILVERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS LOWELL	
THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES AND THE GROWTH OF HORSE RACING	86
FIONA SKILLEN, GLASGOW CALEDONIAN UNIVERSITY	
‘SOME OF OUR FEMALE MUNITION WORKERS ARE BECOMING KEEN DEVOTEES OF FOOTBALL’: WOMEN’S FOOTBALL IN SCOTLAND 1914-1918	87
RONALD SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY	
WORKERS' COMPENSATION, WALTER BYERS, AND THE "STUDENT-ATHLETE"	87
KATJA SONKENG, JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY	
SACRED TRADITION WITH A TWIST: EXPLORING THE HISTORY AND IMPACT OF "NOON BALL" ON US HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS	88
SARAH STOKOWSKI, CLEMSON UNIVERSITY	
THE ORIGINAL SIN: COLLEGE PRESIDENTS’ INEFFECTUAL USE OF SPECIAL ADMISSIONS IN INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS	88
SYNTHIA SYDNOR, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS	
WHAT IS SPORT? BEYOND ROLAND BARTHES.....	89
ROGER ROY TAMTE, INDEPENDENT	
THE BEGINNING OF AMERICAN FOOTBALL	89
FAN TAO, WASEDA UNIVERSITY	
THE CURRENT SITUATION OF AMATEUR BASEBALL IN CHINA: FOCUSING ON SOCIAL BASEBALL TEAMS	90
CAMERON TARDIF, CORNELL UNIVERSITY	
“IT’S GOTTA BE THE SHOES!”: DISCOURSES OF RACE, CRIME, AND CAPITALISM IN THE AGE OF AIR JORDAN.....	91
TOM TAYLOR, SEATTLE UNIVERSITY	
“THE IMPRACTICAL SCHEME OF A VISIONARY:” THOMAS STEVENS AND THE QUEST TO TRAVEL ROUND THE WORLD ON A BICYCLE	91

JAN TODD, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; CONOR HEFFERNAN, UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER; CHARLES STOCKING, WESTERN UNIVERSITY; PETER J. MILLER, UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG; JASON SHURLEY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-WHITEWATER IDEALS TURNED REAL: THE CLASSICAL BODY AND/IN PHYSICAL CULTURE.....	92
BOB TRUMPBOUR, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY HARVARD STADIUM IN 1903: NORTH AMERICA’S FIRST FULLY CONCRETE AND STEEL SPORTS-BASED CONSTRUCTION PROJECT.....	92
CHI-CHEN TSAI & DONG-JHY HWANG, NATIONAL TAIWAN SPORT UNIVERSITY THE PHYSICAL CULTURE OF THE LION DANCE IN THE AUTHORITARIANISM PERIOD IN TAIWAN (1945-1993)....	93
ROBERT JEREMIAH TURPIN, LEES-MCRAE COLLEGE BICYCLE RACING AND BLACK ACTIVISM BEFORE MAJOR TAYLOR.....	94
LISA UPERESA, UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND; STANLEY THANGARAJ, STONEHILL COLLEGE; CONSTANCIO ARNALDO, UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA; ADIA BENTON, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY RACIALIZED BODIES, ATHLETIC EXPERIENCES: COLONIAL LEGACIES AND DIASPORA	94
MARIA J VERI, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY; DIANE WILLIAMS, MCDANIEL COLLEGE; ROBERTA BENNETT, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY; KAREN DEPAUW, VIRGINIA TECH UNIVERSITY; JACKIE HUDSON, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY; EMILY WUGHALTER, SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY; LINDA ZWIREN, HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY DANCE LIKE NO ONE IS WATCHING: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE AMY MORRIS HOMANS COTILLION (1982-2014)	95
ROSS FRASER WALKER, THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH JAMES NAISMITH: THE ORIGINS OF BASKETBALL AND THE SCOTTISH CONNECTION	95
THERESA WALTON-FISETTE, KENT STATE UNIVERSITY CONCUSSIONS IN NCAA FOOTBALL: A HISTORY OF RULE CHANGES, PUBLIC RELATIONS AND ON-GOING RESEARCH	96
BO WANG, CAPITAL UNIVERSITY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT & KIMBERLEY EKSTRAND, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY BETWEEN THE 2010 VANCOUVER AND 2022 BEIJING WINTER OLYMPICS: FEMALE CHINESE-CANADIAN EXPERIENCES WITH WINTER SPORTS PARTICIPATION	96
JIM WATKINS, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH ALABAMA & JIM EVANS, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI A CONTROVERSY "WITHOUT PARALLEL": THE DEBATE OVER THE ELIGIBILITY OF RETURNING VETERAN ATHLETES IN THE SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE DURING 1945	97
STEPHEN ROBERT WENN, WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY AN ‘UNLIKELY’ OLYMPIC GOLD MEDAL FACTORY: DAMIAN WARNER, FARQUHARSON ARENA, AND TOKYO, 2020	98
SAMANTHA WHITE, MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE; DAIN TEPOEL, LOCK HAVEN UNIVERSITY; LINDSAY PARKS PIEPER, UNIVERSITY OF LYNCHBURG; GEORGE N. KIOUSSIS, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE CLEVELAND SPORTS: PHYSICAL CULTURE ON THE LAKE ERIE SHORES	98

MIRIAM WRIGHT, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR	
“RACE, BASEBALL, AND SPORTS JOURNALISM IN SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO, 1915-1946”	99
YUE YANG, XIAOQIAN HU, TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY	
BEAUTY BUILDER OF ARTISTIC SWIMMING: A FOUCAULDIAN DISCOURSES ANALYSIS OF A HISTORY OF ARTISTIC SWIMMING	100
YI ZHANG, WASEDA UNIVERSITY	
TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICAN COLLEGE WOMEN’S SPORT: A RE-EXAMINING OF PLAY DAYS	100
IN MEMORIAM	102



CARLY ADAMS, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

“YUME O OIKAKE”: JAPANESE DANCING, STORYING COMMUNITY, AND THE NIKKEI MEMORY CAPTURE PROJECT

By the 1950s in Canada, there was a long-held belief that sport and physical activities could serve as agents of cultural socialization, assimilation, and integration. Yet as historian Russell Field reminds us, many people “were active agents in their own acculturation rather than passive recipients of” outside assimilation efforts. Drawing on research from the Nikkei Memory Capture Project, a community-based oral history project in collaboration with Dr. Darren Aoki (University of Plymouth, UK), in this paper I share the co-created digital storytelling film “Yume o oikake: Chasing My Dream” by Pat Sassa to discuss the ways in which Japanese-Canadians in southern Alberta actively embraced notions of rational recreation in the 1950s and beyond, centering sport, leisure, and physical activity experiences in their lives as sites of agency, resistance, and empowerment.

In the life histories of Japanese Canadians, stories of sport, recreation and leisure, of community gatherings and celebrations, such as Pat’s experiences performing and practicing, are complicated. They are always already tied to memories and the lasting impacts of internment and forced relocations during the Second World War and resettlement in the postwar period, to decisions about where and how to build community, and to memories of intentional and unconscious integration practices. Through Pat’s film, currently on display in the “Memory Booth” at the Nikka Yuko Japanese Garden in Lethbridge, Canada, Pat ‘returns her story,’ actively challenging histories of Japanese Canadians as solely histories of oppression and injustice.

IAIN CHRISTOPHER ADAMS, INDEPENDENT

VIVERE SAT VINCERE: THE SPORTING LIFE OF A BRITISH ARISTOCRAT DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

Hugh William Osbert Molyneux, the Earl of Sefton (Lord Sefton), was a wealthy landowner in North-Western England and the head of the old aristocratic Molyneux family. The family had a history of sporting interests; his great-great grandfather founded the Waterloo Cup in 1836 and the Grand National in 1839. His mother, Lady Helena Mary Molyneux, the Dowager Countess of Sefton, was an adventurous Society Sportswoman with an interest in coursing, shooting and big game hunting. Recently a photograph album for the years’ 1932-1934 was unearthed which focused on Lord Sefton’s sporting life. Lord Sefton probably selected the photos in the album, although not taken by him as he features in most of the shots. The images reveal his interests and he appears to be devoted to his horses and hounds, and the sports of the gentry. The album includes coursing, foxhunting, shooting and polo. He skied in St Moritz, attended bullfights in Pamplona, Biarritz and San Sebastian, and flew to Tangier for pig sticking. There are few ‘action’ shots; perhaps Lord Sefton is as interested in the social aspect of his activities as the action. Nearly every photograph is carefully captioned identifying people often by nicknames. This paper, researched in an antiquarian spirit, is concerned with the recovery of empirical details of Lord Sefton’s sporting life for the year 1932, chosen because that summer is



regarded as the nadir of the Great Depression in the United Kingdom. Lord Sefton does not appear to have kept a diary therefore this study utilizes the diaries of family members, especially those of his mother, Lady Helena Mary Molyneux, to help illuminate the images.

RUTH ALEXANDER, COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY; ANNIE COLEMAN, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME; FRANK GURIDY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; AMANDA HARDIN, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

SPORT, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THE POLITICS OF PLACEMAKING

This session is a conversation among sport and environmental historians designed to reveal the social, political, and environmental dynamics of sport and recreation history. By centering “natural” and built environments, the panel interrogates the relationship between sports and the community – how places of outdoor recreation have been shaped by historic and ongoing practices of racial exclusion, how recreationists influence the management of public and private lands and urban sites, and how contemporary stadium construction transforms the urban landscape. The panelists argue for the environment as an agent in, and artifact of, the history of sport.

Amanda Hardin examines eugenicist Melville Dewey’s efforts to bind whiteness to wilderness and winter sports together in upstate New York. Dewey considered the Adirondacks an ideal natural environment for perfecting the white physique. Hardin explores struggles over racial discrimination in the Adirondacks, showing that Dewey and his opponents used winter sports as a proxy for debating outdoor segregation. Annie Coleman examines the social and environmental politics of fly-fishing in post-World War II Montana, showing how fly-fishing conservationists, state and federal agencies, private landowners, anglers, and guides fought over and defined the Madison River and its fishery in the name of sport. Ruth Alexander explores national parks’ obligations to promote visitor enjoyment, preservation, and democracy, highlighting Longs Peak, a nearly all-white site of mountaineering adventure in Rocky Mountain National Park. Historically, climbers and rangers failed to discern the complementarity between parks’ obligations while clashing over park priorities. Always, they assigned multi-racial democracy last place, though that intransigence is finally weakening. Finally, Frank Guridy’s contribution explores the transformation of stadium construction into massive real estate developments that dramatically remake urban landscapes. Highlighting the proposed Waterfront Ballpark District in Oakland, California, he underscores the political, societal, and environmental consequences of contemporary stadium construction.

CAT M. ARIAIL, MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

JUST HAIR(DO) IT: HOW HAIR EXPLAINS THE INTERSECTIONAL POLITICS OF THE WNBA

When introduced as head coach and General Manager (GM) of the Detroit Shock in 1998, Nancy Lieberman announced, “I have certain expectations of a player. I expect them to be professional, to report in shape and to play hard. Those are the things they can do. My job is to make them better....I’m not going to have patience with drinking problems, drugs or green hair”



(Eckman, 1998). Lieberman invoked hairstyle to communicate that her team would be composed of the “right” kind of players, players that (presumably white, suburban) Detroit could be proud of. She grouped a seemingly innocuous aesthetic choice—green hair—with excessive behaviors. Yet, as understood by Lieberman and much of women’s basketball culture, hairstyle was not, in fact, an innocuous aesthetic choice; it, instead, was loaded with raced, gendered, and sexed meanings.

This presentation will introduce how the hairstyles of WNBA players can serve as a “text” through which to engage in an intersectional analysis of the WNBA. Using hairstyle to explain how the league was organized around an investment in white, middle-class heteronormative athleticism builds on the research of women’s sports scholars Jaime Schultz, who theorized how the “politics of the ponytail” has governed perceptions of women athletes, and Mary McDonald, who recognized the role of the “good white girl construct” in WNBA marketing (Schultz, 2002). Popular commentary about the hairstyles of the early WNBA’s two tent pole stars—Rebecca Lobo and Lisa Leslie— provides insight into how the efforts to sell the sport relied on hair to signal which athletes did, and did not, embody “appropriate” feminine athleticism. Hair worked as a visible reminder of who was inside or outside the boundaries of the WNBA’s ideal, and therefore able or unable to adhere to racialized, gendered, or sexualized expectations.

ZACHARY NATHANIEL ARMS, LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

RUNNING INTO THE DIGITAL AGE: HOME COMPUTERS AND THE EARLY DAYS OF FITNESS TRACKING IN THE 1980S AND 90S

Contemporary American running culture is obsessed by fitness tracking, which fuels a multibillion-dollar industry selling gadgets and programs to runners. The origins of this obsession have been understudied in the literature of running history, in particular the role that the changing technological landscape of the 1980s played in empowering a culture of fitness tracking among runners. For my presentation, excerpted from my dissertation, I briefly examine this landscape, arguing that innovations in computer technology helped fuel the development and popularization of fitness tracking for runners in the 1980s and 90s by selling specialized run tracking programs for personal computers, setting the stage for the rise of wearable fitness trackers in the 21st century.

I begin by demonstrating that runners from the earliest days of the running boom sought to find ways to measure and track their output, reflecting the healthism that characterized late 20th century fitness culture. Next, I discuss some of the analog products runners used to track their workouts, in particular the runners’ diary. Then, I move to the era of the home computer, where companies created and marketed programs that promised the runner easier ways to track and analyze their workout data. Some of these programs offered to create a national database where runners could compare their times with other runners. Others, especially by the late 1980s, offered runners a digital “trainer” that could analyze their workouts, graph historical data of their improvement, and provide analysis of the runner’s workout for future improvement. These programs were advertised and inspired discussion in the running magazines of the era. Finally, I will discuss how the growth of these new computer programs were reflective of a broader desire



to transform workouts into trackable data, connecting these computer programs of the past to the fitness trackers of today.

EDWIN BANCROFT HENDERSON, BLACK LEGACY ASSOCIATES; NIKKI GRAVES HENDERSON, TINNER HILL HERITAGE FOUNDATION; BARRINGTON SCOTT, UNIVERSITY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA; SUSAN RAYL SUSAN, SUNY-CORTLAND

DR. EDWIN BANCROFT (E.B.) HENDERSON: PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND BASKETBALL PIONEER

Dr. E. B. Henderson was the first African American male to be certified to teach physical education in the United States. After finishing Miner Teachers College, Normal School Number 2, in Washington, DC in 1904. The first African American (a female) suggested that he apply to the Harvard University, Dudley Sargent School of Physical Training. While there in 1904, he was taught the fundamental of basketball. Basketball was introduced to the general public in 1904 at the St. Louis World's Fair, and was a demonstration sport in the 1904 St. Louis Olympics.

Dr. Henderson's list of historic first are impressive. Upon his return to Washington, he was hired as the first African American male certified to teach physical education in the nation. He began to teach basketball to students in his classes. He founded the first African American athletic league, the Inter-Scholastic Athletic Association (1906); the first organization to train African American officials and referees, The Eastern Board of Officials (1905); The first African American school league, the Public School Athletic League in a segregated division (1910); the first chronicling of African American participation in sports, the Spalding Official Handbook Inter-Scholastic Athletic Association of Middle Atlantic States (1910-13). His books include; *The Negro in Sports 1939, 1949; The Black Athlete 1969*. Dr. Henderson was a Fellow for the American Alliance of Physical Education, Health, Exercise, Recreation and Dance; Dr. Henderson was a friend of Dr. Bruce Bennett, an early NASSH contributor. His pioneering work was ignored, however, by the Basketball Hall of Fame. After extensive and painstaking lobbying and education, the Basketball Hall of Fame created a direct-elect category for African American Pioneers in 2011, and, two years later Dr. E. B. Henderson was enshrined.

ROBERT KNIGHT BARNEY, WESTERN UNIVERSITY, CANADA

“ONE OF THREE”: THE CANADIAN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE DISTINCTION OF LABATT MEMORIAL PARK

In April 2023, following three years of submission preparation followed by a year and a half of investigation by the Adjudication Board of Canada's National Historic Sites and Monuments Division of Parks Canada, Labatt Memorial Park in London, Ontario was bestowed with National Historic Site distinction, becoming only the third such sport-related heritage site landmark in Canada's sporting history. Labatt Park's two predecessors in this regard were Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens (original home of the Toronto's National Hockey League (NHL) Maple Leafs), and Montreal's equally famous hockey venue, The Forum (original home of the



city's NHL Les Canadiens). The fundamental basis for Labatt Park's national heritage status is the fact that the noted baseball facility stands as the oldest, still functioning ballpark in the known history of the sport. Indeed, the Park, established in 1877, is baseball history's oldest survivor of a sporting past well into its third century of history. This paper explores two histories, that of the Park and its sustainment itself, and the other, the National Historic Site selection submission/adjudication process, the latter of which might well be considered as a model for similar quests envisioned by other sport and non-sport-related entities.

MARTIN BARRETT, FROSTBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF PROFESSIONAL T20 CRICKET IN THE UNITED STATES, 2004-PRESENT

In July 2023, the inaugural Major League Cricket (MLC) season is scheduled to take place at Grand Prairie Stadium in the Dallas metroplex. A total of 19 games will be played over 18 days at a 7,200-capacity cricket-specific stadium involving many of the world's top cricketers. MLC is marketed as the most ambitious and transformational venture ever undertaken in the American cricket landscape.

However, MLC is the latest iteration in a long line of largely unsuccessful attempts to bring professional T20 cricket to the United States. Past attempts at convening professional T20 cricket domestically include the unsanctioned, Sir Richard Hadlee backed American Premier League that failed to materialize in 2009 but was later revamped and relaunched in 2021. In addition, a joint venture in the early 2010s between the USA Cricket Association and New Zealand Cricket – under the guise of Cricket Holdings America – was postponed following a lack of investment and infrastructure. The impending MLC competition, on the other hand, is a product of American Cricket Enterprises who were selected by USA Cricket in 2019 as its strategic partner for the development of a professional T20 cricket league in the United States. MLC also follows a successful Minor League Cricket competition in 2021 and 2022. Finally, MLC will reportedly result in over \$1 billion invested into cricket domestically.

Through a critical analysis of secondary sources including media coverage and press releases, this paper will contextualize the development of MLC in relation to its predecessors. Specifically, the contextualization is framed using four themes: competition sanctioning and governing body endorsement, investment, business model, and playing infrastructure. This paper points toward key lessons learned by USA Cricket and American Cricket Enterprises with the implementation of MLC, which provides increased confidence the inaugural and subsequent competitions could deliver on its ambitious vision.

KIMBERLY BECKWITH, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

BILL CLARK: ADVOCATE AND PROMOTER FOR THE STRENGTH SPORTS

The strength sports of both powerlifting and weightlifting took great strides in popularity in the 1970s. Interest in competitive lifting may have responded to the rise of iconic international figures such as Arnold Schwarzenegger in bodybuilding and Olympic stars like Alexeev in weightlifting, but it was also fueled by the efforts of local, individual strength fans such as Bill Clark. Clark worked for over three decades as a Major League Baseball recruiter and an



umpire/referee for multiple sports, but he also had a journalism degree and a knack for organizing events. With these talents, Clark did much for the world of competitive lifting including creating and self-publishing a newsletter for the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) lifters and coaches of southeast Missouri, beginning a lifting program in the prison system, hosting the first all-women's sanctioned weightlifting competition, and founding a master's lifting division for those aged forty years and higher. The "Think Global, Act Local" phrase describes Clark's actions to a 'T.' His advocacy of lifting for underrepresented populations may have started at a local level, but it had long-reaching affects and are still felt today. This paper will use interviews and examinations of Clark's writings, especially his weightlifting newsletters, to explore his contributions to the evolution of the competitive strength sports.

ADAM PATRICK BERG, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA GREENSBORO

PARAGON OF THE LONG SOUTHERN STRATEGY: THE POLITICAL DEPLOYMENTS OF TIM TEBOW

This paper examines how between 2008 and 2016, a variety of ambitious Republican politicians used the likeness of Tim Tebow—with and without Tebow's knowing consent—to attract conservative working- and middle-class white American voters. The paper will begin by tracing what the political scientists Angie Maxwell and Todd Shields call "The Long Southern Strategy" (LSS) (Maxwell and Shields 2019). The LSS refers to the Republican Party's attempt from 1964 to the present to usurp the Democratic Party's New Deal coalition in the South and beyond through a tripartite of appeals aimed at cultural anxieties born from racial, gendered, and religious ideologies—namely white supremacy, masculine patriarchy, and evangelical Christianity. By placing Tebow's intersecting racial, gendered, and religious identity—both as an intentional performance and media representation—within the context of the LSS, the paper contends that Tebow stood as the embodiment of the LSS's ideals. As such, in the 2010s, identification with him severed as a useful tool for aspiring Republican political actors—such as Michele Bachman, Rick Perry, Donald Trump, and others. Along with considering the history of the LLS, the paper will note the histories of masculinity, evangelicalism, and football within the United States, as well as examine popular newspaper and magazine representations of Tebow, Tebow's 5 books, interviews with Tebow, and content created by Republican politicians and operatives including campaign advertisements, speeches, and debates.

ZACHARY R. BIGALKE, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

SPORTING CITIZENSHIPS OF CONVENIENCE: A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR CONTEXTUALIZING NATIONALITY IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIONS

The 2022 FIFA World Cup boasted the most foreign-born talent in the tournament's history. One out of every six players featuring in Qatar were born outside the geopolitical borders of the nation they represented on the pitch. That included Morocco - which, in addition to becoming the first African nation and the first Arab nation to reach the World Cup semifinals, became the first team to achieve a top-four finish with a roster on which the majority of players were born in another state. Recent scholarship has worked to contextualize the movements of athletes through their ancestral connections to a nation, expanding the concept of the nation to



include diasporas. While this methodology captures the general trend toward nation switching among athletes, it divorces the athletes' role in the decision-making process and how they experience their roles as avatars of an adopted nation. Utilizing the theoretical framework around citizenships of convenience developed in borderlands history and Indigenous studies, we can better understand how these athletes experience nationality and grapple with their identities. Drawing on athletes' public statements about their decisions to shift nationality through sport allows scholars to understand the internal conflicts behind athletes' instrumental decisions to further their careers and reach the biggest stages in their sports, while also drawing out the liminality and alienation that marks these athletes' experiences.

AARON BONSU, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

ECHOES OF THE PAST: THE 1976 LOS ANGELES OLYMPIC BID AND THE ORIGINS OF THE FUTURE HOST COMMISSION

In 2019, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) created a Future Host Commission (FHC) tasked with recommending a host for each Olympics. Although the IOC touted the FHC as a break with the past, William Nichols, the former Los Angeles Coliseum General Manager, proposed a similar body shortly after the campaign for 1976 summer Olympics ended. Los Angeles lost their campaign to host the 1976 games to celebrate the US bicentennial to Montreal in 1970, a decision that generated intense rancor in Southern California. Yet, the reassessment that followed the failed 1976 Los Angeles Olympic bid demonstrates how participants in the Olympic bidding process, including IOC members and individuals on bidding cities' organizing committees, sought improvements to the host selection procedure.

This paper reinforces Heather Dichter's claim that Olympic bidding controversies, and a desire to reform the bidding process, are not recent developments. Instead, these issues are the continuation of decades-long developments within mega-event bidding affairs. This paper also draws on the work of Matthew Llewellyn and Mark Dyreson addressing Los Angeles' recurring Olympic bids. In addition, it draws on primary sources from the Avery Brundage Collection as well as from contemporary media accounts of the 1976 Olympic bid competition. Analyzing the bidding process, in particular Nichols' proposal for modifications in the standard winner-take-all sweepstakes the IOC created, offers important insight into Los Angeles' relationship with the Olympic Games.

DOUGLAS BOOTH, THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY

REVISITING OLYMPIC HISTORIOGRAPHY: NEW SOURCES, REVISED ARGUMENTS, OLD NARRATIVES

In this presentation, I revisit olympic historiography through an analysis of bidding for the olympic games. My analysis followed an invitation from the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) Olympic Studies Centre (OSC) in Lausanne to write an introductory chapter on the subject for its forthcoming "Essential Readings" project. My research into bidding for the olympic games led me to: 1) a set of useful official sources produced by the IOC, 2) reconceptualize the historical arguments pertaining to bidding, and 3) confirm an ongoing



disconnect between narratives propounded by the IOC and those of its critics. Elaborating on these three points, I highlight the OSC's role as a source of knowledge about the Olympic movement for the academic community and refer in particular to two documents, "The Olympic host candidature process: Cities 1896-2028" (2019) and "Over 125 years of Olympic venues: Post-Games use" (2022). Drawing on the philosopher of history Hayden White, I identify four forms of argument in historical accounts of bidding for the Olympic games—organicist, mechanistic, contextualist and formist; I advocate for contextualism as the most appropriate for understanding bidding at different points in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Finally, I present historiographical, ideological and political evidence to explain the irreconcilable disconnect between the IOC and its critics on the subject of bidding for, and hosting, the Olympic games. I conclude with a historiographical irony: the IOC's romantic and idealized narratives of bidding and hosting will always resonate better with readers (and listeners and viewers) than the densest fact-laden and most eloquent contextualist argument.

LINDA J. BORISH, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

TEACHING, RACE, ETHNICITY, AND AMERICAN SPORT IN AN UPPER LEVEL HISTORY WRITING COURSE

This presentation discusses the development of an upper level undergraduate History course, Race, Ethnicity, and American Sport, for baccalaureate writing in the History curriculum at Western Michigan University (HIST 4006). This course, capped at 25 students, fulfills a witting requirement for History majors and minors, though the students may have no background in American sport history. The selection of readings about race, ethnicity, gender and American sport history, and the type of writing assignments and research experience for history students to fulfill the course objectives will be explored. How students learn to develop primary research for a research paper on race and /or ethnicity and American sport history is examined with information on digital archives for sources on American sport history. The inclusion of this course in the history curriculum provides an opportunity for students to learn about American sport history and to write a research paper.

LINDA BORISH, WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY; ANNETTE HOFMANN, LUDWIGSBURG UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION; PIERRE-OLAF SCHUTGUSTAVE, EIFFEL UNIVERSITY

DIDACTICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES ON TEACHING SPORT HISTORY

Based on three countries, United States, France and Germany, in this session various aspects relating to teaching sport history classes are approached. The presenters teach sport history in different departments at their institutions. In her paper "Teaching, Race, Ethnicity, and American Sport in an Upper Level History Writing Course" Linda J. Borish will relate to American sport history in the history department, discussing how this course fits curriculum writing requirements for upper level history students. Borish's paper explores the sources used in this class and challenges of this writing and research oriented American sport history course.



Various didactical approaches will be introduced in the paper “Lived Sport History: Approaches to Teaching Sport history to P.E. students” by Annette R. Hofmann who teaches sport history to Physical Education students in Germany. Her focus based on the concept: “lived sports history”. Thus, she tries to relate to the Lebenswelt (personal environment) of the students. She uses digital approaches and personal relations of the students who will later also able to introduce these methods at schools.

Pierre-Olaf Schut from France offers a master's level course in the history of sport as an introduction to research for students in sport sciences. He works with them on archives to teach them research methodology and the critical analysis of sources specific to historical analysis. The use of digitalized archives facilitates the implementation of a cross-referencing of primary sources in the teaching. This will be presented in his paper on “Teaching the methodology of sports history research”.

LUCY JANE BOUCHER, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

“WEIGHTLIFTING IS NO MUG’S GAME, BUT A SCIENCE”: THOMAS INCH AND SCIENTIFIC LIFTING IN LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITAIN

Thomas Inch was an influential advocate for British weightlifting and training in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While his legacy lives on in the infamous Inch ‘Challenge Dumbbells’ which defeated generations of strongmen, his contributions to the field of physical culture remain largely neglected. This paper seeks to examine the importance of Inch’s scientific method of strength training, his role in promoting and establishing the sport, and his innovations in the field of exercise equipment.

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.”

STEPHEN BRAUER, ST. JOHN FISHER UNIVERSITY

AUTHORING THE GAME: GRANTLAND RICE AND STORYTELLING TECHNOLOGY

Grantland Rice rose to fame as a sportswriter due to his acumen with the pen, as epitomized in his legendary column on the Army-Notre Dame football game at the Polo Grounds on October 18, 1924. With his use of rhetorical flourishes and hagiography, Rice championed athletes and celebrated their achievements as contemporary heroes for his reading audience. Rice’s newspaper work heralded the Golden Age of American Sport, bringing him and American sports itself a broader audience than had ever experienced before.

In this paper, however, I argue that Rice’s success and influence were due to his command of a particular type of storytelling – the written word – and that his work was left behind by the rise of a different type – the spoken word.



When it came to authoring the game, Rice was especially skilled at shaping the narrative of the game through his writing that presented the story of what had happened for those had not been able to witness it. However, when it came to telling the story of the game to those who were listening to it live, Rice was an abject failure. His experience in his radio broadcasts of the World Series in 1922 and 1923 demonstrated that Rice could not translate his writing expertise to the emerging technology of the radio and the need for live storytelling.

Through this paper, I use the example of Rice's inability to successfully navigate live sports broadcasting as a way for us to understand the shifts in sports-writing and sports broadcasting over the last 100 years. Those changes, I suggest, are fundamentally due to how particular individuals have adapted to emerging technologies - radio, television, satellite broadcasting, and the internet - and how they have become experts in these technologies of storytelling.

LETISHA ENGRACIA CARDOSO BROWN, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI; A. LAMONT WILLIAMS, SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY; AMANDA N. SCHWEINBENZ, LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY; ANN PEGORARO, UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

HOLDIN' IT DOWN: BLACK FEMINISM AND ATHLETE ACTIVISM

In his seminal work on waves of Black athlete activism, Dr Harry Edwards' has outlined five key waves in sport history in which pivotal figures engaged in broader social movements to challenge and combat systemic racism in the United States. However, similar to all human civil rights movements, Black women and non-binary persons are absent from this history despite their foundational roles. The history of women's sport and activism has largely focused on white women and the history of Black athlete activism and sport has focused on Black men. Yet, as we have recently seen with the Black Lives Matter Movement and the WNBA, the Black women and non-binary persons in this league have been at the forefront of activism and change, for example Maya Moore, Natasha Cloud, and Layshia Clarendon. Moreover, while Dr Edwards' newly introduced sixth wave of Black athlete activism focuses on women's sport, more attention needs to be paid to those whose shoulders we stand on. Using the theory of hydrodynamics, this session will critically examine the history of Black women and non-binary persons' roles as athlete activists in the United States. Hydrodynamics theory details the different types of waves, including those we see the most - high amplitude destructive surface waves that crash against the shore and those we cannot see internal waves, which are underwater but influence ocean circulation, currents, generating the jet stream, cyclonic weather fronts, water temperature and ultimately the climate of the planet. Using this theory, we argue that while Black male athlete activists' actions were seen as waves crashing against the shores of systemic racism, that the work of Black women and non-binary athlete activists resemble powerful massive internal waves that impact social change.



SUSAN BROWNELL, UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-ST. LOUIS; ALAN KLEIN,
NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY; THOMAS CARTER, UNIVERSITY OF BRIGHTON; NIKO
BESNIER, LATROBE UNIVERSITY; MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE
UNIVERSITY

THE INTERSECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY IN SPORT STUDIES

This panel explores the intersections between the disciplines of anthropology and history in the study of sport. What can anthropological approaches add to historical inquiry, and vice versa? What deficiencies can result when anthropological works do not engage with historical approaches, or historical works do not engage with anthropological approaches?

The panel members are senior sport anthropologists who will discuss ways in which they have synthesized the two disciplines in their own works. Susan Brownell (Missouri-St. Louis) describes how the combination of an anthropological approach with access to embargoed documents provides a picture of the response of China and the International Olympic Committee to the human rights debates surrounding China's Olympic Games, which could not be obtained from one method in isolation. Alan Klein (Northeastern) employs anthropological methods and concepts to reexamine two legendary basketball games from decades ago, which involved an outpouring of racist vitriol against the Lakota of South Dakota when they played neighboring White teams; he concludes that the established accounts do not demonstrate a full understanding of Lakota resistance. Drawing on his anthropological research on the Sport for Development and Peace sector, Thomas Carter (Brighton) analyzes how ideological discourses about sport, which have been deployed for different political purposes across sport history, currently shape practices in the sector. Niko Besnier (LaTrobe) focuses on how economic downturns in the Global South, a result of global socio-economic transformations in the late 20th century, led to the emergence of global mobility in rugby, as young men in many societies have little choice but to migrate, and a sport career in the Global North represents the pinnacle of success. Mark Dyreson (Pennsylvania State) will act as moderator and commentator.

RAUL T. CANDELARIA, KALEMA E. MEGGS & AMA APPIAH-KUBI, HOWARD
UNIVERSITY

THE NBA'S HISTORICAL PATH AND RELATIONSHIP WITH DEI: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TWITTER RESPONSES

Diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) is a framework that encourages and promotes equal and fair treatment in the workplace within businesses, organizations, and companies. In the past decade, sports organizations have implemented DEI officers and executives, such as the National Basketball Association (NBA). In 2022, the NBA hired its first DEI executive to further promote and encourage equal opportunities for its employees and professional athletes across the league. Although the league is moving into a path of applying DEI objectives and policies, the central question has been why was a DEI officer not hired during the peak of African American/Black men and women being murdered at the hands of law enforcement? Historically, hall of fame players like Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Bill Russell used their celebrity status as a platform to speak out on the injustices of African American/Blacks throughout their professional careers as



NBA players, and after they retired from the league. In order to have an understanding of the importance of hiring DEI executives and applying DEI objectives/initiatives within the NBA and individual teams but specifically seeding it within the historical context of the US and Black people, this paper will apply the tenets of critical race theory (CRT), to investigate Twitter responses regarding the NBA's role in DEI efforts through the method of critical textual analysis. Essentially, this paper will focus on the historical elements of the NBA about DEI and examine how former NBA players, civil rights movement and of the uprising Black Lives Matter movement have contributed to shaping DEI in the NBA. To sum it all, this paper unravels the significance of the employment of a DEI executive to the NBA and Black and other historically marginalized stakeholders in the NBA.

ANTONIO CARREÑO, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

CHRISTOLOGICAL IMAGERY IN THE REPRESENTATION OF FC BARCELONA'S HISTORY AND IDENTITY

The appropriation of Christological imagery at the level of club and fan base to represent a unique history of triumph over oppression and persecution constitutes a key theme in the formation of FC Barcelona's local and global expression of identity, particularly in the post-Franco years. This paper pulls from the fields of discourse analysis and cultural studies to trace how Catholic images of the Holy Trinity and the Passion are key intertexts to understanding Barça's moral critique of global capital and anti-democratic forces.

THOMAS CARTER, UNIVERSITY OF BRIGHTON

THE POWER OF SPORT: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SHAPING OF HISTORICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP OF SPORT

In this paper, I consider the synergism between the two disciplines in the development of our knowledge about sport, both as individual disciplines and, specifically, in relation to my own research. This paper proceeds from the basic recognition that historical and anthropological inquiry are closely intertwined and mutually beneficial. Broadly speaking, I consider the kinds of questions that historians and anthropologists ask of and about sport and how those particular perspectives mutually enforce specific kinds of knowledge about sport. I also highlight where disciplinary differences lead to related yet distinct forms of knowledge. My purpose for doing this is to draw attention to the ideology or, what some would say, mythology of sport that informs most sport studies scholarship. I how the ideology of sport underpins sport-related scholarship before drawing on various research projects I have undertaken throughout my career. I explore how these disciplinary threads have informed my own anthropological research in order to draw attention to various ways the ideology of sport has been and is harnessed today. This leads me to focus, in particular, on the past six years of anthropological research I have conducted into the roles and discourses of sport in international development where I critically reflect upon how the ideological spine of sport has informed and continues to inform policy and practice of development worldwide. In doing so, I examine how the underpinning ideological values of sport are applied and used to justify various political endeavors, past and present, before finishing with a brief discussion of how anthropology can augment historical work



through its own disciplinary approaches to producing knowledge about sport by talking about how Sport for Development is experienced versus how it is projected and explained.

JUAN CARLOS CASTILLO, UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN IOWA

MOTORCYCLING QUIXOTIC HERO ANGEL NIETO: A VERY SANE MADMAN

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 sport as icons of what a perfect Spaniard should be. This work explores how the written press of the era helped promote this image of motorcycle racer Angel Nieto. His story fits all the characteristics of the quixotic hero: his humble origins starting in Madrid and moving to Barcelona to pursue his dream when he was a teenager; a model for personal conduct, married to a long-time girlfriend; his role as a hero for Spain, becoming his country's first motorcycling champion in 1969, a feat he achieved thirteen times during his twenty-year career. However, two quixotic characteristics are especially evident in the portrait of Nieto by the press. Firstly, the kinds of adversity he had to overcome came to a climax in September of 1971 when, facing the possibility of winning two world championships on the same day at the Jarama circuit near Madrid, he had to put up with the injuries caused by a crash in the first race in order to win the second. Lastly, his generous madness is reflected in many facts about his life, such as traveling between Madrid and Barcelona aboard a moped at age fourteen, or escaping hospitals to participate in races against doctors' advice; as a result of his efforts, Nieto turned a minority sport into a mass spectacle in Spain. The collective demonstrations of condolence that followed his death in 2017 are one more proof that the sports quixotic heroes of the Franco era continue to be part of the collective national imagination and identity in Spain.

DAVID CHAPMAN, INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR; CONOR HEFFERNAN, ULSTER
UNIVERSITY ULSTER UNIVERSITY; RACHEL OZERKEVICH, KENYON COLLEGE

VIXENS, AMAZONS OR CHAMPIONS: SHIFTING IMAGES OF 20TH CENTURY STRONGWOMEN

Historians have long studied the liminal status of the strong, muscular and athletic woman in Western society. The combination of women and muscular strength has long caused hand wringing and confusion among the public, but this presentation will examine some of the ways that strong women have been viewed in the recent past. More than that, it does so with reference to previously underexplored magazines, film and sports within the historiography of sport and physical culture. Beginning the panel, Rachel Ozerkevich will discuss the importance of French physical culture magazine *La Culture Physique* as a source of historical documentation of women's participation in early physical culture. She will investigate the magazine's specific visual strategies that helped cultivate female athletes' public personas. Then, David Chapman will speak about an Italian film, *Justitia* from 1919 that features the first strong, athletic woman who is the heroine rather than the victim of the plot. She represents a new paradigm of a muscular, trouser-wearing woman who is also a model for awakening political freedoms. Finally, Conor Heffernan will look at the way female Olympic weightlifters were portrayed in the media from the sport's early beginnings in the late 1970s to its official inclusion in the Olympics at the 2000 Games. In doing so, the presentation uses newspapers, magazine and television coverage to investigate the confusion



surrounding the sport, especially related to the activity itself, the kind of women involved, and whether or not it was a ‘feminine’ outlet. While studies on media coverage of female athletes are rich in detail, surprisingly little work exists on women in strength sports.

**PASCAL CHARITAS, UNIVERSITÉ PARIS NANTERRE & CYRIL POLYCARPE,
UNIVERSITÉ DE FRANCHE-COMTÉ, FRANCE**

THE FIRST GAMES OF LA FRANCOPHONIE IN MOROCCO (1989) AND FRANCE (1994) AS REFLECTIONS OF MULTILATERAL SPORTS COOPERATION OR AS NATIONAL ISSUES?

The Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sports sharing the same language -French- (CONFEJES, 1969) and the Agence de coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT, 1970) were at the origin of the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie (OIF). A transnational space as an “organic community” was thus built in order to create an “anticipatory consciousness” based on multiculturalism. A liberal space based on cultural and economic exchanges so as to anticipate conflicts represents a «counterforce» to anticipate conflicts. The first summit of La Francophonie (1985) established technical and cultural cooperation and the second (1987) created the Jeux de la Francophonie and an International Committee of the Jeux de la Francophonie, promulgating sport as a tool for the cultural dissemination of the French language. While the third summit was taking place (1989), the first Games were held in two Moroccan venues (Casablanca and Rabat). Indeed, Africa is at the heart of the economic and social development of the Francophonie (fourth and fifth summits, 1991 and 1993). Then, France organized the second edition of the Games in Bondoufle (1994). These Jeux de la Francophonie served as an interface, a network and a relay for a reticular and multi-scalar organization used by countries for internal or external policy purposes. Between pluralism and universalism, do these Games reflect the political stakes of the Francophonie or are they used for local and national sports development? More broadly, do these two editions represent the transition from a cultural Francophonie to a political and normative Francophonie? We will analyze the Games of La Francophonie entrusted to the CONFEJES from the archives of this institution, the ministries of the host countries, correspondence with French-speaking countries and the press.

ZACHARY ADAM CONSITT, YORK UNIVERSITY

CANADA ON DISPLAY: EXPRESSING A CANADIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH CULTURAL DISPLAYS AT WINTER OLYMPIC CEREMONIES, 1988-2010

The Olympic Games are known for being a global spectacle with host countries increasingly dedicating more resources towards extravagant ceremonies. Through Opening and Closing Ceremonies, the Olympic host crafts an orchestrated national narrative through a variety of cultural performances in front of a worldwide audience. With billions of viewers from around the world, both host nations show off their sportsmanship, competitive spirit, and mutual respect. Countries used the Olympics as a massive cultural exchange between nations.

Before the athletes can demonstrate the International Olympic Committee’s [IOC] motto of “faster, higher, stronger,” the world must be introduced to the athletes competing at the Games. One of the highlights of the opening ceremonies is the Parade of Nations where each



country's Olympic team is introduced. One way to distinguish the Canadian athletes from their fellow competitors was to design uniquely Canadian Olympic uniforms. Viewers look forward to seeing their favorite athletes representing their home country.

The spectacle of the Olympic ceremonies were occasions for host nations to showcase their unique culture to the world. The Olympic ceremonies became forums of multi-faceted cultural expression of Canada. As the Olympic host nation in 1988 and 2010, Canada presented a prescribed narrative to the world using multiple cultural forms of expression. Canadian Olympic organizers took advantage of the world's attention to deploy multiple strategies to convey a narrative of the nation's heritage. For example, the common use of Mounties in Calgary and Vancouver symbolized a strong effort to teach the international audience about Canada's seemingly peaceful colonial past. This paper will explore how Canada used the opening and closing ceremonies to elevate their position on the world stage by advertising the country's united national identity through as a multicultural nation with world-class cultural talent to a global audience.

NEVADA COOKE, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

PRIDE FC: A HISTORY OF INSPIRATION

The Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) no longer needs to be discussed as a “fast-growing” or “up-and-coming” sport – it is already here. It is a dominant promotion company with a rabid and specific fan base. It is an established entity that challenges Major League Soccer (MLS) in annual revenue. However, it is also older than most give it credit for, celebrating the 30th anniversary of its first tournament this year. Such is its popularity that UFC has become a catch-all term for the combat sport of mixed martial arts (MMA). However, the UFC was not always the undisputed monarch of MMA. In the mid-to-late 1990s, a challenger promotion emerged across the world in Japan: PRIDE Fighting Championships. Pride was exactly what everyone feared mixed martial arts represented: a seemingly lawless combat wasteland that embraced a “permissive” rule set, “freakshow” fights, and ample spectacle. In addition, MMA fans loved it. Beginning in 1997, the UFC and Pride began a decade-long rivalry that would catapult MMA into the global consciousness and help propel the sport of MMA to new heights. This is a small history of that short but revolutionary period in the history of the modern MMA landscape.

DAN COVELL, WESTERN NEW ENGLAND UNIVERSITY

AN AMERICAN WAY: THE HOCKEY ODYSSEY OF DANNY BOLDOC

This live individual research presentation examines the impact of the hockey career of Danny Bolduc, the first native of the State of Maine in the United States to play in the National Hockey League (NHL). Bolduc, who grew up in Waterville, was a product of the city's strong French-Canadian enclave and its connection to Canada's national sport of hockey, and capitalized on his athletic prowess to gain admission first to Phillips Academy and then to Harvard University. Bolduc earned the final roster spot on the 1976 US Olympic ice hockey team, which finished fifth in Games. Bolduc then parlayed his skill and experience to sign a



professional contract with the Hartford Whalers of the World Hockey Association, and two years later joined the NHL's Detroit Red Wings. However, Bolduc was never able to gain consistent playing time or star-level status in the NHL, and bounced back and forth between multiple minor league outposts and the Red Wings and Calgary Flames until his retirement in 1985.

While remarkable and trailblazing, it is evident from multiple interviews, scholarly sources and news reports from the period that Bolduc's career was more workmanlike than transcendent, fraught with the typical setbacks and disappointments encountered by the vast majority of professional athletes, in no small part based on a bias against Americans in the Canadian-dominated professional hockey hierarchy. His odyssey is that of a gifted individual of immigrant heritage excelling at a sport to which he was born culturally, and then employing an uncommon developmental track in a mindful and deliberate fashion to pursue a professional career. Through this journey, Bolduc transformed a game more dearly held by Canadians and Franco-Americans more to one that was more American, more accessible to future American players, and more broadly an integral part of the American sporting experience.

ADAM CRIBLEZ, SOUTHEAST MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY

DOUBLE-PLAYS, DEAD BALL, DUGOUTS...AND DICE?

Baseball fandom takes many forms. Some fans simply enjoy watching the games or rooting for favorite players, while others may place bets or participate in fantasy sports leagues. Still another form of fandom is playing tabletop board games, in which gamers roll dice to determine the outcome of at-bats. This paper explores the history of these tabletop baseball simulation games and their continued influence on modern sports fandom. Variations of these games have existed for more than a century and vary widely in terms of statistical accuracy and fun factor while utilizing different forms of mechanics and technology.

Studying baseball-themed board game simulations presents a unique opportunity to explore the changing nature of baseball fandom and interactivity, while also providing insight into the developing importance of statistics for baseball fans. As video game scholar Christopher Hansen notes, "games permit us a separation from work, other obligations, and our everyday lives by creating experiences in which we have power over time such as calling a 'time-out' in a sports match or taking back a move in an analog board game" (Hanson, 2019). Nowhere is Hansen's statement more accurate than in baseball simulations, which allow fans the opportunity to relive nostalgic moments from MLB history, to create elaborate what-if scenarios, or to measure their board-game managing ability against what real-life managers accomplished on the field. In fact, two of the most significant developments in baseball over the last forty years, fantasy baseball and advanced statistical player evaluation, are both deeply rooted in tabletop gaming.

ERIN JANE CROWNOVER, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

"HE WAS ONLY A NEGRO": HENRY REEVES, FIRST ATHLETIC TRAINER OF THE TEXAS LONGHORNS

This paper articulates the history of a man known as one of the first "athletic trainers" of any race in the United States, Henry "Doc" Reeves, who worked at The University of Texas



(UT) at Austin from 1895-1916. Reeves was hired as a janitor and began assisting UT football teams as the “water-boy.” However, his duties soon also included first aid assistance to athletes, and he became known as “Doc Reeves.” The life of Reeves, his involvement and status at then all-white UT, and how he is regarded as a Black man will be examined. Reeves’ story can be read as a tale of a Black man who transcended race and his lowly status to become a beloved and integral part of the Texas football program. It could, however, suggest that Reeves may have saw himself through the eyes of vicious Jim Crow laws and acted as such. Reeves was more than just a trainer at UT. His story contributes to the rich traditions of Texas athletics and reveals a narrative of an unwavering pioneer.

ARTHUR A. DAEMMRICH, ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

GOVERNANCE OF NEW SPORTS TECHNOLOGIES: NEGOTIATED INNOVATION

Markets for breakthrough sports technologies have grown steadily since the early 20th century as sports competition became a global business and sports fandom an international social phenomenon. Sports equipment manufacturers have developed technologies that accelerated competition, enabled participation by people with disabilities, and increased safety. Athletes and elite coaches have also introduced new techniques not envisioned by the founders of many sports. New gear and new techniques sometimes are not accepted, or only after long delays. In other instances, innovators engage in successful participative technology development, resolving foundational questions during the innovation process.

This paper explores the dynamic interrelationship of regulatory governance with innovations of both technology and technique in sports. Using a historical case study approach, I focus on the ways in which rules and regulations motivate inventors to create new technologies. In turn, controversies over innovations fall into four identifiable areas of dispute: (1) the safety of competitors or fans; (2) disproportionate competitive edge; (3) disparity in access (often based on the cost of new gear); and (4) the importance of maintaining traditions and integrity of a sport. Fans and officials express particular concerns when the advantages conferred by a technology appear to overshadow athletes’ “pure” human performance, or because they challenge aspects of the heritage and traditions of a game. In addition, many performance enhancing technologies and even safety gear raise concerns of health risks to athletes, either immediately during competition or longer-term. The paper argues that governance of sports technologies is negotiated through a dynamic social process that is highly adaptive and responsive to impacted publics, especially when compared with regulatory processes in other domains such as new chemicals, pharmaceuticals, or consumer products.

JACK DALY, PENNSYLVANIA STATE HARRISBURG

CONSPIRACY CONTINUUM: THE ROLE OF CONSPIRACY IN AMERICAN SPORTS

This essay examines the role of conspiracies in the role of American sports. The sporting landscape is haunted with verified scandals, which blur the line between conspiracy and history. These historic conspiracies include the 1919 Black Sox gambling scandal and more recent examples such as the Houston Astros sign-stealing. The “verified scandals” of the past create a



culture wherein these actions are thought to be continually occurring, and thus operate on a sort of continuum, which I call the “conspiracy continuum.” However, those who believe in sports conspiracies are not monolithic, and their motivations for belief vary widely. This includes individuals who conform to the traditional paranoid mindset, and see sports as scripted, and part of a larger conspiracy. There are also people who operate inside of professional sports, such as Kyrie Irving, who is conspiratorial thought influences how they, and others, see the world. There is then another third category, such as the politician Ralph Nader, who are not “conspiracy theorists,” yet believe they are the subject of conspiracy.

To construct my argument, I draw from historic scandals, such as the aforementioned Black Sox and Astros, as well as unverified conspiracies such as the 1985 NBA draft and the 2002 NBA Western Conference Finals to show how the former informs the latter. I then utilize a range of specific individuals who have espoused conspiracy theories about sports to examine why they believe them and how they disseminate their information. Ultimately, this paper argues that “conspiracy theorist” is not a particularly useful term for sports conspiracies, that these conspiracies exist as a form of counter-knowledge, and that the verified scandals of the past continue to form and create new sports conspiracies. This research should help sports historians to understand why conspiratorial thought is so prevalent in sport and how it operates.

HEATHER DICHTER, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY; KATE AGUILAR, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE; JOHANNA MELLIS, URSINUS COLLEGE ; ALEXANDRA MOUNTAIN, SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIAN GENEALOGISTS ; SETH TANNENBAUM, MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE

WHERE ARE THE HISTORIANS?: NASSH AND ACADEMICALLY-TRAINED HISTORIANS

This roundtable will discuss the place of people trained in and/or working in history departments at NASSH. This panel aims to answer three questions: 1) What is our place in NASSH? 2) What are our needs, how have they changed in recent years, and what are some ways NASSH has yet to meet those evolving needs? 3) How can NASSH better serve people who are training in history departments or who are employed in history departments? The panel will also present survey data from other historians about why they do or do not attend NASSH.

Heather Dichter, part of a 2019 NASSH panel focusing on how NASSH might expand its membership, will moderate. Each panelist will speak for five minutes on the topics described below and then Heather will ask questions for 15 minutes before we open up the discussion to the audience. Kate Aguilar will build upon a discussion that happened at NASSH 2022, surrounding the journal article “Inside/Out,” in which it appeared sport historians and other fields may have been speaking past one another. Johanna Mellis will discuss the confluence of the increasing neoliberalization of higher education coupled with the growing interdisciplinarity of history departments, both of which require many of us to choose other conferences that have fewer financial barriers and provide feedback more relevant for publishing in historians’ journals and book series than NASSH. Alex Mountain will discuss what academically-trained historians need from NASSH when it comes to professionalization and career advice for graduate students. Most of the advice NASSH delivers is targeted at students in kinesiology programs and often falls short of providing support for students in history departments. Seth Tannenbaum will



discuss reasons why academically-trained historians don't look to NASSH for sport history knowledge and what NASSH can do to rectify that.

CINDY DICK, ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

DISCOVERING RARE WOMEN'S SPORTS CARDS AND THE HISTORIES THEY REVEAL

What do rare women's vintage sports cards tell us about history? Sports cards are often seen as a hobby and not of historical importance; however, rare cards of women's sports reveal accomplishments that may or may not have been covered in the media but were important enough at the time to warrant being part of a trading card series that was used to sell products. Because of the collectability of trading cards, their stories are still discoverable today.

After finding rare trading cards of female athletes from the 1920s and 1930s, I research each athlete's story using diverse sources including peer-reviewed articles, books, college yearbooks and articles in newspapers and magazines.

After 30 years of collecting, I have compiled a database of more than 2,000 cards that were printed between 1880s-1972, including my collection of 1,600 cards that I own. I will present several examples that illustrate how rare trading cards are a source of historical importance, such as the 1927 University of Manitoba's girls ice hockey team, three American skaters from the 1932 Olympic debut of speed skating (Kit Klein, Elizabeth Dubois and Dot Franey) and two men that competed as women in the 1930s (Czechoslovakia's Stepanaka Pekarova and Zdenek Koubkova) and later had their records refuted after it was discovered that they were indeed men.

These cards reveal women's contributions to sports and connect us to histories from the 20th century. They bring our attention to the diverse realities of female athletes and women's sports by showing how women's athleticism has long been valued. While these cards were produced to sell products, they have also created generations of collectors who have valued and preserved their forgotten histories.

PETER DONNELLY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

UNESCO, PEACEBUILDING AND THE FOUNDATION OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARLY ASSOCIATIONS

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was the first major agency established by the newly established United Nations in 1945. Its aim was to promote international cooperation in education, the arts, sciences and culture as a peacebuilding initiative. By 1948, UNESCO was helping to found the international associations in sociology, political science and economics.

In 1958, International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSPE) was formed by UNESCO as an umbrella organization for sport sciences and physical education, and by the mid-1960s, it was facilitating the formation of international associations in the sub-disciplinary areas such as the history and the sociology of sport.



This paper represents a preliminary attempt to explore the extent to which the work of the new international organizations in sociology and history contributed to UNESCO's peacebuilding project.

MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

INVENTING THE CONTEMPORARY MYTHOLOGY OF BORN TO RUN: RARÁMURI RE-APPEARANCES IN MODERN FOOTRACES IN THE 1990S

In 1992 a team of Rarámuri runners reappeared for the first time since the 1928 Olympic marathon on the international sporting stage when they entered the Leadville 100 in Colorado, a high-profile race that attracted a world-class field to the rapidly emerging sport of ultra-running. Under the controversial management of an American raconteur named Rick Fisher, the Rarámuri entrants floundered, dropping out before the halfway mark. Fisher brought them back the next year, and two of his Rarámuri Racing Team athletes won the race. Over the next few years, Fisher entered Rarámuri runners in major US ultra-running events while claiming their Indigenous lifeways were under assault from modernity and asking for financial and political support for the tribe. Simultaneously, Fisher ran a lucrative business taking modern tourists on rafting trips in the Rarámuri's homelands that included sightseeing excursions of their "pristine" lifeways. The Rarámuri consistently dominated the ultra-races and became celebrities in the United States, appearing in glowing write-ups in popular mass media outlets—core sources for my history.

Conflicts emerged between the newcomers and ultra-running establishment while speculation swirled about the source and nature of their endurance prowess. Journalists rediscovered the Rarámuri in these 1990s ultra-marathons and spun fabulous Western interpretations of their culture that drew increasing numbers of tourists to run with the "footrunners" in their Sierra Madre homes, culminating in *Born to Run*. Based on modern "paleo-fantasy" narratives created about the Rarámuri, this episode in the history of Western constructions of Rarámuri avatars to dissect the impact of civilization on human well-being offers new perspectives on the enduring tradition of projecting modern anxieties and fears through "Playing Indian" and inventing and re-inventing "The White Man's Indian"—as scholars Philip Deloria and Robert Berkhofer have labeled the appropriation of North American Indigenous peoples and cultures by modern societies.



MARK DYRESON, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY; DAVID WIGGINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY; KEVIN WITHERSPOON, LANDER UNIVERSITY; LOUIS MOORE, GRAND VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY; RITA LIBERTI, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY; MICHELLE SIKES, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY; DAMION THOMAS, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE-- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

BLACK MERCURIES AND THE CHALLENGE OF C.L.R. JAMES: WRITING ABOUT SPORT AND RACE IN AMERICAN HISTORY FOR POPULAR AND SCHOLARLY AUDIENCES--A NASSH ROUNDTABLE ON CURRENT PARADIGMS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In 1963, the West Indian historian and anti-colonial firebrand C.L.R. James published his brilliant *Beyond a Boundary*. The book is arguably the genesis of the modern field of sport history. James contends that to understand the historical dimensions of modernity scholars have to begin to take sport seriously. He made these claims a decade before the “serious study of sport” originally gathered steam in the 1970s. James begins his work with an epigraphical riddle: “What do they know of cricket, who only cricket know?” He answers that question throughout his elegant essay with a resounding not very much. A focus only on cricket lore, heritage, and culture absent any comprehension of the social, political, and especially the racial contexts in which cricket flourishes, yields ignorance of the boundaries shaped by cricket and the possibilities that lie beyond those barriers.

This roundtable takes James’s challenge seriously, beginning with a variant of his question: “What do they know of American sport who only American sport know?” Building on decades of work by historians that have made questions of race central to explaining how sport functions in the United States, including a recent entry into this historiography (*Black Mercuries: African American Athletes, Race, and the Modern Olympic Games* which appears in February 2023) this roundtable will offer a variety of perspectives on a fundamental paradigm in contemporary sport history.

The session participants have all published extensively (multiple books and articles) on the intersections of sport and race in American history--as well as the global dimensions of sport and race. This roundtable will pose questions and provide insights about the current state of the field, about the processes of writing on this subject for general readers as well as academic experts, and about future directions that need to be explored.

YOMI EBENEZER EJKUNLE, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

NIGERIA SAT ON THE FENCE: THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT AND NIGERIA AT 1968 MEXICO OLYMPICS

The Mexico Olympics of 1968 attracted enormous attention of sport researchers and enthusiasts, particularly due to the famous protest of two African American athletes against racism in sport. The demonstration against racial inequalities and injustice in American sports at the Mexico Olympics was so legendary that it overshadowed Africans’ movement to oust apartheid South Africa from the 1968 games. This research aims to analyze the anti-apartheid



struggle at the Mexico games with special focus on Nigeria. Nigeria was expected to assume the leadership of African continent at international events when it gained political independence in 1960. Unfortunately, political mistrust, ethnic tensions and civil war put the country into disarray from 1960 until 1970 when its national civil war ended. This paper argues that Nigeria failed to lead Africa in the anti-apartheid movement of 1968 even though the world and the International Olympics Committee (IOC) accorded it the status of a continental leader. The Mexico games coincided with the Nigerian civil war and Nigerian political leaders revered the Olympics games beyond sports gathering but as a platform to diplomatically canvas for military supports to attack the seceding Biafran nation. In particular, the paper explores how the IOC manipulated the Nigerian leaders, who were more interested in creating more friends than enemies, in an attempt to reinstate South Africa to the Mexico Olympics.

RICK ECKSTEIN, VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY, Y. ANDREW HAO, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MORRIS

COLLEGE ATHLETE STRESS, ANXIETY, AND SUICIDE: A SYSTEMIC PERSPECTIVE

We usually think of stress and anxiety among athletes as the inability of individuals to cope with social expectations or make meaningful social connections. From this perspective, addressing these and other mental health issues often focus on personal behavior such as better time management, getting more sleep, limiting alcohol consumption, and seeking counseling. However, this conventional approach completely begs the question of whether the social expectations themselves and changing historical circumstances are more significant precipitants of stress, anxiety, and suicide among intercollegiate athletes. We are currently conducting a sweeping, mixed-methods, empirical investigation of DI and DIII colleges to identify the organizational, institutional, and cultural sources of athlete stress and anxiety, and to place these within the changing historical face of higher education and intercollegiate athletics. The first wave of survey data has identified three main precipitants of stress: academics, future plans, and sports. Women athletes reported significantly higher levels of stress and anxiety than athletes on men's teams, a clear break with historical trends. Subsequent in-depth oral histories with athletes uncovered many other structural factors connected with the neoliberal "corporatization" of higher education, and the role of intercollegiate sports in this new dominant paradigm. One important structural factor is how college sport, even among the least visible teams, is becoming an increasingly "greedy institution" that commands unhealthy amounts of an athlete's time while reducing meaningful interactions with non-athletes. Another crucial structural element is the non-stellar behavior of coaches who become the most important adult in athletes' lives. We believe that boorish and abusive coaching behavior is based not in personality flaws but in both the corporatization of higher education and the masculinization of women's sports, the latter being an ironic and unintended consequence of increased participation opportunities in women's sports.



LEO EIGEN, RAMAZ UPPER SCHOOL

PLAYER EMPOWERMENT IN THE NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The National Basketball Association (NBA) of contemporary times is often described as being in a state of “player empowerment,” where the league’s athletes—particularly its superstars—hold an immense amount of control over their careers. Though scholarly works have examined various facets of player empowerment, this analysis seeks to construct a comprehensive, concise, and clear historical narrative of the journey of the development of the superstar and the empowered player since the establishment of the NBA. This paper expands the study of player empowerment by contextualizing the league’s changes within the broader fabric of American politics and racial relations, the NBA’s league structure and marketing strategy, the principles of worker commodification in capitalist systems, and basketball’s style of play, in addition to using examples of superstar players to place the individuals who sought to reform the dynamics between player and manager in professional basketball within the framework of an evolving United States.

SARAH EIKLEBERRY, ST. AMBROSE UNIVERSITY

WORK, PLAY, AND THE POLITICS OF THE WAAC RECREATION NEWS IN A SEMI-SEGREGATED WOMEN’S ARMY CAMP, 1943-1945

Conceived as a matter of wartime exigency, American women of all races were invited to apply to the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps in 1942. Recruiters advertised the role as a patriotic opportunity that need not compromise a woman’s character or femininity. With some exceptions, women in the United States were invited to work within the walls of a reluctant military apparatus. Reporting to Fort Des Moines was the first step for all auxiliaries and future officers. Irrespective of race, auxiliaries were paid less, assigned confusing ranks incommensurate with the existing army, and were prohibited from claiming financial dependents, should they meet an untimely death.

Upon entrance into WWII, The US Army poured resources into maintaining racial segregation of Black men and women, including many components of the WAAC and later, WAC programs. Unlike other racial and ethnic groups, Black women’s participation in the WAAC was limited to a quota that reflected the American population. Fort policy, inconsistent enforcement of segregation, individual auxiliary activism, and the organized efforts of community groups provided opportunities for varying forms of integrated recreation and leisure, on and off base.

WAACs, including officers, negotiated new mixed-race spaces while residing at Fort Des Moines. Though training occupied much of an auxiliary or officer’s day, opportunities for rest and recreation were plentiful. This presentation explores the ways in which depictions of army life at Fort Des Moines resisted and reinforced varying forms of racial and gender inequity. This project draws on over two years’ worth of WAAC/WAC News, “The Armygal’s Publication,” civilian news coverage, oral histories, and officers’ memoirs.



GEORGE EISEN, GLOBAL EDUCATION CONSULTING

BOXING IN AUSCHWITZ

“Boxing in Auschwitz” is a succinct yet riveting title. It would not fit obviously in the traditional definition of sport. There are many such narratives that promote the role of sport and play in opening mind and spirit as a manifestation of human creativity and freedom.

Human imagination and our limitless ability for myth making often form such perception and consciousness about sport and play, reflecting elation, freedom, and happily smiling faces of children. The Holocaust, and the name Auschwitz itself, as the ultimate metaphor for human evil, brings to us a different consciousness, a different picture, that conjures black-and-white images of emaciated children, piles of abstract death, and twisted, tortured remembrances. Indeed, one can visualize the Holocaust only in black-and-white.

There is an inherent contradiction here in using the term sport and AUSCHWITZ in the same sentence. Yet even a soccer field existed in the camp during which regular matches were played. Yet, this presentation opens a new vista in viewing sport, in this case boxing, within survival for the victim and a twisted perception of the role of sport for the perpetrator. It presents the ultimate paradox in posing the inevitable question: how the concept of “so called sport, in case boxing, can coexist with, reflect, and exemplify genocide. As it juxtaposes and magnifies the strategies for survival for the persecuted and the torment inflicted by the persecutor, “Boxing in Auschwitz” harks back to images of gladiatorial contests to the death when the victor was rewarded, in Auschwitz with food, and the vanquished sent to the gas chamber. It presents a fractured picture through the changing meaning and context of play, games, and sport.

This presentation on “Boxing in Auschwitz” is based on extensive archival material, documentary films, and survival testimonies.

CHRIS ELZEY, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

ICING THE SOVIETS: AMERICAN NATIONALISM AND *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED*'S FAMOUS PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MIRACLE ON ICE

The victory of the United States over the Soviet Union in men’s hockey at the 1980 Lake Placid Olympics is one of the most unbelievable events in sport history. Dubbed “The Miracle on Ice,” the game captivated Americans—not only because the Soviets were heavily favored but also because the Americans had defeated its Cold War arch-nemesis. That the victory occurred during a period of national angst and economic decline only amplified the euphoria. Americans once again had reason to be proud of their country.

Shortly after The Miracle on Ice and the United States had won gold after they defeated Finland, *Sports Illustrated* printed a picture taken by photographer Heinz Kluetmeier on its cover. The well-known image shows victorious American players celebrating on the rink as thrilled American fans cheer from the stands. One spectator waves an American flag. Another snaps a photo. No other words than the title of the magazine appear on the page. Unbridled joy carries the moment.

This presentation explores the ways in which Kluetmeier’s photograph reflected a burgeoning American nationalism during the early 1980s. Viewed in the context of the Cold War



and American self-doubt, the photo can be read as an allegory of resurgent United States power and confidence. In addition to the fan waving the American flag, the picture contains both obvious and subtle representations of American nationalism. That USSR players are not seen in the photo suggests a notable motif of Cold War hysteria: the hidden yet assumed presence of communists in American culture and politics.

Photographs of the 1980 game; secondary-source material on *The Miracle on Ice*; popular serials and news magazines, such as *Sports Illustrated*, *Life*, *Time*, *Parade*, *Reader's Digest*, and *Newsweek*; mainstream newspapers; and government documents comprise the bulk of sources consulted for the paper.

RUSSELL FIELD, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

COMPETITIVE ATHLETE/AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER: PERSONAL PHOTOGRAPHS AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

Documentary filmmaker Errol Morris (2014: 118) notes that “photographs reveal and they conceal,” before reversing a well-worn aphorism to assert that “believing is seeing.” Yet, even if photographs capture “more than what was intended,” Ariella Aïsha Azoulay (2019: 234) argues, “this more can be kept ‘visibly invisible.’” Considerations of photography have become increasingly common within sport history, especially as representational evidence of significant sporting moments. This paper considers a collection of photographs, focusing not on their evidentiary contribution to an event’s history, but on methodological and epistemological issues. In researching the 1963 Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO, which took place in Jakarta in 1963), a former competitor gave me a collection of over 100 personal photos taken while in Jakarta and during subsequent travels in Indonesia and China. They capture an event and its surroundings in the color Kodachrome tones that have come to be associated with personal photographs of the 1960s. What needs to be problematized is how these photos – with no sense of how they have been collected and curated – act as historical evidence and contribute to an understanding of GANEFO beyond being illustrations of the event. Are they a documentary record of the event, or are they holiday snaps? Both challenge us to consider questions of authorship, authenticity, and the purpose behind their creation. What is equally problematic are representations of poverty and “underdevelopment” as well “locals” posing for tourists, which suggest a consideration of both the photographer’s and viewer’s positionality. In examining an archival body of images that has never been archived, this paper considers both Azoulay’s (2019: 236) call for “nonimperial approaches to photographic archives” and what Eshyllt Jones (2012: ix) calls the “afterlife” of photographs, reading them “in relation to cultural reference points and historical narratives.”



RUSSELL FIELD, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA; VICTORIA PARASCHAK, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR; ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY; AMANDA N. SCHWEINBENZ, LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY; JANICE FORSYTH, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA; BRUCE KIDD, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO; MACINTOSH ROSS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY PATRICIA VERTINSKY, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

WRITING IN/BEING WRITTEN OUT OF CANADIAN SPORT HISTORY: DEBATING THE REMOVAL OF BOBBIE ROSENFELD'S NAME FROM THE AWARD FOR CANADIAN FEMALE ATHLETE OF THE YEAR

This roundtable will debate the merits – and wider implications – of a recent (not transparent) decision by Canadian Press to remove the name of Bobbie Rosenfeld from the annual award for Canada's best female athlete. First given in 1937, the award in 1978 was named after Fanny "Bobbie" Rosenfeld, a multisport athlete, Olympic medalist, and sportswriter. Rosenfeld was a gifted athlete beginning in the early 1920s, including winning gold and silver medals at the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics. She was a star of every team she played on – in softball, basketball, or hockey – and, in 1950, was named Canada's Female Athlete of the Half-Century. After her athletic career was cut short by arthritis in 1935, Rosenfeld turned to coaching, organizing, and importantly, sports writing, most prominently for the *Globe and Mail*, where her column, "Feminine Sports Reel," appeared from 1937 until 1958. It was recently revealed that in 2022 the *Globe and Mail*, which sponsored the Bobbie Rosenfeld Award for Sports through the National Newspaper Awards, decided to drop Rosenfeld's name from this award following a complaint about her sport columns in the *Globe* many years previously. Subsequently, the *Globe* decision led Canadian Press to drop Rosenfeld's name from the annual female athlete of the year award. These decisions were made without consulting those familiar with Rosenfeld's journalistic career, nor was there any public explanation as to why her name was removed. Canadian Press continues to name its male athlete of the year award after Lionel Conacher, a multisport athlete from Rosenfeld's era. This decision occurred in the context of the *Toronto Star*'s recent publicly explained decision to remove the name of Lou Marsh from its award, which has long been awarded to Canada's athlete of the year, male or female, and rename it the Northern Star Award.

SARAH K. FIELDS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO DENVER & C. KEITH HARRISON,
UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

ALLYSHIP: WHAT CAN WHITE NASSH FOLKS DO? (BIPOC SCHOLARS & ALLIES DISCUSSION)

This facilitated conversation will be about action. The academic world has its foundations in structural and systemic racism. What can NASSH scholars do to be anti-racists in our institutions? What actions can and should we take? Bring your questions, ideas, concerns, fears, hopes, and goals. The discussion will be candid, difficult, challenging, and hopefully rewarding.



JACOB JAMES FREDERICKS, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

“THE FATHER OF AMERICAN ULTRA-MARATHONING:” TED CORBITT, BLACK AMERICANS, AND THE REBIRTH OF AMERICAN ULTRA-LONG-DISTANCE RUNNING

During the late 1950s and 1960s, Ted Corbitt, a Black American marathoner and the founding president of the New York Road Runners, revitalized ultra-marathoning in the United States. He used his influence within the nascent American road running community to advocate for more races farther than 26.2 miles, and in 1959, convinced the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) to sanction its first ultramarathon road race in the United States. Beyond his administrative efforts, Corbitt excelled athletically. He set national records at 50 miles and 100 miles on the track, placed second at the London-to-Brighton ultramarathon world championship three times, and won the national AAU 50-mile championship in 1968. He accomplished these feats while facing anti-Black racism. Corbitt estimated that police officers stopped him over 200 times while he trained, and some racially motivated hotel clerks refused to rent him a room when he traveled for competitions. Despite these hurdles, Corbitt remained dedicated to developing ultra-long-distance running. He published news, correspondence, and training guides in national and regional running periodicals to improve competition and interest among American runners. Although a Black American led the expansion of American ultramarathons, most of the athletes attracted to these races were white. Limited news coverage in national media sources left most Americans unaware of ultramarathons and Corbitt’s accomplishments. Critically examining Ted Corbitt’s administrative and athletic contributions to ultra-marathoning expands our understanding of how Black American athletes shaped the development of American sport throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

WILLIAM FREEMAN, CAMPBELL UNIVERSITY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BILL BOWERMAN OF OREGON: THE IMPACT OF A LIFE

Bill Bowerman of Oregon in his time was widely recognized as one of the best track coaches in the world and as a co-founder of Nike. His impact was broader than that. As a coach he produced NCAA individual and team championships and US titles, All-Americans, Olympic teams members and medalists, athletes who set multiple US and world records, and he personally was selected Head Coach of 1972 United States Olympic Track and Field Team. As a teacher he ranged from skiing classes to training theory, including writing books on training and presenting and writing in coaching clinics and medical journals. His book “Jogging” (1967) sold over a million copies, popularizing the activity in the US. In terms of applied research, he experimented with track surfaces and indoor throwing surfaces, in improving racing shoes and track equipment, and he cooperated with graduate students on dozens of thesis and dissertation studies utilizing his athletes. As an entrepreneur, he designed running shoes, as Blue Ribbon Sports imported shoes from Onitsuka Tiger (now Asics), to becoming Nike, where he designed, manufactured and sold sport shoes. He contributed to his university by providing the computer system for the renovated university library, as well as a research, museum and office facility for movement research and sport studies. He began summer youth and adult track meets that have continued since the 1950s. He was a philanthropist, contributing to the Bach Festival, and local



symphony, ballet and other arts areas. Finally, he contributed to the Oregon Nature Conservancy. He was, in his own way, a Renaissance man.

DAVID GALINDO, MANCHESTER METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY/NORTHWEST VISTA
COLLEGE

**BONDING OVER THE SILVER AND BLACK: THE SURPRISING FRIENDSHIP OF GEORGE
GERVIN AND GEORGE VALLE**

Over the last half-century, the hypercommodification and impersonalization of professional sport have led to a concerning and growing divide between athletes and supporters, with some fans perceiving players as overpaid commodities and some athletes viewing fans as ignorant dehumanizers. However, before this burgeoning separation, opportunities arose for players and fans to develop acquaintanceships that sometimes blossomed into friendships and this paper highlights one example. Using physical and digital archives, it identifies the relationship between George Gervin of the San Antonio Spurs and George Valle of the Baseline Bums that began in 1974. It briefly traverses their biographies and explains how an African American from inner-city Detroit befriended a Mexican American from the rural Texas town of Devine. It acknowledges the impact athletes have on supporters but argues that fans can also make indelible impressions, and together they can produce a relationship full of meaningful experiences. This paper contributes to our understanding of sports fandom, underscores fan agency, and urges scholars to uncover more fan-player relationships, or lack thereof, to demonstrate how they have changed over time.

SAMUEL L. GARDNER, SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

**THE X'S AND O'S OF 21ST CENTURY SPORTS CAPITALISM: CRITIQUES ON BLACK
LABOR AND MARX'S (IR)RELEVANCE**

In *40 Million Dollar Slaves*, William Rhoden refers to the “exploitation and contemporary colonization” of today’s Black athletes, yet four pages later, he refers to Black athletes as “failures.” What gives? The dependence on Black athletes and their physical, cultural, and emotional labor to generate high revenues across sports is laden with contradictions. Systemic critiques of the capitalist, racist, and sexist business structure of sport are easily mixed up with individualistic condemnations of Black athletes and their moral failings. As Stuart Scott used to say, “Don’t hate the player; hate the game.”

Harry Edwards, Ben Carrington, and Amira Rose Davis are three scholars whose trailblazing analyses and impactful non-scholarly work have brought us closer to an equitable and just vision of what sports can be. They have provided us with the language, insights, and urgency to tackle modern sports’ injustices and racialized and genderized dehumanization. They have built a foundation for future scholars and activists to imagine and enact changes in sport, and their work has shifted public consciousness in big and small ways to disturb the general acceptance of sports’ capitalistic ills.

Juxtaposing Edwards, Carrington, and Davis with Karl Marx may seem like a foolhardy proposition. Marx wrote of class struggle between Europe’s wealthy factory owners and workers



toiling for low wages without workplace protections. In contrast, the minimum NBA salary today is over \$1 million, and players are provided numerous amenities and support services. Yet Marx's theory of capitalist accumulation and production might be better suited to 21st century Black athletes than 19th century textile laborers. The points of synthesis and fissure; agreement and disjuncture between Edwards, Carrington, Davis, and Marx are worth exploring in hopes of getting to the roots of racism and sexism in sports (and academia) and how we can overturn them.

STEVEN GIETSCHIER, THE SPORTING NEWS; ANDREW SCHUSTER, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO; ERIN TWOHIG, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

SPORT IN TIMES OF SOCIETAL CRISIS

Three presentations exploring how sport has dealt with societal crisis in a variety of environments across time and space.

Steven Gietschier, archival consultant, The Sporting News, will present "No Return to Normalcy: American Baseball Confronts the Postwar World," examining baseball's rather inept response to a number of societal challenges confronting the United States after World War II, including labor organizing, race, population migration, urban decline and suburban growth, and the impact of television upon leisure.

Andrew Schuster, history graduate student, University of Texas at El Paso, will present "Moving Dirt and Playing Ball: Race and Baseball at Depression-era CCC camps in the US-Mexico Borderlands," an examination of the history of the Ysleta Black Giants, a widely successfully, if briefly extant—1937-1941—baseball team from an all-Black Civilian Conservation Corps camp that worked on the Bureau of Reclamation's Rio Grande Reclamation project, and who played teams cross-racially from Northern Mexico and El Paso while also maintaining a choir and basketball team, all of which became important fixtures of El Paso-Juárez's social/ cultural fabric.

Erin Twohig, associate professor, French and Francophone Studies Department, Georgetown University, will present "Et les filles aussi/And girls too: French media coverage of women's football." The paper will examine print media coverage of bans on women's football in France in the 1920s and its reemergence in the 1970s. A focus on the changes and continuities between periods will also illuminate how media coverage and historical attitudes towards women's football still influence the sport's trajectory in France today.

GERALD ROBERT GEMS, NORTH CENTRAL COLLEGE

NEURASTHENIA, THE CRISIS OF MASCULINITY, AND THE RISE OF SPORT

Over the course of two generations in the latter nineteenth century, Americans were beset by a rapid cultural transition that transformed the economy, lifestyles, and personal identities. Industrialization further entrenched capitalist values and the pace of life. Urbanization transformed the landscape and regional centers dominated the commercial enterprise as factories and railroads shifted the nature of time and work schedules. Cultural values that had previously



espoused morality, localism, and family life gave way to individualism, competition and personal gain. Hordes of immigrants converged on metropolitan areas in search of a better life, arousing nativist sentiments and accentuating social class divisions. A burgeoning feminist movement further threatened male hegemony. A distinct bachelor subculture took hold in the cities; as a rebellious labor movement threatened transformation of the traditional establishment.

The wave of social and cultural change took a great psychological toll on the populace. The middle and upper classes, whose cultural and economic leadership largely centered in the Northeast, suffered exponentially, afflicted with a new and mysterious disease known as neurasthenia, the weakness of one's nerve force (which might be termed a nervous breakdown), Neurasthenia was first identified in 1869 and remained prevalent throughout the balance of the century. Among the myriad prescriptions for relief and rejuvenation, doctors prescribed physical exercise.

Physicians and psychologists have documented the physical and psychological benefits of sport for both athletes and spectators. This study examines the correlation of sport in the regeneration of individual psyche, communal spirit, and national morale that eventually eradicated the malady. The characteristics and values of the athletic enterprise generated individual recuperation and a national vigor that propelled the United States to global leadership by the dawn of the twentieth century.

RHONDA C. GEORGE, YORK UNIVERSITY & JENNY ELLISON, CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

BEYOND COMMEMORATION: REFLECTIONS ON COMMUNITY BASED SPORT HISTORY

Little is known about the personal experiences of players in the Colored Hockey League of the Maritimes (1895-1930) an inter-provincial all-Black hockey league organized on Canada's eastern seaboard. Recent national commemorations have celebrated the existence of the league, but scholars have yet to explore the history of racism that spawned the creation of a segregated network of Black hockey teams at the end of the 19th century. To document the personal and community dynamics of the story, we created the Black Sport History in the Maritimes Research Project. Based at the Canadian Museum of History, this oral history project focused on the descendants of players in the CHLM.

Working with a community contact, we interviewed nine people who were the children and grandchildren of CHLM players, many of whom were themselves hockey players. The primary goal of the research project was to document the history of the CHLM for the Museum's sport collection, but in the process, we found narrative threads that revealed complex narratives about the history of race in Canada more generally. Unique in our approach to this work was the employment of a community-based and Community Cultural Wealth theoretical lens, which facilitated the gathering and analyzing of personal narratives. This approach added complexity to existing stories about the league, revealing how unspoken racial tensions shaped Canada in the past and present.

In this reflexive presentation, we will share the study and our approaches, discussing how Community Cultural Wealth frameworks helped us broaden the history of the CHLM. We will also unpack the complex intergenerational Canadian histories of customary racism, community



building and resistance that we found in our data. In so doing, we will show how historical perspectives on the CHLM are enriched by approaching oral history and recovery work using a Community Cultural Wealth theoretical orientation.

C. KEITH HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; RICHARD LAPCHICK, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; PYAR SETH, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY; JEFF O'BRIEN, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA; TANYA JONES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY

ALLYSHIP, WHITENESS AND WHITE/BLACK/BROWN VOICES

Allyship as a theory and practice has increased in academic circles and in real time with activism or the neglect of proactive allyship with action and activism (Klutz & Colleagues, 2020). This session brings together all types of scholars and practitioners in disciplines that cross education, race, sport, history and sport management. Each voice will identify best practices and future implications of this concept to innovate higher education and sport teams, organizations etc. in a manner where DEIB is not only rhetoric, but reality.

MOLLY HARRY, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

AMATEURISM AS A CASE FOR USING PATH DEPENDENCE THEORY IN COLLEGE ATHLETICS

Through the lens of path dependence theory, this literature review presents a new conceptualization for understanding the influence of amateurism and five resulting factors—commercialization, distinct academic and athletic leadership, separate organizational and financial structures of academics and athletics, high athletic publicity, and athletic scandals—in creating and maintaining the academic-athletic divide present on college campuses with big-time sports programs in the in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). The academic-athletic divide in the American academy can be understood as the tension between the perceived goals, mission, and values of academics and athletics. This tension has existed since intercollegiate athletics and higher education married in the 1850s, but has been exacerbated over the years, particularly due to amateurism or the unpaid practice of an activity, such as athletics. Path dependence theory argues that current organizational conditions, such as amateur college athletics, are shaped by a historic sequence of previous decisions. Such decisions accumulate over time and become self-reinforcing. This ultimately creates the current environment, culture, and norms of organizations. In this way, it becomes challenging for institutions, like college athletics, to shake free of their history, and form new pathways, such as those different from amateurism. It is this path dependence on amateurism that has spurred the aforementioned five factors and tensions that have remained contentious across NCAA institutions. Using path dependence theory, amateurism can be conceived as a catalyst for the historic and longstanding academic-athletic tensions. Thus, the purpose of this literature review is two-fold: (1) to center amateurism in understanding historic strains between academics and athletics arms of university campuses; and (2) place the academic-athletic divide into a framework, which has yet to be done in sport history literature. This framework can lead to a better understanding of the uneasy marriage between academics and athletics and spark discussions to improve the future of college athletics.



MOLLY HARRY, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

HISTORY IN THE MAKING: UNDERSTANDING COLLEGE ATHLETES' EXPERIENCES DURING THE UNPRECEDENTED CORONAVIRUS

From 2020-2021, the sports world experienced a historic and seismic disruption due to the global pandemic sparked by the coronavirus. In spring 2020, athletics events were cancelled/postponed for months. Then, seemingly on a whim, athletics events re-emerged in the late summer of 2020. These shifts altered athletes' experiences and opportunities in ways that are still yet to be fully understood. One of the groups of athletes most impacted by the coronavirus and sport manager decisions were college athletes, particularly those in football and men's basketball. Indeed, a plethora of scholarship about athletes in football and men's basketball has argued that these athletes often feel exploited for the financial benefit of sport managers and their institution. Such insights were particularly evident during the COVID-19 pandemic as institutions brought these athletes back to campus and forced them to isolate in order to ensure their sport seasons took place and revenue could be generated. Through reflective essays written by football and men's basketball athletes from the Fall 2020-Fall 2021 in an introductory sport management course, this study employed social death theory (SDT) to understand athletes' experiences during this unprecedented time in sports history. SDT was specifically used to explore these athletes' loss of identity, social networks, and body disintegration during the coronavirus pandemic. Results demonstrated that athletes perceived a decrease in their student and social identities, missed connections with non-athlete peers and athletes on other teams, and experienced a lack of body control during the pandemic. These findings are significant for sport history scholars for a handful of reasons. First, given the recency of the pandemic, scholarship on the impact of coronavirus on sports is emerging but yet to be understood at great lengths. Second, sport historians can situate their own scholarship on the intersection of coronavirus and college athletics through the context of this research.

YOLANDA HESTER, ARTHUR ASHE LEGACY AT UCLA

EXPANDING THE NARRATIVE: THE ARTHUR ASHE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

As a trailblazer, Arthur Ashe made tremendous strides in a tennis career that paralleled many pivotal historical moments of the 20th century. He rose from segregated tennis courts in the south to wins at the US Open (1968), Australian Open (1970), and Wimbledon (1975), remaining the only African American man to do so. He played an integral role in the professionalization and commercialization of the sport, achieving celebrity status at the rise of national political turmoil. Like other athletes of his time, he felt compelled to leverage his star status to support causes including The Civil Rights Movement, Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the HIV/AIDS Crisis. He authored the unmatched history of the African American athlete, "A Hard Road to Glory." His life story and accomplishments have been well documented in numerous interviews, movies, and biographies, even some that he authored.

When the Arthur Ashe Legacy at UCLA launched its oral history project, "Purpose Served: An Oral History of the Exemplary Life of Arthur Ashe, 1943-1993," in 2019, it begged the question, "What can oral history offer to a life so well documented?" By examining Purpose Served, this paper will discuss oral history's unique capacity to bring nuance to the historical



record. It will discuss important methodological considerations and issues of relevancy when documenting a well-celebrated figure, and in this case, posthumously. This paper will also discuss the impact of COVID on the project and the resulting community building that emerged.

Purpose Served has captured to date, roughly 80 interviews of Ashe's associates, friends, and family members, and hopes to serve as a meaningful resource for students, scholars, activists, and enthusiasts in perpetuity, while making a significant contribution to the understanding of Ashe's story and to the history of tennis.

ERIC S. HINTZ, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

ATHLETES AS USER INNOVATORS

In this recent history, I draw on the work of Eric von Hippel to explore the motivations of inventor-entrepreneurs in the sports industry. The paper will present multiple examples of user innovation featured in a forthcoming Smithsonian exhibition (Change Your Game) and companion book, *Inventing for Sports*.

In *The Sources of Innovation* (1988), von Hippel rejected the traditional, linear view of product development, in which firms observe an unfilled market need, engage in R&D, and then introduce a new commercial product to fill the need. Instead, he found that “lead users”—experts operating at the cutting edge of their disciplines—often became frustrated with the limitations of their field's existing tools. To compensate, these sophisticated users built improvised solutions that achieved better results. The manufacturers then partnered with the lead users to commercialize their prototypes.

The sports industry has been a fertile sector for user innovation because amateur and elite athletes demand superior performance from their equipment. To illustrate, the paper will describe the innovations of Joe Breeze, who modified standard bicycles to develop the sport of mountain biking in the 1970s. A second case explores how Lisa Lindahl and her partners modified a male jock strap to prototype the first JogBra in the 1970s. A third case examines how a competitive runner (and von Hippel student) named Doug DeAngelis developed Lynx Systems Developers in the 1990s to provide improved photo-finish cameras and timing solutions for various sports. A fourth case describes how a frustrated cricket player and computer scientist named Paul Hawkins developed the Hawk-Eye ball-tracking system to aid officiating in tennis, soccer, and dozens of other sports.

Overall, this paper will explore who invents for sports and why. It argues that athletes' frustrations with incumbent technologies motivate “user innovation” and new product development in both competitive and recreational sports.



MATTHEW R. HODLER, UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

"BY THE COMMON MAN, FOR THE COMMON MAN": POPULAR MISOGYNY AND THE ORIGINS OF BARSTOOL SPORTS

Beginning in 2003 as a free newspaper built on gambling advice, fraudulent advertising, and sports opinions, Barstool Sports has risen to a nearly half-billion dollar multimedia sports and lifestyle company partnering with sports leagues, professional athletes, gambling corporations, and liquor companies. During its ascent, the company (and founder Dave Portnoy) has purposefully courted controversies and been called sexist and racist.

Despite its popularity in the devolving sports media landscape, it has largely escaped critical scrutiny from sport studies scholars. In this paper - which is part of a larger project - I examine the origins of the company as part of what Sarah Banet-Weiser calls popular misogyny, a networked, “ongoing recuperative project” response to and “funhouse mirror” reflection of the late 20th century and early 21st century emergence of “popular feminism.”

ANNETTE HOFMANN, LUDWIGSBURG UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION

THE REMNANTS OF 175 YEARS OF TURNEN IN GERMANY AND THE US

The German Turner Movement goes back to 1811 when Friedrich Ludwig Jahn opened a first gymnastic ground (Turnplatz) in a park in Berlin where boys and young men spent their leisure time to exercise. However, turnen was more than exercise, political debates and socializing were important parts as well. The idea of turnen spread and in 1816 the first clubs were founded which are the base of organized sports in Germany today. The first federation of turnen was founded in 1848. In 2023, the German Gymnastics Federation (Deutscher Turner-Bund) with its 5 million members will celebrate its 175th anniversary. But not only the Germans will celebrate this anniversary. During the German revolution of 1848/49 many politically involved turners left the home country and emigrated. In the U.S in 1848, the first Turnverein was founded in Cincinnati.

Over the decades the idea of Turnen, the German form of body culture was spread to all continents by German immigrants. Today only the clubs in the US and Argentina are still active outside Europe. In other countries, the German population either was forced to close their clubs due to the political atmosphere of the two World Wars or there were not enough Germans to keep them alive.

This presentation will start with an introduction of the turner movement in Germany. Since the United States had the most forceful turner movement outside Europe this movement shall be outlined as well. The Washington Turners will serve as one example. The conclusion of the paper will focus on the present situation of the German and the American turners.



YI-CHUN HUANG & DONG-JHY HWANG, NATIONAL TAIWAN SPORT UNIVERSITY
**SPORT AND POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE
MULAN FOOTBALL HISTORY IN TAIWAN FROM 1970 TO 1980s**

The Taiwan government used sport as a tool to be recognized by other countries after Taiwan withdrew from the United Nations in 1971. After that, Mulan Football was a famous female football team in Taiwan from 1970 to the 1980s for their three times Asian football champion. Following this background, this research examines the narrative of the Mulan football history in Taiwan during the 1970-1980s. The research questions are: Who were the heroines of the Mulan football history? How were those heroines represented? Additionally, some sportswomen are at the center of history. However, whom does this narrative exclude? Regarding theory, feminism makes efforts to challenge and change the situation of women subordinated by men. However, postcolonial feminists argue that feminism ignores the differences between women. Particularly postcolonial feminists doubt the strategies which western feminist mention is suitable for non-western women. For example, white women are at the center, and Black, Asian, and other women disappear. Therefore, postcolonial feminists claim that another exclusion is followed when women are the focus of attention. This research takes postcolonial feminism theory as a guide to collecting documents, such as newspapers, magazines, etc., regarding the Mulan football history and analyzing it. The research data is conducted by a critical discourse analysis method. The evidence shows that most female athletes in Mulan football history are Han. Those Han women represented in history are elite in football with heterosexuality which is consistent with the traditional feminine characters. When many Han women with feminine characters filled in history, the other female athletes, such as indigenous footballers, were periphery. To conclude, the Mulan football history is dominated by patriarchy and Han ethnicity, and this narrative of history makes other classes, ethnicity, and sexuality of female footballers invisible in the sport's history.

WILLIAM HUDDLESTON, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

‘LA VICTORIA DE NUESTRO EQUIPO HA SIDO UNA VICTORIA PARA EL URUGUAY COMO PAÍS’: STYLE, NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTER AT THE 1924 OLYMPIC FOOTBALL TOURNAMENT

The 1924 Olympic Football Tournament in Paris was a breakthrough in the development of the global game. An immense commercial and media success, the tournament was also the first that could properly be called a ‘world championship’, bringing together representative teams from Europe, Africa, North America, and South America. On this global stage, the Uruguayan national football team – the first Latin American squad to play in Europe – entranced observers and demolished opponents en route to a gold medal, over a three-week period which was essential to the formation of Uruguayan identity and its relationship with the rest of the world. Long before its better-researched neighbors in Brazil and Argentina, it was Uruguay which made Latin America’s first footballing “claim to global fame” (Lechner, 2007: 216), but this monumental victory remains lamentably overlooked.



In Paris, Uruguay's stylish, technically brilliant, and tactically advanced play was a revelation, rewriting the dominant paradigm of European sporting hegemony and revealing a new horizon to the game. Beyond a sporting event, the tournament was also a defining moment in the construction of the Uruguayan imagined community, producing powerful images of progress, unity, and national capacity, as well as an affirmation of distinction from the worn-out cultural models of Western Europe, a sporting extension of the "ongoing process of self-affirmation and self-determination that started formally with independence in the early nineteenth century" (Wood, 2017: 22). These images were broadcast by an emerging international sporting media which was growing in the 1920s, both in Uruguay and abroad, as the nation found a global audience to proclaim its rapid transformation from a "medieval backwater" (Oddone, 1986: 453) into Latin America's most advanced liberal democracy, with victory in Paris used as proof that it "could excel in a modern, civilized activity" (Mason, 1995: 32).

CHUANSONG HUO, CHENGDU SPORT UNIVERSITY, YUHUAN LI, BEIXIN
EXPERIMENTAL PRIMARY SCHOOL

INTERNATIONALIZATION AND NEW COUNTRY IMAGE: CHINA'S SPORT DIPLOMACY IN 1980S

This is a stage in which China has emerged and participated deeply in the international arena and sought the status of a regional power under the background of reform and opening up. It is also the first step that sports helps China move towards internationalization and establish a new image. In the new era, sports reflects China's new diplomatic strategies and political demands. The threat posed by the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and the continuation of the 'Uniting the USA against the Soviet Union' strategy made China boycott the Moscow Olympic Games. At the same time, through sports exchanges and mutual support in the Asian Games and the Olympic Games, China and the ROK broke the barrier and laid a solid foundation for the establishment of diplomatic relations in the early 1990s. Under the guidance of the realistic and pragmatic work thought and the appeal of national prosperity and rise, 'breaking out of Asia and going to the world' has become a concentrated reflection of the deep connection between the achievements of sports and the modernization, China was decisive to remove the image of 'sick man of East Asia' in international sports events. Under this background, China began to devote itself to the construction of a new national image and soft power, gradually shifting from active participation to active hosting and the awareness of undertaking international affairs and major country responsibility began to sprout. Through the 1990 Beijing Asian Games, China made it a concentrated embodiment of the social development in the 1980s. Its success does not only lay the foundation for China's status as a regional power, but also opened up the process of China's further internationalization and exploration of its status as a rising world power.



ALEC HURLEY, ST. JOHN FISHER UNIVERSITY

LEISURE OR LAUGHTER: EXPLORING THE FAT MAN'S RACE AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

In the early twentieth century, branches of the Ancient Order of the Hibernians in cities across the Great Lakes gathered annually over the summer to celebrate their collective Irish heritage. A mixture of games, lectures, and song and dance punctuated their picnics. Already an isolated, hierarchical, and patriarchal association by design, the AOH slipped several obscure events into their field day of games that highlighted targeted populations within their organization. One of the more obscure footrace categories was a “fat man’s race.” Races were run between fifty and seventy-five yards across an open field. The weight requirement for the fat man’s race necessitated that all competitors needed to weigh-in at over two-hundred pounds before competing. By the nineteen-teens, the fat man’s race evolved from an obscure event at an ethnic picnic to a mainstay of early indoor arena entertainment. Contemporary accounts depict the event as equal parts humorous and athletic, an event run as much for the entertainment of the audience as much as the success of the competitors.

Prior scholarship has made only passing reference to these events. Redmond’s *The Irish and the Making of American Sport* and Rozenzweig’s *Eight Hours for What We Will* provide the best accounts to date. However, the events themselves and the community impact of them has gone mostly overlooked. Therefore, my presentation explores the social consequences of the events. As such, this research tracks the winners of the contests and the prizes doled out to observe if – and how – these events reinforced the marginalization overweight individuals faced within urban-industrial communities of the early twentieth century United States.

JANE HUNT, BOND UNIVERSITY

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WHOM?: READING TRIATHLON INCLUSIVITY AS NEOLIBERAL STRATEGY

In triathlon vernacular, the sport is frequently described as gender inclusive and unique because elites and amateurs often compete in the same events. Both narratives tend to reflect the aspirations of triathlon enthusiasts involved in the sport as administrators, officials, and athletes. Advocates of gender equality point to the high regard for elite women athletes and strong track record of female leadership of the sport as evidence of the success of their campaigns, to the participation of individuals from developing countries as evidence of the sport’s inclusivity, and age group Ironman and World Triathlon world championships as a sign of the egalitarian nature of the sport. Yet, in each instance, the sport’s apparent inclusivity can also be understood in terms of neoliberal objectives. Numerous sociologists have paid attention to the relationship between sport and neoliberalism in a variety of contexts. This paper historicizes the proposed relationship between sport and neoliberalism by examining three case studies in the sport of triathlon. It draws on oral history, and triathlon ephemera including event publications, newsletters, and magazines to demonstrate the value placed on participation by women, athletes in developing countries and weekend warriors.



THOMAS M HUNT, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

UNMANNED AERIAL TECHNOLOGIES AND THE WORLD OF SPORTS: AN HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

Unmanned aerial technologies play a prominent role in contemporary military affairs. While most famous for their service as surveillance platforms, drones possess other battlefield functions. The US Navy, for example, is developing an unmanned aerial refueling tanker that can be deployed from an aircraft carrier. In addition, the US Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency is exploring tactics related to the utilization of large numbers of very small drones through its OFFSET (Offensive Swarm-Enabled Tactics) program.

This paper focuses on the decade-plus-long diffusion of unmanned aerial technologies within the sporting world. The very qualities that make drones useful in military operations render them of considerable interest to athletic leaders, spectators, and participants. Photographers, for example, have for many years employed drones in covering sporting events as means to capture stunning images from perspectives never before available. Television and online broadcasts of games now also regularly feature shots from the flying machines. Professional and intercollegiate teams have also taken advantage of the high-resolution cameras that even small-unmanned aerial vehicles now commonly carry. Compared to pre-existing filming methodologies, this approach offers broader and sharper visual detail as well as more useful insights into player performance. At the same time, coaches and managers increasingly fret about whether unmanned aerial technologies might be turned against them. For teams willing to break the rules, drones offer a proven technology with which to gather intelligence on rival game planning, personnel use, and play-signaling. Finally, drone racing and related activities have found resonance with young people, who as a group keep turning away in large numbers from traditional athletic disciplines. Indeed, to some unmanned aerial competition represents no less than “the sport of the future” given its distinction as the first—and thus far only—sporting activity to successfully implement virtual control of a physical reality.

TANYA KATHLEEN JONES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY BLOOMINGTON

RICHARD LAPCHICK AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CENTERS ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES: THE ATHLETIC LINK AND THE IMPACT ON SOCIETY

In 1984, Richard Lapchick founded one of the first university-housed social justice organizations at Northeastern University. The Center for the Study of Sport in Society (CSSS) wanted to foster institutional changes against racism, gender inequality, and abuse through sport. The Center has created many successful programs to help promote equality, not only in sport but in society. Lapchick left Northeastern and accepted a position at the University of Central Florida, where he created the Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport, the Institute for Sport and Social Justice, and TIDESport. While each foundation emphasizes sport in the titles and the mission statements, the organizations focus on programs that reach far beyond sport. Some of these programs include college completion programs for athletes, youth sports camps for underprivileged children, rebuilding homes for hurricane Katrina survivors, and ending human trafficking.



Richard Lapchick paved the way for academic institutions to host successful sport for social justice centers. Since the mid-2010s, a shift toward social justice reform has occurred in the United States. In 2015, California State University East Bay created the Center for Sport and Social Justice; in 2016, Pennsylvania State University created the Center for the Study of Sports in Society; and, in 2017, San Jose State University launched the Institute for the Study of Sport, Society and Social Change. This paper aims to discuss these centers' impact and evaluate the pros and cons of hosting them on university campuses. Can more universities benefit from institutes like these? While these organizations are surrounded by sport, they aspire to reach beyond athletics and use sport to promote equality in society.

TETSUJI KAKIYAMA, FUKUOKA UNIVERSITY

BASKETBALL'S CONNECTION TO TWO AMERICAN WOMEN MISSIONARIES WHO INTRODUCED BASKETBALL TO JAPAN BEFORE THE ESTABLISHED THEORY

In Japan, the established theory is that Mr. Hyozo Omori, a graduate of the International YMCA Training School, first introduced basketball in 1908 at the Tokyo YMCA, where he was assigned. However, at last year's conference, the presenter revealed the historical fact that in 1902, before the established theory, Ms. Mariana Young installed basketball goals that followed AAU rules at Nagasaki Kwassui Girls' School, and Ms. Harriet S. Alling played basketball at the Aoyama Girls' School sports day that same year.

After graduating from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1893, Ms. Young worked at Allegheny College as a Latin teacher and teaching assistant in Huling's Hall from 1894 to 1896, and came to Japan in 1898 to become the second principal of Nagasaki Kwassui Girls' School in 1899. In 1895, during Ms. Young's tenure at Allegheny College, Mr. Howard G. Budge arrived as the College's first Physical Director, conducting physical education for women, including basketball, in Huling's Hall.

Meanwhile, Ms. Alling graduated from Oswego State Normal and Training School in 1883, came to Japan in 1887 to teach at the Tokyo Eiwa School, returned to Japan in 1893 for the World's Fair, and spent a year at the University of Chicago for special studies. She then came to Japan again in July 1894 and served as principal of Seiryu Girls' School in Nagoya from 1894 to 1897, and taught English and gymnastics at Aoyama Girls' School from 1897 to 1912. At the University of Chicago, Amos A Stagg was the first athletic director and football coach from 1892, where he also taught basketball.

Therefore, it was suggested that Ms. Young may have been exposed to basketball at Allegheny College and Ms. Alling at the University of Chicago and introduced it to Japan.

GREG KALISS, YORK COLLEGE OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE ABA AND THE RISE OF HIP-HOP AMERICA

My presentation will analyze the larger meanings of the American Basketball Association (ABA), especially in terms of its connection to burgeoning hip-hop culture. In existence from 1967 to 1976, the ABA offered innovative rules, on-court flair, and increased opportunities for African-American players, but it also channeled many of the same political and cultural themes that were spurring the creation of hip-hop music, dance, and graffiti. My presentation will



explore a wide range of magazine and newspaper articles from the mainstream and Black presses, in addition to documentaries, music performances, and advertisements, in order to assess the league's connections to political and cultural transformations of the time. Taking pride in its reputation as an outsiders' league, the ABA encouraged a more wide-open and improvisational style of play that came primarily from Black players on urban playgrounds. Wearing their hair in large Afros and exploding for powerful slam-dunks on the court, Black players in the ABA celebrated an African-American aesthetic rooted in rhythmic sophistication, personal style, and improvisation. Through fashion, playing style, and acknowledgement of their urban, playground origins, these players called attention to the plight of African Americans suffering from the legacies of white flight and urban decline.

KOHEI KAWASHIMA, WASEDA UNIVERSITY

MODERN SPORTS AND GENDERING IN JAPAN IN THE MEIJI, TAISHO AND EARLY SHOWA ERAS (1868-1941)

Modern sports are given birth in 19th century United Kingdom as activities of men, by men, and for men. However, the sporting games themselves are not assigned gender differences at their births. Each game has acquired a gendered identity from that time to the present, as it has come to be regarded as "masculine," "manly," or "feminine" depending on political, economic, social, and cultural factors in the historical context of its birth, introduction, and development. This has led to the development of gendered identities.

In Japan, to date, baseball, soccer, and rugby have long been synonymous with sports considered "male-oriented," although the number of female competitors has increased in recent years. On the other hand, artistic swimming, rhythmic gymnastics, and naginata represent sports or martial arts that are considered "for women." In Japan, historically, tennis became a social sport for upper-middle-class women during the Meiji era, while basketball and volleyball first gained popularity among girls and female students during the Meiji and Taisho eras. These three sports began primarily as "women's" sports and eventually became "men's" sports as well. Golf, on the other hand, began as a "men's" sport played by businessmen and eventually became a "women's" sport played by their wives.

Japanese historians of sport have, however, rarely studied systematically the phenomenon of "gendering," in which "gender" is assigned to sports events, during the dawn of modern sports in Japan, that is, the Meiji, Taisho, and early Showa eras (1868-1941). In order to fill this gap in the discipline's historiography, this project aims to elucidate the dynamics of gendering from a historical perspective by examining primary sources on the sports conditions at that time. This presentation will outline the research plan, mainly by discussing the methodology necessary to reread the history of modern Japanese sports from a gendering perspective.



JORDAN HALE KEESLER, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

STORIES OF EXILE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRANS ATHLETES AS A POLITICAL CATEGORY

“Stories of Exile: The Construction of Trans Athletes as a Political Category,” asks: What is the relationship between gendered sports policy since 1936 and anti-trans sports laws in 2021? Utilizing a transfeminist sports studies’ methodology, I explore three significant points in Olympic sports where the discourse of the gender binary shifts: the introduction of sex verification in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, the 1972 passage of Title IX, which shaped the classification of “female athletes,” and the 2021 Tokyo Olympics which featured the first out transgender and non-binary athletes. Aiming to bring attention to the connection between sports and the construction and continued (de)stabilization of the hierarchical gender binary, this project looks for explicit attempts to regulate gender non-normativity in sports in order to identify specific characteristics about how trans athletes are discussed to formulate a historically grounded conception of today’s attacks on trans athletes.

OZZY KELES, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

WHO IS THE CHAMPION OF THE 2010 – 2011 TURKISH SUPER LEAGUE? – FIXING GAMES CRISIS IN TURKISH SOCCER

The 2010-11 Turkish Super League concluded on May 22, 2011, when Fenerbahçe Soccer Club (hereafter: Fenerbahçe) won the league title over Trabzonspor with merely a goal difference advantage. Both teams collected 82 points in three points contests in league competition after playing a total of 34 games. While many Fenerbahçe fans celebrated their title across Turkey, there was no celebration for Trabzonspor followers in Trabzon.

However, Fenerbahçe’s victory celebration ended on July 3, 2011, in the wake of an investigation revealing the most significant case of corruption in the history of the Turkish Soccer League – the fixing of 17 soccer matches. Shortly after the investigations commenced, 61 individuals were arrested, including club officials and soccer players. Subsequently, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) declared that circumstances warranted immediate suspension of Fenerbahçe from the Champions League play for the 2011-12 season. A Turkish court sentenced the President of Fenerbahçe, Aziz Yıldırım, to three years in jail. The suspension of Fenerbahçe gave Trabzonspor hope that the team would be awarded the 2010-11 Turkish Super League title.

However, although the match-fixing allegations were ultimately proven to be true after examinations by international sports courts, appeal judges later ordered the cancellation of all sentences, thereby leaving the entire case unresolved.

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the historical elements surrounding the match-fixing crisis in the 2010 – 2011 Turkish Super League. Within existing literature, most scholars that have attempted to analyze the 2010-11 match-fixing crisis in Turkey from various perspectives have failed to pursue an empirically based approach. This study applies a qualitative approach gleaned from empirical sources to contribute to the literature, mainly through archival items, newspapers, and additional secondary texts. This study will be presented in a historical narrative format.



MATTHEW KLUGMAN, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY

REPRESENTING, DEBATING & PROTESTING THE NATION: TOWARDS A VISUAL HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN SPORT

Pictures of lifesavers, cricketers, footballers, and so many others have frequently been used to represent the so-called nation of Australia to itself and the world, while other sporting images have sparked national debates about racism, and sexism. Yet there has been no broad study of the impact and legacies of Australian sporting iconography. This paper will explore how a history of sporting images can enrich understandings of Australia's past and present, and in particular the roles that sport plays in shaping national pride, passions, concerns, and movements for social change. It will also explore how sporting iconography can be analyzed by utilizing the innovative frameworks and methodologies developed by Aboriginal scholars to critically reflect on another key cultural practice of representation: art. At issue is the power of sporting images to shape understandings and interventions around notions of race and gender, feelings of pride, moments of protest, the experiences of bodies and passions, along with contesting dispossession and asserting Aboriginal sovereignty.

ROBERT KOSSUTH, UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

“MOOSE BOXING CLUB”: SPORT AND BENEVOLENT FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY SOUTHERN ALBERTA

Sport and recreation activities flourished within benevolent fraternal organizations in southern Alberta in the first half of the twentieth century. These societies were formed primarily to provide social and financial support to members and their families in case of illness or death. The three most prominent fraternal societies active in southern Alberta in the early twentieth century were the Loyal Order of Moose, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Local chapters representing these organizations were active in communities of all sizes including, for example, Calgary, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, Taber, Claresholm, Granum, and Cardston. Branches of these organizations were established in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth under the auspices of the parent organizations located in the United States. This study addresses the role of fraternal organizations as providers, participants, and supporters of sport and recreation. These institutions are often overlooked as wide-ranging providers of these activities and have not received adequate attention in the historiography concerned with early Canadian sport.

Fraternal societies and their affiliated sororal organizations existed to provide mutual support for members drawn largely from the lower-middle and working classes. However, the activities sponsored by these groups also sought to promote various forms of social improvement among memberships and within communities. In some cases, these activities extended to political engagement. Activities such as boxing, hockey, curling, bowling, and baseball were employed to attract membership, promote the societies, and provide public and visible demonstrations of support for communities through sponsoring sports teams and organizations. To these ends, benevolent societies remained grounded in contemporary understandings of sport and recreation practices that served to reinforce and enhance the ideologies associated with the



white-settler interests and colonializing influences prevalent in southern Alberta through the first half of the twentieth century.

YOU LI, WASEDA UNIVERSITY

A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF TIYU-FOR-GOOD: RE-EXAMINING THE WIDER ROLES OF MODERN SPORTS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN NEW CHINA

Arguably, despite wishful thinking such as ‘sport for sport’s sake’, sport, being a malleable carrier of diverse interests, has never been immune from broader human purposes. While impure motives have often exploited this ‘empty form’ for miserable consequences, it is the positive side of sport’s externalities that is attended to and celebrated the most, which has facilitated the long-held narrative of sport-for-good, and its current successor sport-for-development.

In the late 19th century, the gospel of sport-for-good was brought to post-feudal China by colonial powers, not least through physical educators of the YMCA, aiming to muscularize and civilize the ‘backward’ nation. Colliding with the indigenous resistance, however, such efforts largely failed to fulfil its higher mission of legitimizing imperialism and religious expansionism. In contrast, Western sporting practices were embraced by the Chinese to equip themselves for marching towards modernity. This progression was incisively recounted by Andrew Morris (2004), who introduced the pivotal concept of ‘tiyu (体育)’. Notwithstanding its origin from the direct Japanese translation of ‘Physical Education’, tiyu has been expanded to be the umbrella notion in contemporary Chinese encompassing all forms of sports and physical activities, hardly in the sense of pastime or rituals, but more as an indispensable instrument to cultivate modern bodies for China, thereby to achieve greater undertakings.

While current academic literature has jointly sketched out an extensive history of tiyu in modern China, few attached specific attention to how it has been embedded with wider objectives. This research hence aspires to synthesize existing historical accounts to review the broader roles given to tiyu since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. The findings raise tiyu-for-good as an analogue to sport-for-good, by which this study is sectioned to examine tiyu’s significance in terms of national physiques, international relations, nationalism and patriotism, soft power and economy.

YONGXIN LIU, WASEDA

EXAMINING THE PREVALENCE OF THE STEREOTYPE OF BLACK ATHLETIC ADVANTAGE IN FITNESS COMMUNITIES IN JAPAN AND CHINA

The present study aimed to examine the prevalence of the stereotype that Black people have innate athletic advantages in fitness communities in Japan and China. Nine fitness-related individuals from Japan and China were interviewed and surveyed through qualitative research methods, such as interviews and surveys, to analyze the myth of Black athleticism in these communities and gain a deeper understanding of personal views on this stereotype. The results of the study indicate that this stereotype about Black people’s physical abilities is prevalent among members of these communities (7/9).



However, while both sides agreed on the existence of this stereotype in the sports industry, there were different opinions about this stereotype in bodybuilding. Ordinary bodybuilding enthusiasts expressed clear agreement with the idea that Black bodybuilders benefited from their racial physical abilities, while professional bodybuilders tended to attribute the success of Black bodybuilders to individual physical talent rather than entirely to innate characteristics or racial background.

This is clearly different from the stereotype of Black athletic ability that exists in other sports such as track and field and basketball, in which Black people are often considered to have naturally stronger athletic abilities. The study results suggest that this stereotype about Black physical abilities is considered racism in the United States, but it has not yet received enough attention or consideration in Japan and China. Overall, the study provides insights on the prevalence and different perspectives of the stereotype of Black people's innate athletic advantages in fitness communities in Japan and China.

GABE LOGAN, NORTHERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY; KEVIN TALLEC MARSTON, DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY; CHRIS BOLSMANN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY NORTHRIDGE; DAVID KILPATRICK, MERCY COLLEGE; GEORGE KIOUSSIS, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY NORTHRIDGE

US SOCCER PAST AND PRESENT: STRIKES, EXCLUSIONS, TOURS, AND MONOPOLIES

This session considers United States' soccer from four periods, early formations of the game in Michigan's Upper Peninsula 1909-1914; soccer's exclusion at the 1932 Xth Olympiad in Los Angeles; the North American Soccer League's 1979 South African tour; and Major League Soccer, a First Division monopoly 1993- present. These works contribute to our understanding of US soccer's inclusion and exclusion from the nation's sportscape.

Gabe Logan's "Kicking in the Copper Country," explains the connections between Michigan's copper mines and soccer. It considers soccer's development in the U.P. and those who championed the sport. The league survived for five healthy seasons before becoming a causality to the 1913-14 Copper Strike's contention, violence, and murders.

Kevin Tallec Marston's paper "'The U.S.A. felt bitter': Amateurism, the 1932 Olympics & Soccer's absence," examines the 1931 decision to exclude soccer from the Olympic program at the LA Games. This paper will explore the absence of soccer at the 1932 Games in the wider context of the Depression-era, the history of American soccer, and the transnational decade that shaped the international sport community.

Chris Bolsmann's "'Help dent the impact of FIFA's expulsion': The NASL tour of Apartheid South Africa" surveys an understudied NASL tour, when a white Afrikaner apartheid apologist and Kaizer Motaung arranged for a tour of apartheid South Africa to generate profits for local organizers, players, and circumvent the limitations placed on South African soccer due to FIFA expulsion.

David Kilpatrick's contribution is "Monopolizing League Soccer: Contesting American Exceptionalism." The distinctive league structure of United States' professional soccer is



predicated upon an historical narrative, the first-division sanction of a single-entity league justified as a solution for past failures. This paper will explore stories told to justify and preserve hegemony, with special concern for motifs of progress and American exceptionalism.

LULU LIU & JEFFREY MONSEAU, SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE

SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE LAYS JOHN MA'S WHOLE-LIFE SPORTS THEORY

John Ma (1882-1966) was a famous physical educationist and sports theorist in modern China. He is also the one of six color outstanding achievers in all of Springfield college alumni. He studied twice at the International YMCA College (Springfield College) in 1920 and 1925, studying physical education in the United States. Springfield College lays John Ma's sports theory and John Ma's achievement in Chinese P.E. contributes to the advancement of Springfield College.

In Springfield College, John Ma wrote the "The Transfer Value of Sports", which discusses sports more comprehensively, and in-depth educational role and value. John demonstrated that moral character can be transformed by sports, sports can cultivate people's character - courage, persistence, self-confidence, enterprising spirit and determination to develop the social qualities of man—justice, loyalty, freedom, cooperation, these own great values. The thought embodied in this paper also became the theoretical basis for John Ma's future physical education practice.

After returning to Tsinghua University from Springfield College, John Ma persistently practiced the theory in his physical education career, and cultivated the moral concepts of Tsinghua students through sports.

Told people "fight, fight, fight, fight to the finish, never give up", "sport is so beautiful", He asked children to "put their chests up". These classic sentences evolved into a resounding slogan in Tsinghua University ---- "Strive to work for the motherland for at least 50 years healthy!" which encourages thousands of youth to work hard.

John Ma has worked diligently in physical education for more than 50 years, influenced Tsinghua students and China's sport career so much that he has been hailed as a banner of the sports world by the Chinese sports world. His achievements are still commemorated by Tsinghua University and the Chinese people today.

STACY L. LORENZ, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

“ATHLETIC SPORTS PROPERLY CONDUCTED BRING OUT SOME OF THE FINEST QUALITIES OF MANHOOD”: SPORT, MUSCULAR CHRISTIANITY, AND MASCULINITY IN LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY CANADA

This paper explores the connections between values associated with “muscular Christianity” and ideals linked to dominant conceptions of masculinity in late 19th and early 20th century Canada. The development of modern sport was tied to ideologies of middle-class amateurism and notions of “respectable” middle-class masculinity. At the same time, promoters of muscular Christianity, or athleticism, argued that “manly” sports instilled moral virtue and developed useful character traits, such as persistence, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and teamwork. The perceived benefits of sport were also intertwined with a version of aggressive masculinity that



historian E. Anthony Rotundo calls “passionate manhood.” Anchored in concepts of physicality, martial spirit, eugenics, and social Darwinism, this passionate standard of masculinity exalted combativeness, competitiveness, and toughness, and placed a high value on bodily strength and athletic skill.

Ideals linked to muscular Christianity and manly physicality were widely embraced by medical, educational, and church leaders, as sport became a tool for social reform that would remedy the physical and moral ills associated with urbanization and industrialization. The new sporting culture that emerged in Canada between Confederation and the First World War was dominated by team sports, and a range of discourses centered around health, respectability, and national vitality rationalized sports like lacrosse, baseball, hockey, and football as socially valuable. Moreover, as frustrations with the new bureaucratic world of male white-collar work and concerns about cultural feminization and “overcivilization” spurred efforts to revitalize manhood in new ways, sport became one of the most important vehicles for countering effeminacy and conferring manliness. Drawing upon both primary and secondary sources, this paper will examine such attitudes as those expressed by Reverend J. Myles Crombie in 1905: “Athletic sports properly conducted bring out some of the finest qualities of manhood.... [N]o healthy boy or man should be, indeed, can afford to be, without it.”

ASHLEY J. LOUP, UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

SPORTING BODIES AND ARTISTIC LEGACY AT THE LOS ANGELES MEMORIAL COLISEUM

The 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games are perhaps best known for reimagining the commercial potential of the weeks-long global sporting event and thus becoming an economic triumph. However, I argue that the enduring legacy of the 1984 Games rests on its identity-building project, best exemplified in the headless torsos of the Olympic Gateway statues at the forefront of the LA Memorial Coliseum. Sculpted by LA-based artist Robert Graham as part of the Olympic Arts Festival, the work celebrated both local and international artistic cultures.

This paper examines the relationships between sport, art, and LA identity that is demonstrated and cultivated through the Olympic Gateway sculptures. Treated as a genuine work of art, the Gateway straddled the line between low-brow and high-brow culture. In this, the debate over the Gateway was not just about which culture would be at the forefront of the Coliseum, but which culture would LA represent on the global stage. In many ways, the monument acted as a gateway between the worlds of sport and art and between the viewing public and the art critic.

While Los Angeles had a well-known sporting culture, the art festival’s organizers wanted to highlight its past of artistic excellence and establish itself as a cosmopolitan titan of the art world, entering the domain of other global cities like Paris, London, or Rome. Drawing upon primary documents from the LA 84 Foundation archive – as well as photographs, news reports, and my own experiences of the existing spaces – I argue that through Graham’s Olympic Gateway Los Angeles curated, constructed, and exhibited an identity of global significance that could merge both high and low culture.



SHELLEY LUCAS, BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY & LAURA FRANCES CHASE, CALIFORNIA
STATE POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY

SUSTAINING A CLUB AND A VISION: WOMEN'S MOUNTAIN BIKE & TEA SOCIETY

The Women's Mountain Bike & Tea Society (WOMBATS) is a sport club that has experienced ebbs and flows since its origins in the mid-to-late 1980s. WOMBATS founder, Jacquie Phelan, formalized the club in 1987, after a few years of individual efforts that grew into an organization. Twenty-plus years later, events were still taking place and, today a Facebook group provides a place for members to find connections and share memories. To build upon our work about the WOMBATS, which has thus far primarily focused on the origins and purpose of this club, we will jump forward and examine the club at other points in time. Kay (2013) argued that sport historians have tended to emphasize club origins and give much less attention to time points beyond, when clubs may face challenges associated with changing social and economic circumstances. In this presentation, we explore those types of circumstances, along with cultural shifts in mountain biking that have accompanied the proliferation of this sport since its origins in the 1970s, and analyze their impact on the life cycle of this club. Utilizing newsletters, membership correspondence and other primary sources in the middle and later years of the WOMBATS, we note the benefits and challenges of the club's infrastructure, which rested primarily on the shoulders of the club's founder. We highlight the role of the newsletter to sustain this unique, women-centered organization in light of the growth of mountain biking as a social, economic and regionally political institution.

MALCOLM MACLEAN, UNIVERSITY OF GIBRALTAR/THE UNIVERSITY OF
QUEENSLAND/DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY

BECOMING LOCAL, BEING WHITENED: 1969, BASIL D'OLIVIERA AND THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN WORCESTER

The contested selection of 'Coloured' South African Basil D'Oliviera that made the 1969 MCC cricket tourists, as the national team of England and Wales, to South Africa the 'team of the anti-apartheid movement', in the words of South African Prime Minister Johannes Vorster, had particular resonance in Worcester, home D'Oliviera's county club hosts (Worcestershire County Cricket Club). Despite efforts by the apartheid regime and its allies and agents to mitigate the risk to apartheid orthodoxy and its racial distinctions that D'Oliviera presented, his selection and its circumstances became a major point of rupture and a turning point in the global anti-apartheid sports boycott. This paper explores the coverage of these events in the Worcester Evening News. We find that D'Oliviera was portrayed as mistreated by the MCC through his non-selection. As the affair developed, however, D'Oliviera was increasingly portrayed as a local man, and his South African origins minimized. Associated with this localization was the growing depiction of D'Oliviera as more White than Black. Despite the conservative political leanings of the area, it appears that through the D'Oliviera affair, apartheid began to be portrayed as increasingly illegitimate, and the anti-apartheid campaign gained increasing recognition.



MARTA N. MACK, UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

BLACK BASEBALL'S UNRULY BLACK LADY TALKS BACK, 1945-1949

In a June 1948 *Ebony* magazine article, Jackie Robinson chided Negro League ownership about poor player conditions and its business practices. In a blistering rebuttal, Effa Manley, co-owner of the Newark Eagles Negro League baseball franchise called Robinson “ungrateful” and “stupid”. In this paper, I use the term unruly Black lady to demonstrate how Manley upholds Black upper-class cultural codes while resisting anti-Blackness and patriarchy. Manley’s unruliness is an example of what bell hooks calls “talking back” – a tactic Black women and girls use to challenge authority figures (hooks, 1989). My analysis of Manley’s printed commentaries foregrounds how she “talked back” to patriarchy. Moreover, I argue that scholars writing about Manley have reinforced anti-Black racism and sexism by avoiding nuanced discussions of her Blackness. This work contributes to sport histories by elucidating how Black women reclaim their humanity. I ask how Manley’s “unruliness” is central to this conversation. Further, it requires sport historians to interrogate the ways in which the white gaze structures their writing about Black life.

CALLIE ELIZABETH MADDOX, MIAMI UNIVERSITY

“IS CURLING ANY MORE EXCITING?”: USA YOGA, THE SPORTIFICATION OF YOGA ĀSANA, AND THE QUEST FOR OLYMPIC INCLUSION

Rajashree Choudhury founded USA Yoga as a non-profit organization with the stated goal to develop and promote yoga āsana (physical postures) as a sport. She sought to sportify the style of yoga developed and popularized by her husband, Bikram Choudhury, who built a lucrative franchise of yoga studios across the United States. Under the auspices of USA Yoga, the Choudhurys organized a series of regional and national yoga competitions in which participants perform six postures judged on strength, flexibility, and balance. Starting in 2009, USA Yoga began a concerted campaign to have yoga āsana recognized as an international sport and included in the Olympic Games. Reactions to these efforts in the American yoga community varied. Many yogis argued that competition and judging ran counter to the very nature of yoga as an inward practice. Others suggested that the Olympic platform would encourage more people to practice yoga and glean its health benefits. To further this campaign at the international level, Rajashree Choudhury oversaw the legal formation of the International Yoga Sports Federation in 2013 as the registered world governing body for all matters related to global yoga āsana competitions. Despite Bikram’s downfall in 2017 spurred by multiple charges of rape and sexual harassment, Rajashree has continued her work with USA Yoga by distancing herself and the competitions from her former husband’s legacy. USA Yoga competitions are now open to practitioners from any yoga style or school, following Choudhury’s contention that “the paths are many, the sport is one.” This presentation will trace the historical development of USA Yoga and its work for Olympic inclusion, contextualized within the wider global governance of yoga āsana.



CAM MALLET, PENNSYLVANIA STATE

**“TO HAVE MAJOR LEAGUE SPORTS WE MUST HAVE BIG LEAGUE DEMOCRACY”:
THE ROLE OF BLACK CLUBS AND SPORTSWRITERS IN ATLANTA’S QUEST TO
ATTRACT PROFESSIONAL SPORTS**

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the white political and civic leadership of Atlanta, Georgia desperately wanted a professional sports team to make the Peach State its new home. However, because major American professional sports leagues hesitated to expand into segregated cities, Atlanta’s Black leaders sensed an opportunity to push for greater racial equality. Members of the Black press and Black civic organizations argued that ending Jim Crow must be a precondition for any major league team to open in the city. Newspaper columns from Black sportswriters and archival materials from these organizations demonstrate the extent of this campaign. Just as these leaders mobilized Black voters in order to swing Atlanta city elections, they mobilized Black sports fans to support—or boycott—any major league football or baseball franchise interested in relocating. These leaders, especially Atlanta Daily World sportswriter Marion Jackson, swore that attendance at any Atlanta professional games would suffer unless the city provided integrated accommodations for Black fans both inside and outside of the ballpark. As Jackson opined in his column, “To have major league sports we must have big league democracy.”

While much scholarship has focused on the efforts of Atlanta’s white moderate coalition in attracting major league teams, the role of the city’s Black leadership in this campaign remains understudied. This research demonstrates that Black Atlantans capitalized on the city’s major league aspirations to further racial equality. In the process, their efforts made Atlanta even more attractive for interested franchises. Rather than affirm the assumption that Atlanta boasted one of the South’s first professional teams because it was “the city too busy to hate,” this research suggests that this racially moderate reputation was in part created and reinforced by Black intervention in Atlanta’s major league quest.

VEENA MANI, STELLA MARIS COLLEGE; BERNARDO RIOS, SKIDMORE
COLLEGE; GABRIEL TORRES COLÓN, VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY; TRACIE CANADA,
DUKE UNIVERSITY

**RACIALIZED BODIES, ATHLETIC EXPERIENCES: COMMUNAL STRATEGIES OF
RESISTANCE**

Since the 1970s, anthropologists have struggled to identify how research on sport can contribute to anthropological theory. This endeavor has today obtained more traction as the various dimensions of play, performance, exercise, and sport have attracted scholars previously interested in other areas of concern, thereby representing great potential for understanding institutional and relational formations of embodied culture. One of the drawbacks to past anthropological sports scholarship is how an emphasis on the relationship between sports, colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism has not yielded a sustained effort to examine how subaltern athletes navigate their marginalized social positions.



Accordingly, we ask: How are athletes' bodies culturally marked through sport? In what ways are athletes used by (and potentially exploited by) teams, bureaucratic organizations, and nations? How do the tensions between competition and collaboration, inequality and fair play inform their lives and social worlds? How are athletes' lived experiences constituted, either at play or in the real world? Ultimately, what does research motivated by these questions contribute to the broader anthropological and historical questions about the body and embodiment, racialized and gendered experiences, and resistance and power?

In this second panel of anthropologists, we bring together scholars committed to researching the ethnographic complexity of athletes' lives as they inhabit sporting spaces while also navigating racism, labor exploitation, commodification, and multiple violences. Here, panelists examine the strategies enacted by marginalized athletes, across multiple sports, in order to challenge oppressive social and sporting regimes. These acts of resistance are part of a long history of racialized folks who build and rely upon communities of care to flourish.

LUKE MASHBURN, GEORGIA HIGHLANDS COLLEGE

FAN EXPERIENCE: THE PRACTICAL AND ACADEMIC HISTORY OF AN OVERLOOKED MARKETING CONCEPT

Fan experience seems to be such a simple concept. If fans have a great time, they will come back to games. However, teams failed to realize this until at least the 1990s. As teams began designing facilities with the fan in mind, academic studies kept pace, highlighting these changes in the industry. This presentation will frame academic studies against historical innovations in the fan experience.

Fan experience is the practice of building spectator satisfaction through experiential components. Academically, experience studies often combine elements of facility management, customer service, and game atmosphere. Most academic studies in this area are survey-based and examine elements of the in-person game experience, including video board presentation, staff performance, and stadium aspects such as the layout of restrooms and. Some studies may focus on a single area, such as customer service or facility management. An entire subset of sport management research is dedicated to facility management.

On the professional side, sports organizations find themselves facing declining attendance. How teams adjust their fan experience will be vital to their future. Using historical examples of innovations in the fan experience, including advances in technology, social areas for fans, and interactive attractions for children, the presenter will share suggestions for the future of this area.

This presentation will examine the concepts of fan experience, from both the practical and academic standpoints. Keying on historical aspects, such as the rise of videoboards and other technology, the presentation will frame this relatively young 35-year-old concept around the changing nature of the sports industry and sports fans. The presentation will highlight key innovations in fan experience, noting their historical nature.



LUKE MASHBURN, GEORGIA HIGHLANDS COLLEGE

THE FIVE MODERN MLB FORFEITS: HISTORY AND LESSONS

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, Major League Baseball (MLB) forfeits were commonplace. Since 1971, there have been only five forfeits in MLB games, four in the 1970s and one in 1995. In a sport with over 2000 games per season, avoiding a forfeit for over 25 years is an impressive feat, but the five modern forfeit present valuable event management lessons, in addition to be unique points in history.

Each forfeit shines light on different sport management and cultural issues: In 1971, as the second iteration of the Washington Senators played their last game before moving to Texas and becoming the Rangers, fans overtook the field looking for souvenirs. In 1974, Ten Cent Beer Nights, an ill-fated marketing stunt by the Cleveland Indians saw drunken fans storm the field and attack Rangers players. Earl Weaver pulled his Orioles team in protest over what he perceived to be unsafe field conditions due to a tarp on a bullpen mound in foul territory in 1977. In 1979, famed marketer and White Sox owner Bill Veeck's now infamous Disco Demolition Night included a local DJ blowing up a collection of disco records, which severely damaged the field and led to a full-scale riot. In 1995, Dodger fans threw souvenir baseballs, a gate giveaway, onto the field at various intervals in the game, getting so intense due to controversial calls in the ninth inning that the game was forfeited.

The history, including cultural aspects, of each forfeit will be presented. While history will be the focus of the presentation, modern event management lessons and best practices for industry professional will be highlighted. To an extent, the presentation will attempt to frame sports history as a modern teaching tool.

STEVE BOOTH MARSTON, TRINITY COLLEGE

CYCLING IDENTITIES: GREG LEMOND'S REPRESENTATION OF (TRANS)NATIONALISM AND GLOBAL CAPITALISM, 1981-1990

In 1986, Greg LeMond became the first American to win the Tour de France, the most prestigious cycling race in the world. LeMond represented a movement by which American road cycling, as a collection of riders, teams, and events, gained recognition in a sport scene long dominated by Europeans.

In this presentation, I will address LeMond as a figure who straddled both American nationalism and the global capitalism that increasingly defined cycling's large-scale events like the Tour. Early in his career, LeMond foregrounded his national identity, most visibly during his Cold War-inflected showdown with Soviet cyclists at the 1981 Coors Classic in Colorado. However, as he professionalized, joining a powerful French team, LeMond increasingly presented himself as a *global*-capitalist athlete whose priorities lay in those who funded his career. Yet he did not altogether shed his Americanism, at times openly feuding with his French teammates and forming alliances with North American riders, as well as visiting the White House after his Tour victories. Thus, through LeMond, we may consider the complexities of global-capitalized, neoliberal 1980s sport, in which national identities were expressed in uneasy tension with market identities. This dynamic was particularly resonant at the Tour de France,



which was being transformed from a national/continental event to a global spectacle, facilitated by satellite-delivered television broadcasts.

Regarding primary sources, I largely draw on the American media coverage (television broadcasts and newspaper/magazine articles) through which LeMond was presented to the public. I also examine British and French sources, such as *Le Monde* and *Paris Match*, in order to comparatively address his representations in Europe.

This paper contributes to sport history by transnationally examining how athlete identities were (re)formed in the 1980s/90s, as sport spectacles became more globalized, televised, and commercialized.

ERIN MCCARTHY, COLUMBIA COLLEGE CHICAGO

STELLA STAGG: DID SHE OR DIDN'T SHE?

In 1892, 17-year-old Stella Robertson traveled from Albion, New York, to join the inaugural, co-education class at the University of Chicago. Known for her intellect and athleticism, Miss Robertson took advantage of every athletic opportunity open to women on campus, including tennis and basketball. She also supported the Maroon 11 and its popular coach, Amos Alonzo Stagg—the most eligible bachelor on campus. Within two years, Stella and the famous coach were married—they spent their honeymoon traveling with the Chicago squad to the West Coast to play two games against Stanford. Two years later, in 1896, Mrs. Alonzo Stagg graduated with her class.

Stella's role as an expert football scout is well documented during Stagg's tenure as the head football coach at the College of the Pacific from 1933 to 1946, but her role in and contribution to the sport while at the University Chicago as a faculty wife is less clear. It was reported, Stella began to chart home football games from the press box in 1902, just before the birth of their second child. The charts were written on cardboard and showed every play "minute-by-minute." According to several sources, the *Chicago Tribune* picked these charts, although the paper never credited her.

Questions persist: Were the illustrations published in the *Tribune* hers? If they were, why did the paper not credit her work? Finally, did she originate, or simply further, the illustrated play-by-play documentation of college football? Using primary sources from the *Tribune* and the Stagg Collection at the University of Chicago, this presentation seeks to answer these questions—or, at least, get closer to the truth.

MARC MCLEOD, SEATTLE UNIVERSITY

JAI ALAI, GAMBLING, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN REPUBLICAN CUBA

The movement of Basque peoples around the globe has led to the diffusion of cultural traditions and practices, including various forms of Basque ball games. During the first half of the twentieth century, the game known as "cesta punta", in which the ball is caught and thrown using a curved wicker basket on a three-sided court, spread to the Caribbean, Latin America, Asia, and the United States. Cesta punta became one of the most popular participatory and, especially, spectator activities in Cuba shortly after independence from Spain in 1898. Indeed, the most widely used name for the sport throughout the world – jai alai (or "merry festival") –



was coined by the Basque promoters who built the first fronton in Havana. From there, numerous jai alai courts were built across the island, and the sport served as a main attraction for foreign tourists before eventually circulating from Cuba to the United States. Drawing from a range of primary source materials, including Cuban and US magazines and newspapers, travel guides, and Cuban government records, this paper first considers the reasons for the sport's rise in Cuba (including with US tourists to the island) and then explores how jai alai served as both a source of Basque migrant identity as well as Cuban identity more generally. The paper pays particular attention to public debates over jai alai between supporters who highlighted the aesthetics, athleticism, and excitement of the sport and detractors who decried the dangers of gambling on the matches.

JOHANNA MELLIS, URSINUS COLLEGE; ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY; CHEN, UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT; ANTHONY WEEMS, FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY; MALCOLM MACLEAN, UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND, AUSTRALIA

SUSTAINING COUNTER-HISTORIES OF SPORT: REVISITING POSTCOLONIAL ANALYSIS IN WESTERN SPORT HISTORIES

At a time when right-wing political movements are attempting to take over state and national governments worldwide, it is essential that sport scholars continue and intensify their critical analyses of how people use sport to aid these developments historically and today. This panel takes up the task by interrogating how historical actors constructed and/or used sport and physical activity for imperialist, racist, capitalist, and/or fascist ends. Johanna Mellis will begin chronologically by explaining the framing for her book-in-progress about Hungarian sportspeople in the international Cold War. She will lay out the IOC as an imperial internationalist organization from the 1890s onward to explain how Hungarian sportspeople were simultaneously Cold War, state socialist, and imperial sporting actors. Ornella Nzindukiyimana will analyze how the Western press portrayed Black Canadian athlete Barbara Howard in the first British Empire Games in 1938. Using the “rhetoric of Empire” framework, Nzindukiyimana will show how the British Empire continued its imperial ideology by using Howard’s success as a “triumph over racism” to reconfigure its image and power amidst decolonization. Chen Chen will expand on his 2022 article to provide a deepened, historical-materialist analysis of the invisibility of capitalism in the sport management field. Chen will illustrate the importance of, and strategies for, sustaining critical scholarship in sport management departments, where many sport historians work. Lastly, Anthony Weems will interrogate the relationship between sport, physical activity, and fascist political movements. Historically and contemporaneously, fascistic groups center the institution of sport in broader struggles for power. The centrality of sport and physical activity in these movements thus warrants a more comprehensive historical analysis of sport and fascistic regimes. The panel is not “just about sport history;” it shows the urgency of conducting critical sport analyses in 2023 to help improve contemporary policies and athletes’ conditions today.



P. JOSEPH MILLER, SHEFFIELD HALLAM UNIVERSITY & CRAIG G. GREENHAM,
UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR, CANADA

OFF THE ICE: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE SWIFT CURRENT BRONCOS' RELATIONSHIP WITH HOCKEY

In December 1986, the Swift Current Broncos, a Canadian junior hockey team, departed in their team bus for a game in Regina, Saskatchewan. With inclement weather affecting driving conditions, the bus hit a patch of ice – flipping the bus onto its side and killing four of the athletes onboard and injuring several others. Despite this tragic accident, the Broncos – a team of teenagers, mostly living away from home – were not offered formal counselling, returning to the ice 10 days later. As outlined in the personal memoirs of past Broncos, this untreated trauma resulted in anxiety, depression, and substance abuse problems in the years that followed.

Using oral history techniques, this study seeks to examine how a tragedy so closely linked to sport can impact a player's relationship with the game; the sport's role in the healing process; and how an athlete can maintain – or rekindle – their passion for sport over time. Interviews with six surviving members of the Broncos explored these themes. The athletes agreed that management mishandled post-accident treatment and added to their struggles, often relating the era's "tough" and "violent" hockey culture to their experiences. However, interviewees cited feelings of solace in hockey's team environment and welcomed the game's ability to serve as a distraction. These comforts provided only temporary relief, however, and most explored various forms of therapy years after the accident. Despite encountered difficulties, each of the Bronco respondent celebrated hockey and characteristics of their junior hockey experience and all have maintained involvement with the sport 36 years after the accident. This study allows survivors to give voice to lived experience and furthers our understanding of an evolving hockey culture, athletes' use of competition and one another in moments of hardship, and the long-lasting nature of relationships with sport.

CHARLOTTE ALINE MITCHELL, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FLYING IN THE FACE OF ADVERSITY: AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATIONS OF WOMEN'S SKI JUMPING, CONTESTING INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE DISCRIMINATION, AND RESISTANCE, 2007-2014

This paper is an autoethnographic reflection of my past experiences as a Canadian women's ski jumping athlete from Calgary, AB between 2007 and 2014 and a plaintiff in the court case filed by a group of elite women ski jumpers against the Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee (VANOC) in 2008 as an attempt to have a women's ski jumping event added into the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. In this presentation based on reflexive narrative writing and drawing on sport historian Megan Popovic's work, I explore the sensations, emotions and experiences of accelerating down the in-run of a ski jump, taking off and flying through the air, and capturing the moment when I touch back down again on solid ground. I engage journals, news articles, home videos and photographs in my process of remembering and reflection. I use the metaphor of the ski jump to conceptualize the connections between "[my] body, power and gender" (McParland, 2012, p. 475), making wider parallels to the history of discrimination in women's ski jumping.



I situate my autoethnographic exploration within the work of feminist sport historians and the recognition of autoethnography within sport history as a tool with the capacity “to reveal how the past continues to influence the embodied experiences of female athletes” (McParland, 2012, p. 476). This work examines hardship, doubt, self-discovery, and forgiveness and contributes to both documenting my personal experiences as an athlete and to larger discussions about gender and sport. Ultimately, this paper provides insight into the intersections of women and girls in Nordic skiing not yet explored in current sport history research and looks to “imagined futures ‘beyond the patriarchy’” (Vertinsky, 2012, p. 479).

McParland, Shellie. “Autoethnography: Forging a New Direction in Feminist Sport History.” *Journal of Sport History* 39, 3(2012): 473-78.

Vertinsky, Patricia. “Is There a “Beyond Patriarchy” in Feminist Sport History?” *Journal of Sport History* 39, 3(2012): 479-486

LOUIS MOORE, GRAND VALLEY STATE; MAUREEN SMITH, SACRAMENTO STATE UNIVERSITY; DANIEL NATHAN, SKIDMORE COLLEGE; DAVID WIGGINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

AFRICAN AMERICAN SPORT AND THE POLITICS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT

This session is comprised of three papers about African American sport history. The papers address diverse, engaging subjects—a historic game, a celebrated statue, and long lost ballparks—yet there are interesting points of connection and overlap.

The Battle of the Black Bombers: Doug Williams, Vince Evans, and the Making of the Black Quarterback - Louis Moore, Grand Valley State University

Octavius Catto and Philadelphia’s City Hall: A Statue and Its Narratives - Maureen M. Smith, Sacramento State University

Lost (and Refurbished) Black Ballparks - Daniel A. Nathan, Skidmore College

PATRICK JAMES MOSER, DRURY UNIVERSITY

TOM BLAKE’S HAWAIIAN SURFBOARD AND THE WRITING OF SURF HISTORY

Tom Blake’s *Hawaiian Surfboard* (1935) has long been regarded as a seminal text in surf culture, the first book to present the history of the sport from ancient Hawaiian legends to the evolution of surfing and surfboards through the first three decades of the twentieth century. A close reading of the book’s content, however—including the invented romance of Nani and Moloa (this latter character based on Blake himself)—reveals Blake’s appropriation of Native Hawaiian identity as he inserts himself into Hawaiian history alongside legendary figures. His fantasy might be considered nothing more than a white man’s self-indulgence, using his pen to right wrongs and turn personal failure into success, if not for the significant influence that *Hawaiian Surfboard* exerted on later histories of surfing. The essence of this influence—exemplified, for example, in



Ben R. Finney and James D. Houston's *Surfing: The Sport of Hawaiian Kings* (1966)—propagates “rescue” narratives that work as a blanket justification for appropriating cultural traditions and assuming political control of Hawai`i and its people. Ultimately, *Hawaiian Surfboard* represents not so much a history of surfing as a powerful discourse that marshals a mainlander's Anglocentric view of surfing's past and guides readers to the conclusion that surfing's future lies with Western innovation, especially Blake and his hollow surfboards.

COLLEEN NICOLE MOYER, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A FIRST LOOK AT THE 1967 PARAPLEGIC GAMES: BARRIERS AND IMPACTS

During the Canadian Centennial in 1967, the Pan American Games were hosted in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Not included in written histories of this event is a subsequent “Paraplegic Games (Pan Am 1967),” hosted two days later using many of the same venues. The Paraplegic Games were the first international wheelchair sport competition in Canada. Men and women competed in nine different sports over the weekend immediately following the Pan American Games. Two contemporary articles, published in medical journals, highlighted the medical aspect of disability rather than the actual Games themselves. These are the only articles on the event, as it remains absent from Canadian sport history and histories of Para sport, both in Canada and internationally.

This paper is an initial attempt to reclaim this history. Winnipeg is also home to the institution, where the first recorded wheelchair sports were played in Canada, the Deer Lodge Centre. As well, wheelchair rugby, a very popular Paralympic sport, was invented by a group of quadriplegics in Winnipeg in the 1970's. This paper examines the connections between this local context and the Paraplegic Games. It is part of a larger research project that explores the origins and lasting impacts of the 1967 Paraplegic Games. This will be done by accessing archives from Sport Manitoba, the Manitoba Wheelchair Sports Association as well as some private, community-based archives. Archival information will be supplemented with semi-structured interviews and photo elicitation, to shift the focus away from medicalized interpretations, emphasize the social model of disability, and insert the history of the 1967 Paraplegic Games into the histories of Canadian sport and disability.

TIMUR MUKHAMATULIN, RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

“I DIDN'T THINK RUSSIAN GIRLS WOULD LOOK SO FEMININE”: SOVIET WOMEN'S GYMNASTICS TEAM'S TRIPS TO THE US IN THE 1960-S-1970S

My presentation will cover two trips of Soviet women's gymnastics teams to the US that took place in 1961 and 1973. These tours included both competitions and exhibitions in various cities in the US, from college towns like Champagne, Illinois to New York and Chicago. Relying on the tours' media coverage from both Soviet and American sides and memoirs of former Soviet athletes who participated in these tours, I argue that both trips were loaded with political meaning. Soviet teams in the USA were to represent a new Soviet female subject. In 1961, the Soviet side wanted to showcase an image of a Soviet woman as an emancipated and “harmonically developed” personality. In 1973, Soviet tour largely followed the laws of show



business presenting Soviet athletes as “stars”. The trip centered on Olga Korbut who became the most important revelation of the 1972 Olympics’ gymnastics tournament. Korbut’s image highlighted several “traditional” feminine features such as “grace” and “expression” that embodied the new conservative gender order prevailing in the late Socialist time.

I argue that the 1961 tour was only partly successful since it was the “normative” femininity of Soviet gymnasts that mesmerized the US audience. In 1973, the trip resulted in a huge success and cemented Korbut’s status as a global celebrity.

My research shows how the Soviet state consciously used sports beyond its competitive essence to create a favorable image of a Soviet subject. I argue that the history of these trips complicates our existing understanding of the “cultural Cold War” since the countries of the Eastern Bloc were able to create images appealing to people from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

ERICA MUNKWITZ, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

REACHING THE SUMMIT: REIMAGING HORSE POWER: SPACE, PLACE, AND EQUESTRIANISM IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

Early modern England was shaped by interactions between space and place, as well as by the dynamics between rank and sport, whether in the urbanizing city or rural countryside. Equestrianism is a key marker of these conflicts and how they shaped public visions of identity and belonging in a pre-modern culture. Riding houses, racecourses, and hunt countries were all determined by mental rather than physical geographies. Examining the development of haute école riding in England between 1600 and 1815 shows that riding as a sport was seen as an internal and interior progression, with specialized and collected movements performed in specially contained/constrained space, with England isolated from Europe, and riding hidden from outside view. National identity was English, isolated, and solely masculine. However, by the turn of the nineteenth century, this conception of sport and national identity had evolved to prioritize free movement over an unlimited landscape, as seen in horse racing and fox hunting. Following British victory over the French in the Napoleonic conflicts, sport now became fully public and proto-imperial, as landscapes, either real or imagined, could be colonized by riding over them. Equestrian cartographies – depicting space/place as constructions of gender, class, and national identity – thus show how important sites of sport and the corresponding built/unbuilt environment were towards the development of British modernity.

RYAN MURTHA, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

DAILY NEWSPAPER SPORTS COVERAGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

For generations of Americans, sports coverage in the daily newspaper was the primary medium through which they interacted with the world of sport. For historians, these same papers make up one of the primary sources we use to examine the past. In this project, a section of my larger dissertation, I seek to explain the ways sports coverage in the newspapers evolved over the course of the 19th century. At the beginning of the century, coverage was rare, but by the end, both major metropolitan dailies and papers in more far-flung outposts had staff reporters assigned to write daily sports columns. This growth was not just the result of the increased



interest in and availability of sport in the United States, but also a number of business and technology changes in the newspaper industry. However, quantity of coverage was only one change that occurred. Said business and technology changes also had dramatic effects on the way sports writers covered the action on the field, which in turn affects the records we have available to us today. I will examine these rhetorical changes that occurred in sports writing during this period, explaining the four distinct 'eras' of sports writing that make up the nineteenth century.

EILEEN NARCOTTA-WELP, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN - LA CROSSE & ELISABETH ERICKSON, LINDENWOOD UNIVERSITY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

'ACT AS IF': THE POLITICS OF ACHIEVING THE AMERICAN DREAM IN THE NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION

Through the construct of the American Dream and Foucault's theory of the docile body, this paper analyzes media coverage of Boston Celtics' Director of Player Development and former Ivy League and WNBA standout Allison Feaster. In particular, we examine the post-feminist and post-racial nexus of the late 1990s and early 2000s when Feaster played college and professional basketball. Concentrating on ideological narratives that promoted individualism and a white, middle-class, heterofeminine subject, we argue that Feaster throughout her playing and post-playing career attempts to reproduce Kathy Delaney-Smith's, her white college coach at Harvard University, motto "act as if" to reveal that Feaster "belongs" in order to achieve the American Dream. We will also discuss how Feaster is subject to cultural surveillance through motherhood in both her personal and professional life, as well as how cultural changes in the American political, cultural and social context of the late 2010s and early 2020s shifted narratives surrounding her, allowing a foregrounding of Blackness and individualism in her story.

EMALEE NELSON, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

TEN CENTS FOR YOUR THOUGHTS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE 1905 SPALDING'S OFFICIAL BASKET BALL GUIDE FOR WOMEN

Originally published in 1905, Spalding's Official Basket Ball Guide for Women became the official documentation of the rules of women's basketball, which were slightly modified by Smith College's Senda Berenson. The guide is nearly 100 pages, with a handful of pages at the end dedicated to advertising sporting gear. While the written rules are about 30% of the guide, there are also six essays dedicated to commentary on the emerging version of basketball for women. The rules for women's basketball were modified to imitate the Victorian-era notion of female frailty, especially when exerting physical effort for recreational purposes. Through analyzing these essays, this paper will place the cultural commentary from these figures, some of whom were quite influential in the early history of physical education, into the larger narrative on American women.



KRISTINE NEWHALL, SUNY CORTLAND

WHO IS A WOMEN'S SPORTS ADVOCATE?

In this presentation, I explore who counts as a women's sports advocate, how we remember and memorialize women's sport activism, and how advocacy for and participation in non-mainstream sports affects the answers to the first two questions. I use the life and work of Dr. Jean Grossholtz (1929-2021) to delve into these questions. Grossholtz was an activist and professor of politics at Mt. Holyoke College. The remembrances of her life and work celebrate her extensive feminist, anti-racist, and anti-war activism alongside her devotion to women's education. They omit, however, the action through which I came to know Jean Grossholtz: her founding of a feminist softball league in Western Massachusetts in the 1970s. I use my interview with Grossholtz, which was part of a larger oral history project by the Valley Women's History Collaborative, along with the history of the league to look at how her feminist philosophies and activism influenced the establishment of what later became known as the Mary Vasquez Softball League. I contend that her strongly established feminist principles and her outsider status in sports led to the creation of a league that, while sharing the philosophy of participation maintained by advocates for interscholastic and intercollegiate women's sports, manifested a very different version of women's sports. In addition to celebrating Grossholtz's contributions, I use this presentation to expand the conversation and memorialization of women's sports advocates while also examining what we can learn from a different approach to women's sports structures.

CLAIRE NICOLAS, SOAS, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

FROM ACCRA TO TOKYO: GHANAIAN SPORTSWOMEN BETWEEN PANAFRICANISM, GLOBAL SPORTS AND GENDER NORMS (1957-1966)

In the 1960s, at the crossroad of Independences and the global Cold War, Ghana – like most African countries – seized the international dimension of sporting events as a Soft Power tool. From the 1957 independence to the fall of the 1st Republic in 1966, Ghana became the first African country to send Black female athletes abroad for international sports competitions to the Olympic Games.

This choice was all the more important that national leaders – whether in the parliament, at the Presidency or within the Central Organisation of Sports – were determined to rely on sports performances to promote Ghana's ideals: Independence, Socialism, and Pan-Africanism.

As sporting events contributed to the "domestication" of European sports by Ghanaians at large, the careers of elite sportswomen were built around a major challenge: their practice was heir to colonial Victorian moralistic principles, but they became celebrities, staging the successes of the new Ghanaian government. Thus, this paper argues that their travels and performances, highly scrutinized by parliament members, sport leaders and the press, were aligned with the very fabric of new gender norms in Ghana. That of an ideal young woman, free from the colonial yoke, while fit and slender.



This presentation relies on archive material collected in Ghana National and Regional archives and in the IOC archives. After a brief statistical review of the global presence of African sportswomen in the IOC in the 20th century, the paper will shed light on how female athletes and table tennis players' sporting and gender performances were framed at global stage.

RILEY NOWOKOWSKI, UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

**“FETED, TREATED, GREETED, MEETED AND CHEATED OUT OF SLEEP,” AN
EXPLORATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE ANNUAL CANADIAN WHEELMAN’S
ASSOCIATION MEET**

Hark! hark! hear the hounds bark

The profesh arc coming to town;

An eight-mile track—from daylight ’till dark—

They’ll ride—around and around. (The Canadian Wheelman, 1889, Vol. 6, No. 6, pg. 67)

“We told you so!” the Canadian Wheelman proclaimed. The annual meet had “turned out exactly as we predicted.” Those who went “will never regret it.” The non-attenders “have cause for regret for the rest of their natural lives.” (The Canadian Wheelman, 1886, Vol. 3, No. 10, 116). For three days, members of the Canadian Wheelman’s Association were “feted, and treated, and greeted, and meted and cheated out of their sleep...” (The Canadian Wheelman, 1886, Vol. 3, No. 10, 116). For the Annual North American Society for Sport History conference in 2023, I intend on exploring some of the interesting aspects of the annual Canadian Wheelman’s Association (CWA) meet. Meetings were held annually in various locations throughout Canada. By tracing the evolution of the annual meet, we can begin to understand the shape of the CWA, its reach, and its historical importance. The primary goal of my presentation is to highlight the main functions of the CWA annual meeting. The main function of the annual meet was to keep the bureaucratic affairs of the CWA in order. However, the gatherings also served as social and competitive forums. Meets commonly featured parades, races, dinners, and other social events. We will explore some of the annual meetings, comparing some of the bicycle-centered events.

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.

ANDREW JONATHAN PLOEG, BILKENT UNIVERSITY

FANTASY SPORT, DAMAR HAMLIN, AND THE HISTORICALLY ANOMALOUS

One of the main attractions of sport is undoubtedly the lure of the historically anomalous, of seeing that which has rarely, if ever, been seen before. Fans flock to sporting events and tune in to television or radio broadcasts with hopes of witnessing the singular, the miraculous, or the bizarre. Such historical anomalies take various forms—sublime performances, unique stat lines, fluke occurrences—and can be captivating, inspiring, and sometimes even horrifying. On January 2, 2023, sports fans were confronted by a historically anomalous incident that, for many, evoked all three aforementioned reactions simultaneously. During an NFL game between the Buffalo Bills and the Cincinnati Bengals, 24-year-old Safety Damar Hamlin went into cardiac arrest and collapsed on the field following a routine tackle. On-site medical personnel administered CPR for nine minutes before successfully restoring Hamlin's pulse. The game was delayed just six minutes into the first quarter and eventually canceled, as Hamlin was rushed by ambulance to the University of Cincinnati Medical Center in critical condition. The story of Hamlin's recovery and its impact on the sports world and beyond is now well-known, but the story of the fantasy sport industry's response to this historically anomalous incident and its unprecedented aftermath has yet to be told. With all due sensitivity to the seriousness of this life-or-death incident, and while readily conceding that many, or perhaps most, other aspects of it are far more consequential, I will examine the ways in which daily and season-long fantasy sport sites and their participants responded to the overwhelming confusion and controversy sparked by Hamlin's near tragedy. In doing so, I will suggest that, in this particular case, the historically anomalous incident inspired, in an industry which is so often justifiably criticized for dehumanizing athletes, a remarkably human response.



PAUL EMORY PUTZ, BAYLOR UNIVERSITY; RAJA MALIKAH RAHIM, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY; CURTIS HARRIS, EDMOND BURKE HIGH SCHOOL; THOMAS AIELLO, VALDOSTA STATE UNIVERSITY

NEW DIRECTIONS IN BASKETBALL HISTORY

This session brings together research from three scholars who are providing new insight into the history of basketball and its relationship with modern American culture. Offering comment is Thomas Aiello, Professor of History and Africana Studies at Valdosta State University.

Each paper will be presented in fifteen minutes. With the additional thirty minutes, Aiello will provide comment and facilitate a conversation among panelists and audience centered on the ways the three papers engage with scholarship on basketball history.

Presenter Curtis Harris, PhD, will present a paper titled “Desegregating D.C.’s Uline Arena.” He focuses on the Washington D.C. community and in particular on a direct-action campaign launched in 1948 by Washington’s Black community—led by basketball pioneer and civil rights activist E.B. Henderson—to desegregate the city’s Uline Arena. He shows how this campaign helped set the stage for the ensuing Civil Rights and Black Power movements.

The paper for Raja Malikah Rahim, PhD, is titled, “The Game: The C-I-Double A and the Making of Black College Basketball.” She places Historically Black College and University (HBCU) sports at the center of the long Black freedom movement by chronicling the history of the Central Intercollegiate Athletic Association (CIAA). She examines how African Americans created an organizing tradition around college basketball in the 20th century to articulate and enact what she calls the “politics of Black athletic emancipation.”

From Paul Emory Putz, PhD, the paper is titled ““These guys can speak at First Baptist, but can they play?”: The Dallas Mavericks’ Evangelical Experiment and the Shape of Religion in the NBA.” He highlights the intersection of religion, race, and politics in the NBA of the 1980s by analyzing the influence of born-again Christianity on the origins and early development of the Dallas Mavericks.

RAJA RAHIM, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY & RITA LIBERTI, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVISM AND THE ROOTS OF THE BLACK WOMEN'S SPORT FOUNDATION

Alpha Alexander, Nikki Franke, and Tina Sloan Green represent a culture of Black women in sports who created a place and space for themselves and others because of, and in opposition to, the long history of racism and sexism that suffused sports in the United States and global world. Their contributions to Black women’s place in sport are varied, ceaseless, and extensive. For more than a half-century, their individual and collective efforts have advanced racial and gender justice in sport and beyond.



Of particular interest to us is their work at Temple University in Philadelphia in the 1970s where Alexander, Franke, and Sloan Green were a graduate student, fencing coach, and lacrosse coach, respectively. Beyond their individual roles, the three soon discovered their interest in, and commitment to sport as a place to foster the potential of young Black girls and women. By the mid-1970s the three, along with Linda Green and Carole Oglesby, sponsored the first of several annual “Black Women in Sport Workshops” at Temple. By the early 1990s, the workshops gave rise to the Black Women in Sport Foundation (1992), which continues to offer educational programs and scholarships to young people. Alexander, Franke, and Sloan Green’s paths converged on the Temple campus nearly fifty years ago and the impact of that union has – and continues to have—reverberations into the future.

Through oral history interviews with Alexander, Franke, and Sloan Green, this project explores the athletic activism and organizing of Black women in sports in the years before and after the passage of Title IX. It seeks to shed light on the strategies employed by Alexander, Franke, and Sloan Green and the Black Women in Sport Foundation in challenging ideological and structural racism and sexism in sport and society, more generally.

SUSAN JANE RAYL, SUNY-CORTLAND

THE UNHERALDED ROLE OF PLAYFUL PLAY IN THE DESEGREGATION OF SPORTS

Stories on desegregating athletics often address issues of character. Courage, patience, resilience, humility, toughness, integrity, and other virtues help explain how civil rights sports heroes like Jackie Robinson and Althea Gibson, with the support of allies, changed hearts and minds, policies and practices while gracefully navigating racial minefields in seemingly all-white settings. Pushing beyond the standard cast of virtues, this paper addresses something that sport historians tend to ignore: playfulness. This personality trait or mode of behavior may be as important in the story of desegregation of sports as more often acknowledged less ambiguous expressions of good character. I argue that playfulness (or as identified by biologists Patrick Bateson and Paul Martin as “playful play”) has been an invaluable tool for keeping athletes of color in the game and on what otherwise have been racialized white fields of play. Playfulness has confounded racial aversion and highlighted human commonalities in the process of forging meaningful bonds. Whether engaged in good or bad play, the playful athlete of color has prompted and embraced behavior - in classrooms and social clubs and on and off campus - that created team unity and disarmed racism. To illustrate this point, I draw upon visual and textual evidence of Black Olympian and sport entrepreneur Sol Butler (1895-1954), in particular photographs taken during his enrollment at the University of Dubuque, and mixed disciplinary research on the concept of play. Butler engaged in playful play beyond the athletic fields with teammates, who not only regarded him as the star of their various sports teams (in particular in football and track-and-field), but also as a valued classmate and dear friend. Butler’s example offers a way to understand how other athletes of color may have challenged exclusion and segregation when not so-called playing their respective sports, yet fully immersed in interracial fun.



SUSAN JANE RAYL, SUNY-CORTLAND

WHAT ABOUT BOB? THE SUCCESS OF BOB DOUGLAS AND HIS NEW YORK RENAISSANCE FIVE, THEN AND NOW

November 3, 2023 will mark the 100th Anniversary of the first game of the New York Renaissance Professional Basketball Team's first game. Primary evidence shows that Robert L. "Bob" Douglas and his New York Renaissance Five set the standard for success in the professional game. To date, the Naismith Memorial Hall of Fame has inducted the 1932-33 Renaissance team, Bob Douglas as a contributor, and four Renaissance players. This presentation will celebrate the Ren's 100th by discussing the basis for success laid by Bob Douglas, highlighting tactics used by Douglas that remain today. These include 1) playing serious basketball that demonstrates physical ability, but with a flair such as with passing and fancy dunks; 2) the importance of serving as role models for youth as desired by coaches and the media; 3) the creation / maintenance of several "farm teams" and, or a league; 4) consistent recruitment of players from high school, college, or club teams; 5) a limit on the amount of roughness allowed in a game; 6) marketing the game in order to draw a large crowd, especially with rival teams in order to keep the contests exciting; 7) Making use of media to promote the team, individual players, and upcoming games; 8) drawing fans and fostering a sense of pride among the fans and the local community; 9) giving back to the local community / city through philanthropy, such as through playing benefit games for charities and social causes; 11) players serving their community following their retirement from basketball; and 12) breaking down stereotypes in demonstrating that players of differing ethnicities can achieve equity on the basketball court. Many fans viewed Douglas and his Rens as "an institution in Harlem, NY" nearly 100 years ago. The same holds true for teams currently playing in the NBA.

AISHWARYA RAMACHANDRAN AND PATRICIA VERTINSKY, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

THE DARTINGTON CONNECTION: WILLIAM SHELDON, ALDOUS HUXLEY, AND THE INFLUENCE OF BODY TYPING SCHEMES ON PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL REFORM

When George Bernard Shaw described Dartington Hall as a "salon in the countryside", he was referring to the maelstrom of ideas and conversations around psychology, progressive education, mysticism, and spirituality within the estate's larger ethos of community living and rural agricultural reform. The estate, purchased by the American railway heiress Dorothy "Whitney" Elmhirst and her second husband Leonard Elmhirst in 1925, received regular visits from a wide range of prominent British interwar intellectuals—including Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, and Christopher Isherwood. As the estate continued to expand its activities during the 1930s, the Elmhirsts enlisted the help of the American constitutional psychologist and founder of the somatotype William Sheldon to assess the wellbeing of children attending the Dartington School by using his 'Promethean' system to act as the estate's informal 'resident' psychologist. In this presentation, we examine how Sheldon, who arrived at Dartington Hall in 1934, wielded a substantial, yet little documented influence upon those interested in following the 'science' of body classifications during and after the interwar years. We trace the enthusiastic correspondence between Sheldon and his British supporters, as well as Dorothy Elmhirst's



extensive financial support of his work, all of which testify to the widespread appeal of his ideas about mind-body connections and his scientifically and empirically sound body classification system, called “somatotyping”. Even as Sheldon increasingly moved away from his earlier efforts to connect physique, temperament, and religion to focus on measuring social deviance, Huxley and his circle, some of whom became important countercultural figures in the 1950s and 60s, continued to draw connections among the somatotype, religion and spirituality, mysticism, and progressive education.

ERIN REDIHAN, SALVE REGINA UNIVERSITY

“VOLLEYBALL DA, SOVIET ANTISEMITISM NYET”: JEWISH AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS

This paper studies the efforts of the activist group Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry (SSSJ) in conjunction with the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow to force the Soviet Union to improve its treatment of its Jewish population and to liberalize its emigration policies. It argues that these efforts were successful in drawing media attention to their efforts, which were to first encourage the International Olympic Committee to move the Games, and once that became infeasible, to encourage American boycott and withdrawal of support from Olympic sponsors. The campaign was well organized, always aware of its limits, and careful not to push the Soviet government to further punish its Jewish citizens. This work is largely based on materials in SSSJ’s papers, which are housed at Yeshiva University.

BRITTANY REID & TAYLOR MCKEE, BROCK UNIVERSITY

PASSION PLAYS: MELODRAMA AND THE PERFORMANCE OF EMOTION IN POST-GAME DRAMAS

The final whistle blows, signifying the end of an important sporting event. Almost immediately, players fall to their knees in ecstasy and agony, striking evocative poses that clearly convey their extreme emotional states. Although the match itself has formally concluded, the story continues as athletes, coaches, officials, fans, and other key figures broadcast their thoughts and feelings on the preceding events. It is through these various tableaux vivants, improvised scenes, and collective pantomimes that characters are immortalized, and moments are enshrined, within the hallowed halls of sport history.

In the twenty-first century, the history of emotion has emerged as a burgeoning field of study, as seen through the work of Kagan (2009), Plamper (2017), Boddice (2018), Walton (2020), and Firth-Godbehere (2021). Applied to sport history, this critical framework provides a methodological approach for reading these dramatic epilogues as paratextual moments in sport history that help capture the multifaceted emotional significance of these events. Far from being minor or insignificant exchanges, these performed moments of exaggerated emotion extend both the plot and narrative of their associated sporting event, allowing both contemporary and modern audiences to gain greater access into the rich emotional history of these famed contests, matches, bouts, or games.



This proposed presentation practices the historical reading of sport through the context of emotional performance. More specifically, we focus on how the history of emotion offers an effective framework for rendering a humanist, affect-based interpretation of select moments by focusing on these post-event theatrics. In doing so, we necessarily import tools and techniques developed from theatre history, including melodrama, a performance mode popularized in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that relied on codified poses and broad emotional displays to foreground emotional beats and ensure audience understanding. We argue that these post-game performances can be read within the broader context of melodrama, based on their public staging, declarative performance style, and universal legibility that transcends language, culture, and sporting contexts. Unlike dressing room celebrations or post-game interviews, these impromptu dramas are akin to William Wordsworth's description of poetry as "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings," given their immediacy and liminality between a state of play and post-play. The fact that they are knowingly performed 'onstage' thus heightens their importance as the epode or lyrical conclusion of the sporting drama.

Ultimately, by looking at key post-game performances in sporting history, we will demonstrate how sport history can be meaningfully reframed as a history of emotions and determine how these staged epilogues better help to memorialize these figures and events for future generations.

STEVEN ALLAN RIESS, NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND ITS IMPACT ON THOROUGHBRED RACING

Historians are aware of the negative impact of the Depression on participatory and spectator sports. However, I have discovered that the Depression had a positive impact upon thoroughbred racing, a sport widely banned in the early 1900s and even the 1920s, in states like California and Ohio, because of widespread opposition to gambling on religious and moral grounds, and its underworld connections. Only a dozen states had racing then. This paper, heavily based on newspapers across the USA, and especially the previously unused American Racing Manual, an extremely detailed 700 page annual report on racing published by the Daily Racing Form. The sport did well in the first years of the Depression, but suffered financially from 1932 to 1934. In 1933, 25 states considered legalizing pari-mutuel betting, despite the strong public opposition for two main reasons. Americans continued to bet on racing, often off-track, to make money, and enjoy a temporary escape from their miserable lives. Secondly, states envisioned legalizing betting, and then taxing it to raise revenues to help them on their feet, and fund programs for the needy. In 1933 alone, ten states, including California, legalized racetrack gambling. The sport began to boom by the mid-1930s, and became profitable. Records were set from 1936 through 1939 for attendance, purses, and state revenue, and during WW II, the sport surpassed MLB in attendance. Racing fans looked to athletes as heroes, including the great horse Seabiscuit. The undersized horse lost 30 of his first 35 races, but had enormous resiliency and determination, and became a role model for many Americans.



**TOBY RIDER & MATTHEW LLEWELLYN, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY,
THE MONDAY CLUB, CONSERVATIVE POLITICS, AND BRITISH SPORTING LINKS WITH
SOUTH AFRICA**

In this paper, we explore specific elements of 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, tended to connect their opposition to the sports boycott with a broader critique of contemporary British society. For a generation of beleaguered white Britons who felt victimized by the rapidly changing social landscape of post-imperial Britain, we argue, the sport boycott animated fears that white culture was under attack by pernicious, alien, and radical forces (i.e., the liberal media and clergy, student radicals, and subversive minorities). Some of the most influential speakers to articulate this view came from the right wing of the Conservative Party and were members of a powerful political pressure group called the Monday Club. Founded in 1961 in opposition to Harold Macmillan's apparent commitment to the post-war consensus, the Monday Club developed a growing tolerance and sympathy for white South Africa and Britain's sporting relations with the pariah state. From the mid-1960s onwards, we intend to show, the Club rallied in opposition to anti-apartheid efforts to disrupt sporting links and did so by frequently interpreting the actions of the anti-apartheid movement as part of a wide-ranging liberal attack on core Conservative values, white culture, and the historical foundations of British society.

WESTON ROBERTSON, SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY

TRANSIENCE IN BLACK BASEBALL: THE HOMELESS HOMESTEAD GRAYS

Negro League teams faced many obstacles foreign to White organized baseball. Lacking sufficient financial resources to build their own stadiums, Black baseball teams scheduled and played games when and where White-owned playing facilities could be rented. Negro League clubs played many games each season in a designated, but rented, "home" stadium, yet Black baseball teams suffered from chronic homelessness during the 1930s and 1940s. Scheduling difficulties often meant fans had little notice of upcoming Negro League playoff or World Series games. In contrast to White organized baseball teams, Negro League teams frequently resorted to barnstorming from one league game to the next to supplement club finances. While current historiography focuses on the advent and subsequent demise of the Negro Leagues, the challenges "homeless" teams faced in securing playing fields, establishing a fan base, and traveling in segregated America remains an understudied aspect of baseball history. This research examines how the Homestead Grays overcame chronic homelessness and played in three "home" stadiums—Greenlee Field and Forbes Field in Pittsburgh as well as Griffith Stadium in Washington, D.C.—during the years they dominated Black baseball. Sources utilized for this research include articles from the Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh Courier, and Washington Post.



ROBERT ROMANO, ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

THE MASSACRE AT MUNICH: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED TO THE COACHES AND ATHLETES WHO WERE HELD HOSTAGE DURING THE 1972 SUMMER OLYMPIC GAMES

The 1972 Summer Games in Munich marked the first return of the Olympics to the country of Germany since the 1936 Berlin Games were played under the auspices of Adolph Hitler and his Nazi regime. The XX Olympiad began on August 26, 1972, with over 7,100 athletes from 121 countries celebrating the opening ceremonies of what organizers labeled Die Heiteren Spiele (“The Cheerful Games”). But the cheering ended abruptly at approximately 4:30am on September 5, 1972, when eight Palestinian militants affiliated with the terror group Black September, a militant offshoot of the Palestinian group Fatah, disguised as athletes, scaled a fence surrounding the Olympic Village before forcing their way into rooms occupied by the Israeli Olympic team. Armed with Kalashnikov rifles and grenades, the terrorist’s alleged mission was to hold the Israeli coaches and athletes hostage, while demanding the release of 236 prisoners: 234 in Israel and the two leaders of the West German Baader-Meinhof terrorist group.

Nonetheless, after twenty hours of failed negotiations, five members of Black September, together with eleven of the Israel Olympic team and a West German policeman would be dead. But what actually transpired from the time that the Israeli team was taken captive and the eventual failed rescue and gun battle that took place at Germany’s Fürstenfeldbruck Airport? The terrorists insisted that they were not there to kill anyone, that their only objective was to free their friends, but the treatment of the hostages while captive has long been a subject of speculation. This article will provide a detailed account of the carnage that took place at 31 Connollystrasse, describing (in apologetically gruesome detail) how, while negotiating with Olympic officials, the Black September terrorists beat, mutilated, and tortured the Israeli coaches and athletes, before eventually executing each and every one of them.

ROBERT ROMANO, ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

THE CAMINO DE SANTIAGO A 500 HUNDRED MILE HIKE ACROSS SPAIN – ONLY TO FIND HOME

On the cab ride from Barcelona El-Prat Airport to the Hilton Hotel on Avenue Diagonal located in the Les Cortes section of Barcelona, the amateur historian found himself tired, alone, and amusingly, unable to speak either Spanish or Catalan. But he did have his backpack, travel map, newly broken in hiking boots, and the mindset to undertake the 500-mile walk across northern Spain known as the Camino de Santiago de Compostela. The Camino de Santiago, also known as the St. James Way, is a journey that begins in Saint Jean Pied-de-Port, France, crosses over the Pyrenees Mountains into Spain, before heading west towards its destination of the Tomb of Santiago de Compostela.

The route has been traveled for over 2,000 years, having its origins in pre-Christian times when the Celtic and Iberian tribes made their way from Europe’s center, to Galicia’s Atlantic Coast. By the 12th century, with half a million ‘peregrinos’ making their way across the Camino, local kings and clergy constructed albergues, hospitals, roads, and bridges to accommodate them, as the Knights Templar who watched over the Camino, provided protection, places of hospitality,



healing and worship, as well as a banking system that became one source of their legendary wealth.

Today, the Camino de Santiago is a popular month-long pilgrimage traveled by hundreds of thousands of people each year for a variety of reasons: religious, exercise and well-being, to disconnect from everyday life, for sport and outdoor adventure, or just for fun. This article will detail how the author, who began the Camino de Santiago, as a way to heal while studying the history of those who traveled the Way before him, came to find out that the 500-mile journey is even more extraordinary than one could imagine - it is a path to home.

MACINTOSH ROSS, WESTERN UNIVERSITY

“THE UNIVERSITY IS A CRITICAL INSTITUTION OR ITS NOTHING”: PUBLIC SCHOLARSHIP, SPORT HISTORY, AND THE FUTURE OF ACADEMIA

What are our social responsibilities as historians? This is a question I have been personally tackling for the last two years, turning my focus away from the ivory tower of pay walls and cost-prohibitive books, toward the broader public. How does one makes this shift while maintaining their academic employability is unclear. Many institutions celebrate such work, but remain unsure how to value it or measure it for employment. Does applying the historian’s toolbox to resist genocide count the same as an article in an obscure academic journal? Does it count at all? What about organizing a social movement against abuse in sport? Stuart Hall argued “the university is a critical institution or it is nothing.” I would contend that, at the moment, academia is languishing as the latter, particularly in the humanities and social sciences. Too often, it is nothing.

I have engaged in three public academic initiatives in recent years, using my skills as a historian to add context and nuance to debates too often mired in the struggle for contemporary political advantage. All three were slightly different. The first was a campaign against the 2022 Beijing Olympic Games, opposing the Chinese Communist Party’s dubious historical claims via a scholar-activist coalition in favor of an international boycott. The second pressured Hockey Canada board members and other complicit parties to step down following numerous reports that the organization lacked transparency and accountability regarding multiple alleged sexual assaults by players. Lastly, and currently, I and 91 other scholars have joined forces to pressure the Canadian government for an independent judicial inquiry into the rampant mental, physical, and sexual abuse of athletes in the nation’s sport system. The historian’s toolbox was invaluable for each.

GREG RYAN, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

THE JOY OF WINNING OR THE RELIEF AT NOT LOSING: REINTERPRETING RUGBY AND NATIONALISM IN NEW ZEALAND

This paper challenges a longstanding interpretation of the relationship between rugby and nationalism in New Zealand during the twentieth century. Frequent international success by the All Blacks is conventionally coupled with the affirmation of a broader national identity and pride in the achievements of a small nation on the global stage. The passion for rugby and its status as



something of a surrogate religion in New Zealand is generally equated with confidence in the utility of the game to unify the outlook of the country.

However, following in part from an analysis of those periods when the team enjoyed relatively less success, it is evident that many media and public reactions to the usual run of victories seem less about assertions of national pride and more about deep relief that the All Blacks had not lost. There is also a consistently introspective pattern whereby victory is attributed to the failings of the opposition and defeat is attributed to the failings of the All Blacks and seldom the ability of the opposition. Indeed, the history of New Zealand international rugby through much of the twentieth century reads as a chronicle of doubt and insecurity, sometimes bitter internal politicking, and a recurring desire to embrace amateur ideals as a counter to the apparent excesses of sporting nationalism.

JAIME SCHULTZ, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

AGE LIMITS IN WOMEN'S ELITE FIGURE SKATING: SHALLOW SOLUTIONS, DEEP PROBLEMS

The doping scandal surrounding fifteen-year-old figure skater Kamila Valieva at the 2022 Winter Olympic Games reignited debates about the sport's age limit. Members of the International Skating Union responded by raising the age of senior eligibility from 15 to 17; however, the decision ignores the federation's complicity in encouraging what scholar Betina Fabos (2006) calls the "girlification" of figure skating. In particular, past changes to the competition structure and the scoring system incentivized complex skills best suited to immature physiques. Consequently, raising the age limit increases the pressures for older skaters to keep their body weights dangerously low. Even more, raising the age limit does nothing to fix the systemic problems associated with early specialization, punishing training, persistent injuries, disordered eating practices, social isolation, and the physical, psychological, and sexual abuse that have long plagued the sport. By historicizing the decisions to periodically raise the age of senior eligibility in elite figure skating, I argue that such rules are shallow solutions to deep problems.

JASON SHURLEY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

"INDEFENSIBLE FROM A HEALTH STANDPOINT": THE PROHIBITION OF INTERCOLLEGIATE ROWING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, 1914-1924

In June 1914, a physician affiliated with the University of Wisconsin (UW) Student Health Service, William S. Middleton, presented the results of a study he had conducted on UW athletes between 1910 and 1913. Of fifty-six rowers examined, Middleton diagnosed thirty-three as having developed pathological cardiac hypertrophy, "athlete's heart," as a result of their rowing training. With seven rowers having been diagnosed with cardiac hypertrophy prior to starting their training, fully seventy-one percent of UW rowers studied were found to have pathological enlargement of the heart. As a result of these findings, the UW medical faculty resolved that "a continuation of rowing is indefensible from a health standpoint." The resolution was adopted by the entire UW faculty in late September, and intercollegiate rowing at Wisconsin was officially abolished by action of the UW Regents in October 1914.



While the sport's alleged tendency to cause pathological enlargement of the heart was the official reason that the Wisconsin crew was disbanded, other factors given scant attention were likely the real reasons that the sport was discontinued. On the heels of a bank panic in 1907 and a stock market panic from 1910-1911, the United States slid into a recession between 1913-1914. In the midst of that recession, Wisconsinites circulated petitions to dramatically cut state appropriations to UW in the spring of 1914. As a result, state legislators warned Regents that any unnecessary costs would need to be cut – likely presaging the end of the Badger crew. This paper will use scrapbooks and other materials housed in the UW Archives, as well as the Daily Cardinal, and local Wisconsin newspapers to examine the abolition and reinstatement of intercollegiate rowing at the University of Wisconsin between 1914-1924.

RWANY SIBAJA, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY; RAJA M. RAHIM, APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY; ORNELLA NZINDUKIYIMANA, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY, CANADA

MAKING SPORT HISTORY RELEVANT TO STUDENTS: RE-EXAMINING COURSE DESIGN TO MEET STUDENT AND FACULTY NEEDS

Sports history courses should be interesting, right? Yet, despite the natural appeal of a course centered on sports, many faculty members often struggle with student engagement. In this interdisciplinary panel, presenters will share ways they have designed (or redesigned) their sport history courses for a more meaningful experience for both faculty and students. Informed by the growing field of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL), they will assess the role of the classroom itself as a research field.

In “SoTL in the Sports History Classroom,” Rwany Sibaja will discuss teaching in an Active Learning Classroom, or ALC, and how this unique space informs course redesign. Sibaja will also share how course surveys, and informal feedback, can help provide data to inform instruction with the goal of increasing student choice and engagement. Raja Rahim expands on the idea of course redesign in “Teaching, Researching, and Learning African American Sport History.” Rahim will highlight pedagogical strategies related to experiential teaching and learning pathways that can help fuel student interest and increase enrollment. Daniel DuBois continues the discussion on experiential teaching in “Writing Sport History by and for the Classroom.” This presentation focuses on the intersection of teaching, learning, and research, and how sport history courses can actually be reimagined in order to support faculty with their publications. In the final paper, “Colonial Time Past in (Post)colonial Time Present,” Ornella Nzindukiyimana brings these overlapping themes together by first asking how a sports history course fits into a Human Kinetics curriculum, and then detailing ways instructors can collect student feedback in order to align teaching methods to students’ needs.

Together, these presentations hope to start a conversation about teaching methodologies aimed at achieving greater relevance and meaning in the sports history classroom.



MICHELLE MARIE SIKES, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

“WE BECOME POLITICAL WEAPONS, AND WE END UP SUFFERING”: KENYA AND ANTI-APARTHEID SPORT ACTIVISM OF THE EARLY 1980S

The fight to isolate apartheid South Africa in sport affected athletes’ opportunities everywhere. At the Montreal Olympics in 1976, the majority of African countries withdrew because New Zealand, guilty of encouraging rugby contacts with South Africa, was participating. Attendance by South Africa at the 1976 Paralympics also caused Kenya to boycott those games. In 1981, Kenyan sport administrators withdrew their team from the International Stoke Mandeville Games, a marquee competition for athletes with disabilities, because South Africa was permitted to compete. Kenya also boycotted the Irish National Wheelchair Championships when Irish politicians failed to deter their rugby team from touring South Africa. Even though internal organizations sought to undermine the effort, Kenyan officials remained unyielding in their refusal of any contact with South African teams as long as apartheid policy existed. Their commitment to the anti-apartheid cause and to the boycott as a strategy diminished opportunities for Kenyan athletes with disabilities, but governmental policy concerning para sport was consistent with policy regarding all other sport, and officials resisted efforts to compromise that principled stance. Drawing from media reports and archival documents in the Kenya National Archives, this study shows how state actors in Africa used sport to pursue particular policy aims and demonstrates the impact that political policies in sport can have on marginalized groups.

JONATHAN SILVERMAN, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS LOWELL

THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES AND THE GROWTH OF HORSE RACING

The antebellum newspaper, *The Spirit of the Times*, covered leisure, primarily theater and horse racing, based in New York City, which becoming the country’s hub, if it wasn’t already. It was not the first paper to cover horse racing, as many colonial and early national papers did as part of their coverage, and *The American Turf Register* preceded it, and other newspapers, most famously, *The Daily Racing Form*, succeeded it. What makes it stand out was its grouping of leisure activities, particularly horse racing and theater, which are linked through not only leisure but class and space. *The Spirit of the Times* shows how important horse racing was becoming in this period and it points to the way newspapers, sport, and technological developments were tied up with each other in the nineteenth century; as the ability to travel with increasing speed coincided with the growth of the telegraph and the two developments increasingly made horse racing a national sport at the time. In this paper, I will explore the way *The Spirit of the Times* both reflects horse racing in its time period and anticipates its development



FIONA SKILLEN, GLASGOW CALEDONIAN UNIVERSITY

‘SOME OF OUR FEMALE MUNITION WORKERS ARE BECOMING KEEN DEVOTEES OF FOOTBALL’: WOMEN’S FOOTBALL IN SCOTLAND 1914-1918

The outbreak of the First World War was an important point in the development of women’s football. The significance of the years 1914-18 has been a substantial feature of much of the historiography of the women’s game in Europe, and yet the situation in the component nations of the United Kingdom, that of Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and England, have largely been overlooked in favor of a focus on the English experience. This paper offers some initial thoughts around these developments with a specific focus on the Scottish situation.

Exactly when women first began playing football in and around their workplaces is unclear. It is likely that informal ‘kick bouts’ were commonplace in factories but took on new significance when the numbers of women working in these environments changed during wartime. Within the press, at both a local and a national level in Scotland, the emergence of the female footballer or ‘munitionette’ footballer was established in the first half of 1917 and continued for the duration of the war. This paper will consider the types of work women were doing and how this related to the emergence of women’s football teams. It will consider which workplaces teams emerged from, the types of teams that played, who they played against and where they played. By examining newspaper accounts of matches, and government reports from wartime factories, it is possible to piece together a fragmentary understanding of the burgeoning women’s football community in Scotland during this period.

RONALD SMITH, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

WORKERS' COMPENSATION, WALTER BYERS, AND THE "STUDENT-ATHLETE"

Walter Byers, NCAA Executive Director of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1951-1987, was the originator of the most overused and misleading hyphenated words in intercollegiate athletics—“student-athlete.” Before Byers and the 1950s, the term “student-athlete” was almost never used in referring to a college athlete. Two football-player worker compensation court cases in Colorado in the 1950s were crucial to the origin and use of the term. By the twenty-first century, “student-athlete” was cited nearly universally, including 253 times in 2014 by a district judge in the 99-page Ed O’Bannon names and image case against the NCAA. At the US Supreme Court level in 2021, in the NCAA v. Shawne Alston 9-0 decision, “student-athlete” was used 48 times in 36 pages of Justice Neil Gorsuch decision and 22 times in a 5-page concurring decision by Justice Kavanaugh.

The origins of the now dominant use of “student-athlete” in the American lexicon demands clarification. The term was concocted by Walter Byers for the NCAA to convince the public, legislators, and more importantly the courts that athletes are neither workers nor treated as workers under state and federal laws. The construction of “student” first and “athlete” second was done to convince individuals and institutions that athletes were students, connected to education and playing sports, primarily football, as amateurs.

This paper is part of a book-length manuscript on Walter Byers’ years at the NCAA. The paper is based on primary source research including the Walter Byers Papers at the NCAA



archives and university archives; eight lawsuits, including the first two, Ernest Nemeth and Ray Dennison; Congressional hearings; law review articles; and the NCAA Proceedings.

KATJA SONKENG, JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY

SACRED TRADITION WITH A TWIST: EXPLORING THE HISTORY AND IMPACT OF "NOON BALL" ON US HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

"Noon ball" in the US higher education institutions is often considered a sacred tradition. Throughout the academic landscape, there is virtually no institutions that does not have some faculty, staff, and students come together on lunchtime to play a few games of pickup basketball. The purpose of this study is therefore to explore the history and impact of the so-called Noon Ball Association (NBA) on higher education institutions in the US, particularly on the physical, mental, and social well-being of the participants that have often a direct impact on the engagement levels in their classrooms. Data will be collected through the review of secondary literature and a survey that will be disseminated among faculty, staff, and students of various higher education institutions in the Southeast of the United States, in addition to semi-structured interviews with some of the survey respondents. The following research questions guide this research investigation:

RQ1: What are the benefits and challenges of noon ball?

RQ2: How and why did noon ball develop and emerge?

RQ3: What are the experiences and perceptions of noon ball among participants and bystanders?

Practical implications may include recommendations to develop similar programs that are catered toward specific populations and self-care (e.g., women-only noon ball or other sports) to promote student engagement, women's sport participation, and other informal sport formats.

SARAH STOKOWSKI, CLEMSON UNIVERSITY

THE ORIGINAL SIN: COLLEGE PRESIDENTS' INEFFECTUAL USE OF SPECIAL ADMISSIONS IN INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS

Since the inception of intercollegiate sport, college presidents have consternated over the relation of athletics to the educational mission. In a 1915 essay, William Foster, President of Reed College noted that college athletics has three aims: to win games, make money, and attain notoriety. In 1939, the University of Chicago dropped football to focus on scholarly pursuits. Chicago's president, Robert Hutchins, famously stated, "Football, fraternities and fun have no place in the university. They were introduced only to entertain those who shouldn't be in the university" (Benson, 2012, para. 3).

Admission and initial eligibility standards were controlled by universities and athletic conferences (Smith, 2011) until Rixford Snyder, the Dean of Admission at Stanford, demanded a national standard. The implementation of low eligibility standards developed by the NCAA set the groundwork for institutions to develop special admissions standards for athletes. The abuse that stemmed from universities' accepting academically underprepared students vastly



influenced recruiting efforts and eligibility standards by focusing on athletic rather than academic ability (Ridpath, 2002).

This presentation strives to discuss the evolution of NCAA initial eligibility standards, the impact of special admissions, and the stewardship that has placed college presidents in an untenable position to advance their agendas. The history of presidents' trepidation to reform athletics and make it relevant to the institutional mission has caused academic integrity issues in higher education. True change toward a system that favors the college experience and strives for all college athletes to graduate will require an impactful set of actions. Athletic departments and colleges' missions must align to focus on educating students. Presidents continue to be involved in NCAA and conference governance, so it is imperative that they take time to understand how college sports operates, and how its commercialization harms college athletes in their pursuit of a quality education.

SYNTHIA SYDNOR, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

WHAT IS SPORT? BEYOND ROLAND BARTHES

Sport definitional "canonical" literature of the northern hemisphere such as Roland Barthes' *What is Sport* (2007; from which the title of this current presentation is borrowed), along with other important ideas on the phenomenology of sport, notably for example John Loy (1968); Johann Huizinga (1938/1970); and Roger Caillois (1958/2001); are valuable, yet scholarship of sport itself can be furthered beyond those understandings—that is what this research attempts. The presentation focuses on the author's studies of origins/ phenomenon of sport and recent critiques of ritualization and sincerity, all of which are integrated to delineate "what is sport?" The main tenets of the work begin with Raymond Williams' idea ("certain experiences, meaning and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified. . . are nevertheless lived and practiced on the basis of the residue . . . of some previous social and cultural institution or formation" [Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 1977, pp. 121-123]); and David Sansone's thesis of sport as the "ritual sacrifice of human energy" (*Greek Athletics and the Genesis of Sport*, 1988, p. 37). An explication of sport itself is central to studies of sport, sport history, and to academic disciplines related to history. The explication to be presented comprehends sport to need not have competition as core criteria; and expands understanding of present and future sport.

ROGER ROY TAMTE, INDEPENDENT

THE BEGINNING OF AMERICAN FOOTBALL

American football is widely recognized as the premier game of strategy among major sports. Yet American collegians built the game from 1800s rugby, which was a brute-force, kick-and-shove, straight-ahead kind of game with little strategy input. What brought the collegians to their strategy-filled American game? This paper will focus on two factors -- first, the leadership of Walter Camp, called the "father" of American football by his contemporaries; and second, the growing influence of science and technology in America at the time American football was being invented. Broad-based technical enthusiasm and inventiveness had blossomed in America in the years preceding the development of American football (see the book *American Genesis* by



Thomas Hughes), and Camp's writings implicate that technical enthusiasm and inventiveness in American football's development. For example, in his writings Camp names "scientific possibilities," "order," "system," "study," and "strategy" as principles and actions involved in American collegians' changes to rugby, changes that included a) reversing rugby's kicking-straight-ahead focus and instead kicking backward to inaugurate a never-before-seen kind of play that comprised planned, coordinated, team play enveloped in strategy and newly performed on a backfield stage; b) creating a new, "quarterback," position to receive the backward kick and initiate player moves; and c) placing opposing teams in distinct offensive and defensive roles along a scrimmage line, with the offensive team initiating play, preceded by a pause that allows a planned deployment of players. Camp also soon invented and added to the game a downs-and-distance rule limiting a team's consecutive downs of ball possession while simultaneously providing an opportunity to extend the limit through defined yardage advances (initially five or more yards achieved in three or less downs). Such yardage gains had never before been numerically measured, and to facilitate them Camp proposed marking the field with lines spaced five yards apart.

FAN TAO, WASEDA UNIVERSITY

THE CURRENT SITUATION OF AMATEUR BASEBALL IN CHINA: FOCUSING ON SOCIAL BASEBALL TEAMS

Although professional baseball in China began in 2002, the earliest record of Chinese people playing baseball in China dates back to 1891. The 1950s was the golden age of baseball in China when it was considered a means for training soldiers, and as many as 30 teams participated in the national championship. However, baseball in China entered a dark period during the Cultural Revolution. It was not until the gradual normalization of diplomatic relations between China and the United States in 1970 that baseball began its revival in China. Still, baseball never turns into a major sport in China.

While numerous studies have focused on the history of baseball's early development and professionalization in China, studies targeting social baseball teams, a budding sporting phenomenon at the grassroots level, are limited. Unlike professional baseball, these social teams are mainly organized by players who treat baseball primarily as a leisure activity requiring voluntary engagements without much financial interest. How can these activities divert the future course of baseball in China? A series of questions are worth noting concerning aspects such as survivability, impacts of Western culture, and individual attachment to baseball.

To answer these questions, this study targets several social baseball teams in Yunnan Province, Beijing City, and Shanghai City, applying qualitative methods. The findings unfold around the central theme of social baseball teams' commitments to promoting this sport. While China's professional baseball has been suspended since 2019 due to the pandemic, social baseball teams have come to dominate Chinese baseball tournaments, representing an important power of Chinese baseball. Regardless of holding these activities with little attention or knowledge from the outside, participants expressed positive experiences by portraying baseball as part of their lives. Accordingly, they tended to be optimistic regarding the amateur baseball and youth baseball of China in the future.



CAMERON TARDIF, CORNELL UNIVERSITY

“IT’S GOTTA BE THE SHOES!”: DISCOURSES OF RACE, CRIME, AND CAPITALISM IN THE AGE OF AIR JORDAN

In April 1989, sixteen-year-old Johnny Bates was shot and killed for his new Air Jordan sneakers. A month later, fifteen-year-old Michael Thomas was strangled for his pair. Bates and Thomas were but two victims in a series of sneaker and fashion related crimes spanning the 1980s and 1990s. In the investigation of Thomas’s death, Sgt. Thomas Suit said the murder was “a sign of our poor times.” Contemporaries would have understood his remark as a reference to downtrodden cities, lingering economic downturn, and the supposed decline of social morality. My research analyzes the concurrent discourses of race, crime, and capitalism – one from the national media and scholarship, the other from local reporting – to reinterpret and historicize the role of sneaker violence in American cities and uncover how media erased Black victims. On one hand, national media and scholarship highlighted the crimes connected to athletic merchandise, specifically the Air Jordan, by filtering reporting through lenses of celebrity culture and neoliberal consumer capitalism to lay blame on Michael Jordan and Nike. On the other hand, local media presented different arguments, often parroting the racialized political themes of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, that pathologized Black youth and emphasized disinvested inner cities, welfare queens, urban crime, and broken Black families. By critically reading the visual and literary expressions of these discourses, I carve out space to foreground the victims and the array of social issues that lie behind the sneaker crimes.

TOM TAYLOR, SEATTLE UNIVERSITY

“THE IMPRACTICAL SCHEME OF A VISIONARY:” THOMAS STEVENS AND THE QUEST TO TRAVEL ROUND THE WORLD ON A BICYCLE

On the morning of April 22, 1884, Thomas Stevens boarded the ferry plying the bay between San Francisco and Oakland. A few months shy of three years later, on January 3, 1887 he pulled into the same bay on an ocean steamer. In the intervening months, he became the first person to ride a bicycle around the world. He had traveled more than 13,000 miles by his own, meticulous, records. Stevens’ adventure is a good tale worth retelling; but it is more than a good adventure it is a window in to the world of the late 19th C.

Tonio Andrade, in a recent article in the *Journal of World History*, called on world historians to use their “unique position as custodians of the world’s past to be mediums, to bring alive, for just a few pages, some of the people who inhabited structures and lived through processes, using what Braudel called the most important tool of the historian: imagination... Let’s bring the history of our interconnected world to life, one story at a time.” Stevens’ story and person, forgotten by contemporary society, does indeed bring the world of the late nineteenth century alive.

Through an analysis of Stevens’ voluminous writings, this article examines how he understood the bicycle as an instrument of modernity and helped fuel the emergence of a bicycle culture at the end of the nineteenth century. It will also consider how sporting associations evaluated his journey in light of ideas on amateur and profession sports.



JAN TODD, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN; CONOR HEFFERNAN, UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER; CHARLES STOCKING, WESTERN UNIVERSITY; PETER J. MILLER, UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG; JASON SHURLEY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-WHITEWATER

IDEALS TURNED REAL: THE CLASSICAL BODY AND/IN PHYSICAL CULTURE

This session explores the connections between the statuary of ancient Greece and Rome and the emergence of both school-based physical education and popular and entrepreneurial physical culture. Designed as a 75-minute session with Todd and Heffernan in Washington, and Stocking and Miller via Zoom, there will be four 15-minute papers followed by discussion.

Jan Todd, in “Bodies that Mattered: Noble Savages, Classical Statues and the Evolution of Western Physical Education,” begins with Rousseau’s novel *Emile* and explores how his use of the “Noble Savage of the Americas” as a physical ideal, was surpassed by the more visible reality of Classical statues such as the Elgin Marbles that began appearing in European museums around the turn of the nineteenth century.

Conor Heffernan’s paper “We . . . are . . . devoid of that beautiful series of muscles that run ‘round the entire waist’”: Classical Statuary, Masculinity and the 1851 Great Exhibition,” argues that the Great Exhibition served two key purposes for physical culturists in mid-century Britain. It served as a platform for new exercise materials and ideas to be advertised and promoted, introducing chest expanders and Indian clubs to British fair goers. More importantly, the physiques of the Classical statues shown at the Exhibition served as a point of comparison for many educators, physicians and physical culturists between the ancient and modern world.

Peter Miller’s paper, “The Great Aesthetic Nation: Physical Culture and the So-called Classical Ideal,” explores the use of classical imagery in magazines and physical culture advertising to provide legitimacy to this outside-the-academy approach to physical education.

Charles Stocking’s paper on “The Long Limbs of Apollo: Classical Sculpture and the Origins of Scientific Racism.” explores the various ways classical statuary has been used and abused by those with racist agendas and how this haunts modern Classics.

BOB TRUMPBOUR, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

HARVARD STADIUM IN 1903: NORTH AMERICA’S FIRST FULLY CONCRETE AND STEEL SPORTS-BASED CONSTRUCTION PROJECT

Harvard Stadium, constructed in 1903 and still in use today, was America’s first major fireproof concrete and steel outdoor sports venue. This research will examine various primary and secondary sources related to the 1903 construction project in Cambridge, MA to explain how this construction project marked a profound transition from the less organized, haphazard construction practices that unfolded during the late 19th century to a more coherent, more carefully engineered, and more rationalized construction project that became more commonplace later in the 20th century. When Harvard Stadium was unveiled in 1903, it received limited local media coverage. Coverage in the student newspaper, the Harvard Crimson, was more prominent



and generally more enthusiastic than in Boston's daily newspapers. The venue might be relatively modest by today's opulent, over-the-top construction standards, but the construction of the first major fully fireproof sports venue made it a dramatic departure from previous sports-related construction projects. Although early media coverage of this project might have been tepid, years later Harvard Stadium has been cited as a key advance in new sports-based construction. Harvard Stadium was major part of a transition to safer, fireproof ballparks in North America. New ballpark construction for professional baseball teams in Cincinnati and St. Louis took place in 1902, one year before Harvard University built, but these venues, while incorporating some safety elements, were not fully fireproof, as was the case with Harvard Stadium. Brief historic analysis of Harvard Stadium can be found within various texts including Benson (1989), Bertanga (1986), Smith (1988), and Trumpbour (2007), but the coverage of the stadium itself in these texts is rather limited. As of yet, no book-length manuscript has been produced that focuses on the Harvard Stadium construction project. This research will expand the range of available information relative to the Harvard Stadium construction project.

CHI-CHEN TSAI & DONG-JHY HWANG, NATIONAL TAIWAN SPORT UNIVERSITY
THE PHYSICAL CULTURE OF THE LION DANCE IN THE AUTHORITARIANISM PERIOD IN
TAIWAN (1945-1993)

This study examines the physical culture of lion dance in Taiwan's authoritarianism period. The lion dance is one of the traditional physical activities related to religion (Lee, 2004). Sports can provide insights into social structure, development, and cultural identity. Moreover, different social groups construct sporting practices through the capacity to structure sports in a preferred way and establish selective traditions and rituals (Jarvie, 1991). Following this idea, the research question is how different social groups used lion dance to construct and perform their power during the authoritarian period in Taiwan. The research material collects from the newspaper. Also, this study takes content analysis to analyze the ideology and meaning of the narrative of the lion dance in Taiwan. The evidence shows that in authoritarianism, the government promotes a specific ideology with relevant cultural policies. Therefore, the lion dance frequently appeared on National day, 'the March of Recovery Day,' and the president's birthday. On the other hand, the Taiwan local religious festivals were banned after the government released the 'Folk Pray Festivals Thrift Instrument,' such as Mazu's birthday and Ghost Festival was restricted. At the same time, the lion dance is also suppressed because it is close to religion. However, people intentionally display patriotism symbols with the lion dance to continue it. For example, people bring a portrait of the deceased president while they do a lion dance on National day. Thus, it shows that the lion dance compromises with the government to survive. When the government abolished the 'Folk Pray Festivals Thrift Instrument' in 1993, more lion dance reports were in the newspaper, and the narrative of lion dance with patriotism decreased. To conclude, the development of the lion dance was suppressed by the authorized government. The lion dance's meaning provides insights into Taiwan's political background and cultural identity.



ROBERT JEREMIAH TURPIN, LEES-MCRAE COLLEGE

BICYCLE RACING AND BLACK ACTIVISM BEFORE MAJOR TAYLOR

This paper derives from a chapter of a manuscript in progress that focuses on Black cyclists in the United States. It will discuss the immense popularity of cycling in the United States during the 1880s and early 1890s while showing at this point, and even before, there were Black cyclists at all levels of the sport. There have been a number of works published about the World Champion Black cyclist Marshall "Major" Taylor but this work broadens the discussion of the Black cyclist through its attention to Taylor's predecessors in the sport. There were Black cyclists such as David Drummond who showed considerable racing prowess on high wheelers and tricycles before Taylor. Drummond is also an example of a Black cyclist who was clearly an activist fighting to end racial discrimination through bicycle racing and his work with James Monroe Trotter, J. Gordon Street, and in the Knights of Pythias. It shows that Major Taylor was not the only, nor the first, Black cyclist in the US while also highlighting the diversity of thought and tactics among Black cyclists who pushed for greater inclusivity in the sport.

LISA UPERESA, UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND; STANLEY THANGARAJ, STONEHILL COLLEGE; CONSTANCIO ARNALDO, UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA; ADIA BENTON, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

RACIALIZED BODIES, ATHLETIC EXPERIENCES: COLONIAL LEGACIES AND DIASPORA

Since the 1970s, anthropologists have struggled to identify how research on sport can contribute to anthropological theory. This endeavor has today obtained more traction as the various dimensions of play, performance, exercise, and sport have attracted scholars previously interested in other areas of concern, thereby representing great potential for understanding institutional and relational formations of embodied culture. One of the drawbacks to past anthropological sports scholarship is how an emphasis on the relationship between sports, colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism has not yielded a sustained effort to examine how subaltern athletes navigate their marginalized social positions.

Accordingly, we ask: How are athletes' bodies culturally marked through sport? In what ways are athletes used by (and potentially exploited by) teams, bureaucratic organizations, and nations? How do the tensions between competition and collaboration, inequality and fair play inform their lives and social worlds? How are athletes' lived experiences constituted, either at play or in the real world? Ultimately, what does research motivated by these questions contribute to the broader anthropological and historical questions about the body and embodiment, racialized and gendered experiences, and resistance and power?

In this first panel of anthropologists, we bring together scholars committed to researching the ethnographic complexity of athletes' lives as they inhabit sporting spaces while also navigating issues of sports infrastructure, colonial exploitation, masculinity, and race-making. Here, panelists examine the entanglement of geopolitical histories and their intersection with global political economies of sport and migration to better understand the patterns we see today. These scholars seriously consider the experiences of those in the Pacific and Asian sporting diasporas by engaging histories of colonialism, imperialism, racism, and nationalism.



MARIA J VERI, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY; DIANE WILLIAMS, MCDANIEL COLLEGE; ROBERTA BENNETT, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY; KAREN DEPAUW, VIRGINIA TECH UNIVERSITY; JACKIE HUDSON, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY; EMILY WUGHALTER, SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY; LINDA ZWIREN, HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY

DANCE LIKE NO ONE IS WATCHING: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE AMY MORRIS HOMANS COTILLION (1982-2014)

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the context for LGBTQA+ people in the United States was changing, as many pushed hard for public recognition of lesbian and gay identities. These changes were experienced in academic and professional organizations like the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (AAHPERD) – with some kinesiology, physical education, and sport studies professionals willing to step out of the closet. Yet, many others did not approve and/or found it difficult to be out or to be allied with the lesbian community, especially within the AAHPERD structure where institutionalized – and in some cases, internalized – homophobia rendered programmatic discussions of sexuality taboo.

While some AAHPERD members worked for change through public workshops at annual conventions, others created the Amy Morris Homans Cotillion as a safe space for women to connect and create joyful sisterhood with long lasting professional and personal relationships. Held annually from 1982 – 2014, this underground social event gathered hundreds of women at its peak, inviting them to drink, dance, and dream of a better world. Though most were lesbians, participants varied in age, location, professional status, and interest in activism. The Cotillion (and pre-cotillion) were never recognized events listed in the AAHPERD program; time and place were spread by word of mouth and coded messages, and the community eagerly awaited Thursday nights at the annual AAHPERD Convention.

During this moderated panel session, five Cotillion hosts and participants, including a co-founder, will share origin stories and reflect on the meanings of their experiences, social changes influenced by the Cotillion crowd, and issues that remain in creating inclusive academic, professional, and social communities. We hope that learning about this previously hidden history will inform NASSH members' efforts toward creating more equitable spaces of belonging within the organization and establishing a more inclusive history of our field.

ROSS FRASER WALKER, THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

JAMES NAISMITH: THE ORIGINS OF BASKETBALL AND THE SCOTTISH CONNECTION

Scotland's influence upon basketball has yet to be fully acknowledged and documented. The paper thus addresses two overarching questions: what are the links between Scotland and basketball's early development; and how did Scotland influence basketball's origins? Drawing upon a series of primary and secondary sources, the author fundamentally embeds evidence collated from Naismith alongside his descendants based on Naismith's life and outlook. The purpose is to outline Naismith's Scottish national identity through discussing various components from his family lineage to his cultural upbringing in a translocated Scottish



community and university experiences prior to the creation of basketball. The argument asserts that Scotland warrants recognition for its role in helping devise the worldwide phenomenon that basketball is today because whilst Naismith spent most of his life in North America, he was in fact, a Scot in body, mind and spirit. The conclusions delineate how Scotland through Dr James Naismith has a unique historical relationship with basketball that cannot be contended or rivalled by any other country with him living and upholding Scottish behaviors, cultural values and traditions which reflected his nature, personality and ultimately, the invention of basketball. The papers significance to our understanding of sport history resides in the fact that it further adds to and re-imagines some of the early contributions to knowledge about the invention of basketball alongside Naismith's Scottish connections which sports historiography has to date has only briefly touched upon, but never fully recorded through a Scottish lens..

THERESA WALTON-FISETTE, KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

CONCUSSIONS IN NCAA FOOTBALL: A HISTORY OF RULE CHANGES, PUBLIC RELATIONS AND ON-GOING RESEARCH

In 1906, medical doctors with Harvard concluded a study on American collegiate football noting, "The percentage of injury is much too great for any mere sport" (Nichols and Smith, 1906, p. 8). Of particular concern were head injuries, which the doctors believed were not taken as seriously as they should be by those in football. Contemporary and subsequent research over the last century plus have confirmed Nichols and Smith's worries. Yet, the heavy cultural and financial investment in collegiate football by universities, the governing body National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), mass media, and fans has meant a century long public relations campaign to increase the social tolerance for the violence and danger of the sport. While calls for abolishment of the game were regular and strong in the first decades of the games' development, by the 1930s these discussions fall away. They are placated by the continual tinkering of the rules along with the promises of increasing the safety of the game. This has resulted in the last few decades in millions of dollars of research focused on sport related traumatic brain injuries which primarily confirm those findings of nearly 100 years ago. Even in the face of this mounting research evidence of the dangers, the game continues to be a major celebrated cultural phenomenon and a mainstay on college campuses.

**BO WANG, CAPITAL UNIVERSITY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT &
KIMBERLEY EKSTRAND, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA**

TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY BETWEEN THE 2010 VANCOUVER AND 2022 BEIJING WINTER OLYMPICS: FEMALE CHINESE-CANADIAN EXPERIENCES WITH WINTER SPORTS PARTICIPATION

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has made efforts to incentivize participation in winter sports with two extensive projects: the "Building a Leading Sports Nation" and "300 million On Ice." These policies were aimed at China, yet it is unknown what influence this has had on Chinese-Canadians. Vancouver is home to nearly half a million Chinese-Canadians, representing 19.6% of Vancouver's population. We ask why Chinese-Canadians living in Vancouver, remained unresponsive during and after the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics, but



who appear to have been influenced by the 2022 Beijing Winter Games. The evolution of winter sport engagement in Vancouver highlights the potential economic and cultural influences of the CCP whose goal was to achieve participation at home, but who simultaneously encouraged the integration of Chinese-Canadians into the Canadian winter sporting culture.

This study employed a qualitative research approach using semi-structured interviews and surveys over a 6-month period. 16 interviews with first-generation female Chinese-Canadians living in Vancouver were conducted. This population was selected given the influence women often have on the sporting activities of children and the resulting socio-economic status required for access. Participant observation was used to engage with the Chinese-Canadian community in two ways: on the ski hills and resorts at Cypress and Whistler, and on Chinese WeChat groups. We draw on a historical analysis to provide an in-depth examination of the reasons why Chinese-Canadians' attitudes changed towards winter sports between 2010 and 2022 and what this impact might tell us about future participation.

Chinese-Canadians express that they are impacted by Chinese publicity, social media and intergroup influences, rather than solely Canadian culture and community, when it came to participating in winter sports. This project found that winter sports initiatives of Chinese-Canadians are influenced by their transnational culture connection to their home country.

JIM WATKINS, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH ALABAMA & JIM EVANS, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI

A CONTROVERSY "WITHOUT PARALLEL": THE DEBATE OVER THE ELIGIBILITY OF RETURNING VETERAN ATHLETES IN THE SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE DURING 1945

After strengthening eligibility rules for athletes over the course of several decades, the institutions who competed in the Southeastern Conference suspended major eligibility rules during World War II. These rules included freshmen ineligibility, academic eligibility and restrictions on transfer athletes. Once the war ended, presidents and faculty in the Southeastern Conference (SEC) were faced with the question of how to reinstate their rules. This presentation will focus on the SEC's decision to require veteran athletes to attend the institution that they had competed at before going off to war in order to be immediately eligible to compete in college athletics after the war ended. This decision enraged athletes, members of the American Legion, journalists, and some of the presidents and faculty within the SEC. The sources for this presentation include archival records from the presidential papers at several SEC institutions, as well as newspapers throughout the South. This incident in the SEC's history provides evidence that strict eligibility rules, such as restricting the ability of veterans to transfer, were more feasible to implement in normal circumstances compared to extraordinary ones. By the time the SEC made this decision, the war had ended, and the conference had enough athletes available to field teams in football and other sports. The conference had only grown lax towards eligibility rules when its football teams were faced with a shortage of athletes during the war. In addition, while the transfer rule had historically been defended on the basis of academic integrity, those who advocated for restricting veteran eligibility focused on preserving a level playing field in football. Overall, the SEC's decision stands out in its history since it was one of the rare instances



where the conference was more strict than other conferences outside of the South when creating eligibility rules

STEPHEN ROBERT WENN, WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY

**AN 'UNLIKELY' OLYMPIC GOLD MEDAL FACTORY: DAMIAN WARNER,
FARQUHARSON ARENA, AND TOKYO, 2020**

The IOC's decision to postpone the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games left aspiring Olympians scrambling to re-construct their training cycles and secure training facilities going forward in the face of COVID-19 restrictions. Damian Warner, Canada's leading decathlete, an Olympic bronze medalist in Rio (2016), a three-time World Championship medalist, and someone touted by many as a gold medalist in Tokyo, lost access to his training facility at Western University's (London, Ontario) Thompson Recreation and Athletic Centre. Travel restrictions eliminated his access to training at international sites. A solution was paramount to the continued pursuit of his dream of an Olympic gold medal.

A chance discussion between Gar Leyshon, one of Warner's coaches, and a golf partner in the summer of 2020 led Warner and Leyshon to Scott Stafford, managing director of Parks and Recreation for the City of London. Stafford, fully conversant with, and sympathetic to, the challenge Warner faced, offered access to, and use of, Farquharson Arena, an old minor hockey arena that had escaped the wrecking ball for about a decade. Warner and his team converted the arena to a decathlon training facility that he used during Canada's winter months linking the 2020 and 2021 calendars.

This paper examines the challenge faced and met in converting Farquharson Arena to a training facility that served as Warner's springboard to a first-place performance in Götzis, Austria's Hypo-Meeting in May, 2021 and an Olympic record (9018 points) and gold medal-performance in Tokyo. Interviews with Damian Warner, his coaches, and Scott Stafford, along with media coverage of this element of Warner's Tokyo Olympic journey, will inform the narrative. Athletes such as Warner capture Olympic medals as individuals, but Warner's Tokyo story confirms that they can only pursue these dreams with the support of a dedicated team.

**SAMANTHA WHITE, MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE; DAIN TEPOEL, LOCK HAVEN
UNIVERSITY; LINDSAY PARKS PIEPER, UNIVERSITY OF LYNCHBURG; GEORGE N.
KIOUSSIS, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE**

CLEVELAND SPORTS: PHYSICAL CULTURE ON THE LAKE ERIE SHORES

Scholars have recently expanded our knowledge of the relationships between sport and the city. This session adds to this dynamic by focusing on Cleveland, Ohio. First, Samantha White discusses opportunities for Black girls in 1920s Cleveland, specifically at the city's Camp Merriam. White examines how Black outdoor spaces and movements, particularly those attuned to the voices and experiences of Black girls, informed and shaped Black health and well-being, environmental justice, and the cultivation of relationships with the natural world. Next, Dain TePoel looks at the park system in the Cleveland metropolitan area in order to examine the ways in which various demographics in Cleveland used or did not use, built, fought for or against, and in any way interacted leisure space over the past century. Additionally, Lindsay Parks Pieper



considers Cleveland's queer sporting past, leading to the 2014 Gay Games. To do so, she illustrates the ways in which community sport first provided an outlet and safe space for LGBTQI+ people in Cleveland. Teams and leagues not only offered an opportunity to forge community, but eventually helped raise visibility and foster activism. Finally, George Kioussis considers the heritage and cultural memory of Progressive Field, home of baseball's Cleveland Guardians. By looking at statues, he examines the "cultural work" that such memory-making platforms exude. Together, this session demonstrates the high-profile nature of and meaning derived from sport and physical culture in Cleveland.

*All participants physically present/capable of running technology.

Moderator: Andrew D. Linden, California State University, Northridge

Samantha White, "'Her Girlhood Dream Realized:' Cleveland's Camp Merriam and Black Girls' Outdoor Recreation"

Dain TePoel, "Parks and Politics in the Greater Cleveland Metropolitan"

Lindsay Parks Pieper, "Cleveland is Not San Francisco: Harnessing Gay Pride to Promote an Image of Progress"

George Kioussis, "The Bronze Five: Heritage and Statuary at Cleveland's Progressive Field "

MIRIAM WRIGHT, UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR

"RACE, BASEBALL, AND SPORTS JOURNALISM IN SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO, 1915-1946"

This paper explores the way white newspaper reporters covered racialized baseball teams and players in the Chatham-London-Windsor area, a region with a deep history of Black and Indigenous baseball. Morrow, Wamsley, Lorenz and Forsyth, among others connect ideas of race with (white) newspaper coverage of racialized athletes. Examining newspapers in one region over a thirty-year period offers an opportunity to document the more subtle shifts in the way white reports covered Black and Indigenous ball players over time. One clear theme is a relationship between the way white reporters covered the racialized teams, and the positions of Black and Indigenous teams in local baseball. When racialized teams were excluded from white organized baseball, white reporters portrayed their games as exotic amusements. As baseball began to decline in southwestern Ontario in the 1920s and 1930s (owing in part to the rising popularity of softball), local white baseball organizers invited non-white teams into their leagues. This increased dependence on non-white teams to keep the primarily white leagues viable also coincided with a more restrained tone in the newspaper coverage. Needing to promote local baseball (and sell newspapers), reporters and columnists tended to downplay the race of the athletes they covered. Indeed, at times, they used white, middle-class values to frame and promote the non-white teams. Despite this shift in tone, however, white sports reporters and columnists continued to portray the racialized athletes differently from white players, often remarking on the Black athletes' bodies and emphasizing physicality. In this way, the racialized nature of newspaper reporting persisted, even after local sports moved toward racial integration



in the 1940s. This paper will also examine sources available (oral histories, family scrapbooks) to gain some insights into how some of the Black players themselves felt about being in the media spotlight.

YUE YANG, XIAOQIAN HU, TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY

BEAUTY BUILDER OF ARTISTIC SWIMMING: A FOUCAULDIAN DISCOURSES ANALYSIS OF A HISTORY OF ARTISTIC SWIMMING

Artistic swimming (formerly known as Synchronized Swimming) is recognized as one of 'a purely feminine sport' that are performed predominantly, or exclusively, by women. The stereotype of artistic swimming dominated by women has affected further development of the event including attraction to males. There has been limited attention from the academic society paid to the historical process of this feminine sport, thus, to a great degree, downplaying the inequality power of the event dominated by women.

Inspired by Feminist Critical Theory, we want to explore how artistic swimming gradually become a purely feminine sport and how the female swimmers' experience transforms the traditional knowledge of artistic swimming dominated by females.

We used a qualitative methodological approach that understand several significant discursive events in the history of artistic swimming. Collected data from literal materials of the history of artistic swimming in the USA, China, Canada, and FINA. Besides, we interviewed 18 female artistic swimmers to understand their experience and to further interrogate the construction of gender norms, power, and stereotype in artistic swimming. We used the Foucauldian discourse analysis to deal with this data.

Based on the historical and interview materials, we find that two features transformed artistic swimming. One is the male participants were been barred from competing at the highest level until the 2015 FINA World Championships. The other is artistic swimming is influenced by the traditional knowledge system of artistic swimming dominated by women and females' experience.

In conclusion, we found the construction reality of the traditional knowledge system of artistic swimming. Especially, artistic swimming has been affected by the transformation of power relations between different sex subjects in the process of historical development and has gradually become a purely feminine sport.

YI ZHANG, WASEDA UNIVERSITY

TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICAN COLLEGE WOMEN`S SPORT: A RE-EXAMINING OF PLAY DAYS

Women`s collegiate sport history had often been chronicled with linear narratives until the late 1990s. Play Days, for example, were perceived by such accounts as a substitute for intercollegiate sporting competitions for women. Nevertheless, the understanding of women`s sports history have changed dramatically since the turn of the twenty-first century, as emerging studies have endeavored to reveal a more extensive panorama of the women`s sporting world. Following this trend, this research proposes to explore twentieth-century American women`s sport and physical activity by examining historical accounts of Play Days.



With the abolishment of varsity competitions for women in most parts of America in the roaring twentieth, Play Days emerged. Many studies illuminated it as a “pejorative metonym” for intercollegiate athletics, considering this period as a “controlled development” of women’s collegiate sport. From an alternative perspective, this study argues that Play Days should not be perceived as a substitute for intercollegiate competition but as a more complex subject, of which various valuable aspects are yet to be raised.

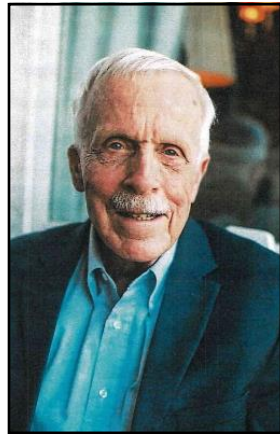
Play Days is documented as a sporting practice emphasizing “a sport for every girl and every girl in a sport” and “play for play’s sake.” This study mainly draws on twentieth-century literature, magazines, and newspapers, in addition to publicities, correspondence, minutes, and other archives of Play Days that have been collected from three colleges and two associations. Processing these resources using multiple methodologies allows me to uncover the hidden historical stories of Play Days that can contribute to recapturing a fuller picture of the history of women’s collegiate sport. Moreover, Play Days can serve as a microcosm of women’s sport history in general, by which we can answer the call for moving forward more equitable sporting spaces for all girls and women.



IN MEMORIAM



Joan Hunt
1933 – 2023



John Watterson
1939 – 2023



Elias Abarbanel Wolff
1977-2023