MA Sports History and Culture

Induction Activities

Firstly, please let me extend a warm welcome from myself and the other members of the International Centre for Sports History and Culture.

The below reading material and activities have been designed to acquaint you with the subject of sports history and **should be read before the start of term.**

The articles provide an overview of the subject and are designed to give you an understanding of its intellectual origins and some of its main themes. This list is by no means exhaustive but is meant as an introduction and you can delve deeper if you wish through an examination of the references or by contacting me for further reading suggestions.

In addition, some activities have been included, which comprise examples of some of the research resources available in order to study and write the history of sport.

Of course, none of the reading or the activities is mandatory. But because the MA in Sports History and Culture is a distance-learning course, you can both read the articles and undertake the activities in your own time and at your own pace.

Before the start of term, you will also have access to various other course-related items, including:

- a copy of the updated Programme Handbook,
- a link to an online video regarding introducing you to the course
- and a bespoke video for students of the MA SHC about logging into Learning Zone, our virtual learning environment, which will help you to navigate it to access what you need for your distance-learning programme.

I hope you both enjoy and prosper during your time with us here at DMU.

Dr Dave Dee

(Associate Professor in Modern History, MA Sports History and Culture Programme Leader)

Activity 1

Programme Welcome - Watch the course introduction video (when you have access)

Reading 1

R. Holt, 'Historians and the History of Sport', *Sport in History*, 34 (1), March 2014, 1-33 – **attached below**

Activity 2

Listen to some episodes from *Sport and the British* on BBC Radio 4 Broadcast in 2012 in the run-up to the Olympics, this 30-part series was produced by the BBC in partnership with the ICSHC.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01bf42n

Reading 2

R. McKibbin, 'Sports History: Status, Definitions and Meanings', *Sport in History*, 31 (2), June 2011, 167-74 – **attached below**

Activity 3

For your assessments – a mixture, mainly, of Essays of 5,000 words and Critical Analysis Assignments, 2,000 words – you will have access to the DMU library. NB – Please have your DMU P Number and login to hand.

Research resources 1 DMU Resource Lists
https://dmu.rl.talis.com/index.html
Each of your modules has its own electronic resource list, which lists all the relevant sources for that course's lectures and associated reading. Log in with your student number and explore the different module lists, using each module code (HIST5021/HIST5022/HIST5023/HIST5024/HIST5025)

Research resources 2 DMU Library
http://www.library.dmu.ac.uk/Home/Welcome/
The DMU Library not only holds a large collection of history and sport books and journals but you will also have access to e-books and e-journals. You may want to familiarise yourself with the website. One journal you may want to look at is *Sport in History*.

Research resources 3
DMU Library – Databases A-Z
https://library.dmu.ac.uk/databasea-z
In addition to its books and journals, the DMU Library hosts a large number of electronic databases, which will prove vital for any primary source research materials such as newspapers.

Research resources 4

DMU Archives and Special Collections https://library.dmu.ac.uk/specialcollections/visit

DMU's Archives and Special Collections holds a growing sports archive, including the records of the Amateur Boxing Association, the Ski Club of Great Britain, Leicester Tiger Rugby Club and the papers of Sir Norman Chester relating to football.

Reading 3

D. Porter, 'Sports History and Modern British History', *Sport in History*, 31 (2), June 2011, 180-96 – **attached below**

Activity 4

In addition to the resources that DMU offers there are many other locations and websites that provide historians with rich research materials. You may want to experiment, using keyword searches, to discover if there is anything that interests you.

Research Resource 1

National Archives

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk

The National Archives at Kew in London are the depositary of the UK government's records and documents. There is no core sport collection, but instead many records related to sport and individual sports are dispersed throughout the archives. In addition, this website provides details of sport collections located at local record offices and other archives.

Research Resource 2

The British Library

http://www.bl.uk

The site of the British Library is at St. Pancras in London. In addition to its books, which can be found through its Catalogues, the library has a vast

range of digital collections, including newspapers. It also includes Ethos, which provides access to all PhD theses: https://www.bl.uk/collection/ethos, as well as significant autobiographical/memoir and oral History collections relating to sports people and sport.

Research Resource 3

LA 84 Foundation

http://digital.la84.org/digital/

Quite simply, this is the largest free-to-access dedicated electronic sports library and archive in the world. Not only are there academic journals but it also hosts magazines, periodicals, every report on the Olympic Games plus an extensive oral history.

Research Resource 4

Everton Collection

http://www.evertoncollection.org.uk/home

The most comprehensive collection of any football club archives. Thousands of images are freely available as well as the club's minute books from 1887 to 1964.

Research Resource 5
Athlos http://athlos.co.uk
A website dedicated to the history of athletics literature, which hosts books that are free-to-access.

Reading 4

a) C.A. Osborne and F. Skillen, 'Introduction. The State of Play: Women in British Sport History', *Sport in History*, 30 (2), June 2010, 189-195
b) C.A. Osborne and F. Skillen, 'Women in Sports History: The More Things Change, the More they Stay the Same?', *Sport in History* 40 (4), November 2020, 411-433. – **both attached below**

Activity 5

Planning for your final project

It is never too early to begin planning for your final project/module on the MASHC, either the 15,000 word Dissertation on the HIST5000 module or the Heritage Project on the SPMM5112 module

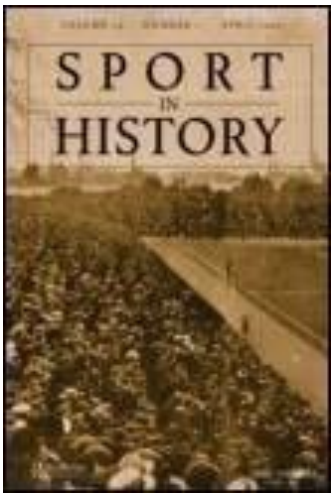
Some students embark on their MA with a very clear Dissertation topic or project in mind but others have no idea and develop ideas as the course progresses. Nevertheless, especially if you are full-time student (although it also applies to part-time students), the final project module will creep up on you and there is no harm to keep it in mind.

It may be a useful exercise to write out 2 or 3 one-hundred-word proposals to get you thinking about the aims and objectives and what primary source materials/approach you might use for a particular topic. It's unlikely that this will be the finished proposal – and at this stage it doesn't really matter – but it will begin the process of thinking about what is a viable topic and, just as importantly, what is not.

Feel free to speak to course staff informally about your project ideas, even at an early stage.

Reading 5

Mark Dyreson, 'The United States of America' in S. Pope and J. Nauright (eds), Routledge Companion to Sports History (London: Routledge, 2009) – **attached below**



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Richard Holt

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Historians and the History of Sport

Richard Holt

This chapter offers a new and extensive analysis of the role of the historical profession in the writing of sports history in Britain, France and the United States with additional reference to Germany, Italy and Australia. The aim is to show in depth how the form and content of the various approaches taken by historians from the 1960s to the present compares to those trained in the social sciences and in physical education. The chapter has three parts: it looks first at the differing national traditions of historical writing on sport by historians; then it examines their relationship to that of sociologists, anthropologists and physical educators; finally, these differing disciplinary perspectives are critically examined in detail through concrete examples drawn from both traditional and modern sports in Britain, Europe and beyond.

Introduction

This is an extended essay – the first of its kind – in the comparative historiography of sport. It will examine the role played by those trained within the discipline of history in researching the history of sport in comparison with those coming from a social science or a sports or physical education background. This area has expanded astonishingly from its beginnings in the 1960s to the present. The critical mass of research runs to many hundreds of books and thousands of academic chapters and articles. Hence the task is larger than it might appear, especially since I compare the output of 'historians' (defined here as those with doctorates in history) with historical writing on sport by those who were trained within social science or physical education. However, even in an extended essay of this kind, it is impossible to cover more than a part of the literature in depth. Hence I have focused on what I know best,

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concentrating mainly on Britain and France but also with selective reference to Germany, Italy, North America and Australasia. The growing body of literature on Asia and Africa, especially the important body of research on the politics of South African sport, is beyond the scope of the present essay, which is an examination of Western societies with particular emphasis on north-western Europe.

How the historian's approach to the history of sport differs from those trained in other disciplines is the central question. Sociology, sports studies, 'kinesiology' as well as anthropology and cultural studies have all contributed significantly to the recent outpouring of research in sports history. But what is the relationship between them? Why, in particular, have historians become interested in sport? Which topics have historians chosen to study in sports history? How has their work influenced the wider world of history and been influenced by it? Particular attention will be paid to the varying research agendas within mainstream history as an academic discipline and how this has impacted on the history of sports.

The essay has three parts: (a) the first looks at history itself and the striking national differences in the role of the historical profession within sports history; (b) the second part considers more closely the main differences in approach between historians and those working primarily from within the theory-led historical sociology of the later twentieth century as well as the more recent stress on the sporting body itself; (c) the third section examines concrete examples of these disciplinary differences in the study of traditional and modern sports.

The historical profession and sports history

There is no existing study which focuses specifically on the contribution of professional historians to the history of sport in relation to other disciplines.[1] However, Douglas Booth has recently attempted an overview of the entire field on the basis of placing work on sports history into the general categories devised by Alan Munslow: 'reconstructionist' (seeking objective 'truth' by setting out 'the facts'); 'constructionist' (interpreting the past through concepts such as class, gender, ethnicity etc.) and 'deconstructionist' (stressing attention to linguistic forms and personal reflexivity in writing a partial and fragmented past). My approach is different. Booth's work was mainly aimed at those working in physical education without a formal training in history who felt the past could be

explained by simply 'recovering' facts about it. The professional training of the historian explicitly challenges such a naive position. Most of the work examined here fits into the 'constructionist' category in the sense that historians are seeking not only to understand sport itself but to use sport as a lens through which to understand the historical development of the wider society they are studying. Since E.H. Carr's What is History?, the bible of the 'new social history' of the 1960s from which much sports history emerged, historians have been highly aware of the danger of imposing the present on the past and the inevitable subjectivity of both the author of a source and its historical interpreters.[2]

History is both a single discipline and a multiple set of subjects. In terms of method it places great emphasis on the exhaustive investigation of the past through a wide range of primary and secondary sources – mainly archival and printed matter – combined with a critical awareness of both the limitations of evidence and the multiplicity of possible interpretations. Historians are aware that the past is unstable; that there is no agreed orthodoxy; that history is an almost inexhaustible source of 'facts' (especially in the modern period) from which any number of conclusions can be drawn according to the inclination of the historian. A good historical account is one based on wide and critical reading in which explanations are often embedded in the 'thick description' of an analytic narrative. But historians do not simply tell stories; sometimes they opt for a thematic structure throughout; more often they prefer the chronological narrative form. But in each case they tend to see past events in terms of context. This is a crucial difference. Phenomena tend to be explained in terms of the influence of external factors on the internal transformation of a particular activity – for example, a sport. Historians are wary of mono-causality, preferring subtle accounts which bring into play a wide range of forces combining together – sometimes in unpredictable ways – while also taking contingent factors such as individual personality or historical accident into account. Hence academic history avoids reductionist accounts based on a single theory or the study of an institution in isolation. Unlike a more adversarial and conceptual social science approach, historical works tend to build upon each other through an incremental rather than an oppositional process.[3]

There are historians specializing in almost every aspect of the human past from economics, imperialism and politics to social and cultural history with its stress on rural and urban differences, class, gender and ethnic

identities. From the 1980s gender tended to replace class as the primary lens through which to understand sport, especially in North America with the powerful impact of Joan Scott's influential essay on 'gender as a useful category for historical knowledge'.[4] Recent cultural history has laid particular stress on understanding the past through language – 'the linguistic turn' – urged by the postmodern requirement for 'reflexivity'. Awareness of the historian as a writer and creator as well as a labourer in the archives has been stressed by Booth as well as by the Australian sports historian and theorist Murray Philips in an important edited collection on Deconstrcuting Sports History published in 2005.[5]

There has also been a 'spatial turn' in history coming from cultural geography, looking at the gendered and class divided nature of space as well as a 'visual turn' focusing on the representation of subjects through painting, photography, film and television. Here the pioneer has been the British social, cultural and historical geographer John Bale, whose early work on the diffusion of sport took a relatively conventional historical approach.[6] His subsequent work was a more interdisciplinary investigation of urbanization and space. His work on the 'love of place' or 'topophilia' was applied in particular to stadia which have been such a powerful focus in collective memory. Social identities are embedded in these 'lieux de mémoires' in the famous phrase of Pierre Nora. Bale has moved easily between the past and the present in an interdisciplinary career that has embraced colonial and postcolonial sport, the history of sports literature and biography as cultural geography, for which he is best known. The core of this focuses on the contemporary shift from the inner-city stadium, mainly the football grounds of the great industrial cities, to the featureless, identical out-of-town sporting 'bowls' – the 'placeless places' – close to motorways and equipped with large car parks which Britain in particular has increasingly imported from North America.[7]

This, however, is relatively new. For much of the last 40 years historical work on sport has come from 'social history' and 'thick description', looking at the material preconditions for socio-cultural change and its political and ideological dimensions. In other words, social history, which has been largely concerned with the analysis of past societies in terms of their 'objective' behaviour and structures, has increasingly been overtaken by cultural history which gives greater emphasis to the construction of meanings and forms of representation. Cultural history has been more interested in how phenomena are experienced subjectively and has focused

greater historical attention on the 'body' as the site of power and display. This has been especially evident in relation to the study of gender in sport, though the impact of this on the history of women's sports has varied from major in the United States to minor in Great Britain.[8]

Great Britain

From a highly marginal position in the 1970s and 1980s, the study of sport has been legitimized within British history.[9] Sports history not only has its own specialist academic journals but can also be found in a wide variety of mainstream history publications. The battle for recognition has been more or less won, as Pope and Nauright observe in their introduction to the recent Routledge Companion to Sports History – itself an acknowledgment of the scope of the subject.[10] A review of major works of general nineteenth- and twentieth-century British history confirms this point and offers concrete examples of how research in sport history has percolated into the mainstream.[11] G.R. Searle's 2004 volume of The New Oxford History of England draws extensively on sport to discuss the national identities of the United Kingdom.[12] Ross McKibbin, one of the most eminent social and political historians of modern Britain, devoted a large section of his Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951 to sport.[13] Martin Pugh's recent history of inter-war Britain includes a chapter on sport.[14] Histories of post-war Britain similarly give a major place to sport. David Kynaston, who is the only general historian of Britain to have also written several works of sports history, predictably gives a major role to sport in his massive reconstruction of post-war British life.[15] Peter Hennessy's survey of the 1950s also explicitly cites sport as a key element of British culture.[16] Finally, a recent volume in the New Oxford History of England, from 1951 to 1970, from Brian Harrison, identifies six themes which link sport to the wider history of Britain in this period: sport became more socially and ethnically diversified, more international, more meritocratic, more professional, more bureaucratic and more media-driven.[17]

Reviewing the output of serious work in the history of sport in Britain in the last generation, the contribution of social historians is striking. Association football in particular has attracted academic historians, beginning with James Walvin's The People's Game in 1975, which was based on a history course offered at York University.[18] This was followed by Tony Mason's Association Football and English Society, 1863–1915 in

1980, which quickly established itself as the classic text.[19] Nicholas Fishwick's English Football and Society 1910–1950 originated as an Oxford history thesis and was published in 1989.[20] Then came Dave Russell's Football and the English (1997) from a noted historian of popular culture.[21] Most recently Matthew Taylor followed the publication of his doctorate on The Leaguers: The Making of Professional Football in England 1900–1939 (2005) with a wide-ranging history and historiography of British football, The Association Game: A History of British Football (2008).[22] Collectively this constitutes a major contribution to the history of British sport and to the socio-cultural history of urban Britain; this has come entirely from those working within history departments. In fact, to a remarkable degree the serious history of popular sport in Britain has been the province of academic social historians such as Jeffrey Hill, Richard Holt, Mike Huggins, Martin Johnes, Stephen Jones, John Lowerson and Wray Vamplew. Two prominent exceptions, Dennis Brailsford and Derek Birley, both with literature rather than social science backgrounds, broadly adopted the established methods, language and forms of social history.

These historians have been primarily interested in the complex class structure of elite male sport while the growing numbers of those working in gender history have tended to avoid sport. The guest editors of a special gender issue of Sport in History noted in 2010 that 'the dedicated study of women in sport history remains a peculiarly neglected area of academic research in Britain'.[23] Even more surprisingly, work on masculinity, which has also expanded within history departments, has not led to an influx of historians of masculinity into sport. 'Making men' has been a major area of interest for those who have come to the history of sport from other disciplines – the most striking example being J.A. Mangan's large body of work on public-school sport and middle-class masculinity – but within the discipline of history itself masculinity has been seen as a constituent element of other historical categories such as militarism, nationalism or imperialism.[24] John Naurught and Timothy Chandler were among the first to focus on gender from the male perspective with two collected volumes on the role of rugby in shaping masculinities in the various regions where the game was played, from England to the settler societies of Empire and elsewhere, combining historical narrative with gender theory to provide a more nuanced approach that was well-received by historians and sociologists alike.[25] The preference for class over other analytic categories, however, is evident in the main general histories of British sport including my own work of synthesis, Sport and the British: A Modern History, which

is organized around the contrasting cultures of middle-class amateurism and working-class professionalism.[26]

France

The situation is very different in France, where the bulk of work in sports history has been done outside of university history departments. Until the last decade, very few professional historians in France worked directly on sport. Social historians of France have been slower to appreciate the possibilities of the history of sport than their British – or American – counterparts. It was anglophone historians rather than francophone ones who first showed an interest in researching French sport. Here special mention must be made of Eugen Weber's pioneering articles: the first on Pierre de Coubertin and the second on 'gymnastics and sports in fin-de-siècle France' in the American Historical Review in 1971.[27] Together they changed the landscape of French sports history. It took a historian working in the United States on the history of French nationalism to grasp the wider social and ideological significance of the 'renaissance athlétique' and the struggle for supremacy between the gymnastic tradition derived from Germany and 'les sports athlétiques' originating in Britain. Weber included revised versions of these articles as essays in his elegant and widely praised collection France, Fin de Siècle published by Harvard University Press in 1986.[28]

In terms of its immediate influence on historical research, Weber's work on sport was more significant for British students of France than for the French themselves. My own doctoral research at Oxford under Theodore Zeldin was a direct result of reading Eugen Weber, whose work alongside my own provided the basis for Zeldin's discussion of sport in his monumental history of modern France – a work that was quickly translated into French as Histoires des Passions Françaises and very widely read.[29] Zeldin's treatment of sport included analysis of the emergence of an abundant and innovative sports press, the links of sport to the world of literature, and the role of the state in the political struggle between anticlericals and Catholics. My own Sport and Society in Modern France, published in 1981, was divided into case studies and social themes (violence, status, sociability and ideology) in order to capture the distinctiveness of French sport in terms of the tension between standardization and regional particularity.[30]

These themes of diversity and peasant tradition were taken up later by Philip Dine, who came from a literary background but embraced history eagerly and expertly, in his important cultural history of French rugby published in 1998.[31] His subsequent collection of essays on Sport and Identity in France represent a remarkably wide ranging interdisciplinary collection combining cultural history and literary analysis of 'the meaning of sport in French society and the construction of local, national and, increasingly, global identities through sport'.[32] This takes the form of a series of essays which take the reader from the Olympic Games to the Tour de France, from tennis at Roland Garros to Alain Gerbault and the French fascination with global yachting, and finishing with the phenomenon of Zidane as an expression of the complexity of contemporary multiculturalism. Historically, this creates a rich multi-layered exploration of the varieties and transformations of French identity through the lens of sport and a striking example of the possibilities of combining literary and historical skills in what might be termed a broadly 'humanities' approach. Equally innovative in its approach and subject matter, Joan Tumblety's important Remaking the Male Body explores the intertwined themes of health, virility, decline and renewal – personal and collective – in interwar and Vichy France with its project for national regeneration through sport after the catastrophic defeat of 1940.[33]

Among mainstream historians in France there was very little interest in the history of sport with the exception of Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, who devoted a few pages to sports in his masterly survey of French foreign affairs in the 1930s, commenting that 'all the historical studies, though still too few, that have been done on the Tour de France or the football World Cup, indicate a wave of passion that is inexplicable without the deep-seated and undying forces of national sentiment'.[34] Where class has been the key explanatory factor in British sport, nationalism in different guises has been central to the historical explanation of sport in France. This has touched at various points on the state itself, the army and the education system. Duroselle supervised a vast doctoral thesis of over 1,500 pages by Marcel Spivak, completed in 1983 but unpublished, on physical education, sport and nationalism as an aspect of national defence from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1930s.[35]

It is striking that those coming to sport from a history background have been particularly attracted to the history of football. Alfred Wahl, an important French historian of Germany, was drawn to the history of French

football, producing a valuable selection of primary sources with full commentaries.[36] Subsequently he co-authored a short history of professional French football with Pierre Lanfranchi.[37] Lanfranchi had studied history in Montpellier and completed his PhD at the European University Institute (EUI) on German history before making the transition to the history of sport and organizing a seminar series on sport, culture and nationalism at the EUI, bringing together a group of historians, sociologists and anthropologists mainly from Britain, France, Germany and Italy. More recently, Marion Fontaine has produced an exemplary case study of the Racing Club de Lens and the role of employers, trade unions and political parties, especially the socialists and communists in professional football in the coalfields of the Nord, based on extensive primary research for a history doctorate at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes.[38] Similarly, Julien Sorez has filled a major gap by looking at hitherto unused local records to trace the development of grass-roots football in Paris in a doctorate presented to the Centre d'Histoire de Sciences Po and subsequently published as Le Football dans Paris et ses Banlieues.[39] Significantly both works included a preface from distinguished mainstream French historians: Fontaine's from Christophe Prochasson, a distinguished historian of labour, and Sorez by a leading historian of mass culture, Jean-Francois Sirinelli.

These important new works, which set high standards of conventional historical scholarship, are however exceptions to the rule that the main body of research on sports history in France has been carried out by those working in STAPS (Sciences et Techniques d'Education Physique et Sportive). In stark contrast to Britain, where there was almost no work on the state, the relationship of the state to the educational system has been a key research topic. This began with Jacques Thibault, who in 1972 published a 'historical and critical study on the relationship between sports and physical education'.[40] Thibault wanted to underline the national importance of physical education in France and to explain its distinctiveness. He wanted to provide historical evidence for the value of physical education, as opposed to sport. Following on this initial concentration on the state and the school, a substantial body of work was generated in the 1980s.

The key figure was Pierre Arnaud at Lyon-I, a former physical education teacher himself, who was extremely active in researching the relationship between militarism, nationalism and elementary schooling from the 1880s to the First World War.[41] Unlike Jacques Thibault, Arnaud used original source material, notably mining the archives of the gymnastics movement

and working with the concept of 'sociability'. This was borrowed from the leading socio-political historian of French Republicanism, Maurice Agulhon.[42] Arnaud wanted to use the fruits of new historical research to explain the role of 'association' in the growth of gymnastics through the paramilitary or 'conscriptive' clubs at the end of the nineteenth century.[43] By building alliances with colleagues at faculties of history, Arnaud started to clear the ground of sports history, ably assisted by his younger colleague, Thierry Terret. He organized international seminars on sports and international relations with the historian Alfred Wahl.[44] For all his efforts, Arnaud's influence was largely restricted to his own circle, notably Thierry Terret, the director of the Lyon-based research centre founded by Arnaud, whose very extensive publications began with a thesis on swimming as an example of the formation of a modern sport.[45] Terret and his colleagues have ranged very widely over topics such as the foreign influences on physical education, or the unionization and professional identity of PE teachers and extensive collected volumes on the Olympic Games and on gender in sport.[46]

With the exception of football, where were the historians while the history of French sport was being written? The most important contribution came from Ronald Hubscher, a historian of rural France, who

collaborated with the director of the French sports museum, Jean Durry, and Bernard Jeu, to write the first major synthesis of French sports history, which was published in 1992.[47] This was followed by a collection on the history of French leisure edited by Alain Corbin, one of France's most distinguished cultural historians.[48] With the imprimatur of Corbin, sport was finally breaking into the bastion of the humanities in France. Pascal Ory included chapters on sport in his history of the Popular Front and Jean-Francois Sirinelli edited a major collection with Jean-Pierre Rioux on mass culture.[49] These developments encouraged younger historians, notably Paul Dietschy, who wrote his doctorate on sport and Italian Fascism, to move into French sport. With Patrick Clastres, a historian working on Coubertin, he founded an important research seminar on sports history at 'Sciences Po' and they wrote a valuable overview of the history of modern sport in France.[50] However, the continued separation of the smaller historical and the larger physical education traditions within French sports history is strongly reinforced by the rigid institutional divisions and rivalries of French higher education.

Germany

Broadly speaking the institutional history of German sports history is similar to France. There has been greater interest in the subject from the physical education historians than from mainstream history. This has recently been thoroughly and expertly reviewed by Kay Schiller and Christopher Young, who are worth quoting at length:

> German sport history is best approached in terms of its institutional development. ... From the 1960s to 1990s, most work in the field was conducted outside history departments in specialist sports institutes. Clustered mainly around Hajo Bernett and his pupils, these gathered solid documentary bases and produced focused accounts of the major period in German sports history. Thanks to their pioneering work, researchers can draw upon factually rigorous and detailed outlines of the gymnastics movement, workers' sport, the National Socialist period, Jewish body culture, and the sports system of the GDR. Strong on events, persons and institutions, this body of scholarship trails somewhat in the wake of mainstream history and concentrates on topdown political features that do little to break with established periodisations. Traditional German sports history, in other words, maps neatly onto the patterns, if not necessarily the themes and debates, of general history.[51]

The important work of Hennig Eichberg stands in sharp distinction with this tradition, stressing the transformation of sport in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, linking sport and dance, full of 'highly imaginative contextual and conceptual leaps' but in the view of his critics not fully engaged with mainstream history.[52] The challenge for mainstream historians was to bridge these two approaches by being neither too specific and positivist nor too general and theoretical. Foremost of those who have adopted this approach stands Christiane Eisenberg, whose large body of work on the diffusion of sport in Germany, notably her monumental English Sports und Deutsche Bürger, is an outstanding example of careful historical scholarship and analysis, tracing the diffusion of British sports into Germany and their selective adoption by the commercial and professional middle class from a historian who began her career in social and labour history.[53]

Eisenberg has been very influential and championed the social history approach to sport. According to Schiller and Young, this has been challenged from within German history itself by those who prefer 'cultural history' with its emphasis on case-study and smaller-scale research, associated with the work of Olaf Stieglitz, Jürgen Martschukat and Kirsten Heinsohn.[54] Overall, however, these strands of mainstream history have combined well in 'an invigorating range of work ... in the wake of the cultural turn in historical writing and the attention lavished on the body by cultural studies in general ... sports history, and German sports history in particular is finding its moment'. From what had been a field almost completely dominated by those trained within physical education and focusing mainly on the German gymnastic or 'turnen' tradition, the academic historians have recently emerged as key new players in German sports history.[55]

Italy

Sports history in Italy has been slower at the university level to develop than in Britain, France or Germany. Given the centrality of sport to Italian culture, especially football, and the degree to which it has become overtly politicized, it is remarkable that there is not more serious research from within history departments in Italy. Hence it is hardly surprising that a recent survey of Italian sports historiography should have been undertaken not by an Italian but by a British scholar. Simon Martin's recent general

history, Sport Italia (2011) is an impressive socio-political overview of sport from the Risorgimento to Berlusconi.[56] It is worth pausing to consider how the structure and priorities of Martin's synthesis bring into sharp focus the distinctively historical approach to sports history. He begins with the Risorgimento and the making of Italy, looking at how sport mirrored the wider development of Italian society, bypassing the south and confined largely to the northern elite who were divided between liberal and Catholic elites. He then shows how the Fascist regime used sport in the creation of a mass nationalist and militarist movement both through body culture and the success of the Italian national team in the new World Cup. This is followed by a detailed analysis of post-war Christian Democracy and finally the media-driven world of sport and politics represented by Silvio Berlusconi. In short this is as much a history of Italy through sport as a history of sport in Italy.

A similar political perspective can be found in the work of another British historian, John Foot, the author of both a general history of modern Italy and an analysis of Italian football, Calcio: A History of Italian Football (2006). [57] Foot has also written recently on the remarkable history of the Italian passion for cycling which Italian historians themselves have neglected.[58] Stefano Pivato, however, a historian of popular culture, is an important exception who has written a cultural history of the bicycle as well as a study of the post-war confrontation of Christian democracy and communism through the life of the great cyclist Gino Bartali.[59] The point here is that what was initially perceived primarily as a sporting and human drama fought over the Giro d'Italia and the Tour de France became a way of unlocking the full range of cultural, moral and political divisions at the onset of the Cold War.

Of course, the main focus of attention has been on the Fascist era and has attracted scholars from both mainstream history and from physical education. Simon Martin wrote his first book on football and Fascism, which was the product of a history doctorate at the University of London.[60] Victoria de Grazia's The Culture of Consent was a profound historical analysis of the Fascist 'dopolavaro' leisure movement, which included an important gender dimension from a major cultural historian based in a leading history department in the United States.[61] This has been complemented by Teja and by Gori on the female body and Fascism.[62] Both Teja and Gori come from the physical education tradition but have made a serious effort to work within the historical tradition, which

is perhaps best exemplified in the work of Sergio Giuntini on the role of sport in First World War.[63]

North America

Sports history developed early as a distinct subject in North America. The sheer number, variety and wealth of universities offered significant opportunities for those who wished to follow a research interest in sport within history departments. In the USA and Canada the development and structure of the North American Society for Sport History, whose first conference was held in 1973, provides a convenient way to see how the field has developed. Until the mid-1970s the vast majority of academics working in sports history were located in physical education/kinesiology departments and received their degrees in that discipline. Members of history departments who entered the field in the 1970s had written dissertations on subjects including nineteenth-century British theological debates, Colombian/Panamanian relations, seventeenth-century English foreign policy and Jacksonian politics in the United States. Their attraction to sport history stemmed in part from the influence of the 'new social history' on the broader discipline. However, there is no question that many of them were drawn to the field by a recognition of the important role sports played in the social and political turmoil of the 1960s, for example the importance of Muhammad Ali, the circumstances of the 1968 summer Olympics, the increasing commercialization of sports and the new status for women in sports.[64]

Peter Levine, Bill Baker, Richard Crepeau, Chuck Korr, Warren Goldstein, Ben Rader, Randy Roberts, Joe Arbena and Steve Riess are some of the academically trained historians who followed this path. The subjects of their research might parallel the subjects of their earlier nonsports-related books, but more often their new work lay in fields widely divergent from anything they were 'trained' to study. Indeed, the greatest asset they brought to sports history was not their background in the subject, but their graduate training and experience as teachers of history. This enabled them to bring broad historical questions to bear on sports history and to integrate sport into the wider patterns of American life. These approaches were usefully brought together by Stephen Pope in The New American Sports History.[65]

America's leading historian of sport is not 'a historian' in a strictly institutional sense. Allen Guttmann has remained in American studies, spanning history, literature and culture. However, his career pattern has been similar to historians in that his earlier publications were in a nonsports related field. His From Ritual to Record is regarded by many historians as the seminal work in sports history.[66] Although he has written works of conventional academic scholarship, his preference for broad works of interpretation and synthesis, often spanning long time periods or broad geographical space, make him the exception to the American rule of writing more narrowly defined academic monographs. In these terms it would be virtually impossible to differentiate between the scholarship of the people in history departments and the work of scholars such as: Roberta Park on the history of physical culture and health;[67] Ronald Smith on college sports;[68] Nancy Struna on eighteenth-century colonial sport;[69] Melvin Adelman on mid nineteenth century New York;[70] and Stephen Hardy on How Boston Played;[71] to list only some of those who taught in departments of physical education and/or sports management and often received their doctoral degrees in those disciplines. In this respect Canada is similar to the United States, with major historians of sport working to high standards of scholarship such as Bruce Kidd, Alan Metcalfe and Patricia Vertinsky. Metcalfe and Vertinsky both began their careers in physical education in Britain but found far greater opportunities to develop as scholars in Canada where formal boundaries between disciplines seem to have been less rigid and where physical education has developed more fully as an academic subject.

This mixture of historians trained in departments of history and those trained in schools of physical education continues today. Reading the work of the second generation of scholars such as Mark Dyreson on American Olympism,[72] Susan Cahn on gender and sexuality[73] or Daniel Nathan on Chicago baseball,[74] it would be impossible to predict accurately in what department they teach or in what department they received their graduate training. Indeed, one of the strengths of the field of sport history in North America has been the diversity of backgrounds of the people involved in it and their willingness to work with one another across traditional disciplinary boundaries. This approach has been an important asset in avoiding the creation of any dominant methodology and in fostering multiple approaches to sports history. It has also enabled sports historians to expand their interest into new fields armed with the recognition that others had successfully made the transition in the past. Sports history in the

United States – but less so in Canada – has been very strongly driven by questions of urbanization, integration and ethnicity on the one hand and the remarkable phenomenon of college sports on the other. The impetus from within mainstream American history to study the gender dimension of the past has clearly influenced scholarship on sports history more in the United States and in Canada than in Great Britain or continental Europe.

Australia and New Zealand

Another region in the English-speaking world where sport history has developed as a robust field with excellent research being done is Australia and New Zealand. Several historians trained in South Asian history, Australian history and economic history came together by the late 1970s to examine sport. This group was led by scholars such as Wray Vamplew, Richard Cashman and Brian Stoddart. Their efforts led to the formation of the Australian Society for Sports History (ASSH) by 1984. Initial studies focused on the emergence of a distinctive Australian sporting culture evidenced in works such as Stoddart's Saturday Afternoon Fever and Cashman's 'Ave a Go Yer Mug: Australian Cricket Crowds.[75] They also contributed to international research on sport, with Vamplew's major economic history of British sport Play Up and Play the Game; Cashman's initial book on cricket in India; and Stoddart's contribution to the history of cricket in the Caribbean.[76]

The majority of these early scholars were based in departments of history rather than in human movement studies, though the balance has shifted over time and most leading academy-based scholars of sports history working on Australia and New Zealand in the early 2000s were based in human movement departments. Key features of this work by the early 2000s shifted from national identity and class to race and gender, and was marked by a methodological interest in what could broadly be termed a 'postmodernist' approach. This mixture of the more conventional social history approach with an effort to apply new techniques of analysis derived from social and literary theory was evident in the large special issue of the International Journal of the History of Sport devoted to 'Sport in Australian Society' in 2000. An interesting feature of this collection was that while most of the contributors had been trained as historians, the majority of them worked outside history departments.[77]

Historians and the historical sociology of sport

It is in the area of modern sport – that is, the individual and team games codified and organized mainly in Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century – that the differing methods of historians and sociologists can be most clearly distinguished. The obvious question that poses itself is: 'How do these changes in sport fit into a bigger picture of historical change?' The sociologist can then proceed to elaborate a particular social theory and locate the phenomenon of sport within it. The nub of the criticism of this approach from historians is that the primary purpose is the validation of the theory. 'Facts' can be forced to fit pre-existing theories and selected according to the needs of the theory rather than offering a full and balanced reading of the evidence available, which may lead to a much less clear-cut conclusion. The humanities have generally accepted contradiction and complexity more readily than the social sciences, though the influence of the postmodern attack on 'grand narratives' and its consequent emphasis on subjectivity has been an important recent development. A second criticism of sociologicallyderived sports history follows from this. It concerns the way nonhistorians use – or to be more accurate do not use – existing historical scholarship. When conducting arguments, sociological sports history tends to take general history as a 'given' in the sense of consulting a small number of well-known secondary works rather than attempting to explore the wider range of historical work available.

Let us take two examples from the British case: the first is the 'civilizing process' theory based on the 'figurational sociology' of Norbert Elias, one of the great figures of twentieth-century sociology, whose work on sport was developed with Eric Dunning and other followers of the 'Leicester school'. At first sight, the 'civilizing process' approach seems particularly inviting to historians because it is explicitly historical, revolving around the idea there has been a long-term shift in human behaviour in developed Western societies towards greater self-control and civility. This, it is claimed, began with the courtly adoption of Renaissance humanism in the sixteenth century and gradually spread from above through the power of the state and a process of social emulation. This 'civilizing process' required the internalizing of new norms of behaviour such as limiting physical violence and maintaining high standards of personal hygiene and good manners. It terms of sport, this long march to civility culminated in the creation of new codified sports in the elite public schools which

restricted the risk of injury and advocated a gentlemanly code of sportsmanship.

If ever there was a golden opportunity for historians to join forces with sociologists to explain the emergence of amateurism as a ruling ideology of sport this was it. However, it did not happen. On the contrary, historians criticized the Eliasian approach for its theoretical rigidity and lack of serious historical scholarship. Elias himself cited only J.H. Plumb's standard introductory text, England in the Eighteenth Century, first published in 1950, in his long introductory essay in The Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process, jointly published with Eric Dunning in 1986.[78] Similarly, when Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard's Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football (1979) was re-issued in a second edition in 2005 the vast increase in historical scholarship in sports history and in the wider history of manners was conspicuous by its absence.[79] In a 35-page afterword, which largely deals with changes in the game since 1979, only two pages are devoted to the historical response to the book and nothing on new work on its core themes such as the wide-ranging and innovative survey of the history of civility in England by leading cultural historians, Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas (2000).[80]

Tony Collins, whose work on Rugby's Great Split had been published in 1998 to general acclaim, reviewed the new edition of Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players.[81] In the event Collins wrote a 6,000-word critique, which challenged the historical basis upon which Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players was founded.[82] He claimed Dunning and Sheard simply lacked the contextual knowledge for the job. He focused on three aspects of their account: the relations between Eton and Rugby schools, the origins of the split in the rugby codes between union and league and the levels of violence in northern rugby.

My purpose is not to recapitulate this debate in detail but rather to highlight what happens when history and sociology come into conflict. If there is one thing historians should get right, it is the evidence itself. This, however, is far from simple and can lead those without specialist knowledge of the period astray. The expertise acquired by Collins over many years – he was the archivist of the Rugby League as well as holding an academic post in history – revealed major factual errors. On the crucial question of the formation of the Football Association and the Rugby Football Union he concluded 'the schematic separation between Eton and

Rugby schools' football and the assumption that this foreshadows the split between the FA and RFU is therefore simply not supported by the facts'.[83] Turning to the question of violence in rugby based on figures for deaths in Yorkshire rugby, Collins examines in detail the origins of these statistics and concludes that they do not pass the test of serious evidence. He acknowledges that Dunning and Sheard accept they made 'a serious mistake' but he also claims that a new set of figures they cite on deaths in rugby are also flawed. Collins concludes by drawing his detailed critique of the use of sources into a wider challenge to the 'civilizing process' thesis by reversing the argument, pointing out that elite forms of the game were often more violent than previous ones. The point here is not to judge the argument in itself but rather to offer a concrete and detailed example of differences in the way in which social historians and theory-led sociologists approach the history of sport.

John Hargreaves's Sport, Power and Culture (1986) offered an alternative historical interpretation of British sport from a sociological perspective.[84] Like Dunning and Sheard, Hargeaves attempted to cover both the history and contemporary sociology of British sport. His first three chapters cover the nineteenth century and are based on wider historical reading than the Eliasians, though hardly extensive. His thesis is that the Victorian 'bourgeois model' of amateur sport established the moral authority of a capitalist ruling class, promoting market values and imperialism, which incorporated skilled workers and excluded the unskilled. The history reviewer in the Times Literary Supplement was damning, challenging both the historical accuracy of the book and its theoretical underpinnings in Gramsci and Foucault, whose 'universal validity is simply assumed [so that] ... Hargreaves is able to insist upon the most intimate theoretical relationship of every cultural form to every other cultural form with all too predictable results'.[85] Hargreaves does try to produce an interpretation of British sport around the central idea of amateurism but it is too schematic, too simplistic in its class labels ('the bourgeoisie') and treats sport as a 'bloc' rather than as a diverse range of activities, some of which support his thesis and some of which contradict it.

Overall there has been a declining interest in a historically-based sociology of sport in recent years. Sociology has retreated from grand theory and in the process has retreated from history. There is, however, a big difference between those who are committed to validating a particular

theory and those who simply use 'theory' as a starting point. Allen Guttmann made valuable use of Max Weber, notably in his classic text From Ritual to Record.[86] Guttmann, however, does not set out to prove or disprove Weber. In fact, recently his interpretation of Weber has been challenged.[87] This, however, is not the point at issue. For Guttmann, Weber is useful for understanding a certain process of modernization. He takes the idea of 'scientific rationality' and applies it to modern sport. Whether Guttmann is convincing or not does not depend on his understanding of theory but on what can be demonstrated historically. Guttmann's strength is that he can do that. Where he differs from mainstream historians is not in his scholarship so much as in his method and his willingness to embrace vast subjects such as sports spectators, the aesthetics of sport, women in sport or sports diffusion over such wide geographical space and chronological time.

Anthropology – at least in the general sense of ethnography – is arguably closer to the historical approach in being focused on a single subject and evidence-based. Ethnography relies on fieldwork and has a good deal in common with oral history, which is an increasingly popular way of working on recent history. Anthropologists try to go 'narrow and deep' where sociologists tend to seek what is more widely applicable and capable of generalization. There is a greater awareness of 'the self' in anthropology than in history. But there are some striking similarities. In France the work of Bromberger, Pociello and Darbon speak in different ways to historians while the 'thick description' associated with Clifford Geertz has been very influential.[88]

Darbon is particularly interesting, having both researched rugby from an ethnographic perspective and also written a major work of historical synthesis on British sport and imperialism.[89] In a special issue of the journal Ethnologie Française he specifically brought together a small number of historians and social scientists of various sorts to discuss their different approaches to patterns of sports diffusion.[90] Darbon wanted to know if there was a general 'sports system' with shared characteristics across frontiers. Anthropologists have been primarily concerned with the 'internal properties' of sports and the differences and similarities between them. Historians have been more interested in the wider context of diffusion linking sport to competing imperial systems and postcolonial patterns of influence. Maarten van Bottenburg, the sociologist whose Global Games has come closest to bridging the disciplinary divide, examined the

differential diffusion of basketball and its Dutch variant korfball.[91] He stressed the common properties of these sports and the dramatic differences in their international diffusion in terms of the relative power of their two countries of origin. Elsewhere van Bottenburg has recently compared European and North American sport, pointing out historical differences in the role of education with schools and colleges playing a far greater role in the USA and private clubs – often supported by the state – dominating in Europe. In short, social science works towards establishing the elements of a common 'sports system', which Darbon defines as standardization of the elements of space and time, rules and institutional forms, while history explains the striking global differences within it.

Case studies: Traditional sports and modern sport

Traditional sports

Work by historians on traditional sports has been very limited in comparison with research on modern sports. The most important studies in this area have tended to come from ethnographers and specialists in physical culture, notably from the traditional sports group led by Roland Renson in the physical education department of the University of Leuven in Belgium. This group has been particularly concerned with the preservation of Flemish folk games as a part of a wider promotion of Flemish cultural heritage. A key concern here was the creation of a Flemish sports museum. Hence much of the historical research is of a curatorial nature: creating a taxonomy of traditional sports, identifying survivals and variants, and promoting the practice as well as the study of Flemish folk sports in the wider context of cultural nationalism. Renson's long essay, which prefaces the Encyclopedia of Traditional British Rural Sports (2005), sets out the wide range of traditional sports to be found across Europe, grouping them according to their ludic properties and geographical distribution: ball games, bowl and pin games, throwing games, shooting games, fighting games, animal games, locomotion games and acrobatics.[92]

This heritage approach sharply contrasts with the historian's concern with the economic, political or religious context of such activities. Robert Malcolmson's Popular Recreations in English Society, first published in 1973, was based on a history doctorate supervised by E.P. Thompson, the celebrated Marxist author of The Making of the English Working Class. Malcolmson saw sport in terms of industrial work discipline and the revival

of protestant activism.[93] It was the suppression of traditional sports that mainly interested Malcolmson rather than the activities themselves. More recently, eighteenth-century sport (including traditional sports) has been the subject of a major re-evaluation by the historian Emma Griffin, whose primary interest was in the changing use of space in a period of agrarian enclosure and increasing urbanization.[94] The most recent contribution to the historical literature of traditional sports in Britain is Alistair Dougall, who examines early modern popular games in terms of religious and political attitudes to the Sabbath. Significantly, this was a doctoral thesis in history which is far more concerned with the politics of play than its forms or variants.[95]

Not all historians, however, are as dismissive of the experience of sport itself. The 'text' of the game itself can be successfully set in the 'context' of history as David Underdown's exemplary Start of Play: Cricket and Culture in Eighteenth Century England reveals. Underdown uses his vast knowledge of social structure, religion and politics to explore the subtle relationship between the upper-class patrons of sport and the farmers and rural artisans who made up the bulk of the teams. He shows convincingly how cricket was both 'traditional' and 'modern', combining a detailed account of the game itself with an assured grasp of the wider social context in which it was played.[96]

The continued importance of traditional sports during the process of transformation in the later nineteenth century has been carefully examined by Alan Metcalfe in his important research on Northumberland miners and by Neil Tranter on quoiting in the Stirling area.[97] Both offer important insights into traditional sports and reveal how different kinds of disciplinary training – Metcalfe came from physical education, Tranter from historical demography – can complement each other. There has been a marked interest in researching traditional forms of folk football from scholarly antiquarians and conventional historians, both of whom have patiently combed through early-nineteenth-century newspapers to show that forms of popular 'football' were played long before rugby created its myth of origin in the figure of William Webb Ellis at Rugby school.[98]

German historians have shown very little interest in traditional forms of sport. Wolfgang Behringer notes that 'the early modern period represents an absolute nadir in sporting history, between the high points of Olympian antiquity or the chivalric middle ages and the nineteenth century'.[99] He then proceeds to survey the state of sport in early modern Europe across

Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and England. However, the bulk of his examples come from the social elite, whose activities were far better recorded than those of the poor. Hence, 'traditional sports' in the sense of 'village sports' get only a passing mention. However, he clearly demonstrates the popularity of sports, especially ball games such as pallone or jeu de paume, observing that 'the upper classes took up the popular games of the common people and refined, standardized and institutionalized them by erecting permanent sporting venues', adding that 'mass sport maintained a low level of institutionalization: low tech competitions in running, jumping, wrestling, swimming, throwing, weightlifting and rowing, guild entertainments such as boat tournaments on water and, in the North, ice skating'.[100] Behringer has recently attempted an ambitious large-scale history of sport from the 'ancient Olympics to the twenty-first century', published in German, which deserves to be better known among anglophone scholars.[101] However, even here in a book of over 400 pages only 80 are devoted to the period of over a thousand years from the early middle ages to the seventeenth century.

French sports history has also neglected traditional sports. Eugen Weber not only was a pioneer of the historical study of modern sport in France but he also wrote a classic work on the decline of traditional rural culture, Peasants into Frenchmen. Surprisingly this large work has very little on traditional sports.[102] Weber did, however, draw attention to the effort to revive various traditional sports in the face of the sudden spread of English sports to France in the 1880s, although it was Pierre-Alban Lebecq, working from within the physical education tradition, who provided a fuller account of this remarkable moment when France might have re-invented its traditional sports and taken a different route to modernity.[103] Lebecq's book gives an account of Paschal Grousset, a radical Republican and secular nationalist, who promoted traditional French sports through the Ligue Nationale d'Education Physique in order to resist the spread of British sports. Grousset's programme, which featured traditional sports such as barette (a team ball game), enjoyed initial success. However, these events were poorly organized and overwhelmed by the British sports promoted by the energetic young Parisian anglophiles, the most famous of whom was Pierre de Coubertin. The exception was the Bordeaux area, where the efforts of an equally determined character, Phillipe Tissié, ingeniously combined traditional and modern sports with gymnastics in the

Ligue Girondine de l'Education Physique, although even there rugby eventually carried all before it.[104]

While physical educationalists dominated the study of traditional sports in France and Belgium, in Ireland where the revival of traditional sports was very successful, the disciplinary bias was reversed with sports history completely dominated by mainstream history. 'Sports History Ireland', the organizing body which has hosted an annual conference since 2001, is run by social and political historians. Irish sports history has been primarily concerned with the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), founded in 1884 to provide an alternative to British sports and based on the traditional Irish sports of hurling, gaelic football and handball. Historical work has stressed the political and military role of the GAA in the struggle for Irish independence.[105] However, recently a 'revisionist' group have pointed out that what appears 'traditional' was in many ways modern: the GAA adopted modern forms of organization and an amateur ideology of sport derived from the Victorians. It was the fusion of both elements that made the GAA the largest and most successful voluntary organization in Ireland.[106] It is also this unique success which enabled the GAA to fund the largest oral and public history project on sports history ever attempted, which has produced an enormous digitally searchable oral archive of traditional Irish sports.[107]

Modern sports

If there is a single distinguishing feature in the treatment of modern sports by historians as opposed to others working in the field of sport history, it is the insistence that sport must be fully contextualized, i.e. set in the widest possible relationship to the society in which it takes place. It is a commonplace that sport is not 'autonomous'. All those who work on sport in one way or another try to link it to the world in which it exists. But the historian's task is to prioritize those connections – 'only connect' is the guiding principle – and the study of 'deep context' is usually the goal, though this has been modified by a 'cultural turn' in deconstructing key individuals, events or texts.[108] The great strength of history is its elasticity, its willingness to accept the complex interplay of continuity and change. Historians tend to see the past as a palimpsest in which one set of practices or values is overlaid on another and to elucidate the resulting tensions.

This concern with context comes out clearly in the particular ways historians link sport with 'leisure'. Historians of British sport have also been historians of leisure: James Walvin wrote the first academic history of football and a general history of leisure;[109] Peter Bailey was a historian of the music hall, who also wrote Leisure and Class in Victorian Britain – a key text on the development of rational recreation;[110] Hugh Cunningham's Leisure in the Industrial Revolution was one of the first texts to challenge the 'leisure vacuum' hypothesis, i.e. that there was a collapse in old forms of sport before the rise of new ones.[111] More recently, Peter Borsay's major survey of leisure in Britain from 1500 to 2000 uses categories such as class, identity, place, space and time to bring sport into a creative historical relationship with other elements of leisure such as holidays, music and dancing. He integrates a wide range of sports into his text in this way and manages to bring out new and important connections and continuities.[112]

In France, Alain Corbin similarly insisted in including sport in his edited collection on the history of leisure, even adding a short section on football himself.[113] The main treatment of sport in Corbin's volume is by Georges Vigarello, who stresses the increasingly exact measurement of time and greater stress on the scientific training of the body for 'productivity'. This chapter focuses on the body itself in a way most historians avoid.[114] He passes the 'serious history' test, although Vigarello is not a mainstream historian but someone who moved into the history of medicine and sport from physical education and social science. The bulk of his work is on health, technology and the body and his role with Corbin as co-editor of the three-volume Histoire du Corps is a substantial historical achievement.[115] Where Vigarello differs from most other professional historians is not in his scholarship or the questions he asks but in his broader interest in the body.

As already noted, in France it is striking that the main historians of football as opposed to all other sports are drawn from social history.[116] In his short essay on the game Corbin attempts to explains why football is so appealing:

> Football puts on open display the multiple functions of leisure and spectator sport. These quickly transformed daily life and collective memory. From the late nineteenth century football established its territorial loyalties. It was already an element of social integration;

> already a way of creating an identity; the 'them' and 'us' mentality of the fans was a way of reinforcing personal identity.[117]

This kind of 'soft functionalism' is attractive to historians, setting out ways to link sport to wider forms of social change without being too prescriptive. This leads the historian of sport into questions of social cohesion and the sustaining of 'community' in an increasingly individualistic world. It gives particular importance within sport to the formation of clubs, which in gymnastics were called 'cercle' or 'société' in France or Belgium and had a common festive dimension. The idea of 'sociability' is a key theme which has been imported into sports history from mainstream history, notably through the work of Maurice Agulhon on the culture of French republicanism.[118]

While social and cultural history emerged as new and important areas of history, economic history went into decline. New quantitative and statistical approaches pushed economic history out of history and into economics. Economic history, which had been a key part of the wider general discipline of history, collapsed and with it the economic history of sport. Hence the biggest gap in the historical profession's coverage of sport is arguably economic, notably the relative speed of the processes of professionalization and commercialization and the impact of the media on the profitability of sport. Wray Vamplew has ploughed a lonely furrow with his work on the income of professional sportsmen and on sports organizations as (in his terms) 'utility maximizers' rather than 'profit maximizers'.[119] The 'economic gap' has been filled by journalists whose accounts of the 'sports business' are suggestive but not based on rigorous academic research. Surprisingly, the history of the sports media and its connection to the economics of sport is also seriously under-researched.

Political and international history, however, have flourished alongside social and cultural history and this has had a significant impact on the history of sport. Barbara Keys's Globalising Sport explores the interplay of nationalism and internationalism in the 1930s in the United States, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.[120] Eisenberg has noted the new interest of historians of inter-war Germany in sport.[121] Schiller and Young similarly identify a new group of scholars of Nazism, who are increasingly interested in sport as an area of relative autonomy or 'eigensinn', citing in particular the work of Nils Havemann on the Deutsche Fussball Bund in the Nazi era and of Shelley Baranowski on the Kraft Durch Freude movement.[122]

Here German history is following Soviet history. Robert Edelman's Serious Fun provided a model of the way in which sport could partially insulate the citizen from the totalitarian state. This took the story of sport in the Soviet Union beyond the institutional structure first mapped by Riordan;[123] Edelman was interested in the history and culture of the Soviet fan.[124] By publishing his subsequent work on Spartak Moscow in the American Historical Review, Edelmann staked out a claim for sports history at the highest level of historical scholarship just as Eugen Weber had done 35 years before.[125] However, this remains the exception rather than the rule. There is still relatively little coverage of sports history in the major history journals. The mass of material is in specialist journals which have a very limited readership. These journals have permitted a large amount of material to be published, but with the exception of Great Britain and Ireland, and allowing for a major input from historians in North America, most of this historical research has come from scholars who are not historians.

In terms of productivity the subject is in rude good health. More professional historians are being attracted to sport as the first wave bow out. More of those trained in the physical education tradition are moving into general history, often in new and fertile ways. Daphne Bolz, for example, has recently used a comparative study of German and Italian fascism to bring together the architectural and political history of sport.[126] The possibilities for large cross-cultural projects using the skills of all those working on sport history across different disciplines is evident and inviting. The Arts and Humanities Research Council in Britain recently supported a project on how to approach the history of European sport led by scholars from three different academic disciplines but united by a common interest: a modern linguist, a historian and a sociologist.[127] The purpose was not only to broaden the field of sports history but also to connect with the wider world of European studies, which was achieved by a special issue of the European Review.[128] In addition, in order to make explicit the link between history and sociology, a special issue of the Journal of Historical Sociology was devoted to the disciplinary differences and similarities in studying European sport.[129] Common themes of the increased role of market forces driven primarily by television emerged clearly in the final meeting of this seminar and were set out fully in an accompanying volume published in a series supported by the Economic and Social Research Council (GB) which was specifically designed to bring history and sociology together to discuss long-term shifts in contemporary culture.[130] In a similar vein Philip Dine

from a department of French studies and Sean Crosson from film studies, both based in an Irish university, recently edited an interdisciplinary volume on the history of sport in Europe looking at 'representation and evolving identities'.[131] These are a few of the projects which have recently been undertaken. History is increasingly open to interdisciplinary work, which brings together media specialists and literary scholars as well as social scientists of all kinds, physical educators and, of course, historians themselves.

Conclusion

Attempting this review of the role of history within sports history reveals how little those involved in the subject have reflected on the different disciplinary approaches to it. Practitioners have been too involved in the task itself to spend much time thinking about the relative merits of the tools for analysis. What emerges from the mass of published work, however, are relatively clear dividing lines between disciplines. Historians themselves have mostly followed the conventional disciplinary path by producing analytic narratives of a single sport which both reflect the wider social forces at work and the reciprocal impact of sport on society. A notable example is the creation of a professional football league in latenineteenth-century Britain which social historians have explained both in terms of its causes and its consequences in the creation of the new kind of working-class culture. There is relatively little on the game itself or on 'grand theory'. Historians have been more interested in the range and quality of their sources than in establishing a conceptual framework for explaining their subject. For historians, to describe something well is to explain it; and 'ideas' are more important than 'theories'.

Historical explanation tends to be implicit whereas sociologists make explicit their debt to social theory whether in the form of Marx, Weber, Bourdieu, Foucault or Elias. Physical educationalists working on sports history, especially in Europe, have drawn strongly on such theorists – indeed it seems almost de rigeur to do so in the French STAPS system. Disciplines, of course, themselves evolve over time and the large amount of published work contains plenty of examples of the transcending of disciplinary divisions. However, as this extended analysis has revealed, there are deep differences which are entrenched. The historians seem to be in the ascendant with important new recruits to sports history coming in from mainstream history. The historical sociology of sport seems to be in

decline but anthropologists are starting to take a greater interest. There is still a healthy diversity of approach within the subject in which the pace of publication shows no sign of slowing down and the range of geographical coverage is ever increasing. Sport is now recognized by most general historians as a lively and legitimate sub-discipline of mainstream history as well as a distinctive area of interdisciplinary research. The history of sport has come a long way in a relatively short time. The complex interplay of disciplinary traditions and ideas explored here not only reveal the problems for new collaborative research but also the rich possibilities of combining different approaches to our sporting past.

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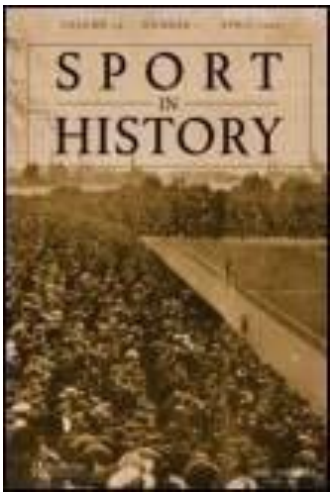

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Sports History: Status, Definitions and Meanings

Ross McKibbin

In the years since the publication of Sport and the British has the standing of sports history, as a subject to be taught and written, risen? The answer is probably mixed. There has been a big expansion in the scholarly literature of which Sport and the British is a distinguished representative and sports history has also benefited from the general popularity of various kinds of social history in all the universities. It has further benefited from the willingness of some universities, such as De Montfort, to specialize in the history of sport at both graduate and undergraduate level and so to create several generations of historians with a specific training in sport and its history, and, like social history more widely, it has probably gained from the declining popularity of economic history in the universities. But the picture is not unclouded. Sports history has probably suffered from the rise of 'cultural' history and cultural studies: we might have expected that the history of sport fitted well with cultural history but in practice it has not. With its marked emphasis upon linguistic and discursive analysis, contemporary cultural history does not readily lend itself to the study of sport. In my own university, Oxford, the two courses which specifically included the history of sport have both been abolished and replaced by heavily cultural courses which do not. The history of sport thus has to take its chance with the rest. There seems no agreement on where it fits.

The second problem is that the history of sport is actually very hard to write and thus to teach, because it is very hard to conceptualize. In a sense the founding generation of sports historians, like Richard Holt, had a fairly clear path. When they began much of the basic, necessary scholarly history had not been done. Even at an institutional level who founded

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what clubs, when and why, who were the spectators, how were the rules devised, what was the economics and politics of sport there were questions to be answered (and some still are). Furthermore, the pioneers had to establish the legitimacy of sport as a proper historical subject given the centrality of sport to Western societies a surprisingly hard thing to do. This was what we might call the primary history of sport. But behind the primary there lurks a secondary history, more difficult to write and more difficult to place within the subject. In Sport and the British Holt recognized this difficulty by separating his essay on the historical sociology of sport from the rest of the narrative. The history of sport is here probably no different from the history of any other human activity, but because it is newer and an aspect of social history, expectations are higher. There is one other reason why the 'secondary' history of sport is so difficult to teach and write, and that is because there is little agreement as to what exactly is 'sport' and what precisely are the emotions, satisfactions and disappointments that are involved in it.

Part of the problem of definition is the relationship between sport and 'play'. Play might be thought a kind of animal activity whose pleasures are not unique to human beings: it involves freedom and spontaneity, whereas sport involves discipline, organization and competition. Allen Guttmann, in juxtaposing two different photos of Roger Bannister, one on a beach, one at Iffley Road on the day he broke the four-minute mile, suggests that that the difference between Bannister's 'ecstatic moment' on the beach and his 'triumphant run' at Iffley Road is the difference between play and modern sport.[1] Play, but not sport, is, therefore, 'any nonutilitarian physical or intellectual activity pursued for its own sake'.[2] But Guttmann's definition would not always be accepted by others. Huizinga, in Homo Ludens, constructed a whole theory of culture based upon play and argued that sport, far from being a disciplined form of play, was in fact a pathological variation of play one of the worst characteristics of modern society. Roger Caillois, in another famous study, argued that play was a 'total activity' which involved a totality of 'human behaviour and interests'. Few disciplines, least of all sociology or history he argued, have had much to offer in the understanding of this total activity. The conclusions of sociology or history are 'without true meaning or impact, unless they are interpreted within the context of the central problem posed by the indivisibility of the world of play'.[3] Caillois, in order to establish true meaning, constructed an elaborate categorization of 'games', which are organized forms of play.

The definitions offered by Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning have probably been more influential and seem based on conditions most of us have experienced. 'Whether', Elias argued,

> it is the mimetic battle of a soccer game, a baseball game, a tennis tournament, an ice-hockey match, a bicycle race, a boxing match ... or any other variety of the sports contests which abound in our world ... the liberating effect, the release from stress tensions that is provided, first, by the spectacle of the mock-battle, and then by its tension relieving, the victory of one side or the other. In that case, the freeing from tension through the triumph of victory has not been achieved through acts of violence.[4]

'In advanced industrial societies', they conclude, 'leisure activities form an enclave for the socially approved arousal of moderate excitement in public'.[5] Moderate excitement is essential for the socio-psychological well-being of humans, and since the civilizing process forbids unorganized violence, sports, strongly rule-bound and socially sanctioned, meet that need. This argument is close to the widely-held view that sport is a compensatory activity: the more our lives are rule-bound and work-centred the more we need the 'emotional time-outs' and organized violence of modern sports.[6]

There is, thus, probably a lowest-common-denominator definition of sport: it is socially-sanctioned competitive play which creates and releases psychological and physical tension. But even as a lowest common denominator there are problems with such a definition. One is the relationship between sport and work. The above definitions all at least imply that sport is the antithesis of work, and a necessary antithesis. This has always been part of its appeal, and the way it has been presented. 'The Army isn't ALL work' said a recruiting poster of 1919, which depicted a soldier in uniform standing beside one in football gear and one in cricket dress.[7] Furthermore, to the comparatively small number of metropolitan upper-middle-class men who devised the rules of nearly all modern sports, play-sport was not only not work but was, particularly, not physical labour, to which it was opposed and superior. The amateur code and the occasional specific barring of sport to labourers was a consequence. Yet we know that play-sport has not developed as they would have wished. All the great amateur codes, like rugby union, are now fully professional, as is the Olympic Games. This has presumably not surprised Marxist historians of sport, like Rigauer, for whom sport is simply a capitalist division of labour and where the sportsman is now surrounded by a battery of managers, trainers, agents and public-relations people.[8] That the majority of those

who play sport are not highly professionalized nor surrounded by such a battery does not change the fact that those at the top of sport are. Indeed, any scholar who believes that modern life is based upon an increasing division of labour must take the view that sport is more like work than play. Yet, even for those at top, it is a funny kind of work. They must play, they must train and increasingly their styles of life are controlled. That can be very demanding. Equally it leaves them with much time when they are not working; indeed, not really doing anything. Tony Adams's revealing autobiography Addicted suggests that many of the problems he had in his early life were a result of the fact that, even as an increasingly successful footballer, he simply had too little to do. The out-of-hours culture of modern professional sport, especially of football and the rugby codes, is partly a result of that.

Division of labour also implies that fewer will play, though at a much higher standard, but that many more will watch. Yet how far do the spectators share the same sporting experiences as the players? Is 'sport' the same for those who watch as those who play? There is no obvious answer to these questions.It is fair to assume that for many spectators sport does mean physical excitement, the creation and release of tension which they share with the players. It can also mean social and geographical identification: to neighbourhood, town and country. At the same time, however, the requirements of the spectators can change the nature of the sport. The American scholar G.P. Stone has suggested that the spectators have largely destroyed the sense of play in sport: 'The game [American football], inherently immoral and ennobling of its players, seems to be giving way to the spectacle, inherently immoral and debasing. With the massification of sport, spectators begin to outnumber participants in overwhelming proportions, and the spectator, as the name implies, encourages the spectacular the dis-play.'[9] Although there are strong value judgements here, we see what he means. Yet it could be argued that pandering to the spectators might restore play to a sport. Probably no sport has been so changed by what it is thought the spectators want than cricket. The whole point of one-day cricket and the changed rules which govern it and even more so with Twenty/20 is to give spectators flashy and self-consciously exciting cricket. And on the Indian subcontinent at least that is what they want. Though deplored by many, short-time cricket, by encouraging swift scoring and risky batting, is probably more 'playful' than long-time cricket like Tests. Furthermore, we should remember how much of the scholarly literature was until recently about football hooliganism. The hooligans as

such did not significantly affect the way football was played though they certainly affected where and when it could be played, sometimes disastrously nonetheless, football was the occasion for hooliganism and hooliganism was largely a result of a change in the sociology of football's spectators. On balance, it seems to me the relationship between spectators and players is highly complicated, one difficult for historians to define clearly.

Then there is sport as religion. This is a methodological minefield since we talk of sport as religion in a variety of ways. We frequently use it as a metaphor. 'Sport is the religion of the working class'. 'Sport is a religion in Australia'. The Sydney Morning Herald recently said of the cricket World Cup: 'In three countries where cricket is confused for religion the World Cup begins.'[10] By this we could simply mean and often do that sport was exceptionally important in the social life of the working class, Australia or the Indian subcontinent, and such a metaphor is a useful way of saying that. Yet it has long been known that some sports, particularly football, do make 'religious' claims if religion is thought to involve transcendence or the sacred on their supporters. And these claims are often consciously designed to have a tragic quality. The grief felt in Manchester after the Munich crash (1958) is now represented at Old Trafford by the clock permanently stopped at the moment of the crash. This is even truer of Liverpool's reaction to the Hillsborough disaster (1989). The depth of popular feeling, which could only be described as religious and whose first manifestations were clearly spontaneous, surprised many.[11] The requiem mass at Liverpool's Christ the King (Roman Catholic) cathedral was a remarkable demonstration of popular religious devotion. Anfield acquired a sacred character. Like the Munich air crash and Manchester United, the disaster has been incorporated into Liverpool FC's history, and sustained by the burning sense of injustice on Merseyside. The names of the dead are now carved on either side of the main gates at Anfield. In retrospect we might see this as the first example of new forms of mourning which were spectacularly obvious after Princess Diana's death, and are now international practice. The reaction in Hannover to the recent suicide of its (and Germany's) senior goalie, Robert Enke, is an example: widespread grief expressed in devotional terms in which the German government felt obliged to participate; while the real centre of mourning and its rituals was Hannover 96's ground, not a church.

Football as religion can also produce a remarkable iconography. Michael Brown's version of Piero Della Francesca's 'Resurrection' is almost an

exact copy of the original except that the figure emerging from the tomb is not Christ but Eric Cantona, and the sleeping soldiers are David Beckham, Paul Scholes and the Neville brothers. Even more remarkable is the painting by two Sikh twins, Amrit and Rabindra Singh, of the Beckhams and their son, Brooklyn. David is depicted as the god Shiva, Victoria as Parvati and Brooklyn as Ganesh. The throne on which they sit rests upon popular magazines and papers and four men are bringing gifts all football-related. Victoria is holding a microphone and two angels, one with a cat's head and the other with a dog's, shower them with gold. Iconographically, however, it could also be a pieta` or Holy Family.

It is very difficult for the historian to know what to make of these.[12] The simplest answer might be that of the Buddhist monk in Bangkok who deposited a golden statue of Beckham in his temple: 'Football has become a religion and we have to share the feelings of millions who admire Beckham.' But the Singh's portrait, though they insisted it was not blasphemous, plainly does have a satirical element and was partly a depiction of modern celebrity. Furthermore, most other sports, though they can have passionate followers, do not have this religious aura. Martina Navratilova dug out a small piece of the centre court the last time she played at Wimbledon (though it turned out to be not the last time) which, to her, obviously had some kind of sacred character. Nonetheless, few of us would identify Wimbledon as a sacred occasion, or even something like the Ashes, the bearer of much of both Britain's and Australia's sporting tradition. Although most sports, as John Hargreaves points out, have elaborate ceremonial traditions,[13] none seems to have the religious character routinely claimed for football. And if so, why should football be different? How deeply do these 'religious' feelings go? What do they mean to the supporters? Is the extraordinary significance of football, way beyond other sports, in Europe, Latin America and, increasingly, the Middle East and Asia because it is, unlike other sports, a form of religion? C.E. Ashworth has argued that sport gets its 'sacred' character because, unlike everyday life, it represents reality. 'Social life is a game itself, but its outcomes ... are all profane, deceptive illusions, while on the field of sport outcomes are ''sacred'', that is they reconcile ''essence'' and ''existence'', they make that which appears-to-be, real.'[14] Yet in no sport are all participants equal, and they know it. Furthermore, beyond football, it is hard to think of sports which reconcile essence and existence in this way. What might be true is that participants and spectators feel they understand the meaning of sport and its processes its 'facts', especially as most sports

are graded such that all levels of competence are represented and the facts are acquired relatively easily. It is difficult, on the other hand, to be a non-league nuclear physicist. Nonetheless, at the moment we really do not know the answers to these questions.

Almost an equally dangerous minefield is the relationship of sport to gender. There is now a large literature on this subject, but the relationship still seems puzzling and complicated. Historically, as we know, modern sport has been very much a masculine affair and women have often felt (and were) excluded. Many women, partly as a result, have actually been hostile to sport, especially if it seems to disrupt family life. Sport is an activity where the sexual division of labour still operates. On the other hand, from the late nineteenth century onwards, women played sport and throughout the twentieth century have achieved formal equality with men. At the Olympic Games all events are now open to women; the old discriminations women, for example, not being strong enough to run long-distance races, let alone the marathon have all gone. Women have been, and are, sporting stars. In tennis Suzanne Lenglen was definitely a star, more starry than her male contemporaries, as have been many of her successors. The centre court at Wimbledon will be sold out for the women's singles final. But tennis, with the possible exception of athletics and, in a limited way, golf, is almost unique in this. And we should note that not one leading woman tennis player has a female coach something true of nearly all prominent sportswomen, whether they play as individuals or in teams. The women's Ashes were played in 2011 (Australia won), but virtually no one came to see the Tests. Women's football matches are hardly reported at all and few attend the matches.[15] Yet it still seems an open question as to why this should be so. An obvious explanation is that sport simply reflects the historic social exclusion of women in all spheres. But it might also be something peculiar to sport: that it is in some way intrinsically masculine. But since today even the most physical of sports is open to women this argument must be questionable. What is the right argument, however, if there is one, again we don't altogether know.

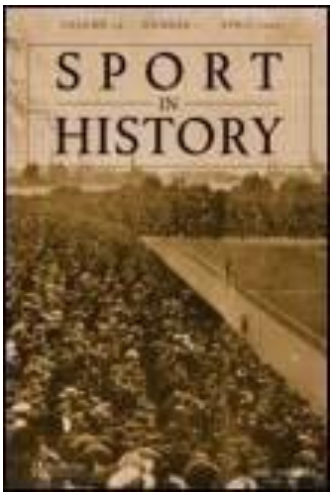
Sport is one of the most remarkable of human activities: it involves the emotions and forms of creativity few others do. But, like all such activities, it is difficult to embrace within a single argument or discipline. The toughest questions are those posed by the sociologists and anthropologists: there is, however, little agreement as to the answers. Nevertheless, the subject has also to be written historically. The sociological and anthropological questions are not timeless. On the contrary, they change

significantly over time. Furthermore, that pioneering generation of sports historians has given us both a basis of knowledge and an intellectual framework unavailable to those who were interested in sport 30 or 40 years ago. The problem seems to be to integrate the work both of historians and sociologists to write a historical sociology of sport, or, since it might not be possible to generalize confidently about 'sport', of sports.

Notes

1. Allen Guttmann, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 3.
2. Ibid.
3. Roger Caillois, Man, Play and Games (London: The Free Press, 1962), 175.
4. Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, The Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 60.
5. Ibid., 65.
6. See Guttmann's comments here on the American middle classes and football. Guttmann, From Ritual to Record, 133.
7. Tony Mason and Eliza Riedi, Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces, 18801960 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 126.
8. Bero Rigauer, Sport and Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981). See also Elias and Dunning, The Quest for Excitement, 20914.
9. G.P. Stone, 'American Sports: Play and Display' in The Sociology of Sport, ed. Eric Dunning (London: Frank Cass, 1971), 60.
10. Sydney Morning Herald, February 1920, 2011. It meant the Indian subcontinent.
11. For this, see Tony Walker, 'The Mourning after Hillsborough', Sociological Review 39, no. 3 (1991); Ian Taylor, 'English Football in the 1990s: Taking Hillsborough Seriously', in British Football and Social Change, ed. John Williams and Stephen Wagg (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991) and a more open-eyed account Ian Taylor, 'Hillsborough, 15 April 1989: Some Personal Contemplations', New Left Review 177 (SeptemberOctober 1989).
12. They are reproduced in the Daily Mirror, February 27, 2002.
13. John Hargreaves, Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain (Cambridge: Polity, 1986), 1213.
14. C.E. Ashworth, 'Sport as Symbolic Dialogue' in The Sociology of Sport, ed. Dunning, 45.
15. When the final of the women's football World Cup was held in 1999 in Los Angeles 90,000 attended. That would not happen in Europe and may be a result of the complete exclusion of women from American football, and the popularity of football (soccer) among women, children and teenagers in the United States. It could also be a result of the greater self-confidence of American women or their greater patriotism. Women's gymnastics is very popular among those who

watch gymnastics, and here women have aesthetic and physical advantages over men. Young women gymnasts, at least in the opinion of judges and crowds, attain a perfection which men seem unable to do.



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Sports History and Modern British History

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REVIEW ESSAY

Sports History and Modern British History

Dilwyn Porter

Martin Daunton, Wealth and Welfare: An Economic and Social History of Britain 18511951 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Pp. xv 656. £29.00 (pb). ISBN 978-0-198-73209-9.
Juliet Gardiner, The Thirties: An Intimate History (London: HarperPress, 2010). Pp. xv 957. £30.00 (hb); £12.99 (pb). ISBNs 978-0-007-24076-0 (hb); 978-007-31453-9 (pb).
Brian Harrison, Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom 195170 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Pp. xxi 658. £37.00 (hb); £21.95 (pb). ISBNs 978-0-198-20476-3 (hb); 978-0-199-6051-3 (pb).
David Kynaston, Austerity Britain 194551 (London: Bloomsbury, 2007). Pp. viii 692. £25.00 (hb); £12.99 (pb). ISBNs 978-0-7475-7985-4 (hb); 978-0-7475-9923-4 (pb).
David Kynaston, Family Britain 195157 (London: Bloomsbury, 2009). Pp. 776. £25.00 (hb); £12.99 (pb). ISBNs 978-0-7475-8385-1 (hb); 978-14088-0083-6 (pb).
Martin Pugh, We Danced All Night: A Social History of Britain between the Wars (London: The Bodley Head, 2008). Pp. xii 494. £20.00 (hb); £8.99 (pb). ISBNs 978-0-224-07698-2 (hb); 978-1-844-13923-1 (pb).
Dominic Sandbrook, White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties (London: Little, Brown, 2006). Pp. xviii 954. £25.00 (hb); £14.99 (pb). ISBNs: 978-0-316-72452-1 (hb); 978-0-349-11820-8 (pb).
Dominic Sandbrook, State of Emergency: The Way We Were: Britain, 1970 1974 (London: Allen Lane, 2010). Pp. xii 755. £30.00 (hb). ISBN 9781-846-14031-0.

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G.R. Searle, A New England? Peace and War 18861918 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Pp. xxii 951. £79.00 (hb); £34.00 (pb). ISBNs 978-0-198-29714-6 (hb); 978-0-199-28440-5 (pb).
Alwyn W. Turner, Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s (London: Aurum Press, 2008). Pp. xxiii 322. £20.00 (hb); £8.99 (pb). ISBNs 9781-84513-327-6 (hb); 978-1-84513-425-9 (pb).
Alwyn W. Turner, Rejoice! Rejoice! Britain in the 1980s (London: Aurum Press, 2010). Pp. xxi 426. £20.00 (hb); £14.99 (pb). ISBNs 978-184513-525-6 (hb); 978-1-84513-621-5 (pb).

An impressive body of sports history research has accumulated over the past 30 years or so, in Britain and elsewhere. 'As small as the history of sport may be', Douglas Booth has noted, 'the volume of literature is vast'.[1] Booth's own major contribution to this literature, The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History (2005), along with the responses it provoked, might be read as an indication that sports history had arrived and was taking itself seriously. A critique of the ways in which sports historians go about their business was overdue and Booth's categorization of methodologies constructionist, reconstructionist and deconstructionist was broadly helpful, even if some found it perplexing. Booth argued that sports historians tended to shy away from methodological introspection and were inclined to avoid 'questions about empiricist notions of certainty and veracity'. More optimistically, he discerned an ongoing shift 'with practitioners moving away from the study of sport as social practice towards the interpretation of sporting identities and cultures'.[2] It is hard to deny that sports historians were slow starters in the race to the cultural turn. However, once some of them had reached it, a debate about the nature and practice of sports history could begin, echoing the wider discussion among historians initiated by Hayden White, Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow. Indeed, it could be argued that this process was already under way in the United States where sports historians were first confronted with postmodernity in the shape of Synthia Sydnor's provocative take on the history of synchronized swimming.[3]

In this sense, as the editors of the Routledge Companion to Sports History (2010) have argued, the history of sport has ceased to be an 'academic curiosity'. Its practitioners no longer have to suffer the 'smirks and repressed laughs' of historians working in more traditional areas who viewed sport as an irrelevant sideshow.[4] One hopes they are right but

doubts persist, not least within the academic community clustered around sports history as a sub-discipline. In part, this derives from the institutional locations in which those who teach and research sports history find themselves. Relatively few are employed in university history departments. They are more likely to be attached to 'physical education' or fighting their corner in 'sports studies', where the distinctive contribution of history to the study of sport is harnessed to the pursuit of the relevant, so often confused with the topical, the fashionable and the fundable. They are not, of course, alone in this predicament, but it is unhelpful in establishing their credentials. Perhaps this explains why sports historians are sometimes accused of conversing only with each other and of failing to establish a dialogue with fellow historians working in other fields. Martin Johnes, writing of sports history in Britain, has observed recently that, though it is alive and kicking, it exists largely outside the mainstream. 'The pages of its journals may be full', he observes, 'but few historians read them who are not already involved in working on sport'.[5]

Sports historians working in British universities are now routinely required to demonstrate that their research has 'impact', if only to satisfy the requirements of the Research Excellence Framework. In these circumstances Johnes's observation is worrying, for if the work of sports historians makes little impact on other historians, there is little hope that it will be valued by anyone else, except perhaps as a harmless diversion pursued by the modern-day equivalent of 'fans with typewriters'. What follows is an attempt to assess the impact that research in sports history has made on recent work that engages with the broad sweep of nineteenth- and twentieth-century British history, principally mainstream works of synthesis with which undergraduates might be expected to engage. Books by Juliet Gardiner, Martin Pugh, David Kynaston, Dominic Sandbrook and Alwyn Turner which tackle shorter periods in depth and sometimes at great length will also be considered. If sports history, as Mike Cronin recently suggested, has spent 'too long talking to itself', this seems a good time to assess the extent to which that conversation has been overheard and taken into account.[6] It is also useful to ask what benefit sports historians might derive from engaging with general histories of this kind.

Few historians would now survey any period of modern British history with sport 'left out'. This, however, may say more about the importance of sport in contemporary society than it does about the impact made by sports historians. We are constantly rewriting history in the sense of reinterpreting the past in order to make sense of the present and it would be hard to deny

that sport now plays a hugely important part in many people's lives, not least in helping to shape a sense of who they are and where they belong, key issues for social and cultural historians. Thus there are good reasons why those who write about the history of sport in Britain should now see themselves as part of a wider academic community. If, as Dave Russell has observed, we have reached a point when 'eyebrows are no longer raised (or, at least, not so high) when one admits to studying play for a living', it is because the emergence of sports history in Britain is 'part of the wider explosion of interest in social and cultural history'.[7] Thus, while Cronin is right to suggest that sports historians spend more time in their particular comfort zone than is good for them, we should also recognize that the social and cultural history of sport does offer a way into the mainstream.

With this in mind, it may be useful to begin by identifying three works that have been especially important in raising awareness of sport as a subject that historians should take seriously. First, Tony Mason's Association Football and English Society (1981) raised the profile of sport as a suitable subject for historical study. The approach was methodologically conservative, classically empiricist even, but this helps to explain why it was so important at the time of its publication.[8] Second, Richard Holt's massively influential Sport and the British (1989) supplied a landmark of a different kind by identifying key themes and working them into a sequential framework which allowed for an explanation of the development of British sport over a long period, while maintaining throughout a historian's eye for contingency and particularity. 'The interplay of change and continuity', he noted, 'persistence in some things and innovation in others, is too complex to be fitted into a simple modernization model.'[9] Holt's major themes pre-industrial sport, Victorian amateurism, sport in urban society, sport and national identity, commercialized sport have effectively set the research agenda for British sports historians for 25 years. Moreover, if footnote citations are a reliable indicator, Holt remains the starting-point for anyone seeking to incorporate sport into a general survey of nineteenth- and twentieth century British history.

Finally, Ross McKibbin's chapter on 'The Sporting Life' in his Classes and Cultures (1998) identified sport as 'one of the most powerful of England's civil cultures', not least on account of its role in shaping the modern world and the English view of themselves as part of it.[10] Thus sports history, a sub-discipline, was effectively located within the larger realm of cultural history, alongside, for example, the culture of religion and

belief. Many years before, E.P. Thompson had famously signalled his ambition to rescue 'the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott' (among others) 'from the enormous condescension of posterity'.[11] Now the follower, deluded or otherwise, of Manchester United or Middlesbrough, Harlequins or Hull Kingston Rovers, along with the club cricketer, the pigeon fancier, the pub darts player, the flat- or crown green bowler and even the hopeful punter venturing a few shillings on a greyhound or a racehorse, has their place in social and cultural history as currently researched and written.

The impact of these developments is evident in A New England?, G.R. Searle's contribution to the New Oxford History of England series, where the influence of Holt, in particular, is manifest. Though the sporting life of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England is to some extent crowded out by a more traditional preoccupation with politics, it finds a place here. Searle uses sport to illustrate the importance of class and status distinctions in the making of social identities, drawing heavily on the discussion of amateurism in Sport and the British to make his point. He then goes on to discuss the development of spectator sport as part of an emerging leisure sector wherein it competed with cycling, music halls, trips to the seaside and various improving hobbies. 'Without comparing and contrasting sports with other leisure forms', as Martin Johnes has argued, 'historians will struggle to understand the historical significance of sport.'[12] Indeed, there is much to be gained from setting Victorian and Edwardian sport in this wider context. Searle also notes that sport, which may have accounted for as much as three per cent of gross national product by the 1890s, merits attention 'simply as an economic phenomenon'.[13] It seems odd, therefore, that it hardly features in Martin Daunton's economic and social history of Britain from the midnineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, though it does receive brief consideration as one of a number of 'cultures of consumption'. Again, the contextualization is significant and it is clear that Daunton's discussion of gambling, for example, has been much influenced by the work of McKibbin.[14]

It has to be said, however, that neither Searle nor Daunton seem especially comfortable when dealing with sport. Searle seems determined to keep Holt close at hand, following him even into one of the few backwaters of sporting knowledge where he is unreliable and thus confuses the Corinthians with the Corinthian-Casuals, a later manifestation of gentlemanly amateurism in English football.[15] Daunton also seems a little

shaky on some important details. Confronted with a wide canvas, there are occasions when use of the broad brush is justified, but it is misleading to claim that public schools 'avoided' association football; some did and some notably Eton and Harrow did not. Similarly, though league cricket clubs in Lancashire often employed one or two professionals, it was essentially a game played by working-class amateurs rather than a 'professional club game'. That said, Daunton's key conclusion that 'sport was generally segregated on class lines' is sound enough.[16] It may seem pernickety to draw attention to minor aberrations and there are few whose work contains no errors of this kind, but they tend to occur when historians have strayed into territory with which they are relatively unfamiliar. Martin Pugh's very useful chapter on sport in We Danced All Night, his revisionist view of British society in the inter-war years, comes briefly unstuck when discussing the on-off relationship between the Football Association and FIFA, which he refers to as the 'International Football League'.[17] This is simply to say that the general surveys reviewed here deal better with some areas than others and that their authors are more likely to deal confidently with social policy or party politics than club cricket in Lancashire or the governance of world football.

This reservation notwithstanding, it is encouraging that historians now seek to locate sport within the conceptual frameworks that they develop to explain their chosen periods. It has not always been so. Sir Robert Ensor's England 18701914 (1936), for example, made an significant connection between 'the rise of the suburban middle class' and 'the development of organised games' but lumped sport into a chapter entitled 'Mental and Social Aspects', along with religion and miscellaneous 'sex questions'.[18] Though Daunton's coverage is brief, sport is set within a larger argument about changing patterns of consumption. 'As the economy grew', he notes, 'people were able to escape from the narrow constraints of mere survival.'[19] This meant that more of them had more to spend on experiential goods, of which sport was one. Searle's discussion is similarly framed, though he argues that the increase in leisure time available to consumers at the end of the nineteenth century was as important as the growth of disposable income in creating an economic climate in which sport and other commercialized entertainments could prosper.[20] As far as sports historians are concerned these insights are helpful and enhance our understanding of the necessary preconditions for the emergence of professional sport in its recognizably modern form.

Similar tendencies are evident in the treatment of sport in the inter-war period by Pugh and Juliet Gardiner. Pugh's bibliography indicates a reliance on the usual suspects (Mason, Holt, McKibbin) though he also draws on recent work by Mike Huggins and Jack Williams. Foreigners, he observes, tended to regard the British as 'almost comically obsessed by sport' and the strength of this obsession in all its complexity is neatly exemplified by his reference to the 1925 University Boat Race, an elite sporting event in every sense, when the Oxford boat became waterlogged. 'TRAGEDY OF THE BOAT RACE', reported the mass-circulation News of the World, 'as though recording a major national disaster'. Pugh is especially sensitive to the impact of class on sport and arguing, for example, that fast-bowler Harold Larwood, treated unfairly by the patricians at Lords after the 'bodyline' Test series of 19321933, was a 'victim of the British class system and the hypocrisy of those who dominated [cricket]'.[21] The significance of gender is acknowledged only briefly, though this may reflect the as yet under-researched history of women's sport. It features rather more in Gardiner's The Thirties, where the achievements of various 'Speed Queens', mainly upper-class women in aviation and motor sport, receive considerable attention.[22] Though both Pugh and Gardiner recognize the importance of new sports that emerged between the wars, speedway features only in Gardiner's book, and then only in parentheses: '(speedway racing, introduced from Australia in 1928, proved immensely popular; by 1933 there were five tracks in the London area, and nationwide attendance figures were almost one and a quarter million)'.[23] Once again, this may simply reflect a gap in the sports history literature where speedway is currently under-represented.

Pugh's chapter 'Six Penn'orth of Hope' makes the link between sport and gambling and Gardiner also draws attention to an activity that 'consumed the time and interest of far more people than played [sport] or even watched'.[24] Before the late 1920s a visit to a racecourse had been an occasional treat reserved for high days and holidays. One of the attractions of greyhound racing was that it offered working-class spectators an opportunity to place a cash bet legally while enjoying a night's entertainment at a conveniently located track where the dogs ran two or three times a week. At the same time, football pools, with Littlewoods to the fore, became embedded in the routines of family life. These innovations were largely responsible for rising expenditure on gambling in a period characterized by high unemployment. The importance assigned to this development by both Pugh and Gardiner reinforces McKibbin's view that

it was 'absolutely central to English sport and the place sport had in the national culture'.[25] If sport was a national obsession, this was its most obvious manifestation. As Gardiner notes, this was one of the most significant discoveries made by George Orwell on his journey to Wigan Pier at a time when the Football League was delaying the publication of fixtures in order to frustrate the pools companies. Whereas few were moved by the rise of fascism and the prospect of renewed conflict with Germany, the socalled 'pools war' 'flung all Yorkshire into a storm of fury'.[26]

Most historians of post-war Britain readily acknowledge that sport, if not a national obsession, is an element of popular culture demanding serious attention. 'Sport is immensely important to any serious attempt to reconstruct a nation's collective life in any period since the mid-to-late nineteenth century', observes Peter Hennessy, before incorporating the main body of his thoughts on sport in the 1950s into a chapter headed 'Society, Pleasure and the Imponderables', an amorphous categorization in the style of Ensor.[27] Hennessy's priority is to convey the idea of sport as a source of pleasure, especially in the austere early 1950s. Brian Harrison, however, in Seeking a Role: The United Kingdom 19511970 is rather more successful in integrating sport with other aspects of British life. Here the approach is closer to that of Searle, Daunton and Pugh with sport analysed alongside other recreational activities available to consumers in the 1950s and 1960s. Harrison's discussion is usefully organized around six defining trends: British sport became more diversified, more international, more meritocratic, more professional, more bureaucratic and more closely linked with the media as the period progressed.[28] Though he is clearly aware of welcome developments in the historiography of sport and observes, for example, that 'sports history has in recent years begun to transcend antiquarianism', Harrison does not delve especially deeply into the specialist literature.[29] Holt and Mason's work on the post-1945 period is acknowledged, but Martin Polley's Moving the Goalposts (1998) is a surprising omission from his bibliography, not least because it makes a point of exploring the idea that sport was not only a reflection of society but also a part of it. 'Rather than thinking purely in terms of reflection', Polley has argued, 'which implies passivity on the part of sport, it is more useful to see how sport is shaped and constrained by the wider forces, and how it interacts with them and reproduces them'.[30] To be fair, much of what Harrison writes is in this spirit. Thus, in relation to diversification, he explains: 'Affluence enables a society to diversify its sports by bringing

them money, time, training facilities, equipment, and easy access at home and abroad.'[31]

For Harrison, it is the ongoing relationship between sport and 'the wider forces' to which Polley alludes that is important. Arguably, it is when general surveys identify and explain such relationships that they are most helpful. Pugh's account of the north-south divide in the inter-war period makes it clear that sport helped to create a cultural rift while also being a part of it. 'During the 1930s', he observes, 'regional rivalry grew worse, especially in football, when the traditional northern dominance came under threat from the rise of Arsenal.' At the same time, rugby league, played almost exclusively in the north, was 'a defiant expression of northern rejection of the values of the south'.[32] Similarly, Paul Addison's recent history of post-war Britain turns to sport to exemplify the survival of pre-war status distinctions into the 1950s. The continuing categorization of English cricketers as either 'gentlemen' (amateurs) or 'players' (professionals) indicated the relatively modest extent of social levelling after what many referred to as the 'People's War'.[33] In making this point, Addison draws on Stephen Wagg's essay on amateur captaincy in Contemporary British History (2000). Significantly, Harrison draws on an article on black players in rugby league by Tony Collins in Immigrants and Minorities (1998) to underpin a more general argument about the opportunities or lack of them available to ethnic minorities in midtwentieth-century British society. 'Wherever sport was meritocratic', he notes, 'black players had a better chance: more so in Rugby League, for example, than in Rugby Union'.[34] Martin Johnes, as noted earlier, has suggested that historians rarely, if ever, consult the specialist sports history journals, and he is probably right. These examples suggest that sports historians who venture into mainstream journals or engage with specialist journals in other fields of historical inquiry are more likely to be noticed.

It has to be said that the historians who currently attract the widest readership mainly operate outside the universities. They often draw, however, on published research by historians operating within the academy and thus offer sports historians and other specialists an opportunity to inform their work. As far as post-1945 Britain is concerned, the field is dominated by David Kynaston and Dominic Sandbrook, with Alwyn Turner coming up on the rails. The fashion in this sector of publishing seems to be for doorstep histories, huge books, weighty in every sense, covering relatively short periods in exhaustive detail. Significantly, these authors share an awareness of the importance of sport in everyday life; a

national preoccupation if not an obsession. T.S. Eliot's J. Alfred Prufrock famously measured out his life in coffee spoons. These narratives are sensitive to other ways of observing the passage of time the four-year gap between Olympic festivals and World Cups, the movement each year from season to 'close season', from winter to summer sports, and the weekly ritual of filling in the pools coupon. To take a banal example, Turner's account of Britain in the 1970s opens with Prime Minister Harold Wilson fretting over the date of the 1970 general election and plumping for the day after the World Cup semi-finals, 'when English euphoria was predicted to be at its height'.[35]

It is Kynaston who has the surest touch when it comes to writing about sport and its place in the British way of life. This is evident as soon as sport makes an appearance in Austerity Britain, the first volume of his projected history of the post-war period, when Orwell's comments on the fierce passions aroused by the matches played by the touring Moscow Dynamo side against Arsenal and Rangers in 1945 are deftly discounted.[36] Sport has a minor role in a narrative dominated by the political struggle to establish the welfare state and the pervasive miseries of post-war austerity. Its function as a comforting distraction, however, is defined with some precision, and its significance never overstated. Thus Kynaston's account of the defining moment of the 1948 Ashes series the great Don Bradman dismissed without scoring in his final Test innings measures the nation's preoccupation with Test cricket against the bleak realities of the domestic economy:

> At any one time that day [14 August 1948], only about 9 per cent of the adult civilian population of some 36 million was listening to the cricket commentary. Most people, battling with the obstinate twin blights of rationing and shortages, had other priorities.[37]

Kynaston's treatment of the 1948 Olympics dismissed almost as quickly as Eric Hollies dismissed Bradman is even more downbeat. Indeed, he is probably too dismissive, though this is preferable to overburdening the games with historical significance via hindsight. Harry Hopkins's readable and justifiably popular social history of post-war Britain written from the vantage point of the early 1960s comes to mind here. 'Once again', he noted in relation to Britain's failure to win Olympic gold on the track, 'it was becoming inescapably evident that, long and splendid as the road might have been, Britain was reaching the end of it.'[38] This tells us more about the era of postSuez angst in which Hopkins was writing than it does about how Britain's

performance in the arena of international sport was viewed in 1948. Suffice to say that Kynaston negotiates the perils of present-mindedness successfully. As he reminds readers in Family Britain, his second volume, it was possible to put a different construction on events a few years later, even in Halifax, where folk were not inclined to overstatement. 'So Britain has been the first to conquer Everest and to achieve the four-minute mile', observed a local newspaper, with justifiable pride. 'So let us have no more talk of an effete and worn-out nation.'[39] 'Amazing the difference a couple of wins can make', as the football pundits say.

In Family Britain sport is set mainly in the context of everyday life, as one of a number and for men one of the most important distractions from work and worry in the early 1950s. Those who have already encountered Kynaston as a historian of cricket, however, will know that he is a reliable guide to those grey areas where class and sport intersect. His account of the controversy surrounding the captaincy of the England team to tour Australia in 19541955 deconstructs the coded language used by E.W. Swanton, cricket correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, to advocate the appointment of David Sheppard, 'a young cricketer of strong character and much determination to whom leadership comes naturally', rather than Len Hutton, the seasoned Yorkshire and England 'pro'.[40] This conveys a subtle and important message about Britain in the 1950s. It was still Orwell's dysfunctional family with the wrong people in charge, but the exercise of power now required a nod in the direction of the common man, in this case 'Pudsey's finest'. The common woman, of course, was deemed much less important and her sporting achievements largely ignored. Thus, Kynaston notes, Birmingham's Diane Leather, the first woman to run a mile in under five minutes, 'received barely a tithe of
Bannister's instant fame'.[41]

Kynaston's particular strength when writing about sport is an awareness of the links between sport, community and place. The fortunes of unfashionable Accrington Stanley, then playing in the Football League Third Division North, are a recurring motif. Kynaston's readers will never be found wanting if anyone should ask them, as in the television commercial of the 1980s, 'Accrington Stanley ... who are they?'[42] Knowing who they are (or were) is important, but he also seeks to explain what football clubs meant as signifiers of locality and community. In the index to his autobiography, the poet Dannie Abse lists both Cardiff City and Cardiff City Reserves.[43] One senses that Kynaston has an instinctive understanding of the hinterland that feeds an emotional attachment of this

kind. It comes through powerfully in his treatment of rugby league, 'the other great winter sport' for working-class men in much of the north of England:

> Mount Pleasant, Batley; Wheldon Road, Castleford; Crown Flatt, Dewsbury; The Boulevard, Hull (the fisherman's team); Craven Park, Hull Kingston Rovers (the dockers' team); Parkside, Hunslet ... Central Park, Wigan the very names of ground and club were a litany of a deeply entrenched, unashamedly insular sporting culture.[44]

It is significant, perhaps, that Kynaston is alive to what sports history journals have to offer on the issue of sport and local/regional identity, such as Adrian Smith on rugby in Coventry in The International Journal of the History of Sport (1994) and Gavin Mellor on the composition of football crowds in the north-west in The Sports Historian (1999).

Like Kynaston, Sandbrook seeks 'to strike a balance between political and cultural narratives'. Sport, however, features less frequently and seems less central in his configuration of British culture. This is especially evident in Never Had It So Good, the first of his three volumes, which has 'quite a lot about consumerism, literature and the Cold War, but not very much about, say, fashion and design, architecture or sex' or, indeed, sport.[45] When, about half-way through his second volume, White Heat, Sandbrook turns to sport, he prefaces what is essentially an account of England's World Cup campaign of 1966 with some points derived largely from Richard Holt and Martin Polley, dealing briskly with a number of key issues the perceived link between amateurism and underachievement in international competition, the increasing importance of television coverage and why football replaced cricket as England's 'national sport'. For the most part his touch is sure, though a reference to Football League clubs having sold 'more than 41 million tickets' in 19481949 and 28 million in 19641965 indicates lack of familiarity with the practicalities of simply turning up on the day and paying at the turnstiles. That said, Sandbrook argues convincingly that televised football created the conditions in which 'it became patriotic to follow the fortunes of the national team'. This helps to explain both the absence of hype and hysteria surrounding international football before 1966 and its undeniable presence thereafter.[46] 'By the 1970s', as Harrison observes dryly, 'the World Cup contest had become British football's equivalent of judgement day'.[47]

Football historians will not find anything especially novel in Sandbrook's account of the 1966 tournament, though he does draw

attention to uncomfortable truths that are sometimes overlooked the public's lack of enthusiasm at the start and the view, widely held abroad, that England had cheated its way to the final. The French sports newspaper L'Equipe, he notes, published a cartoon depicting Nobby Stiles and Bobby Charlton, two of England's heroes, making their way to Wembley in a Rolls-Royce while referees disguised as British 'bobbies' held back assorted foreigners. There is also a salutary reminder that not everyone in the United Kingdom rejoiced in England's victory. These reservations, however, are offset when Sandbrook reminds us that 'for many people, England's victory in the World Cup was the perfect ending to a hot contented summer, stamped with the cultural self-confidence of Swinging London'.[48] Sandbrook takes the story up again in 1970, though here England's progress to the quarter-finals and defeat by West Germany is examined largely as a contingent factor in the general election of that year. Many Labour politicians 'felt that if the election had been held earlier, before England's World Cup exit and the disappointing trade figures, they would have won comfortably'.[49] It seems likely that the trade figures and general dissatisfaction with Wilson's government were more important influences but the link between football and politics is never explored systematically. This is unfortunate in view of opinion poll evidence cited by Harrison which indicated that about 20 per cent of the electorate, mostly Labour supporters 'were less interested in the general election than in the World Cup'.[50]

Sandbrook's State of Emergency carries his narrative into the early 1970s, when the cultural self-confidence of the mid-1960s was submerged by a tide of pessimism and uncertainty. Britain may or may not have been in decline but 'declinism' the idea that it was in decline was hard to resist. 'In previous decades', he observes, 'sport had offered a sense of escapism and reassurance in hard times'. By the 1970s, however, 'it seemed to be infected by the same aggression, materialism and self-interest that had seeped into so many other corners of national life'.[51] For Sandbrook, sport is a reflection of what is happening more generally and it is used to underscore two of his most important themes: relative economic decline and the rapid dissolution of a working-class culture forged in the nineteenth-century experience of industrialization. Thus the failures of England's football team are seen as indicative of a deeper malaise. Writing of England's defeat by West Germany at Wembley in 1972, Sandbrook observes that '[in] football as in economic management and labour relations, it seemed, the old country had fallen behind its Continental

rivals'.[52] Similarly, the problem of football-related hooliganism is related to broader social changes: 'Fans [no longer] went to games in family, neighbourhood or factory groups, standing beside people they knew'. As the old working class fragmented, the composition of football crowds changed and new forms of behaviour emerged.[53]

It has to be said that Sandbrook's account of sport in the 1970s owes little to recent work in sports history, though he has clearly been much influenced by Holt's treatment of hooliganism in Sport and the British.[54] Alwyn Turner, similarly, has looked elsewhere in compiling his recent accounts of 'high politics and low culture' in the 1970s and 1980s. This does not mean that his work contains nothing to interest sports historians. He makes some astute observations and his verdict on Brian Clough 'he spoke his mind at a time when football was generally considered mindless' is one of many that are both succinct and perceptive.[55] Like Sandbrook, Turner tends to use sport as a metaphor for what is happening in society more generally, and it is here that he sometimes fails to convince. Having noted that Don Revie eventually replaced Sir Alf Ramsey as manager of the England football team, he adds that this was 'an appointment that seemed somehow symbolic of a coarsening of public life in Britain'.[56] Really? Similarly, Turner's assessment of the cultural significance of wrestler 'Big Daddy', favourite of the grapple fans who tuned in to ITV's World of Sport on Saturday afternoons, stretches cultural connections to breaking point:

> And what had been a diverse and multicultural tradition was crushed by twenty-five stones of sentimentality, patriotism and predictability. It was noticeable that the rise of Big Daddy coincided with the rise of Margaret Thatcher, and that she was on record as saying that he was her favourite wrestler.[57]

This, like his comments on Revie, tells us rather more about how it 'seems' to the author now than how it 'seemed' at the time and does little to advance our understanding of either televised wrestling or the rise of the 'New Right'.

These criticisms aside, Turner is alive to the idea that for most people in the 1970s and 1980s sport was experienced via television. Thus, in Rejoice! Rejoice! Britain in the 1980s, he links declining interest in football with the rise of televised snooker. As viewing figures for Match of the Day plummeted to around six million in 1985, interest in snooker rapidly increased. 'There was something here for the whole family to watch together', Turner argues, 'in a way that football simply couldn't match any

more.'[58] Downmarket snooker along with darts was refashioned to meet the requirements of a television audience. As Jack Williams has recently reminded us, 'the role of broadcasting does much to explain the social, cultural and economic history of sport in Britain, and in most other parts of the developed world, since the middle of the last century'.[59] Historians, however, have yet to investigate this phenomenon in a systematic way. Turner, always readable, is not slow to offer opinions that both enlighten and infuriate, but his media-conscious depiction of British low culture serves to reinforce awareness of the current limitations of sports history in this area.

Sports historians who turn to the books reviewed above have much to gain. It is helpful to see how sport might be located within the broad frameworks of analysis that they utilize. There is also some satisfaction to be drawn from sport no longer being ignored or marginalized in works of this kind. That said, historians of particular sports might feel that they have been unjustifiably overlooked: boxing, cycling, horse racing, motor racing, rugby union, tennis and women's sport generally merit more attention than they have been given. So too, does angling, a hugely popular sporting recreation. However, though these gaps and the limited extent to which the body of research in sports history is referenced are disappointments, it is important to keep a sense of perspective.

Agricultural historians, business historians, design historians, ecclesiastical historians not to mention historians of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland might also have cause to complain that their research is under-represented.

In conclusion, there may be something to be said for identifying the work in sports history that does attract the attention of those who take on the heroic challenge of writing big histories. Inevitably, the practicalities of the undertaking determine a highly selective reading of the research output of those who work in history's many and varied sub-disciplines. This means that sports history is more likely to be noticed when it is published in one of the mainstream journals or as a monograph. Sport in History, the Journal of Sport History and similar publications allow sports historians to converse with each other and this remains important in terms of developing specialist knowledge and understanding. However, now that the role of sport in the reproduction of culture, society, class, gender and identity has been recognized and widely accepted, a proactive strategy of engagement with journals that reach out to a wider audience of historians is both possible and desirable. We also need more general works on the history of

sport. Holt's Sport and the British, as this survey of recently published general histories suggests, remains uniquely influential. In part, as a glance at its extensive bibliography indicates, this is because it supplies a point of access to the research output of historians who had worked in the field of British sports history up to the end of the 1980s. Since then, the body of published research has expanded enormously and some new works of synthesis are required.

Notes

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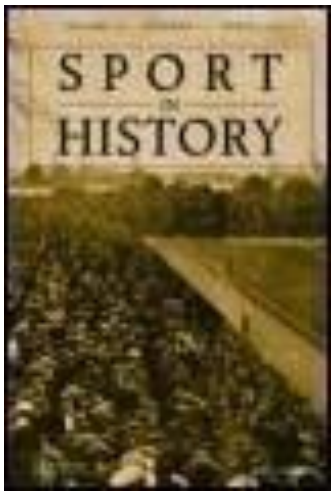

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The State of Play: Women in British Sport History

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Introduction

The State of Play: Women in British Sport History

Carol A. Osborne & Fiona Skillen

It is difficult to argue that sport history remains on the periphery of historical research. Rather, it might now be identified as occupying a positive niche position within the broader discipline of 'history' itself. In Britain this is largely thanks to the ongoing quality and breadth of publications, including the continued production of journals like this one, which has ensured the discipline's credibility. Yet, in spite of this achievement, it is not unreasonable to assert that dedicated study of women in sport history remains a peculiarly neglected area of academic research in Britain.[1]

While it seems that the rise in status of sport history has been concomitant with a process which has seen sport attain incredible prominence within British culture, particularly since the 1990s, this best evidenced by a burgeoning media presence domestically and globally,[2] the contemporary drive to encourage more girls and women into sport and physical activity, coupled with the increasing visibility of women performing at elite level across a range of sports, has not apparently stimulated much enquiry into the historical experiences underpinning these respective developments. Furthermore, in spite of Jeff Hill's observation that Andrew Davies's ground-breaking Leisure, Gender and Poverty (1992) 'points up one of the most overlooked aspects of British sport: the place in it of women',[3] the issue still remains the concern of very few. For example, a database search of this journal since 1993 quickly reveals a dearth of articles dedicated to the subject of women or gender

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relations in sport. As Hill also noted, 'It is not simply a matter of ''filling gaps'', but of confronting fundamental problems of epistemology.'[4] Certainly, the well-founded optimism that Patricia Vertinsky expressed in her 1994 overview of scholarship in the areas of gender relations, women's history and sport history has not fulfilled its promise via new research since that date in the British context.[5] Indeed, on the strength of submissions offered and ultimately received for this special edition, the European and North American research scenes presented as more vibrant. Moreover, in the 15 years since Vertinsky's overview there is a sense in which the state of women's sport history has remained largely dependent upon the innovative works therein identified. From that position of strength, laid by the likes of Vertinksy herself, Sheila Fletcher, Jennifer Hargreaves, Kathleen McCrone, Roberta Park, Catriona Parratt and Nancy Struna, it is difficult not to conclude that women's sport history in Britain is under-written and therefore has remained marginal to not only the overarching and successful discipline of sport history itself, but also to that of women's history.

In the case of the sport history constituency, although not unsympathetic to research which seeks to elucidate women's participation, treatment and experiences in sport, it remains predominantly populated by male scholars and, therefore, is still underpinned by a body of research that broadly speaks to male interests. The observation is well worn, yet it bears restating because the position is one that arguably continues to turn upon the nature of sport itself, past and present, as a focus of male activity, whether framed via the lens of participation or that of spectatorship.[6] Therein perhaps lies a partial explanation as to why the women's history constituency in particular has yielded so little by way of research in the area of sport, populated as it is predominantly by female scholars. Could it be that sport is considered so integral to male culture past and present that historians of women do not regard it as their concern, thus giving some credence to the idea that male interests are inevitably the subject of male interest and so it must follow vice versa? Of course, such an explanation is flimsy; it overlooks the point that no realm of social or cultural life is exclusively the property of any given group, but is merely appropriated and in turn constructed as such. Or, is it, as Joyce Kay observes in work which challenges the typically one-dimensional view of women involved in the suffrage campaign, that 'Perhaps it was right and proper in the early development of women's history that leisure should have been overlooked in favour of topics crucial to female advancement in the public sphere:

politics, law, education, paid employment and philanthropy'? She goes on to list other areas 'of extensive and necessary research' but, as an in-depth look at Women's History Review (19922009) reveals, she is correct in her assessment that 'recreation' and sport as an aspect of this has been 'largely ignored' within the historiography.[7] Firstly, such lack of interest is surprising, given that the body has been revealed as a critical site upon which understandings of women's experiences have been inscribed. From this perspective sport historically, as now, can be understood as a site of contestation, one successfully mobilized by sporting women.[8] Secondly, in spite of increases in female participation since the late twentieth century leading to the greater visibility of women in sport, sport remains one of the most resilient bastions of male power and gendered participation, the latter based upon prevailing understandings of sex differences. The historical precedents that underpin this predicament therefore deserve attention, and not least from the discipline which in striving to make 'women visible and actors in their own right'[9] has endeavoured so effectively to understand the same dynamics in other areas of social, economic and political life. The argument that the history of women's sport has been neglected by a discipline where one might reasonably expect to find it is compelling and, as Kay implies, recognition of it is overdue.

Journal editors can, however, only work with the articles they receive. There is nothing to suggest that the omission of women in sport within the journals identified is a product of active exclusion. Rather, what presents here might be more constructively understood in relation to interests: undoubtedly personal as well as professional, but also critically how these are conditioned by a sense of the politics underpinning what research topics 'count' within a discipline at any given point in time. From this point of view the discipline of sport history can be especially observed as subject to wider commercial forces because nowhere are these more prominent than in the contemporary world of sport, turning as it does on a well-publicized annual calendar of fixtures and events. These consistently tie up with dominant male sporting cultures and, it seems, those team sports which have come to occupy a central position within the discipline itself: namely, football, rugby and cricket.[10] While women's football has seen growth and has found its academic historians,[11] comparatively the interest in female participation within such sports, as well as others, ebbs and flows as the fortunes of women themselves do in arenas generally represented as positively male. Women's participation is subsumed within this 'bigger' picture, as is the issue of their place within specific sports.

This is not to say that historical focus upon those sports deemed to possess greater public appeal due to audiences drawn is unwarranted. The quality of research and publications about these sports has contributed significantly to securing the status of the discipline in Britain and, in the process, has stimulated extension of existing research agendas. In an economic climate that rightly demands responsible use of funding and, as a consequence of this, research that speaks to public interests, it is inevitable that some sport histories, not to mention some players, become more highly valued than others. It is, however, worth remembering that the 'academic' is not so much focused upon practical relevance but has rather more to do with learning. The latter seeks to establish an enhanced understanding of the complex ways in which societies and the social relations upon which they turn operate, not least as a means of seeking improvement within them. Females have not yet achieved equality with their male counterparts in the realm of sport, just as they have not in other areas of their lives. It is therefore important that the precedents and experiences underpinning this position are understood; historical work in sport and related areas of physical culture offers a means of achieving this and potentially informing change.

The decision to publish this special edition is therefore welcome. As Martin Johnes observed in 2004:

> If we are to assemble the wider collective biography that academic history seeks then we should not be afraid of telling the stories of individuals and specific clubs and places. Only by doing so, can we start to even remotely see our past in the terms of those who actually lived it.[12]

As the articles herein demonstrate, women's contributions to sport are very much a part of that collective biography and journals like this one are integral to fulfilling this vision of representing a broader more inclusive range of research interests. Properly instating women's contribution is at the heart of Joyce Kay's research, which suggests that the 1950s particularly may well have been a golden era for British sportswomen. In drawing upon a rich seam of sources until now relatively untouched, she convincingly questions received knowledge which suggests, firstly, that women were not participating to any great degree in elite sports and, secondly, that there was little encouragement for them to do. She evidences how many were successful at the highest levels of competition and that their participation was not only praised, but encouraged by contemporaries.

Kay highlights how the interpretation of events can be skewed if historians selectively mobilize their sources and do not locate them carefully enough within discussion of the wider contemporary context. Thus she demonstrates not only the need to investigate new areas of research but also the importance of revisiting the historiography to achieve more nuanced interpretations of sport history. Mary Louise Adams further demonstrates the need to question existing beliefs by challenging the often assumed gender segregation and subordination of women within certain sports. Using figure skating as her main case study, she highlights the point that while it may well be viewed as 'girls' sport' now, this has not always been so. Adams identifies a process whereby ice skating began as 'manly' exercise, established itself as a gender-balanced activity during the inter-war years, but was then reconfigured as a feminine sport a change underpinned by the phenomenal rise to fame of Norwegian figure skater Sonja Henie.

Jean Williams's study of competitive bridge introduces a sporting pursuit of an entirely different ilk to that of figure skating and, indeed, those which usually appear within the pages of Sport in History. Drawing extensively on the writings of player Rixi Marcus, she examines the entry and subsequent contributions of Marcus herself and her playing partner Fritzi Gordon to establishment bridge circles in England. The complex intersections of gender, class, ethnicity and national identity underpin an analysis which, firstly, instates these brilliant Austrian-Jewish players into academic sporting history, secondly, seeks to assess the place of bridge Olympiads within the wider British Olympic tradition and, finally posits the question: how 'British' was the post-war game of bridge in Britain, given that it had assimilated an Austrian system of play embodied by the figures of Marcus and Gordon? The relationship of ethnicity to sport is an overarching theme within Berno Bahro's article about German-Jewish athletes Lilli Henoch and Martha Jacob, who rose to prominence in the 1920s. Bahro contextualizes their experiences and respective fates via discussion of the imposed restrictions on Jewish participation in sport under the National Socialist regime. Further to Williams's work, Bahro illustrates how for some during the 1930s sport and sporting connections could literally provide a lifeline and certainly a means of survival beyond the originating sporting culture. Ultimately, Bahro's work moves beyond the politics of writing women into history as typically understood. Rather, it locates the omission of these women from sport history as a symptom of

the 'politics of memory', the latter a consequence of a traumatic national history more comfortable to forget than to acknowledge.

In contrast, Amanda Schweinbenz returns us to an underpinning rationale of women's history by questioning why the female contribution to rowing has largely been 'missing' from historical accounts. She observes that women have actively participated in this pursuit since at least the sixteenth century and, at different times and in different places, have sought out and created opportunities to participate. In providing an overview of international developments from the late nineteenth century to the 1950s, Schweinbenz raises one of the most resilient inhibiting factors to female progress in sport: exclusionary practices which turn upon male authority within organizational contexts.

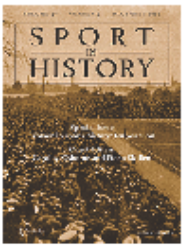
Organization at localized club level and its impact on female participation is central to Jane George's analysis of the ways women golfers were perceived and treated by male players during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By detailing the conditions under which women were permitted to access the links and clubhouses, she exposes the explicit inequalities that existed between male and female players and how the latter variously endeavoured to address this. Such research is important in providing texture to understandings of collective experiences within a sport that held wide appeal for both sexes one that arguably could have better accommodated women on equal terms.

Between them these articles demonstrate that women enjoyed mixed fortunes in sport. They positively highlight the scope of participation, as well as the complex interactions and responses this generated across time and place. The methodological and theoretical approaches incorporated firstly challenge us to reconsider the existing historiography in terms of both 'gaps' and interpretation. Secondly, they invite us to question the apparent rigidity of gender identities and the way that sport in itself perpetuates associated discourses. Finally, they remind us that there can be no definitive 'take' on the state of play: 'women' in sport history are not an experientially undifferentiated mass, but their participation has been contingent upon a range of factors including life stage, social class, ethnicity and national identity. For all these reasons we find encouragement and potential for further research.

Notes

1. The broad and innovative coverage of The International Journal of the History of Sport, vols. 11 (1994) to 26 (2009) supports the case for a relative lack of research related to the constitutive nations. Although women as the focus tend to be better represented in the case of England, recent work indicates an upturn in the case of Scotland. See Elidh Macrae, '''Scotland for Fitness'': The National Fitness Campaign and Scottish Women', Women's History Magazine 62 (2010): 2636; Fiona Skillen, '''A Sound System of Physical Training'': The Development of Girls' Physical Education in Interwar Scotland', History of Education 38, no. 3 (2009): 40218.
2. See Raymond Boyle and Richard Haynes, Power Play: Sport, the Media and Popular Culture (Harlow, 2000).
3. Jeffrey Hill, 'British Sports History: A Post-Modern Future?' Journal of Sport History 23, no. 1 (1996): 12; Andrew Davies, Gender, Leisure and Poverty: Working-class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 19001939 (Buckingham: 1992).
4. Ibid., 13.
5. Patricia Vertinsky, 'Gender Relations, Women's History and Sport History, 19831993', Journal of Sport History 21, no. 1 (1994): 124.
6. Jennifer Hargreaves saw fit to make the same observation. See Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport (London, 1994), 1. Recent notable exceptions which address the issues of participation and spectatorship from women's perspective are Dave Russell, 'Mum's the Word: The Cycling Career of Beryl Burton, 19561986', Women's History Review 17, no. 5 (2008): 787806; Mike Huggins, '''And Now, Something for the Ladies'': Representations of Women's Sport in Cinema Newsreels 19181939', Women's History Review 16, no. 5 (2007): 681700.
7. Joyce Kay, 'No Time for Recreations till the Vote is Won'? Suffrage Activists and Leisure in Edwardian Britain', Women's History Review 16, no. 4 (2007): 53553; 539. Sport/physical exercise finds some consideration in the context of other topics during the stated period, For example: Julie Marie Strange, 'Menstrual Fictions: Languages of Medicine and Menstruation, c.18501930', Women's History Review 9, no. 3 (2000): 60728; Penny Tinkler, '''Red Tips for Hot Lips'': Advertising Cigarettes for Young Women in Britain, 192070', Women's History Review 10, no. 2 (2001): 24972; Alisa Webb, 'Constructing the Gendered Body: Girls, Health, Beauty, Advice, and the Girls' Best Friend, 189899', Women's History Review 15, no. 2 (2006): 25375. Catherine Horwood, '''Girls Who Arouse Dangerous Passions'': Women and Bathing, 190039, Women's History Review 9, no. 4 (2000): 65373, is unusual in its topical focus, as are Russell and Huggins (see note 6).
8. For a synopsis of key contributions, see Fan Hong, 'Prologue: Freeing Bodies: Heroines in History', The International Journal of the History of Sport 18, no. 1 (2001): 16.
9. June Purvis, 'Editorial', Women's History Review 1, no. 1 (1992): 58; 7.

10. Tennis can be seen as the exception; however, given its broad appeal and cultural status in Britain, it is under represented within the historiography.
11. Notably, Jean Williams, A Game for Rough Girls? A History of Women's Football in Britain (London, 2003); J. Lee, 'The History of Women's Soccer', singleauthored special issue, The International Journal of the History of Sport 24, no. 11 (2007).
12. Martin Johnes, 'Putting the History into Sport: On Sport History and Sport Studies in the UK', Journal of Sport History 13, no. 2 (2004): 14560; 149.



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Women in sports history: the more things change, the more they stay the same?

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Women in sports history: the more things change, the more they stay the same?

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ABSTRACT

In this piece we broadly reflect upon the progress made in the production and reception of women's sports history during the past ten years in the UK. In doing so, we argue that the sources generated via interests in the present are likely to have an impact on the future content of women's sports history. We make our observations about the treatment of women in contemporary sport based upon our respective interactions with media representations, but necessarily as critical sports historians we are not only concerned with the ways in which the historiography of women's sport has developed during the past ten years. We are also curious about how women's sports history might continue to develop in the near and distant future, not least as we anticipate it as written through a broader combination of sources. Although processes of locating women's narratives and experiences may be little different, 'finding' women in a representative range of sports – including those beyond team games and elite participation – may not be any less challenging for those researching in the future as compared to those researching today.

KEYWORDS

Women, COVID-19, feminism, sports history, media representations

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Introduction

It hardly seems possible that ten years have passed since we were invited to serve as guest editors of a *Sport in History* special issue about women in sports history. Unsurprisingly, we have experienced a lot of changes – ups and downs – in our professional and personal lifecycles during that time and whilst we might have perhaps hoped to revisit what we highlighted then as 'the state of play', we could never have imagined that we would be doing so during the throes of a global pandemic. Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) has touched everyone's social, economic, political and cultural lives since the first lockdowns restricting individual movement and social gatherings were imposed by UK governments earlier this year.[1] Readers of this journal will know that the imperative to stop the

spread of COVID-19 took a dramatic toll on sport across the UK, halting both elite and grassroots competitions and recreational participation across the home nations, as well as major international tournaments and mega-events.[2]

When future sports historians document and reflect upon this period of upheaval they will almost certainly identify the Cheltenham Festival as having been the controversial swansong for what had otherwise promised to be a succession of high profile sporting events scheduled for the remainder of 2020.[3] The long term impacts of the pandemic on sport (let alone any other aspect of social and economic life) are not yet clear, given that we are still living with the virus and, as Sahu *et al*. have observed, its developmental trajectory is still unknown; those charged with beating it are literally 'chasing a moving target'.[4] The same might be said for those charged with managing the 'safe return' of spectators to live sport, given that the pilots announced by the government to test the efficacy of doing so have themselves been subject to change.[5] Whilst only those directly involved with the governance of sport can truly comment on the ways in which their financial planning and projections began to unravel before their eyes, the media has typically headlined the financial costs to the sector in more generalised terms. Easy to access media reporting does, however, belie the complexity of the situation within *and* between unique sport structures. Suffice to say, huge sums associated with the postponement and cancellation of events have been identified, with some insured against losses incurred (such as the Grand National Festival, and The Championships at Wimbledon), whilst those without insurance (such as charities which lost out on fundraising due to cancellation of the London Marathon, and the Rugby Football Union due to the postponement of the Six Nations championship) have paid a heavy price.[6] Most have garnered a level of attention in the mainstream media, but none more so than the projected financial losses across men's soccer.[7]

Persistent debate around the need to get professional sport back on track, firstly, as an essential means of addressing the real threat of financial ruin in some quarters and, secondly, as a morale-boosting project to assuage the sport-loving public's presumed longing for 'live' spectatorship, has found an interim solution via the organisation of play 'behind closed doors' – which continues as we write.[8] Especially for sports fans, this 'new normal' re-emphasises the significance of mediated sport as streaming services, terrestrial televisual and radio broadcasts have become an essential, yet inferior substitute for the sociability and thrill of actually 'being there'. When those future sports historians do their research, it is interesting to reflect on which sources they will use to

underpin their narratives about sporting practices during the first great pandemic of the twenty-first century. The centrality and interactivity of digitised news platforms, dedicated sport websites and social media to contemporary life will no doubt ensure that such sources are vital. However, given their alterable and transient nature, the partiality of what they can capture, as well as the process of selection for preservation which is now an ongoing national project,[9] they are also likely to gravitate to what are still understood as 'traditional' mainstream media outlets (e.g. hard copy press, periodicals, television and radio broadcasts) – just as sports historians do now to help construct and add texture to their accounts. In doing so, these historians will expect to uncover an overarching narrative which 'reveals' those sports deemed to be of most importance in society, along with the players held in the highest regard. Whilst our own sense-making around the current situation in sport is partial – coming to it as others do with an awareness of the vast amount and range of media sources possible to access, we predict that what they are likely to find is broadcast schedules and written sources preoccupied with the fate of 'men's' sport. To achieve a more even-handed account of happenings in sport during 2020, they will need to develop multiple lines of enquiry to 'find' those women who are still essentially excluded from day to day reporting, that is, if they want to create a credible account of the impacts of COVID-19 upon female participation and performance in sport.

Women's sport: properly part of our culture?[10]

It is important to note that before the pandemic hit and the respective home nation lockdowns were imposed, women's sport, both grassroots participation and media representation of elite performance, had been on a widely acknowledged, hard-won yet still fragile upward trajectory.[11] Writing for *The Guardian,* Chief Sports Reporter Sean Ingle encapsulated that reality:

> The most striking sporting photograph of the past 12 months – that of Megan Rapinoe with her arms wide and chin regally tilted in celebration – felt like a metaphor for women's sport itself: standing tall, oozing attitude, ready to take the fight to all-comers. No wonder that throughout 2019 and early 2020 there was a sense of tectonic plates being shifted and prejudices being shattered. But then came the Covid-19 pandemic. And with it a clawing fear that what had been made could be rapidly unmade.[12]

In the same article Paralympian and disability rights activist Dame Tanni Grey-Thompson's critical voice was brought to bear:

> We can't just rush to get men's sport back and not think about women's sport … There has to be a balance and diversity, otherwise some of the strides women have made could be lost. But, as with a lot of the things I have sat on over the years, the default is always men.[13]

Grey-Thompson was not wrong: in spite of the routine observation by pundits, players, managers and governance representatives that sport was not the most important thing as compared to loss of life and the need to protect public health, a pecking order of concern quickly established itself within the mainstream media during the first month of lockdown and has continued to date.[14] Indeed, transcriptions of Sports Desk (aired on the BBC Radio 4 flagship news programme *Today*) confirm that beginning with relatively short-lived debates around the logistics of completing the Six Nations, through to ongoing speculation and repetitious 'updates' on the question of whether to cancel or complete the English Premier League and Scottish Premiership seasons, to the detrimental impact upon domestic and international cricket, men's sport held in-depth sway. By comparison, over and above occasional sympathy with the (practical) 'disruption' and (personal) 'disappointment' caused, there was little serious or detailed concern voiced about the impact of cancellation and postponement of women's games.[15]

Maybe this is because re-instating women back on the path of their pre-COVID-19 upward trajectory is taken as read because they are perceived as having nothing much to lose? Not only because their team games generally occupy so little space in the public eye which – as Bowes recently observed – indicates their subordinate position in sport,[16] but also because there is no sense of economic fallout, as compared to 'fixing' what Parnell *et al* have articulated (at least in the case of soccer) as the 'ecosystem' of well-evolved, socially constructed and interactive networks of stakeholders.[17] This in itself reminds us of the historical advantages, which extend well beyond 'Football Worlds' for men in sport, versus the relatively low cultural value attributed to female participation.[18] It is precisely the latter predicament which necessitates keeping women's sport squarely in the public eye, that is, if it stands any chance in the longer term of accruing the kinds of audiences, revenues and gravitas afforded to men's games as product of their variously intersecting social, political, economic and cultural advantages historically. What has typically been argued as 'the problem' for women's sport in deserving a higher media profile – a 'lack' of audience and, consequently, an inability to raise revenue – has, albeit for a very different reason, hit men's team games hard; they must now find ways of navigating uncomfortable challenges if they want 'their' sports to thrive, just as women have routinely been expected to do.

In a somewhat refreshing change to the party line, The World Snooker Championship stole the march by becoming the first major sporting event since

lockdown to be televised with a socially distanced audience in situ.[19] It is difficult to be interested in the history of sport and watch snooker without reflecting on, firstly, the substantive neglect of it and its personalities within existing historiography and, secondly, the almost total disregard of women who have been marginalised in the game historically and, it seems, with little done to raise their media profile otherwise – in spite of the first World Ladies Snooker Championship being inaugurated in 1976.[20] As far as media representation goes, until Fallon Sherrock 'made history' in 2019 by becoming the first woman darts player to win a match at the PDC Darts Championship, the media had shown similar disregard for women in that sport too – although unlike snooker, the game has found a 'Dr Darts' through Patrick Chaplin.[21] Chaplin's research holds few surprises in relation to the ways in which female participation was disciplined historically via the male dominated space of the public house, organisational and competitive initiatives when the game found its feet during the interwar years;[22] he is also clear that it has been tough in more recent times for female players to find success 'in a sport where the men's game far outstrips the women's in terms of press attention, sponsorship and television exposure'.[23] It remains to be seen if the media noise around Sherrock was a flash in the pan, or whether her achievement marks a turning point in terms of improved mainstream media profile for female players.

For aspiring researchers both games present opportunities for further research, but for the purposes of this discussion, as examples they return us to an issue raised in previously published discussions about which sports receive attention in sports history and possible reasons why. We noted that, 'It (sports history) remains predominantly populated by male scholars and therefore, is still underpinned by a body of research that broadly speaks to male interests'.[24] We would argue that the interests of sports historians seem to have been less likely born of singular academic curiosity, but rather as grounded in a real personal passion for, or triggering experience within, the sport researched, whether that be as a past or present player of it, a fan, embedded or networked into the subculture through familial or institutional socialisation. Some might regard this kind of intrinsic motivation to pursue academic research as a weakness, but it could equally be argued that being a cultural insider sharpens insight and yields invaluable leads and connections where they may not otherwise be so readily available. Chaplin certainly fits this mould and it is a trend which we believe has been replicated in UK-based women's sports history – much of which has yielded substantive evidence of female commitment to sport and not least within sports

formerly claimed as the province of men. This validates our earlier observation 'that no realm of social or cultural life is exclusively the property of any given group, but is merely appropriated and in turn constructed as such'.[25] Indeed, what the emerging body of scholarship during the past ten years demonstrates is that sport in myriad forms has been incredibly important – if not integral – to the lives of girls and women, whether that be at particular stages of their lifecycle, or as taking the form of 'multiple careers' across the life course.[26] Moreover, these scholastic interventions cannot be seen as incidental because by 2015 the discipline of sports history had itself become far more receptive to the critical contributions which historians of women could make to it.[27]

Growth can certainly be detected in real terms with regard to the number of academic publications which focus on female participation in sport. Firstly, since 2010 there have been a number of topically varied books focused on women, ranging from the lives of female Olympians, through to studies of specific sports, and broader consideration of grassroots participation.[28] While these texts each represent a significant addition to the existing historiography, they are still in the minority, even though it has been clear for some time that historically across all social classes the 'other half' of the population has been invested in play.[29] Secondly, there is a positive picture when we look at the content of sports history journals: since 2010 *Sport in History* has published thirty-one articles (including seven in our first special issue) and *The International Journal of the History of Sport* has published twelve articles focused on British subjects.[30] This is a marked increase from the handful of articles we previously identified for the period to 2009, however, the picture is not so bright within the wider discipline of 'History'. As Taylor and Nicholson note in this volume:

> Despite considerable progress over the past decade or so, female participation in sport continues to be neglected by historians. Feminist historians have generally paid limited attention to the role of sport in women's lives and it has figured little in some of the most important twentieth century surveys of women in Britain.

Indeed, a survey of journals dedicated to women's history (*Women's History Review* (WHR) and *Gender in History*) further confirms this observation. Since 2010 they have published a total of eight and zero articles respectively on women's sport or leisure related topics – and of the eight published in WHR five were in the collection we edited in 2015.[31] Other history journals that might be expected to include sport-related articles, *Twentieth Century British History*, *Labour History Review* and *Cultural & Social History*, contain only two articles with a substantive focus on women's sport in the UK published in the last

10 years.[32] Journals dedicated to research on the home nations and Ireland fare little better in this respect: whilst between them *Welsh History Review, Scottish Historical Review, Journal of Scottish Historical Studies, Irish Historical Studies* and *Irish Economic and Social History* have included articles about sport during the last ten years, they again amount to relatively few and only one directly focuses on women.[33]

This is a strange state of affairs because sports history has increasingly shown itself to be a critical sub-discipline and is now well recognised as a lens through which to understand social relations within society generally – which necessarily includes women.[34] From the perspective of women's history it could, therefore, still be the case that competitive sport, physical recreation and leisure are still being 'overlooked in favour of topics [seen as more] crucial to female advancement in the public sphere'.[35] It could, however, just as easily be the case that those scholars researching the experiences of girls and women in sport are targeting their research to those journals where it is more likely to find an enthusiastic readership. The recent publication of Murray Phillips' analysis of 'impact' as it pertains to comparison between sports history journals and generic history titles raises the question of why would a sports historian necessarily prioritise finding publication in one of the generic titles when there are sports history journals well-ranked in their own right?[36]

In spite of moves towards Open Access and regardless of which peer-reviewed journals researchers seek to publish their work, readerships are limited to those who can easily access articles either by virtue of affiliation to academic (usually university) databases, or to those who can independently afford to purchase access. A critical departure from the pay-walled academic model which has dominated the university world of sports and leisure history, is the online magazine *Playing Pasts.* Launched out of Manchester Metropolitan University in 2016 and managed by researcher and Editor in Chief Margaret Roberts, it identifies itself as 'the global platform for sports and leisure history', demonstrated by the diversity of topics covered and the inclusion of international authors who write about a range of pursuits, most notably exemplified through recent formal partnership with *Società Italiana di Storia dello Sport (SIIS).* To date, this scholastic collective has contributed forty-two articles, with approximately two-thirds directly related to female participation in a range of sporting activities.[37] Transnational examination of women's sport by UK-based scholars is also evident; in particular Keith Myerscough sheds light on issues of gender, race and class via his seven-part series which focuses on women's

basketball. The clarity of this work belies the depth of research which has surely been undertaken, enabling him to map participation in '5, 7 and 11-player girls' basketball, 'Basquette', 6-player Iowa girls, and American Netball', as well as account for the transference of versions to England which resulted in the emergence of English Netball (1901).[38]

In addition to the visual vibrancy of the format, the success of *Playing Pasts* can, firstly, be identified as residing in it being a 'free' to view resource and, secondly, as being populated by short, accessibly written e-articles underpinned by rigorous research. Thus, for the purposes of this discussion, it can be evaluated as having made a significant contribution to the profile of women in sports history. Like all publications its content is subject to the networks grounded within the originating institution, the scholars who gravitate towards it or those incidentally attracted to it, but *Playing Pasts* undoubtedly provides a bridge between the more rarefied world of academic publications and the wider public. In our view, it has provided a significant outlet for the wider dissemination of women's sports history in the public domain.[39]

Women's sports history in the public domain: the media

The increasing visibility of women's elite sports in contemporary media has certainly given rise to a degree of journalistic curiosity with regard to the historic specificities of their participation in, and their relationships with, sport. This is seen most clearly around coverage of key events and fixtures and / or the elevation of significant figures, often through the timely examination of notable achievements or records broken. For example, the coming of the Tour de France Grand Départ to Yorkshire in July 2014 saw cyclist Beryl Burton (d.1996) receive a significant amount of regional and national coverage due to her long and illustrious career, not least aided by the interventions of the well-known actress Maxine Peake. Astounded that Burton did not have a more prominent place in public sporting memory, Peake wrote a radio play about her (broadcast late 2012) and went on to adapt the story for the stage which debuted in June 2014 at the West Yorkshire Playhouse, Leeds, Burton's home city.[40] Although Dave Russell's academic article about Burton had surfaced years earlier in 2008,[41] arguably it was only via the media that 'Beryl' could secure the recognition due to her, but ironically in the context of an event which has an uneasy relationship with the idea of female participation.[42] The timely media strategy of levering current events to shed light on the past has increasingly characterised the writing of sports

history, that is, with a view to constructing narratives to engage both academic and public audiences through the immediacy of 'relevant' content.[43]

During the last ten years there have also been a number of well-received radio and television programmes which include or focus upon the history of women's sport, although the extent of academic research underpinning them has varied. For example, *Sport and the British* on Radio 4 was broadcast in the build up to the 2012 London Olympic and Paralympic Games and constituted an extension to the content originally laid down in Richard Holt's seminal text of the same title. Of the thirty episodes broadcast only three focused on women's sport, however, this inclusion as framed around research which had emerged since the book's publication in 1989 marked a shift in recognition of the place of women's sport within wider discussions of British sports history.[44] Since 2012 television documentaries have also been produced which indicate a tendency to tie historical content to contemporary interests in women's sport, with soccer being especially well-represented in this respect.[45] These mainstream programmes, often accompanied by interviews and articles in the print media, have done much to highlight the rich and little known histories of some women's sports, however, there still remains a significant issue around the fundamental lack of coverage women's sport receives generally across the media.

By 2018, women's sport was receiving only 4–10% of all sports coverage across television, online and print platforms in the UK, but on the upside, the quality of coverage was identified as 'good' – notably so in the press.[46] This evaluation is corroborated by Petty and Pope's detailed and nuanced analysis of the Women's FIFA World Cup (2015), which essentially found no quantitative marginalisation in reporting, as well as fair representations of the event and players overall. In locating their research 'within the wider context of recent developments around women's sport in England' they were able to positively 'suggest that we have entered a new age of media coverage of women's football *and women's sport*'.[47] Whilst Petty and Pope are right to observe that their case study may signal a new age of media coverage, the claim that this also potentially marks 'a significant step towards greater gender equality in media reporting of women's sport' is open to question. This is because those women's sports on an upward trajectory in coverage are exactly the same as those which mirror male interests. As such, it is a dynamic which deserves critical reflection: firstly, because the cultural prominence afforded to these team games in the present is likely to furnish the content which informs overarching perceptions of the past in the future writing of women's sports history. Secondly, it is because

these games cannot be said to entirely represent the competitive sporting preferences of girls and women – either in playing or spectating.[48] In saying this, we specifically have hockey and netball in mind, two team games which originated and evolved independent female sporting cultures and, in the process, supported mass participation bases historically – and still do.[49]

In recent years national teams in both of these games have 'won gold', their achievements against formidable opponents widely publicised; for example the successes of the GB women's hockey team at the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, and the England netball team at the 2018 Commonwealth Games were celebrated across the mainstream media during and immediately after these events, yet mention of these games has been conspicuously absent during the pandemic. There can, however, be little doubt that these sports will be experiencing similar kinds of pressures at both grassroots and elite levels of participation as women's football. Of course, we recognise that Petty and Pope's understanding of progress could reside in a perspective of equality as sameness, as opposed to equality of difference – a debate which requires far more attention than space here allows, as does the longstanding subcultural values within both hockey and netball which have seen tensions arise both historically and in the recent past with regard to accommodating professionalism and the trappings implied.[50]

A significant development therefore has been the launch of a monthly women's sport supplement by *The Daily Telegraph.*[51] Underpinned by a manifesto of key pledges, since March 2019 Telegraph Women's Sport (TWS) has provided a regular monthly platform for results, interviews and feature pieces which, according to Enders Analysis 'has given 29% more coverage to women's sport in its first year than any other newsbrand'.[52] Historical perspectives on women's sport has been part of that coverage, with editors actively seeking out historians researching in the field when they look to run features about the history of certain sports and events. Perhaps more significantly, The Women's Sport Trust has praised *The Telegraph's* '"near parity" of key sports coverage, with 45% of lead sports articles over the summer of 2019 featuring women's sport'.[53] While on the one hand, the regular availability of a 'quality' supplement across print and digital platforms should be applauded as a step forward for the recognition *and* broader consideration of women's sport in the mainstream media, on the other hand, it could also be argued that this initiative yet again positions women on the margins because it physically separates coverage of their play from daily sports reports, thereby potentially closing down the opportunity of maximum exposure. Even Petty and Pope concede that 'a cursory glance over the

sports pages in newspapers on a 'typical' day shows that this continues to be male dominated' – something which O'Neill and Mulready identified in their earlier research as 'systematic absences'.[54]

Whilst it is tempting to identify public receptiveness to women's sport as facilitated by either those who have control of, or influence in the sport media, it should not be forgotten that calls for change across the sector, that is, to address the discrimination experienced by girls and women across a range of institutional and practical scenarios in sport, predate what might appear as innovative initiatives by nearly *forty* years. In a recent article Jordan Matthews rightly asserts that the associated history of political activism – initially catalysed through the event of the Brighton Conference in 1982, has been neglected in the historiography of women's sport. The important manifesto for change which arose from that event was critical in the subsequent formation and evolution of public interest groups focused on research and campaigns for equality of opportunity for girls and women in sport *and* physical activities, the most recent incarnation of these initiatives being Women in Sport (WiS).[55]

We must also recognise that what might be considered in isolation as progress in sport for girls and women represents just one aspect of a wider movement to secure women's rights in society – even if the discipline of women's history has been disinclined to engage at length with it as such. The contemporary movement for women's rights is undoubtedly a complex one, now recognised as being intertwined with other significant intersectional issues of race, class, disability, age, sexuality and transgender rights.[56] The explicit recognition that *multiple* identities implicate a range of injustices plays a significant part in the current push for women's equality, and whilst these issues are played out in wider society they also impact directly upon experiences within women's sport and associated calls for change.[57] Jennifer Hargreaves has argued that 'sport feminisms have been linked historically to anti-discriminatory work regarding subordinated women (…) in particular to their sense and reality of dislocation, marginalization and disenfranchisement in sport'.[58] The emergence of the #MeToo movement, the unequal impact of COVID-19 on communities across the UK, and global protests against racism through the Black Lives Matter movement have done much to highlight how far we still have to go to address deep-seated institutional and social relational structures of power within societies, that is, if we are to come anywhere near to addressing existing inequalities. As such, when future histories of sport are written it will be difficult to omit women's sport

because these movements now also constitute the lens through which female experiences are mediated and scrutinised.

Women's sports history in the public domain: sporting heritage

During the past decade sports heritage has received a growing recognition. Reilly, Clayton, and Hughson noted that 2012 was a turning point in this process.[59] The Olympic and Paralympic Games in London offered a unique opportunity to promote the potential of sports heritage through its programme of exhibitions and events. Whilst there was no formal recognition of the significance of sporting collections by the London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) in its official documentation or funding, the community exhibition programme, *Our Sporting Life*, developed by the Sports Heritage Network was subsequently evaluated as having had a significant impact. The programme of over one-hundred local community exhibitions and events engaged with approximately 1 million people across England. It was the impact of this programme, and the further conversations it started at a national level which gave impetus to continuation of the work through *Sporting Heritage,* a not-for-profit community interest company that works to support the collection, preservation, and access to sport collections across the UK and, critically, advises on funding and research opportunities to secure them.

From the latter perspective of research and funding, between 2016 and 2019 *Sporting Heritage* provided an important bridge between higher education and the museums sector by securing and co-ordinating a series of Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded Collaborative Doctoral Partnerships (CDPs). The associated studentships placed key aspects of museum, library, archive or sport organisation (i.e. partner) collections at the heart of the academic research process. This not only provides students in receipt of an award the opportunity to develop deeper heritage sector insights, but has also facilitated research into thus far neglected areas within the discipline of sports history, those which otherwise might not have received public funding. As such, projects focused on women are well-represented and include competitive rowing, rugby, women in leadership positions within football, GB women's international hockey representatives at the Olympic Games, and golf in Scotland.[60]

At the heart of many of these new heritage projects is the gathering of oral testimonies which underpin, compliment or fill gaps in existing collections. As intangible heritage, oral history has been critical to produce more textured histories than could hitherto be imagined, and constitutes an empowering and

potentially inclusive means of research.[61] The appeal of this approach does, however, shore up what seems to be an increasing gravitation towards undertaking research in contemporary sports history, what Johnes observes as 'that shifting period usually defined as within living memory'.[62] There are legitimate reasons for this: not only does it engage participants in the 'making' of their sport's own history, it also tends to 'connect' with the past in a way that animates public interest. Yet, even as strong advocates of oral history, we would ask where does this leave the barely begun project of exploring the history of women's sport during the foundational years of female participation *and* as this existed in a much broader range of physical recreations than we have been able to mention here, or simply those that become marginalised because the sport is not on trend today? How in a climate where the pressures, and often funding, for both academics and those in the heritage sector rests on the contemporary relevance of their research and its engagement with wider public audiences can studies of earlier periods be justified?

On this basis, should we argue that those who are looking towards researching women in sports history need to take a step back from the methodologically-grounded rationale which seems to favour instating voices from the more recent past, or that they should reconsider decisions to research those sports which attract a higher public profile precisely because they already garner sufficient attention? In an ideal research environment there would be room for research into both the distant and more recent pasts as a means of mapping continuities and changes in women's experiences, but in the present economic climate we are very far from that ideal.

Women in sports history: ten years on

When we first considered the state of play in women's sports history in 2010, we suggested that a hierarchy of historical merit existed within the discipline which, at best had marginalised women's sporting experiences and, at worst totally excluded them from the historical narrative as participants. Whilst we encouraged the study of women's sport in all areas we were aware of the potential danger of simply adding women into pre-existing and long established historiographies of sport, that is, historiographies which had been framed around and defined by the male experience. In 2015 we argued that for women's sports history to move the discipline forward it needed to do more than this; it needed to explore women's sport on its own terms and as an aspect of physical culture because women's competitive and recreational experiences have fundamentally diverged (and still

diverge) from those of men, not least due to the discrimination they have experienced historically. Thus, to try and mould the experiences of girls and women to fit within the timelines and narratives which have been established on the basis of male sporting interests does a disservice to the unique experiences of each gender.

The articles in this special issue move us closer to these aspirations in various ways; they do so through explorations of the complex relationship between women, sport and society in topics from football and rugby to cricket and cycling, through to an overview of women's collective experiences of physical recreation and sport during the Second World War and, finally, to the virtually uncharted territory of females playing American football. It is to these contributions we now turn.

As earlier noted, the importance of the relationship between the heritage sector and the academy has grown in the last decade. An example of this relationship is detailed in Gary James' article 'Establishing Women in Sports History: Manchester City Football Club' which highlights a successful partnership between an academic researcher and sports organisation. James' article demonstrates the importance of not only capturing women's voices in order to trace, preserve and understand the development of a team, but also the meticulous research process required to triangulate oral testimonies with 'hard to find' documentary sources to construct an accurate account. He also makes clear the immense value of developing projects of this nature – to the players involved, the community, the current club, and the academic historian looking to take a similar path. Staying with football, Karen Fraser's overview of the women's game in Scotland from the 1960s onwards provides a much – needed addition to the existing historiography. Like James', she places the voices of those directly involved in breaking down the barriers to female participation at the heart of her analysis, thus emphasising the importance of recording first hand experiences if she, and indeed future historians, are to have any hope of writing comprehensively about the evolution of the women's game. Fraser's long – view approach generates an account where male resistance looms large, not least in the form of the Scottish Football Association (SFA). But fundamentally she tells the tale of women who would not be thwarted, and who went on to navigate organisational politics by forming the Scottish Women's Football Association (SWFA) in 1972 which later evolved into Scottish Women's Football (SWF). In still working to develop and promote the women's game, SWF rightfully asserts itself as 'The Home of Women's Football in Scotland'.[63]

In contrast to women's football which has generated a relatively strong historiography to date, Neil Carter's article addresses the topic of women's cycling which, surprisingly, has gained little traction in British sports history. In the absence of oral testimony, his analysis underlines the value of synthesising a range of existing secondary sources, press reporting and periodicals, to underpin a contextualised case study about interwar cycling sensation Marguerite Wilson. Carter's research identifies Wilson as the first full-time professional woman cyclist, due to the promotional contracts she secured with bicycle firms. As a record-breaking athlete living and working during the interwar years – a period noted for contradictory attitudes to women – Carter indicates Wilson's career as one that projected the ideals associated with the 'new modern woman', whilst at the same time 'jostling' with traditional notions of femininity, not least as these (and she) were framed by the press.

Press reporting is also implicated in Adam McKie's article which focuses on detailed analysis of organisational developments and the emerging ethos within women's cricket during the interwar years. Firmly established as a man's game, female participation was often challenged and trivialised. Thus, those at the head of the Women's Cricket Association (WCA) walked a fine line between steering their athletic interests on their own terms *and* aligning these with values of feminine respectability. On this basis and given that cricket was unequivocally viewed as a man's game, McKie addresses the knotty question as to whether those at the forefront of organising it can be described as feminist. Whilst the WCA's commitment to 'high amateurism' rendered it far from inclusive, ultimately adherence to this path both consolidated and underpinned the expansion of the women's game.

Victoria Dawson's article takes us into the territory of another team game which has typically been defined as quintessentially 'male'. However, rather than choosing to focus on women playing (as is more typical within existing historiography), she probes their contributions as supporters, administrators, and facilitators of boys' and men's participation via a detailed case study of Liverpool Stanley Rugby League FC. Dawson's research demonstrates the importance of regional press in framing such accounts, combining this with supporter's club minutes and oral testimony to further animate the narrative. This research reminds us that what is often described as 'behind the scenes' domesticated support, amounts to much more than that: in this case women were integral to the maintenance of the club through the purchase of shares, as secretaries, and through the labour of producing and maintaining kit. The article chimes with

recent work which seeks to account for women's contributions to sport more thoroughly, that is, through an understanding of their participation as embedded within family practices and community networks.[64]

We turn from regional to national context with Rafaelle Nicholson and Matthew Taylor's article about participation in sport during the Second World War. This research represents a critical intervention with respect to existing historiography, insofar as very little has been written about this topic generally, let alone in relation to women.[65] Sources from the Mass Observation archives, vignettes gleaned from memoirs, and material from oral history collections give voice to the sport and physical recreational experiences of women across a range of scenarios on the home front, some freely undertaken whilst at other times imposed in moves to improve physical fitness and boost morale. Thus, Nicholson and Taylor provide comprehensive overview of the war's impact upon the continuation of club-based activities, provision of sport in the contexts of war work and in 'the Services', as well as in the everyday lives of women as they navigated a significant period of upheaval in British society.

Finally, Katie Taylor's article about American football represents a departure from UK-focused research and, in doing so, reminds us that a wider world of women's sport in history exists to be explored by British scholars. The presence of girls and women in press reports (1890–1912) levers her critique of existing academic texts which have either excluded or undercut accounts of their participation in American football historically. In mapping contemporary attitudes articulated in her core primary source, Taylor uncovers familiar themes with regard to gendered representations of female participation in sport, but she also discerns an overarching acceptance of females playing a game which had been codified to essentially develop and channel hyper-masculine athletic performance. Taylor's article highlights the significant value of researching the deeper history of women's sport, that is, as a corrective to what have become well-established, but not entirely accurate historiographies of so-called 'men's' games.

Conclusion

We titled this introductory article 'Women in Sports History: the more things change, the more they stay the same?' quite deliberately as the progress of women's sports history, like the development of women's sport itself, has been and continues to be nonlinear and uneven. That said, women's sports history has seen exponential growth during the past ten years: within the academy as researchers pursue their particular interests, through partnerships engaging the

values of ‘public’ heritage work (which necessarily includes women) and, perhaps, even stimulated by the slowly increasing presence of sportswomen in the media and the questions of injustice their ongoing lack of visibility raises. The articles in this special issue variously speak to these conditions and illustrate the ways in which some adult women participated in and facilitated sport at different times, in different places and spaces; in short they demonstrate how women’s sports history in Britain is moving in new directions. However, they also alert us to the fact that there is still much more to do – both within the contexts of the sports each article examines *and* beyond them, topically and conceptually.

In our 2010 editorial we noted that ‘“women” in sports history are not an experientially undifferentiated mass’ and it cannot be disputed that the articles outlined above convincingly demonstrate this point.[66] However, if asked to cast a critical eye over them, we would be obliged to say that they focus exclusively on the sporting interests of women drawn from white working and middle classed backgrounds. The lack of ethnic diversity apparent in sports history more generally is an ongoing problem, one recently addressed by Geoff Levett in his call for ‘a proliferation of micro histories’ as a means of representing different experiences and ensuring that different voices are heard, especially to redress omissions within overarching ‘malestream’ narratives which have shaped the discipline.[67] Levett’s call sits well with our own sentiments, as well as what we have argued here: namely, that women’s sport, and indeed research focused on the history of women’s sport is influenced by contemporary preoccupations, how then will women’s sports history in the future take up the challenge of engaging with the multi-layered debates around gender identities, #MeToo, and Black Lives Matter?

Notes

1.

See Institute for Government, https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/coronavirus-and-devolution (accessed July 2020) The four UK governments jointly produced an action plan (3 March 2020) and ensured their powers through passage of the Coronavirus Act (2020) and further Act in Scotland, ‘full’ lockdown was imposed in England, Wales and Scotland 23 March 2020. Northern Ireland followed 28 March 2020, see https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-52079959 Thereafter governments took their own approaches to management of restrictions. *All subsequently cited internet sources cited were accessed between July and September 2020, all remained ‘live’ at time of submission for publication.*

2.

Stefan Hall, 'This is How COVID-19 is Affecting the World of Sports', *World Economic Forum*, April 9, 2020, highlighted the immediate global financial impact on sport as a result of lockdown, however, the focus was on men's sport due to high revenues threatened. At https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/04/sports-covid19-coronavirus-excersise-specators-media-coverage/.

3.

John Freeman, 'The Frenzy and the Folly: Reflections on the Cheltenham Festival and the Coronavirus Outbreak', *iNews*, April 10, 2020, https://inews.co.uk/sport/cheltenham-festival-coronavirus-outbreak-reflections-417451. A later item *BBC Sport* (12 June 2020) lists each of the competitions and events cancelled or postponed: 'Coronavirus: How the virus has impacted sporting events around the world' at https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/51605235.

4.

Kamal Kant Sahu, Ajay Kumar Mishra, and Amos Lal, 'Trajectory of the COVID-19 Pandemic: Chasing a Moving Target', *Annal of Translational Medicine* 8, no. 11 (June 2020): 13, https://atm.amegroups.com/article/view/43684/html.

5.

Press Releases issued by *Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport*: 'Pilots Announced for Return of Spectators to Elite Sports Events', July 17, 2020, https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pilots-announced-for-return-of-spectators-to-elite-sports-events; and 'Sport Pilots to be Reduced in Capacity to 1000 People Socially Distanced', September 9, 2020, https://www.gov.uk/government/news/sport-pilots-to-be-reduced-in-capacity-to-1000-people-socially-distanced. The government aspired to re-open responsibly managed sports venues to fans from October 2020.

6.

On racing see, for example, Greg Wood, 'Loss of Grand National Leaves £500m Hole in Racing's Balance Sheet', *The Guardian*, April 5, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2020/apr/05/loss-of-grand-national-500m-hole-in-racings-balance-sheet; and Lee Mottershead and Jonathan Harding, 'Ascot and Jockey Club Set to be Protected by Insurance if Biggest Days Are Lost', *Racing Post*, April 1, 2020, https://www.racingpost.com/news/coronavirus/ascot-and-jockey-club-are-set-to-be-protected-by-insurance-if-top-days-are-lost/430534. On tennis, James Gray, 'How Wimbledon and the ECB Saved Millions with "Pandemic Insurance" While Other Events Face Ruin', *iNews*, April 15, 2020, https://inews.co.uk/sport/tennis/wimbledon-pandemic-insurance-england-cricket-ecb-coronavirus-covid-19-communicable-disease-cover-418549; and Kevin Mitchell, 'British Tennis Will Survive Losses Caused by Wimbledon Cancellation, Says CEO', *The Guardian*, June 28, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2020/jun/28/british-tennis-will-survive-losses-caused-by-wimbledon-cancellation-says-ceo. On the Marathon, Malik Ouzia, 'London Marathon 2020 Cancelled for Amateur Runners Due to Coronavirus Pandemic with Enclosed Elite Race Only', *Evening Standard*, August 6,

2020, https://www.standard.co.uk/sport/athletics/london-marathon-2020-cancelled-coronavirus-a4509511.html & on rugby, Gerard Meagher, 'Postponement of England Six Nations Game in Italy Could Cost RFU £5m', *The Guardian*, March 5, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2020/mar/05/englands-six-nations-game-against-italy-postponed-due-to-coronavirus-outbreak.

7.

'English Football's Premier League Will Take a Financial Hit from the Pandemic', *The Economist*, June 16, 2020, https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2020/06/16/english-footballs-premier-league-will-take-a-financial-hit-from-the-pandemic.

8.

Hopes for phased in return to live spectator events were dashed further to Prime Minister Boris Johnson's address to the nation 'Statement on Coronavirus (COVID-19): 22 September 2020' Full transcript at https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/prime-ministers-statement-on-coronavirus-covid-19-22-september-2020 Reactions to postponement featured across weekend sports pages.

9.

Helena Byrne (Curator, UK Web Archives, British Library) discusses this with Rafaelle Nicholson on 'The Sport in History Podcast #7', July 28, 2019, https://alondonjournal.net/2019/07/28/sport-in-history-podcast-7-helena-byrne/.

10.

This question raised by Steph Hilborne (CEO Women in Sport) see 'What Will Covid-19 Mean for the Future of Women's Sport?' *Women in Sport Blog*, April, 2020, https://www.womeninsport.org/opinion/covid-19-future-of-womens-sport/.

11.

See for example, Kat Linder, 'How the British Media Woke Up to the Women's World Cup', *The Conversation*, June 29, 2015, https://theconversation.com/how-the-british-media-woke-up-to-the-womens-world-cup-44035; Laura Hills, 'This Girl Can Has Really Made a Difference to Women in Sport', *The Conversation*, August 11, 2017, https://theconversation.com/this-girl-can-has-really-made-a-difference-to-women-in-sport-82191.

Anna Thompson, 'A Game-Changing Decade for Women's Sport', *BBC Sport*, January 1, 2020, https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/50879069.

12.

Sean Ingle, 'Covid-19 Has Rocked Women's Sport but Its Future Remains Bright', *The Guardian*, May 24, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2020/may/24/covid-19-has-rocked-womens-sport-but-its-future-remains-bright.

13.

Ibid.

14.

For example, the government decision not to phase in spectated fixtures was widely reported as disastrous for the English Football League, and during an interview on The Andrew Marr Show, *BBC One* (broadcast 27 September 2020) Oliver Dowden (Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport) singled out 'rugby' as 'being in a parlous [financial] state'. There was no mention of the impact on women's elite sport.

15.

Author transcriptions of 'Sports Desk' featured on *Today* (BBC Radio 4, 23 March to 30 April 2020) are indicative of media focus on disruption to men's sport, although cancellations of sport events were in train prior to the official lockdown.

16.

Ali Bowes, 'Coverage of Women's Sport is Pathetic at the Best of Times – the Lockdown Has Made It Even Worse', *The Conversation*, June 15, 2020, https://theconversation.com/coverage-of-womens-sport-is-pathetic-at-the-best-of-times-the-lockdown-has-made-it-even-worse-140593.

17.

Daniel Parnell, Alexander John Bond, Paul Widdop, and David Cockayne, 'Commentary: Football Worlds: Business and Networks During COVID-19', *Soccer & Society* (June 2020): 1-7, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14660970.2020.1782719.

18.

Sentiments also expressed by Steph Hilborne (CEO Women in Sport) *Women in Sport Blog* (April, 2020)

19.

Aaron Bower, 'Bizarre Day for Snooker Fans at the Crucible Provides Dose of New Normal', *The Guardian (Sport)*, July 31, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2020/jul/31/bizarre-day-for-snooker-fans-at-the-crucible-provides-dose-of-new-normal.

20.

See 'History' *World Women's Snooker (WWS)* at https://www.womenssnooker.com/about/history/.

21.

The 'makes history' headline was mobilised across all types of media outlet. See, for example, Sean O'Brien, 'SHE ROCKS! Fallon Sherrock Makes Sporting History by Becoming First Woman to Beat a Man at World Darts Championship', *TalkSport*, December 18, 2019, https://talksport.com/sport/darts/644669/fallon-sherrock-world-darts-championship/.

22.

Patrick Chaplin, *Darts in England, 1900–39* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 121–2; 174–81.

23.

Trina Gulliver, *Golden Girl: The Autobiography of the Greatest Ever Ladies' Darts Player* (London: John Blake Publishing, 2008) Introduction: xvii.

24.

Carol A. Osborne and Fiona Skillen, 'The State of Play: Women in British Sport History', *Sport in History*, 30, no. 2 (2010): 189–95, 190.

25.

Ibid.

26.

Claire Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England, 1920–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 78–90; Jean Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One* (London: Routledge, 2014), 22.

27.

Carol A. Osborne and Fiona Skillen, 'Forum: Women in Sport History', *Women's History Review* 24, no. 5 (2015): 656.

28.

Indicative of this trend are the following monographs: Fiona Skillen. *Women, Sport and Modernity in Interwar Britain* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013); Jean Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport-Part One 1850–1960* (London: Routledge, 2014); Eilidh MacCrae, *Exercise in the Female Life-Cycle in Britain, 1930–1970* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Adam McKie, *Women at the Wicket: A History of Women's Cricket in interwar England* (London: ACS Publications, 2018); Dave Day and Margaret Roberts, *Swimming Communities in Victorian England* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Rafaelle Nicholson, *Ladies and Lords: A History of Women's Cricket in Britain* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2019); Jean Williams, *Britain's Olympic Women: A History* (London: Routledge, 2020).

29.

Shortlists of the British Society of Sport History (BSSH) annual Lord Aberdare Literary Prize for publications on sports history are indicative. Available at https://www.sportinhistory.org/categories/20191024.

30.

These have included subjects as wide-ranging as tennis, swimming, hockey, motorsport, physical education, hunting, rowing and jujutsu.

31.

The three other articles are Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body: beauty, health and fitness in interwar Britain', *Women's History Review* 10, no. 2 (2011): 299–317; Dave Day, '"What Girl Will Now Remain Ignorant Of Swimming?" Agnes Beckwith, Aquatic Entertainer and Victorian Role Model', *Women's History Review* 21, no. 3 (2012): 419–46; Conor Heffernan, 'Fitness and Fun That's Not Just for Mum: The Women's League of Health and Beauty in 1930s Ireland', *Women's History Review* 28, no. 7 (2019): 1017–38.

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Irene Gammel, ‘Lacing Up the Gloves: Women, Boxing and Modernity’, *Cultural and Social History* 9, no. 3 (2012): 369–90; Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, ‘Keep Fit and Playing the Game: George VI, Outdoor Recreation and Social Cohesion in Interwar Britain’, *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 1 (2014): 111–29.

33.

Eilidh Macrae, ‘The Scottish Cyclist and the New Woman: Representations of Female Cyclists in Scotland, 1890-1914’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 35, no. 1 (2015): 70–91.

34.

Martin Johnes, ‘Putting the History into Sport: On Sport History and Sport Studies in the UK’, *Journal of Sport History* 13, no. 2 (2004): 145–60, 149.

35.

Joyce Kay, ‘No Time for Recreations Till the Vote is Won? Suffrage Activists and Leisure in Edwardian Britain’, *Women’s History Review* 16, no. 4 (2007): 535–53, 539.

36.

Murray G. Phillps, ‘Sizing Up Sport History Journals: Metrics, Sport Humanities, and History’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 37, no. 8 (2020): 692–704.

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Category: Società Italiana di Storia dello Sport at https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/category/societa-italiana-di-storia-dello-sport-siss/.

38.

Quote in Keith Myerscough, ‘The Birth of Women’s Basketball: Making a Contribution to the Emancipation of America’s “New Woman”’ (Part 7 of 7). See Author page for listing of all related articles at https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/author/kmyerscough/page/2/

39.

Audit shows the weight of research categorised under ‘Gender and Sport’ (essentially items fully focused on women in sport) is with football, however, there is an impressive diversity of topics covered. Available at https://www.playingpasts.co.uk/category/articles/gender-and-sport/.

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‘Maxine Peake on Beryl Burton – the Greatest British Sportsperson You’ve Probably Never Heard of’, *Radio Time*s, November 27, 2012 [online]; ‘Beryl: A Love Story on Two Wheels’ (orig. broadcast BBC Radio 4, 27 November 2012); the stage play ‘Beryl’ ran 30 June to 19 July to coincide with the Tour de France and subsequently went on national tour during 2015.

41.

Dave Russell, ‘Mum’s the Word: The Cycling Career of Beryl Burton, 1956–1986’, *Women’s History Review* 17, no. 5 (2008): 787–806.

42.

A petition launched in 2013 for a women's race to run in conjunction with, and equivalent to, the Tour de France, see Jane Aubrey, 'Petition Plans for Women's Tour de France Unrealistic, Says Cookson', *Cycling News*, July 17, 2013, https://www.cyclingnews.com/news/petition-plans-for-womens-tour-de-france-unrealistic-says-cookson/. The debate has been ongoing, eee for example, 'Support Grows for Women's Tour de France', *Press Association*, August 7, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2015/aug/07/support-grows-womens-tour-de-france and Kirsten Frattini, 'Women's Tour de France Possibly by 2022', *Cycling News*, May 6, 2020, https://www.cyclingnews.com/news/womens-tour-de-france-possible-by-2022/.

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For example, Martin Polley, *The British Olympics: Britain's Olympic Heritage 1612–2012* (London: English Heritage, 2011).

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Sport and the British, Radio 4 (broadcast January–March 2012) was produced in partnership with the International Centre for Sports History and Culture (ISHC), De Montfort University. It was commissioned as a flagship historical series, anchored by Clare Balding, at https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01bf42n.

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Annual Statistics Pack for Media, *Women in Sport*, October 2019, https://www.womeninsport.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Media-Stats-Pack-October-2019.pdf (accessed September 20, 2020); 'Where Are All The Women? Shining a Light on the Visibility of Women's Sport in the Media', October 2018, p. 11 identifies print coverage identified as fluctuating between 3% and 12% for periods during July–August and October–November 2017. Report available at https://www.womeninsport.org/research-and-advice/our-publications/where-are-all-the-women/.

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Ibid.

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Scottish Women's Football at https://scotwomensfootball.com/.

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38 The United States of America

Mark Dyreson

Though few Americans have read the work of West Indian historian and political reformer C.L.R. James, many share his passionate faith that sport serves as a scalpel for peeling back social veneers and uncovering fundamental truths about the inner workings of human cultures. In his magisterial Beyond a Boundary James neatly performed that very trick, exposing the beating heart of the British Empire in his meditations on the game of cricket. To his critics, academic and otherwise, James complained, '[i]f this is not social history what is?'[1] James's challenge reverberates in contemporary American popular and academic cultures. Histories related to sport abound in American culture. Libraries burst with thousands of academic tomes devoted to various historical aspects of sport in American culture.[2] Popular tomes litter the shelves of major bookstores and appear on bestseller lists.[3] These chronicles are transformed into major television documentaries or become Hollywood blockbusters.[4] Indeed, film critics have recently complained that every sports movie produced in the USA ham-handedly seeks to teach audiences a 'Disneyfied' lesson in the history of American race relations.[5]

James, who was born in 1901 and passed away in 1989, would no doubt see the proliferation that began in the 1970s of historical treatments of sport as a sea change in American culture. When he challenged his academic colleagues in 1963 to take sport seriously, he followed his bold assertion that sport should be at the centre of social histories with a mournful lamentation. Sport, he wailed, 'finds no place in the history of the people because the historians do not begin from what people seem to want but from what they think the people ought to want'.[6]

James' lament described historical treatments of American sports from their origins in the 19th century through the 1970s. Approximately a decade after James published Beyond a Boundary, American historians seized on sport as a crucial dimension of the 'the new social history'.[7] Surveying American sports historiography nearly a half century after James's original burst of genius, in a culture suffused by 'serious' studies of sport, his critique seems simultaneously prescient and antiquated. Americans have become thoroughly – though mostly unknowingly – Jamesian in their outlook.

Even before James generated the spark that ignited a scholarly revolution, some Americans took sport seriously. American knowledge of the role of sport in the nation's history springs from three distinct sources. Popular culture, especially books and films, from Hebert Warren Wind's epic The Story of American Golf (1947), to the Marx Brothers' comic epic Horse Feathers (1932),

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to David Maraniss' ponderous gridiron drama When Pride Still Mattered (1999), to Disney's even more ponderous gridiron

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drama Remember the Titans (2000) take sport quite seriously.[8] A historiography of histories of sports in popular culture, however, will have to wait for a different forum. This essay will limit its chronicles to the remaining two sources, both scholarly in origin. Academic historians have produced historical studies of sports. Academics in fields related to human movement in varied disciplines with many names, from physical education to physiology to exercise and sport science to kinesiology, have also produced historical studies of sports. From these latter two, scholarly springs flowed at the beginning of the 20th century a trickle and, by the beginning of the 21st century, a torrent of tomes devoted to sports history and to the history of sports. The terms 'sports history' and 'history of sports' are often used interchangeably to describe analyses of the historical dimensions of particular human practices. However, they reveal two different foci and two different pasts. They also share a co-mingled present and an uncertain future. The distinctions between the two are not merely semantic. Understanding the peculiarities of sports history and the history of sports is critical to grasping the present condition of the field and to chart paths to a robust future.[9]

The chronicles of sports history and the history of sports reveal two very different lineages. Academic interest in the history of sports dates to the 1917 publication by Frederic L. Paxson of an article entitled 'The Rise of Sport', in what was then the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, now re-christened the Journal of American History. Paxson was a distinguished disciple of the leading theorist of fin de siècle American history, the frontier thesis-spouting Frederick Jackson Turner who codified the idea of American exceptionalism for US academics. Turner made the frontier into the prime mover of every important US social institution and, bewilderingly, at the very same moment pronounced the American frontier as extinct. Turner's students made careers out of announcing that they had discovered 'new frontiers' to reanimate American civilization. Paxson famously discovered in sport a new frontier to keep America 'young', conveniently ignoring that modern sport had been born in 'old' Europe. Paxson's parochial grasp of world, or at least Western, history aside, he does deserve recognition for identifying sport as a major agent of American social change. Paxson credited sport with sparking the era of progressive reform in government and business, with making Americans more temperate in their consumption of alcohol, more committed to the quest for 'equal rights for all', and even with the 'real emancipation' of women. Sport, Paxson grandly concluded, would 'inspire a new Americanism for a new century'.[10]

Setting aside, for the moment, the credibility of Paxson's extravagant claims for sport as a progressive agent of social change, Paxson is the first professional American historian to make the study of sport essential to the understanding of American history. He proclaimed that 'no one can probe national character, personal conduct, public opinion' nor any other important dimension of modern American civilization without taking into account the 'rise of sport'.[11]

Academic historians, with few exceptions, promptly ignored Paxson's clarion call for the study of sport for the next 60 years. Among the handful who heard Paxson's preJamesian chant about sport as the key to interpreting cultures was a quartet of scholars trained at Columbia University, one of the nation's leading academic factories for producing historians during the 20th century. As a young scholar, John Allen Krout

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published in 1929 his Annals of American Sport. Krout went on to churn out numerous volumes on American political and diplomatic history. Shortly after Krout's history of sports appeared, his fellow Columbia schoolmate Jennie Holliman followed the lead of Paxson and put the frontier thesis at the centre of her 1931 volume, American Sports, 1785–1835, a work that pushed back the history of sport chronology from the post-Civil War industrial and urban expansion era to the earliest days of the American republic.[12] Holliman's book began as her doctoral thesis, as did the next history of American sport crafted by another Columbia-trained historian. Foster Rhea Dulles sought to confirm Paxson's and Holliman's claims about the links between sport, the frontier and American exceptionalism in his dissertation, which was published in 1940 as America Learns to Play. Dulles, who came from a politically well-connected family (during the Administration of President Dwight David Eisenhower his brother was a director of the Central Intelligence Agency and his cousin served as Secretary of State), quickly left the history of sports and enjoyed a long and distinguished career as a historian of American foreign policy, who also helped found the contemporary field of labour history.[13]

In 1951 Columbia graduate student John Rickards Betts followed Holliman and Dulles in choosing American sports as a history dissertation topic. Though he did publish some journal articles on the subject during his career in the professoriate, the book version of his thesis, America's Sporting Heritage, 1850–1950, did not appear until 1974, three years after his death in 1971.[14] Betts, along with Krout, Holliman and Dulles, did pioneering work on the history of American sports at one of the most prestigious graduate history programmes in the USA, but they earned little acclaim for the forays into athletics in American life. Although they all published their work, they made their names in political, diplomatic and social history – not in the history of sports. Through the early 1960s, only two other scholars who earned doctorates in history departments followed the Columbia 'school' into the realm of sport. Significantly, both Harold Seymour and David Quentin Voigt produced dissertations and books on baseball – a venue that has served as the most prominent arena for popular sports histories as well.[15] No one else followed their lead and developed sport as a field under the broad umbrella of American history until their work had passed into oblivion.

Not until the 1970s did scholars in history or related departments such as American studies produce explorations of sport in substantial numbers. When they did, they harkened back to Paxson's grand claims about the power of sport in reforming American life, as they explained to their colleagues in the plaintive apologia introducing their sporting tomes why they were studying matters most members of their profession dismissed as trivial and career-killing topics. From the 'founders' of the new American history of sports such as Allen Guttmann, Jules Tygiel, Randy Roberts, Steven Riess, Richard Crepeau, Benjamin Rader and Elliott Gorn in the 1970s and the 1980s, to their intellectual progeny who sprouted in the last decade of the 20th century and the early years of the 21st century, sermons decrying the neglect of sport and thundering its farreaching significance tempered by mournful pleas not to banish historians of sports from the temple of academic history were required introductions to the burgeoning numbers of volumes produced.[16]

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Meanwhile, in a very different realm, the field of sports history evolved. Indeed, academic sports history predates the history of sports. More than 30 years before Frederic Paxson discovered sports in American history, one of the founders of the academic discipline of human movement studies, Edward M. Hartwell, published a pioneering historical volume entitled Physical Education in American Colleges and Universities (1886).[17] Hartwell held an MD and a PhD in physiology. He developed a seminal programme in the study of human movement at Johns Hopkins University and later supervised physical education for the Boston public school system.[18] In 1885, a year before he published his original history of physical education in the USA, he helped to found the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (AAAPE).[19] The physical educators organized just a year after the founding of the American Historical Association (AHA).[20] The two professional clans sprang to life in the great age of rationalizing, bureaucratizing and nationalizing 'knowledge work' in American culture. The AAAPE and the AHA sought, with their fellow guilds, to control their domains, win the favour of governments and the public, and convince the nation that they could foster progress and increase the general welfare.[21]

Hartwell, a sport, or more accurately, a physical education historian, understood how this new game worked. Hartwell's history had a concrete and clear political purpose. He used his histories to promote his field and garner public and governmental support. He employed the history of American fitness to proclaim that the nation had neglected the scientific study and rational education of the body. That negligence, he warned, put the republic in peril.[22] His essays identified the failure to build institutions to train American bodies as a long-standing social problem. He wrote his histories to win public support for physical education, to carve out a place in school curricula for the field, and to win government support for training the body. In the social construction of the new knowledge domain of physical education, Hartwell and his followers used history to justify the need for a 'scientific' approach to the problems of building a fitter, healthier nation.[23]

Hartwell's histories reveal much about the social construction of knowledge in the new science of human movement. These works championed the importance of physical vigour in human societies, claimed places for physical education in school and college curricula and urged public support of physical education programmes. By connecting physical education and sport to the histories of other 'model' societies, especially to ancient Greece, these annals conferred legitimacy on modern practices.[24] Borrowing voraciously, if not always accurately, from Greek antiquity, physical educators have invariably linked physical fitness to social and moral wellbeing.[25] In this effort, dubbed in the 1920s as the 'new physical education', history has always played a prominent role.[26]

Sports and physical education histories also served as a basic component in the training of teachers – a common practice in American pedagogy training programmes. The histories generated by physical educators detailed the origins and development of the basic canon, the fundamental research methods and problems, and the reigning paradigms in the new field.[27] Institutional histories of early physical education, sport and recreation programmes also served to foster a sense of pride and place for students of the new discipline.[28] Like the scholars trained in history departments, some of the sports historians produced during the mid-20th century sweeping epics charting the growth of

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American sport, most prominently Frederick W. Cozens and Florence Scovil Stumpf's Sports in American Life (1953).[29]

Sport in American Life measured up to the handful of contemporary works produced during the middle of the 20th century by academic historians such as Krout, Holliman and Dulles. Much of the rest of the work produced in the physical education domain, however, was rather pedestrian. As the historian of sports S.W. Pope has observed, 'most of the academic interest in the subject inhered in physical education departments, whose practitioners' lackluster efforts failed to attract the attention of historians, American studies scholars, or social scientists'.[30] A survey of the leading research journal in physical education, the Research Quarterly, confirms Pope's contention. From the 1940s through the early 1960s Research Quarterly published mainly uncritical histories that generally advocated rather the analysed the role of sport in American culture, many of which were narrative chronicles of the development of the field of human movement studies.[31] In fairness, if the physical educators offered rather shallow studies, the historians generally did not even bother to explore sport, a lapse Pope has also chronicled.[32]

One exception, however, to the lack of methodological sophistication and analytical rigour was in the adoption of anthropological theories by Florence Stumpf and Frederick Cozens to conduct cross-cultural historical studies,[33] an innovation that predated the later fascination of American historians of sports with anthropology, especially with the ideas of Clifford Geertz.[34] Another exception occurred in the segregated shadows of American higher education, at Howard University in Washington, DC, where the pioneering African-American physical educator Edward Bancroft Henderson was producing as early as 1939 important but ignored work on race and American sport – a topic that would after the 1970s become one of the most important domains in the field.[35]

In an ironic twist, the physical educators also presaged the later postmodern command for politically-engaged scholarship. They produced a host of advocacy histories during World War II and the Cold War that promoted their field as the key to national vigour under martial conditions. The wars produced a popular demand for healthy bodies to combat the nation's enemies. School and college sports and physical education programmes became battlegrounds in new campaigns for military preparedness. Fears that American schools did not properly cultivate the body led to new physical education requirements and new certification rules for teachers. More federal and state money flowed into physical education programmes.[36] Histories of the social impact of war, the military necessity of physical education, the role of sport in martial prowess, and wartime changes in the nation's educational system appeared regularly.[37]

Sports history underwent a paradigm revolution during the 1960s and 1970s, a shift that actually preceded, albeit slightly, the revolution that would transform the history of sports in the more traditional homelands of historical research. Rarely had the histories written by physical educators that appeared in the pages of Research Quarterly from 1930 to 1960 been informed by the methods, themes, concerns and questions of mainstream professional history. While historians of sports such as Betts, Seymour and Voigt worked in exile from the margins of the mother discipline, the impetus for a much more rigorous scholarship developed in the realm of exercise and sport science. These changes sprang

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from both internal and external pressures. Within the study of human movement a call for more attention to history produced new organizational structures. Seward Staley, a leading physical educator at the University of Illinois, had argued since the 1930s that history should be central to the training of teachers and scholars in human movement studies.[38] In the early 1960s Staley and his students pushed the College Physical Education Association to recognize a 'History of Sport' section. At the same time, from outside of the field, came a direct challenge to the rigour and validity of studies of human movement. In 1963 James Conant, the president of Harvard University, lambasted physical education as unworthy of academic recognition. Conant's dismissal of the field led to a major reformation of physical education.[39]

With greater organizational support within the field but under attack for a lack of intellectual rigour from without, a new group of scholars began to publish sports histories that were clearly informed by the methodologies and philosophies of traditional historical research. While the older, relatively narrow biographies of founders, chronicles of recreations, or studies of institutions still appeared,[40] the Research Quarterly began to publish a new style of history that drew from the strength and breadth of mainstream history. The sports histories crafted during the 1960s by Marvin Eyler and his students, all of whom were trained in physical education departments,[41] revealed greater familiarity with trends and controversies in academic history.[42] Sports history, as practised by physical educators, began to relocate itself in the scholarship of mainstream history.

The move toward mainstream history was in part a direct response to President Conant's attack on the academic quality of physical education research. It was also part of a conscious effort to invigorate sport and physical education scholarship by looking toward mainstream history for new techniques and ideas. The effort to reach out actually began before Harvard's chief executive even issued his challenge to the legitimacy of physical education.[43] The outreach effort enjoyed felicitous timing. As scholars in physical education departments began to look more closely at history departments, American history itself was transformed by new ideologies and practices that pushed historians toward more thorough explorations of the social practices and cultural traditions of the masses. In that climate sport came suddenly into view as a legitimate and fruitful subject of historical contemplation.[44]

This 'new social history', as it was labelled, opened the floodgates for academics with PhDs in history to study sport. Finding a small but determined group of like-minded scholars in exercise and sport science departments, an unlikely but still flourishing marriage was consummated between the historians and the physical educators with the creation of the North American Society for Sport History (NASSH), founded in 1973, and its academic voice, the Journal of Sport History (JSH), inaugurated in 1974. The emergence of NASSH and the JSH, originally created by physical educators who welcomed curious historians with open arms, heralded the beginning of a boom of both sports history and the history of sports. The number of publication outlets among publishers of books and refereed journals has expanded astronomically since the 1970s.[45]

During the 1970s scholars began to argue that sport could reveal the essential structures of American society. Sport, they argued, clearly belonged to the common folk, the formerly unheralded and unknown masses who had made American civilization and

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whom the new social historians were dedicated to bringing to the centre of historical analyses. Sport brought to light racial dynamics, ethnic conflicts and religious differences. Sport showcased the fault lines of class and gender. Sport betrayed fundamental beliefs about social justice and cultural equity. Sport had deep connections to politics and economics. Indeed, they insisted, sport not only reflected social patterns but had the capacity to reinforce or transform them. Sport could function as an agent of social resistance or a tool for social coercion.

The new scholarly fascination with sport grew out of the intellectual ferment that produced the new social history, particularly from the Annales school in Continental Europe and the British neo-Marxist tradition, as well as from the influences of the comprehensive sociologies and philosophies of a diverse group of thinkers that stretched from Max Weber and Thomas Kuhn, to Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault.[46]

Particularly critical to the development of this new wave of sport scholarship were the works of a West Indian historian and an American anthropologist. Some of these new historians of sports and sports historians gravitated to C.L.R. James's autobiographical reflections on the meaning of sport in his life and in the cultural and social structures of the British imperial universe.[47] Originally published in 1963 by an obscure West Indian press, the book migrated to American shores and found a major US publisher in 1983.[48] James read through sport the complexities of West Indian history and social relations, from race and slavery to civil rights and black nationalism, from colonial mentalities and cultural assimilation to political liberation and postcolonial commemoration. In 1973, a decade after James's crucial interpretation appeared, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz published his ground-breaking essay about reading cultures through their sporting practices. Geertz's work complemented and amplified James's theories.[49]

Cross-pollinated by the field-shaping emergence of NASSH, both American historians of sports and American sports historians began in the 1970s to follow the trails blazed by James and Geertz and to borrow the tools developed by the new social history. In that process they revolutionized the academic study of sport in American society. A trickle of early works presaged a torrent that flooded the field after the appearance of Allen Guttmann's enormously influential From Ritual to Record (1978).[50] Emboldened by the development of the new social history, sports historians and historians of sport produced a legion of ground-breaking studies in the decade between 1978 and 1988. That period was book-ended by two landmark works by Guttmann. The aforementioned From Ritual to Record made modernization the reigning paradigm in the field. His lesser-recognized A Whole New Ball Game provided a Geertzian reading of sporting 'texts' in American culture.[51] Following Guttmann's lead, scholars from history, American studies and human movement studies backgrounds churned out between 1978 and 1988 volume after volume that 'read' sport as a text that revealed the basic parameters of American civilization.[52]

Those readings frequently occurred at NASSH meetings and established profitable connections between historians of sport and sports historians, blurring the historic distinctions between the two traditions.[53] The organization founded by sports historians opened its arms to historians of sport. NASSH united, at least temporarily in once-a-year professor-fests, faculty from physical education and kinesiology programmes with

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scholars from traditional history departments, as well as researchers from other domains such as American studies, sociology, anthropology, philosophy and even the curious new realm of 'sport studies'. NASSH created a commonwealth in which the historians of sport and the sports historians shared methods and theories, monographs and journals. Sports historians trained in kinesiology and exercise science departments since the 1970s have, as one of their leading scholars, David K. Wiggins revealed, increasingly taken large numbers of graduate courses in history, building a common educational background between the two tribes and forging a close alliance between them on both theoretical and practical issues.[54]

From the late 1970s through the 2000s, historians of sport and sports historians alike tackled the major themes set out by the new social history, especially race, ethnicity, gender and class. Following the lead of C.L.R. James and trends in mainstream American history, scholars found the racial dynamics of American civilization an especially fertile ground. Baseball's Great Experiment, Jules Tygiel's splendid history of the integration of professional baseball and American society, perhaps the best book ever written in the field, provided a lighthouse that drew a host of scholars to the complex shoreline of sport and race in American society.[55] Most of these studies have focused on African-American experiences and challenges on American playing fields, charting the parameters of segregation and the long struggle for integration, offering biographies of both famous and obscure black athletes, and seeking to amplify the histories of the 'American dilemma' in the national chronicles.[56]

Other racial groups have also provided rich subject material for American sport scholars, especially Native Americans and Hispanics.[57] European ethnicity, immigration and social class have been equal to race in recent American sporting sagas. A host of excellent works have analysed the role of sport in assimilation and resistance, the power of sport in the promotion of particular class ideologies and construction of alternative social spaces, and in the dynamics of sport in the emerging modern mass society produced by the industrial and urban revolutions.[58] In these many volumes the works of Stephen Riess, Randy Roberts, Stephen Hardy, Melvin Adelman and Elliott Gorn stand out.[59]

Religion, as well as ethnicity and social class, has provided sylvan territory for historical interpretations of the social and cultural dynamics of American sport.[60] In a move beyond the cultural and social boundaries that James charted, the new American studies of sport have also focused extensively on gender. Numerous studies have chronicled how sport has both reinforced and transcended gender stereotypes, examined the pervasive patterns of gender discrimination in modern sports, and uncovered the stories of pioneering women athletes.[61]

The sporting analyses of race, ethnicity, religion, class and gender uncovered the social dynamism of American culture in much the same fashion that James's reminiscences about choosing a cricket club in his native Trinidad revealed the social fabric of West Indian culture. American scholars borrowed more than just an insightful sensitivity to the racial and social boundaries that sport generated from James. They have also shared James's fascination with the ways in which sport could reveal and build local, national and even international cultures, those complex webs of ideas and institutions that knit together modern communities, modern nations and the modern globe. James understood

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that the culture-producing and community-forging power of sport worked through the modern mass media, that newspaper articles and books as well as radio broadcasts and television programmes made the most popular dramatic art of the age of the common folk.[62]

Indeed, James's ideas fit neatly with Clifford Geertz's notion of using sport as a 'text' for reading cultural patterns. In tandem, these ideas have had a great influence on the field, especially when combined with considerations of the role of the media in enhancing these cultural productions and reproductions. The prominent cultural historian Warren I. Susman produced some crucial early work on sport and national culture.[63] American historians of sport and sports historians have begun to follow James, Geertz and Susman in exploring how sports and the media have shaped local, regional and national cultures in the USA. One of the leaders in this area, Michael Oriard, has through several volumes on American football and American sports literature considerably broadened the horizons of the discipline.[64]

Several others have followed in Oriard's wake in seeking to unravel sport's role in the making of American national culture. Sport and nationalism have been a special focus of works by Donald Mrozek, S.W. Pope, Wanda Wakefield and Mark Dyreson.[65] In a path-breaking move away from the standard focus on the nation, Pamela Grundy has offered an insightful history of sport in shaping regional identity in her history of basketball, race, class and gender in North Carolina.[66] From another vantage point, the political theorist Robert Putnam has raised questions about the role of sport in producing 'social capital', the glue that he and others identify as the binding force in modern democratic societies such as the USA.[67] The studies on sport and American regional and national identities have been enhanced by a slew of good works on the role of the media – print, radio and television – in staging sporting spectacles for the masses and circulating the social capital of sport through every nook and cranny of American society.[68]

Scholars have also sought to put American regional and national sporting cultures into a global perspective by concentrating on international competitions with a strong US presence and by exploring efforts to export American culture through sport to global markets.[69] This development has marked the return of foreign policy historians to the subject of sport, a turn that Foster Rhea Dulles made in the 1940s.[70] In framing American sport in a global perspective, American historians are following the lead of James, who devoted significant sections of Beyond a Boundary to analysing the role of cricket in the history of the British Empire. James viewed cricket as the national pastime for the Empire's many national units, and insisted that national pastimes provided crucial clues for understanding national narratives. American historians have followed that lead as well, focusing on the American national pastime – baseball, in most reckonings – and on its many rivals for national passion in the USA.[71]

While historians of sport and sports historians have over the last three decades made remarkable strides, certain areas of American have been neglected. Relatively little work has been done on sport during the Cold War or the cultural tumults of the 1960s, though David Zang's SportsWars stands as notable exception to this trend.[72] The 'built environments' of American sport, stadiums, gymnasiums and other sporting sites, have also received very little attention.[73] The devotion to modernization and urbanization in

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American sporting sagas has produced, unsurprisingly, a general neglect of rural and traditional topics.[74] Finally, though hundreds of books devoted to American sports have appeared since 1970s, only Nancy Struna in her superb study People of Prowess has followed the route Jennie Holiman blazed in the 1930s and pushed back the chronology of American sport into the 17th and 18th centuries.[75]

While certain gaps in the literature remain in both sports history and in the history of sport, the climate for research has never been more favourable. University presses in the USA have started 'sport and society' lists grounded in historical approaches.[76] The number of journals devoted to sports history and to the history of sport have multiplied, while more general historical journals routinely publish sport-related articles.[77] The avalanche of new publications has spurred the development of new courses devoted to the history of American sport. Solid textbooks have sprung up to serve the new market.[78] Several anthologies have sprouted to supplement the texts.[79]

Indeed, one sign of the robust health of historical scholarship in sport has been the emergence since the mid-1990s of a robust debate on the need for new paradigms and new methodologies.[80] While some of these calls have taken on the alarmist tones of academic prophets, in sum they represent, not the end of sports history, nor the demise of the history of sport, but the maturation of the two fields. As early as 1990 Stephen Hardy argued that scholars needed to reconsider how they analysed time, memory and meaning in their endeavours.[81] While few scholars have followed Hardy's initial clarion, his ideas and those of others who have advocated new paradigms has begun to yield some very interesting fruit, including new perspectives of sport as a key tool in crafting collective memory – a major theme in the development of mainstream history as well.[82] Daniel A. Nathan's fascinating history of the shifting memories of baseball's 'Black Sox' scandal over the course of the 20th-century, Saying It's So, offers new vistas to those who seek fresh approaches.[83]

A close reading of Nathan's work reveals along with much that is fresh a continuing influence of the ideas of James and Geertz as well as a continuing debt to the new social and new cultural histories born decades earlier on the domain of sport. While new paradigms promise new insights, the older paradigms are hardly exhausted. The current state of American historical scholarship on sport seems healthier than it has ever been – and certainly far more vigorous than it was for the first three-quarters of the 20th century.

Still, just below the surface of this beneficent environment lurk some troubling signs. History departments have not yet begun to hire faculty for 'history of sport' positions, nor does it appear that they are moving in that direction.[84] Kinesiology, exercise science and physical education departments have, for a variety of reasons, not been as friendly in the last decade to those who investigate the history of sport and related social and cultural approaches to the study of human movement.[85] Both the history of American sport and American sports history face significant challenges.

These obstacles will in all probability produce a schism between the two provinces. For the last 40 years sports history and the history of sport have seemed indistinguishable. In fact, some of the differences between these two domains are now merely semantic, representing pride in ties to graduate training or to particular patches of academic turf. Since the 1970s, sports history and the history of sport have adopted the same

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methodologies, subjects, sources, tools, audiences and even canons. The contemporary divergence between the two domains resides in how they perceive their contributions to the larger academic discourses that swirl through expert and lay communities. Ultimately, the differences in ends rather than means will lead to some separation between the history of sport and sports history, breaking the seemingly seamless merger between the two that now exists.

Historians of sport seek to explain how American sport illuminates larger issues in the nation's development, from the nature and practice of political and social reform to the role of class, race and gender in shaping culture. Sports historians, on the other hand, are in some ways commanded to do the opposite. Their particular audience is far more interested in the nature of sport and other forms of physical activity in human societies than they are in the particularities of historical experience. They are neither familiar with, nor interested in the nuances of particular historiographies. For instance, the students and colleagues to whom sports historians write are little engaged with complexities of the Progressive Era in American history, though they are keenly interested in the 1891 invention of basketball. In contrast, the students and colleagues to whom historians of sport speak possess an inverted perspective, eager to speculate on how the invention of basketball illumines the patterns of progressivism.[86]

For historians of sport, history itself is the contextual shroud with which they seek to envelop their enterprises. Their work flows out of the broader intellectual projects of the historical profession and seeks to return home to animate and amplify scholarship in history. Sports historians serve different interests. Human movement rather than history represents their home turf. They must connect with different paradigms and different audiences.

Semantic differences litter this divide, but the divergence is not merely semantic.[87] Not only the term 'history' but the name 'sport' represented contested areas in these arenas. In fact, in human movement studies departments sport has fallen from favour while the broad but obtuse concept of physical activity has taken hold. Sports history faces pressure to broaden its views to incorporate this shift away from sport in order to connect to students and colleagues in the many disciplines that find homes in such departments, from exercise physiology to sport psychology to biomechanics to motor control. In such a climate, a much greater grasp of the histories of science, medicine and the body will become crucial. Under the banner of sports history and the history of sport, a literature on the subject has already begun to develop.[88] Much, though certainly not all, of the best work in this nascent area of 'physical activity' history focused on bodies, science and health has been done by scholars with training in and connections to kinesiology departments, especially Jack Berryman and Roberta J. Park.[89]

Historians of sport, on the other hand, will likely find the history of physical activity too vague for their sentiments. Additionally, the history of medicine and the history of science represent well-established sub-disciplines in mainstream historical studies that generally have not been connected to the history of sport. These arrangements may well lead sports historians away from sport and toward new partners in the mother discipline. If the meeting ground provided by sport erodes over the next few decades sports history may well became a semantic misnomer. Certainly historians in human movement science departments are already feeling the pressure to de-emphasize sport.[90]

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Sport, though, shows no signs of fading quickly from the scene in spite of the hopes of certain American kinesiologists. Sport remains a fascinating topic for both academics and the public. The insights of C.L.R. James remain powerful in American considerations of the role of sport in their civilization. Consider the essay in Sports Illustrated by Alexandar Wolff, 'The Audacity of Hoops', which credits the 2008 election of Barack Obama to the presidency of the USA to the candidate's long love-affair with playing basketball.[91] Wolff's vision of Obama's immersion in high school basketball and then in pick-up hoops as the catalyst for propelling the new president into a historic role as the leader in a new American journey beyond boundaries profoundly echoes James's vision as Frank Worrell, the first black to captain a West Indian cricket side during the famous 1961 test against Australia, as the embodiment of the promise of a multi-racial West Indian democracy. While Wolff did not actually revise James's famous opening riddle, the Sports Illustrated scribe might as well have asked the Americans: 'What do they know of basketball, who only basketball know?' Wolff's answer, like James's response in Beyond a Boundary, is that those who only know basketball but do not grasp its power in the greater world beyond the court know little of value. Wolff asserts that the idea of sport has profoundly transformed American history.[92] Obama and basketball, Wolff argues, have made possible, to cite the words of the original historian of American sport, Frederick Paxson, 'a new Americanism for a new century'. For the past century American historians of sport and sports historians have been asserting such claims. Certainly that trend will continue for the next century.

Notes

1 C.L.R. James, Beyond a Boundary (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993 [1963]), 184–85. [Editors' note: Both editors confess to having read the book and agree that more American sports historians should too].

2 The Ronald A. Smith Collection at Pennsvylania State University's library contains 2,890 titles, and it is not the sole location of sports history books, as thousands more inhabit the general stacks under a variety of call numbers, but especially in the GV section of the Library of Congress cataloguing system, cat.libraries.psu.edu/uhtbin/cgisirsi/TMmgG7CWCU/UP-PAT/94290319/123 (accessed 10 January 2009).

3 Indeed, in online search catalogues 'Baseball/History' is its own separate section, with hundreds of listings, www.allbookstores.com/Sports_and_Recreation.html (accessed 10 January 2009). Sports Illustrated produced a list of the one hundred leading sports books of all time: Pete McEntgart, L. Jon Wertheim, Gene Menez and Mark Bechtel, 'The Top 100 Sports Books of All Time', Sports Illustrated (16 December 2002), 85–95.

4 Hoop Dreams (Fineline Pictures, 1994); Seabiscuit (Universal Pictures, 2003); Cinderella Man (Universal Pictures, 2005); Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack Johnson (WETA, 2005); Glory Road (Buena Vista, 2006).

5 James Dixon, 'The Death of the Sports Movie', Texas Monthly 32 (January 2009), 45–8.

6 James, Beyond a Boundary, 184–85.

7 Standard interpretations of American historiography see the rise of the 'new social history' as a revolutionary event. See, for instance, Eric Foner, Who Owns History?: Rethinking the Past in a Changing World (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002).

8 Hebert Warren Wind, The Story of American Golf, Its Champions and Its Championships (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1948); Horse Feathers (Paramount, 1932); David Maraniss, When Pride Still

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Mattered: A Life of Vince Lombardi (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999); Remember the Titans (Walt Disney Pictures, 2000).

9 As the historiographer Douglas Booth has uncovered in his explorations of this subject, some scholars have in fact argued for a focus on 'sports history' rather than on the 'history of sports'. Booth identifies historian Stephen Hardy, sociologist Maurice Roche and philosopher William Morgan as promoters of the notion that sports histories should engage and illuminate sports contexts rather than relentlessly seeking broader connections to other forms of histories. Douglas Booth, The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History (London: Routledge, 2006), 184–85. See also, Stephen Hardy, 'Entrepreneurs, Organizations, and the Sport Marketplace: Subjects in Search of Historians', Journal of Sport History 13 (spring 1996), 14–33; Jack Berryman, 'Sport History as Social History', Quest 20 (June 1973), 65–72; Maurice Roche, Mega-Events and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture (London: Routledge, 2000); William J. Morgan, Leftist Theories of Sport: A Critique and Reconstruction (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

10 Frederic L. Paxson, 'The Rise of Sport', Mississippi Valley Historical Review 4 (September 1917), 143–68; quotation from 168.

11 Ibid., 167.

12 John Allen Krout, Annals of American Sport (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1929); Jennie Holliman, American Sports, 1785–1835 (Durham, NC: Seeman, 1931). American Sports began as Holliman's PhD dissertation at Columbia. Krout wrote a Columbia dissertation on the crusade against alcohol in the USA, published in book form as The Origins of Prohibition (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1925). Krout then turned from social and cultural topics to become a major figure in American political history and foreign policy, publishing more than 50 books. His extensive bibliography can be found on WorldCat: www.worldcat.org/search?q=John+A.+Krout&fq=ap%3A%22krout%2C+john+allen%22&se = yr&sd = desc&start = 11&qt = next_page (accessed 10 January 2009).

13 Foster Rhea Dulles, America Learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation, 1607–1940 (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1940). Dulles wrote America Learns to Play as his Columbia dissertation, which he completed in 1940. Among his many important works published both before and after he earned his doctorate, are The Old China Trade (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930); Eastward Ho!: The First English Adventures to the Orient (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931); America in the Pacific: A Century of Expansion (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932); Lowered Boats: A Chronicle of American Whaling (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1933); Forty Years of American-Japanese Relations (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1937); The Road to Teheran: The Story of Russia and America, 1781–1943 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1944); Twentieth Century America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945); China and America: The Story of Their Relations since 1784 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946); Labor in America: A History (New York: Crowell, 1949); The American Red Cross: A History (New York: Harper, 1950); America's Rise to World Power, 1898–1954 (New York, Harper, 1955); The Imperial Years (New York: Crowell, 1956); The United States since 1865 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959); Yankees and Samurai: America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan, 1791–1900 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965); Prelude to World Power: American Diplomatic History, 1860–1900 (New York: Macmillan, 1965); Labor in America: A History (New York: Crowell, 1966); American Policy Toward Communist China, 1949–1969 (New York: Crowell, 1972).

14 Betts's 1951 dissertation, written for Columbia University's history department, 'Organized Sports in Industrial America', did not appear in book form until the 1970s. John Rickards Betts, America's Sporting Heritage, 1850–1950 (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1974). Betts wrote several articles in major historical journals, including: 'Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-Century America', American Quarterly 5 (Spring 1953), 39–56; 'Agricultural Fairs and the Rise of Harness Racing', Agricultural History 27 (April 1953), 71–75; 'The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850–1950', Mississippi Valley Historical Review 40 (September 1953), 231–56; 'Mind and Body in

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Early American Thought', Journal of American History 54 (March 1968), 787–805; 'American Medical Thought on Exercise as the Road to Health, 1820–1860', Bulletin of the History of Medicine 45 (1971).

15 Harold Seymour, 'The Rise of Major League Baseball to 1891', Thesis (PhD), Cornell University, 1956; Harold Seymour, Baseball: The Early Years (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); David Quentin Voigt, 'Cash and Glory: The Commercialization of Major League Baseball as a Sports Spectacular, 1865–1892', Thesis (PhD), Syracuse University, 1962; David Quentin Voigt, Baseball: From Gentlemen's Sport to the Comissioner System (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966).

16 My own overly-grand lamentation is typical: 'Still, even though sport has become the most important institution through which many Americans deliberate political, racial, ethical, and social questions, scholars too rarely take sport seriously', I wail on the very first page of my own introduction. 'That failure to consider sport seriously has hampered historical understandings of the United States, for the grand experiment in forging a working republic in the nation has become permeated with the cultural practices of modern athletics in myriad ways: politicians persistently frame their messages in athletic rhetoric; African-American Olympians protest their exclusion from republican promises with black-gloved protests against racism; judges hear frequent cases about the constitutional rights of athletes, teams, and sporting leagues; and Olympic basketball and hockey contests serve as defining moments in American foreign policy'. Mark Dyreson, Making the American Team: Sport, Culture and the Olympic Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 1.

17 Edward M. Hartwell, Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities, Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education, No. 5, 1885 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886).

18 Roberta J. Park, 'The Research Quarterly and Its Antecedents', Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 51 (March 1980), 1–22; Nancy Struna, 'Sport History', in John D. Massengale and Richard A. Swanson, eds, The History of Exercise and Sport Science (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1997), 143–79. See also, Melvin Adelman, 'Academicians and American Athletics: A Decade of Progress', Journal of Sport History 10 (Spring 1983), 80–106; Roberta J. Park, 'Research and Scholarship in the History of Physical Education and Sport: The Current State of Affairs', Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 54 (June 1983), 93–103; Steven A. Riess, 'The New Sport History', Reviews in American History 18 (September 1990), 311–25; S.W. Pope, 'American Sport History – Toward a New Paradigm', in S.W. Pope, ed., The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 1–30.

19 Originally the Association for the Advancement of Physical Education, the society renamed itself the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education in 1886. The organization has gone through seven name changes: Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (1885); American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (1886–1902); American Physical Education Association (1903–37); American Association for Health and Physical Education (1937–38); American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (1938–74); American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (1974–79); American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (1979 to the present). Park, 'Research Quarterly and Its Antecedents', 1.

20 Wendy Gamber, Michael Grossberg and Hendrik Hartog, eds, American Public Life and the Historical Imagination (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003).

21 Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877–1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America (New York: Norton, 1976); Paul Starr, The Social Transformation of American Medicine (New York: Basic Books, 1982); John R. Thelin, A History of American Higher Education (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

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22 See, for instance, Edward M. Hartwell, 'The Conditions and Prospects of Physical Education in the United States', Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (1892), 13–40.

23 On the history of sports and physical education as tools for building a healthy American republic see Melvin Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820–1870 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978); George B. Kirsch, The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838–1872 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979); Peter Levine, 'The Promise of Sport in Antebellum America', Journal of American Culture 2 (Winter 1980), 623–34; Dominick Cavallo, Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880–1920 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Stephen Hardy, How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation and
Community, 1865–1915 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982); Donald Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality, 1880–1910 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Harvey Green, Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); Warren Goldstein, Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Steven A. Riess, City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Michael Oriard, Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); S.W. Pope, Patriotic Games: Sport and the American Imagination, 1876–1926 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Dyreson, Making the American Team.

24 Richard Hofstader, The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington (New York: Knopf, 1968).

25 David C. Young, The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics (Chicago: Ares, 1984); Donald G. Kyle, Athletics in Ancient Athens (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987); Mark Golden, Sport and Society in Ancient Greece (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

26 The foundational statement of this position can be found in Jesse F. Williams, The Principles of Physical Education (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1927).

27 Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 3rd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); John V. Pickstone, Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology and Medicine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

28 For a classic example see James G. Thompson, 'Logos Protreptikos: Building Pride in the Profession', Canadian Journal of Sport History 15 (December 1984), 1–4. For the quest for 'unity through diversity' see Park, 'Research Quarterly and Its Antecedents', 16–21. See also, John D. Massengale and Richard A. Swanson, 'Exercise and Sport Science in 20th-Century America', in Massengale and Swanson, eds, The History of Exercise and Sport Science, 1–14.

Following Hartwell's lead, in its first few decades the AAAPE published a smattering of historical studies in the antecedents of the Research Quarterly – the Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (1885–95) and the American Physical Education Review (1896–1929). Fred E. Leonard's historical series, which ran in the American Physical Education Review from 1899 to 1907, expanded on Hartwell's template: Fred E. Leonard, 'The Period of Philanthropism', American Physical Education Review 4 (March 1899), 1–18; 'Jahn's Life Up to Publication of Die Deutsche Turnkunet (1816)', American Physical Education Review 5 (March 1900), 18–39; 'A Select Bibliography of the History of Physical Training', American Physical Education Review 7 (March 1902), 39–48; 'The Beginnings of Modern Physical Training in Europe', American Physical Education Review 9 (June 1904), 89–110; 'Friederich Ludwig Jahn and the Development of Popular Gymnastics in Germany', American Physical Education Review 10 (March 1905), 1–19; 'The Transition from Medieval to Modern Times', American Physical Education Review 10 (September 1905), 189–202; 'The "New Gymnastics" of Dio Lewis',

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American Physical Education Review 11 (June 1906), 83–95, (September 1906), 187–98; 'Chapters from the History of Physical Training in Ancient and Medieval Europe', American Physical Education Review 12 (September 1907), 225–40, (December 1907), 289–302. Leonard and his followers produced a small but steady stream of essays chronicling the institutional development of American physical education. Struna, 'Sport History', 150–52.

By the late 1920s, the leadership of the organization, rechristened the American Association of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (AAHPER), responded to the unceasing battles between various areas of interest in the profession by deciding to split the organization's publications into a more 'applied' periodical dubbed the Journal of Health and Physical Education and a more 'theoretical' journal christened the Research Quarterly of the American Physical Education Association. History had by then established a foothold, albeit a small one, in the multi-disciplinary study of human movement. History's cubbyhole would survive the schism. Park, 'Research Quarterly and Its Antecedents', 2–5; George H. Sage, Mark Dyreson and R. Scott Kretchmar, 'Sociology, History, and Philosophy in The Research Quarterly', Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science (Special 75th Anniversary Issue) 76 (June 2005 Supplement), S88–S107.

29 Frederick W. Cozens and Florence Scovil Stumpf, Sports in American Life (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953). Cozens had an interesting career in which he developed both his historical scholarship and a solid reputation in more traditional domains. His other major books included such basic texts as Neils Peter Neilson and Frederick W. Cozens, Achievement Scales in Physical Activities Education for Boys and Girls in Elementary and Junior High Schools (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1934); John F. Bovard and Frederick W. Cozens, Tests and Measurements in Physical Education (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1938); Eugene White Nixon and Frederick Warren Cozens, An Introduction to Physical Education (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1941). 30 Pope, 'American Sport History – Toward a New Paradigm', 2–3.

31 See, for instance, Genevieve L. Braun, 'Kinesiology: From Aristotle to the Twentieth Century', Research Quarterly 12 (May 1941), 163–75; William Skarstrom, 'Life and Work of Amy Morris Homans: Pioneer and Leader in the Field of Hygiene and Physical Education', Supplement to the Research Quarterly, 'University of Iowa Studies in Physical Education', 12 (October 1941), 615–27; Clarence B. van Wyck, 'The Harvard Summer School of Physical Education, 1887–1932', Research Quarterly 13 (December 1942), 403–31; Helen M. Barton, 'A Study of the Development Textbooks in Physiology and Hygiene in the United States', Research Quarterly 14 (March 1943), 37–45; Ruth White Fink, 'Recreational Pursuits in the Old South', Research Quarterly 23 (March 1952), 28–37; Norma D. Young, 'Did Greeks and the Romans Play Football?' Research Quarterly 15 (December 1944), 310–16; Bruce L. Bennett, 'Contributions of Dudley A. Sargent to Physical Education', Research Quarterly 19 (May 1948), 77–92; Ralph E. Billett, 'Evidence of Play and Exercise in Early Pestalozzian and Lancasterian Elementary Schools in the United States, 1809–1845', Research Quarterly 23 (May 1952), 127–35; Franklin M. Henry, 'A Note on Physiological Limits and the History of the Mile Run', Research Quarterly 25 (December 1954), 483–84; Paul A. Hunsicker and Richard J. Donnelly, 'Instruments to Measure Strength', Research Quarterly 26 (December 1955), 408–20; Adelaide Hunter, 'Contributions of R. Tait McKenzie to Modern Concepts of Physical Education', Research Quarterly 30 (May 1959), 160.

32 Pope, 'American Sport History – Toward a New Paradigm', 1–6.

33 These anthropological histories of recreations among the world's few remaining non-modern peoples and reports on the centrality of games in ancient non-Western cultures made the case that the devotion to and the cultivation of sport was a universal human behaviour that bred healthy societies – in much the same manner as the invocations of the ancient Greeks had served. Stumpf and Cozens' work on sports in South Pacific cultures provided new data to support the old contention that sound bodies were necessary for the cultivation of sound minds. Florence Stumpf and Frederick W. Cozens, 'Some Aspects of the Role of Games, Sports, and Recreational Activities in the Culture of Modern Primitive Peoples: The New Zealand Maoris', Research Quarterly 18 (October 1947), 198–218; Florence Stumpf and Frederick W. Cozens, 'Some Aspects of the Role of Games, Sports,

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and Recreational Activities in the Culture of Modern Primitive Peoples: II. The Fijians', Research Quarterly 20 (March 1949), 2–20. See also, Helen L. Dunlap, 'Games, Sports, Dancing and Other Vigorous Recreational Activities and Their Function in Samoan Culture', Research Quarterly 22 (October 1951), 298–311; William A. Goellner, 'The Court Ball Game of the Aboriginal Mayas', Research Quarterly 24 (May 1953), 147–68.

34 In several places in his recent The Field, Douglas Booth implies that the theories of Clifford Geertz have not been consistently 'appropriated or applied' in regards to '"Western" sports'. Booth, The Field, 161, 199–201. More historians of sports than Booth recognizes have employed Geertz, in greater and lesser doses. I will return to this argument later in the essay.

35 Edwin Bancroft Henderson, The Negro in Sports (Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, 1939); The Black Athlete: Emergence and Arrival (New York: Publishers Co., 1969). For a fascinating biography of Henderson see also, David Wiggins, 'Edwin Bancroft Henderson, African American Athletes, and the Writing of Sport History', in Glory Bound: Black Athletes in a White America (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 221–40.

36 Betty Spears and Richard A. Swanson, History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States, 3rd edn (Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown, 1988).

37 Lloyd M. Jones, 'Recent Changes in the Requirement and Conduct of Required Health and Physical Education for Men in Land Grant College and Universities', Research Quarterly 13 (October 1942), 364–72; Lawrence Rarick, 'College and University Physical Education Programs After One Year of War', Research Quarterly 14 (May 1943), 167–74; Louise S. Cobb and Verne S. Landreth, 'War Emergency Teacher Certification in Physical Education in the United States', Research Quarterly 14 (December 1943), 342–55; Ralph H. Johnson, 'Military Athletics at the University of Illinois', Research Quarterly 14 (December 1943), 378–84; A. Gwendolyn Drew, 'A History of the Concern of the Federal Government to the Physical Fitness of Non-Age Youth with Reference to the Schools, 1790–1941', 16 (October 1945), 196–205; T. Erwin Blesh, 'An Analysis of Prewar Certification Requirements for Teachers of Health and Physical Education in the 48 States', Research Quarterly 18 (March 1947), 54–61; Gladyce H. Bradly, 'The History of School Health Education in West Virginia, 1863–1945', Research Quarterly 18 (May 1947), 144–57; Laurence E. Moorehouse and Alex D. Aloia, 'Change in Certification Requirements of Physical Education Teachers in 13 States since 1942', Research Quarterly 19 (December 1948), 276–81.

38 Struna, 'Sport History', 152–57.

39 Massengale and Swanson, 'Exercise and Sport Science in 20th-Century America', 1–14; Struna, 'Sport History', 155–58.

40 See, for instance, the unintentionally humourous article, Barbara J. Hoepner, 'The Correct Spelling of Mrs. Beecher's Name: "Catharine" or "Catherine"', Research Quarterly 40 (March 1969), 235–36.

41 During the early 1960s his three most important doctoral students were Guy Lewis, John Lucas and Sharon Hale. Struna, 'Sport History', 152–57; Alan Metcalfe, 'Marvin Eyler: A Personal Tribute', Journal of Sport History 32 (Spring 2005), 71–5; John A. Lucas, 'Marvin Howard Eyler, A Consummate Educator', Journal of Sport History 32 (Spring 2005), 67–70; David K. Wiggins, 'Marvin Eyler and His Students: A Legacy of Scholarship in Sport History, Journal of Sport History 32 (Spring 2005), 77–90.

42 Marvin H. Eyler, 'Origins of Contemporary Sports', Research Quarterly 32 (December 1961), 480–89; Guy M. Lewis, 'America's First Intercollegiate Sport: The Regattas from 1852 to 1875', Research Quarterly 38 (December 1967), 637–48; John A. Lucas, 'Pedestrianism and the Struggle for the Sir John Astley Belt', Research Quarterly 39 (October 1968), 587–94; Maxwell L. Howell, 'Seal Stones of the Minoan Period in the Ashmolean Museum, Depicting Physical Activities', Research Quarterly 40 (October 1969), 509–17; Sharon McCarthy Hale, 'Possible Pythagorean Influences on Plato's Views of Physical Education in The Republic', Research Quarterly 40

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(December 1969), 692–99; Guy M. Lewis, 'Theodore Roosevelt's Role in the 1905 Football Controversy', Research Quarterly 40 (December 1969), 717–24.

43 Struna, 'Sport History', 155–56.

44 Eric Foner, ed., The New American History, rev. edn (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997).

45 Struna, 'Sport History', 155–60. In its first year NASSH captured 163 individual and eight institutional members, in the form of libraries, historical societies and other such entities. At its individual high point in 1997, NASSH had 418 individual members. The institutional high point was 1993 when 496 organizations joined. In the most recent data set for membership (2006), NASSH had 377 individual members and 452 institutional members. NASSH is currently in a very healthy position as a scholarly society. Annual conferences have drawn approximately 150 presenters for the last decade and the society enjoys a sound financial foundation. Ronald A. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer's Report for the Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention, May 25–28, 2007, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

46 Pope, 'American Sport History: Toward a New Paradigm', 3–6.

47 Two who did and took it to heart rank among the very top of American historians of sports, Elliott J. Gorn and Michael Oriard. They labelled James's book as 'the most profound and moving book ever written about sports'. Elliott J. Gorn and Michael Oriad, 'Taking Sports Seriously', Chronicle of Higher Education, (24 March 1995), A52.

48 C.L.R. James, Beyond a Boundary (Kingston, Jamaica: Sangster's Book Stores in association with Hutchinson, 1963); C.L.R. James, Beyond a Boundary (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

49 Curiously, in several places in his recent The Field, Douglas Booth implies that the theories of Clifford Geertz have not been consistently 'appropriated or applied' in regards to 'Western sports'. Booth, The Field, 161, 199–201. In fact, Geertz's ruminations on the methods and philosophies of cultural interpretation have had an enormous impact, particularly his The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, 1973); and Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Geertz's 'Deep Play: Notes on a Balinese Cockfight' in Interpretation of Cultures has greatly influenced recent American scholarship on sport, especially the work of such insightful historians as Elliott J. Gorn and Michael Oriard, who also tout the work of James. See the usages of prize fighting as cultural texts offered by Elliott J. Gorn, The Manly Art, Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); and Elliot J. Gorn, ed., Muhammad Ali: The People's Champ (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995). See also the masterful studies of American football as as a cultural text, Michael Oriard, Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), and King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). In fact, I have been applying Geertz to American sports for nearly two decades with a fervour that some colleagues have claimed borders on obsession. Mark Dyreson, Making the American Team: Sport, Culture and the Olympic Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), and Crafting Patriotism for Global Domination: America at the Olympics (London: Routledge, 2008).

50 Gerald Redmond, The Caledonian Games in Nineteenth-Century America (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971); Dale A. Somers, The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850–1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972); Robert Creamer, Babe: The Legend Comes to Life (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); Leverett T. Smith, The American Dream and the National Game (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1975).

51 Allen Guttmann, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), and A Whole New Ball Game: An Interpretation of American Sports (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

52 The following list offers a semi-comprehensive, chronological list of these works: Allen Guttmann, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia University Press,

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1978); Randy Roberts, Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Cary Goodman, Choosing Sides: Playground and Street Life on the Lower East Side (New York: Schocken Books, 1979); John A. Lucas, The Modern Olympic Games (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1980); Steven A. Riess, Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Richard C. Crepeau, Baseball: America's Diamond Mind: 19191941 (Orlando: University Presses of Florida, 1980); Leo Lowenfish, The Imperfect Diamond: The Story of Baseball's Reserve System and the Men Who Fought to Change It (New York: Stein and Day, 1980); Ted Vincent, The Rise and Fall of American Sport: Mudville's Revenge (New York: Seaview Books, 1981); Kendall Blanchard, The Mississippi Choctaws at Play: The Serious Side of Leisure (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Dominick Cavallo, Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880–1920 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Michael Oriard, Dreaming of Heroes: American Sports Fiction, 1868–1980 (Chicago, Nelson-Hall, 1982); Stephen Hardy, How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation, and Community, 1865–1915 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982); James C. Whorton, Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Eugene C. Murdock, Ban Johnson: Czar of Baseball (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1982); Jules Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1910 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Donald Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality, 1880–1910 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Randy Roberts, Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hope (New York: The Free Press, 1983); Donn Rogosin, Invisible Men: Life in Baseball's Negro Leagues (New York: Atheneum, 1983); Allen Guttmann, The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement (New York, Columbia University Press, 1984); Benjamin G. Rader, In Its Own Image: How Television Has Transformed Sports (New York, Free Press, 1984); Charles C. Alexander, Ty Cobb (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Chris Mead, Champion–Joe Louis: Black Hero in White America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985); Peter Levine, A.G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball: The Promise of American Sport (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); David Nasaw, Children of the City: At Work and at Play (Garden City, NY: AnchorPress/Doubleday, 1985); Melvin L. Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 182070 (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1986); Elliott J. Gorn, The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); William J. Baker, Jesse Owens: An American Life (New York: Free Press, 1986); Harvey Green, Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); Rob Ruck, Sandlot Seasons: Sport in Black Pittsburgh (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Neil J. Sullivan, The Dodgers Move West (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Jeffrey Sammons, Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Larry Englemann, The Goddess and the American Girl (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988);

Joan Chandler, Television and National Sport: The United States and Britain (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Martha Verbrugge, Able Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Late Nineteenth-Century Boston (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Charles C. Alexander, John J. McGraw (New York: Viking, 1988); Michael Isenberg, John L. Sullivan and His America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Ronald A. Smith, Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Allen Guttmann, A Whole New Ball Game: An Interpretation of American Sports (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

53 Some of these path-breaking studies by scholars trained in history departments or American studies programmes such as Riess, Touching Base (1980); Crepeau, Baseball (1980); Oriard, Dreaming of Heroes (1982); Whorton, Crusaders for Fitness (1982); Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment (1983);

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Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality; Roberts, Papa Jack (1983); Levine, A.G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball (1985); Gorn, The Manly Art (1986); Adelman, A Sporting Time (1986); and Baker, Jesse Owens (1986). Scholars trained in human movement studies programmes also turned out first-rate studies, including Hardy's How Boston Played (1982); and Smith's Sports and Freedom (1988). Each of these scholars were major contributors to NASSH.

54 Wiggins, 'Marvin Eyler and His Students', 77–90.

55 Jules Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), rev. edn (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

56 Some of these studies predated or appeared simultaneously with Tygiel's work, including Robert W. Peterson, Only the Ball Was White: A History of Legendary Black Players and All-Black Professional Teams (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970); William Brashler, Josh Gibson: A Life in the Negro Leagues (New York: Harper & Row, 1978); Roberts, Papa Jack, 1983; Rogosin, Invisible Men, 1983. Others followed in Tygiel's impressive wake, including Chris Mead, Champion–Joe Louis: Black Hero in White America (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1985); Baker, Jesse Owen, 1986; Robert Pennington, Breaking the Ice: The Racial Integration of Southwest Conference Football (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1987); Rob Ruck, Sandlot Seasons: Sport in Black Pittsburgh (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Jeffrey Sammons, Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Andrew Ritchie, Major Taylor: The Extraordinary Career of a Champion Bicycle Racer (San Francisco: Bicycle Books, 1988); Martin Duberman, Paul Robeson (New York: Knopf, 1988); John Carroll, Fritz Pollard: Pioneer in Racial Advancement (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Mark Ribowsky, 'Don't Look Back: Satchel Paige in the Shadows of Baseball (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994); David Zang, Moses Fleetwood Walker's Divided Heart: The Life of Baseball's First Black Major Leaguer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); John M. Hoberman, Darwin's Athletes: How Sport has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997); David Kenneth Wiggins, Glory Bound: Black Athletes in a White America (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997); Sam Lacy and Moses J. Newson, Fighting for Fairness: The Life Story of Hall of Fame Sportswriter (Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1998); Charles Kenyatta Ross, Outside the Lines: African Americans and the Integration of the National Football League (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Randy Roberts, 'But They Can't Beat Us': Oscar Robertson and the Crispus Attucks Tigers (Champaign, IL: Sports Publishing, Inc., 1999); Mike Marqusee, Redemption Song: Muhammad Ali and the Spirit of the Sixties (New York: Verso, 2000); Pamela Grundy, Learning to Win: Sports, Education, and Social Change in Twentieth-Century North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Robert C. Cottrell, The Best Pitcher in Baseball: The Life of Rube Foster, Negro League Giant (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Richard Edward Lapchick, Smashing Barriers: Race and Sport in the New Millennium (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 2001); Ron Thomas, They Cleared the Lane (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Jules Tygiel, Extra Bases: Reflections on Jackie Robinson, Race, and Baseball History (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Amy Bass, Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Douglas Hartmann, Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete: The 1968 Olympic Protests and their Aftermath (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); David K. Wiggins and Patrick Miller, The Unlevel Playing Field: A Documentary History of the African American Experience in Sport (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Michael E. Lomax, Black Baseball Entrepreneurs, 1860–1901: Operating by Any Means Necessary (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003); Andrew M. Kaye, The Pussycat of Prizefighting: Tiger Flowers and the Politics of Black Celebrity (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004); Patrick B. Miller and David Kenneth Wiggins, Sport and the Color Line: Black Athletes and Race Relations in 20th Century America (New York: Routledge, 2004); Bill Kirwin, Out of the Shadows: African American Baseball from the Cuban Giants to Jackie Robinson (Lincoln: University of

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57 On Native American sport see Kendall Blanchard, The Mississippi Choctaws at Play: The Serious Side of Leisure (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); John Bloom, To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Jeffrey P. Powers-Beck, The American Indian Integration of Baseball (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); C. Richard King, ed., Native Athletes in Sport & Society: A Reader (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); C. Richard King, ed., Native Americans and Sport in North America: Other Peoples' Games (London: Routledge, 2007); and Linda S. Peavy and Ursula Smith, Full-Court Quest: The Girls from Fort Shaw Indian School, Basketball Champions of the World (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008). On Hispanics see Samuel O. Regalado, Viva Baseball! Latin Major Leaguers and Their Special Hunger (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Adrian Burgos, Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Jorge Iber and Samuel O. Regalado, Mexican Americans and Sports: A Reader on Athletics and Barrio Life (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007).

58 Ethnicity, social class and modernization have been at the core of some of the finest works in the field, including Steven A. Riess, Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); John Dizikes, Sportsmen and Gamesmen (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981); Donald Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality, 1880–1910 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Peter Levine, A.G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball: The Promise of American Sport (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Elliott J. Gorn, The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); Warren J. Goldstein, Playing For Keeps: A History of Early Baseball (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); George B. Kirsch, The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838–72 (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1989); Steven A. Riess, Sport in Industrial America, 1850–1920 (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1995); John M. Carroll, Red Grange and the Rise of Modern Football (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

Many of the studies of these issues have been framed through the lens of urban history, one of the most dynamic components of the new social history. Sport has provided an especially important arena for urban histories. See particularly, Dale A. Somers, The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850–1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972); Cary Goodman, Choosing Sides: Playground and Street Life on the Lower East Side (New York: Schocken Books, 1979); Dominick Cavallo, Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880–1920

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An additional productive area includes histories of working-class and middle-class attitudes toward sport, leisure and labour. See especially, Ted Vincent, The Rise and Fall of American Sport: Mudville's Revenge (New York: Seaview Books, 1981); Richard Butsch, ed., For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); E. Digby Baltzell, Sporting Gentlemen: Men's Tennis from the Age of Honor to the Cult of Superstar (New York: Free Press, 1995); Cindy Aron, Working At Play: A History of Vacations in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

59 Riess, Touching Base (1980); Roberts, Papa Jack (1983); Hardy, How Boston Played (1982); Adelman, A Sporting Time (1986); Gorn, The Manly Art (1986).

60 On sport and Judaism see Peter Levine, Ellis Island to Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Steven A. Riess, ed., Sports and the American Jew (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998); Jeffrey S. Gurock, Judaism's Encounter with American Sports (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005). On Christianity and sport see Tony Ladd and James A. Mathisen, Muscular Christianity: Evangelical Protestants and the Development of American Sport (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1999); Clifford Putney, Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Timothy B. Neary, Taking It to the Streets: Catholic Liberalism, Race and Sport in TwentiethCentury Urban America (Notre Dame, IN: Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, 2004); and William J. Baker, Playing with God: Religion and Modern Sport (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). On Mormonism and sport see Richard Ian Kimball, Sports in Zion: Mormon Recreation, 1890–1940 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

61 On the gendered dimensions of American sport see especially, J.A. Mangan and Roberta Park, eds, From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras (London: Frank Cass, 1987); Larry Englemann, The Goddess and the American Girl (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Patricia Marks, Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990); Allen Guttmann, Women's Sports: A History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Barbara Gregorich, Women at Play: The Story of Women in Baseball (San Diego: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1993); Susan K. Cahn, Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport (New York: Free Press, 1994); Susan Cayleff, Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Pamela Grundy and Susan Shackelford, Shattering the Glass: The Remarkable History of Women's Basketball (New York: New Press, 2005); Patricia Campbell Warner, When the Girls Came out to Play: The Birth of American Sportswear (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006); Ralph Melnick, Senda Berenson: The Unlikely Founder of Women's Basketball (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007); J.A. Mangan and Patricia Vertinsky, Gender, Sport, Science: Selected Writings of Roberta J. Park (London: Routledge, 2007).

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Several excellent studies on Title IX and women sports have appeared in the last few years. See Ying WuShanley, Playing Nice and Losing: The Struggle for Control of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics, 1960–2000 (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004); Sarah K. Fields, Female Gladiators: Gender, Law, and Contact Sport in America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Welch Suggs, A Place on the Team: The Triumph and Tragedy of Title IX (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Nancy Hogshead-Makar and Andrew S. Zimbalist, Equal Play: Title IX and Social Change (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007).

62 See particularly James's chapter, 'What Is Art?' in Beyond a Boundary, 191–211.

63 Warren I. Susman, 'Culture and Civilization: The Nineteen-Twenties', and 'Culture Heroes: Ford, Barton, Ruth', in Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 10524 and 12249.

64 Michael Oriard, Dreaming of Heroes: American Sports Fiction, 1868–1980 (Chicago, Nelson-Hall, 1982); Sporting with the Gods: The Rhetoric of Play and Game in American Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly & the Daily Press (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Brand NFL: Making and Selling America's Favorite Sport (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

65 Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality (1983); Steven W. Pope, 'Negotiating the 'Folk Highway' of the Nation: Sport, Public Culture and American Identity, 1870–1940', Journal of Social History 27 (1993), 327–40; S.W. Pope, Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876–1926 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), and rev. edn (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007); Wanda E. Wakefield, Playing to Win: Sports and the American Military, 1898–1945 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997); Steven R. Bullock, Playing for Their Nation:
Baseball and the American Military during World War II (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Mark Dyreson, Making the American Team: Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Mark Dyreson, Crafting Patriotism for Global Domination: America at the Olympics (London: Routledge, 2008).

66 Pamela Grundy, Learning to Win: Sports, Education, and Social Change in Twentieth-Century North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

67 Arguments regarding the power of sport to produce social capital have been raised in particular by the political theorist Robert Putnam in his provocative and popular works on the subject. Robert D. Putnam, 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital', Journal of Democracy 6 (1995), 65–78; Robert Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000). For a critique of Putnam's thesis see Mark Dyreson, 'Maybe It's Better to Bowl Alone: Sport, Community, and Democracy in American Thought', Culture, Society, Sport 4 (2001), 19–30.

68 For a precursor to the studies of media and sport see Norris Wilson Yates, William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times: A Study of the Big Bear School of Humor (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957). Since the 1980s a plethora of excellent analyses of sport media have appeared. See in particular, Benjamin G. Rader, In Its Own Image: How Television Has Transformed Sports (New York, Free Press, 1984); Joan Chandler, Television and National Sport: The United States and Britain (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Charles Fountain, Sportswriter: The Life and Times of Grantland Rice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Mark Inabinett, Grantland Rice and His Heroes (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994); Bruce J. Evensen, When Dempsey Fought Tunney: Heroes, Hokum and Storytelling in the Jazz Age (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); William A. Harper, How You Played the Game: The Life of Grantland Rice (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999); Ronald A. Smith, Play-by-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sport (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University

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Press, 2001); Leonard Koppett, The Rise and Fall of the Press Box (Toronto: Sport Classic Books, 2003); Irwin Silber and Lester Rodney, Press Box Red: The Story of Lester Rodney, The Communist Who Helped Break the Color Line in American (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003); Guy Reel, The National Police Gazette and the Making of the Modern American Man, 1879–1906 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

69 Allen Guttmann, The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement (New York, Columbia University Press, 1984); Allen Guttmann, Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Walter LaFeber, Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism (New York: Norton, 1999); David L. Andrews, Michael Jordan, Inc.: Corporate Sport, Media Culture, and Late Modern America (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); Amy Bass, Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Douglas Hartmann, Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete: The 1968 Olympic Protests and their Aftermath (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Larry R. Gerlach, ed., The Winter Olympics: From Chamonix to Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004); Barbara J. Keys, Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Gerald R. Gems, The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Susan Brownell, ed., The 1904 Anthropology Days and Olympic Games: Sport, Race, and American Imperialism (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Mark Dyreson, Crafting Patriotism for Global Domination: America at the Olympics (London: Routledge, 2008).

70 The locus of this new trend has moved from Columbia University to Harvard University, as both faculty and graduate students have delved into international sport. LaFeber, Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism (1999); Keys, Globalizing Sport (2006).

71 The two historians of sport who began to work on baseball during the 1960s eventually published three-volume histories of the national pastime. Harold Seymour, Baseball, 3 volumes: I. The Early Years, II. The Golden Age, III. The People's Game (New York, Oxford University Press, 1960–76); David Q. Voight, American Baseball, 3 volumes: I. From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System, II. From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion, III. From Postwar Expansion to the Electronic Age (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1983). A fine single-volume history of baseball has also appeared: Benjamin G. Rader, Baseball: A History of America's Game (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

Monographs on specific baseball subjects have proliferated as well. Richard C. Crepeau, Baseball: America's Diamond Mind: 1919–1941 (Orlando: University Presses of Florida, 1980); Leo Lowenfish, The Imperfect Diamond: The Story of Baseball's Reserve System and the Men Who Fought to Change It (New York: Stein and Day, 1980); Eugene C. Murdock, Ban Johnson: Czar of Baseball (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1982); Charles C. Alexander, Ty Cobb (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Neil J. Sullivan, The Dodgers Move West (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Charles C. Alexander, John J. McGraw (New York: Viking, 1988); Charles C. Alexander, Our Game: An American Baseball History (New York: Henry Holt, 1991); Andrew Zimbalist, Baseball and Billions: A Probing Look Inside the Big Business of Our National Pastime (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Michael Gershman, Diamonds: The Evolution of the Ballpark (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993); Neil Lanctot, Fair Dealing and Clean Playing: The Hilldale Club and the Development of Professional Baseball, 1910–1932 (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1994); Charles C. Alexander, Rogers Hornsby: A Biography (New York: Henry Holt, 1995); Patrick J. Harrigan, The Detroit Tigers: Club and Community, 1945– 1995 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Steven R. Bullock, Playing for Their Nation: Baseball and the American Military during World War II (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). Next to baseball, boxing has enjoyed the most scholarly attention. Randy Roberts, Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Randy Roberts, Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the

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Era of White Hope (New York: The Free Press, 1983); Michael Isenberg, John L. Sullivan and His America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Jeffrey Sammons, Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Gerald Early, The Culture of Bruising: Essays on Prizefighting, Literature and Modern American Culture (Hopewell, NJ: Ecco Press, 1994); Elliott J. Gorn, ed., Muhammad Ali: The People's Champ (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Andrew M. Kaye, The Pussycat of Prizefighting: Tiger Flowers and the Politics of Black Celebrity (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004).

American football, in particular the college version, has begun to receive a great deal of attention. On college and other brands of football and on college sports in general see, in addition to Michael Oriard's many works, Ronald A. Smith, Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Murray Sperber, College Sports, Inc.: The Athletic Department vs. the University (New York: Henry Holt, 1990); Murray Sperber, Shake Down the Thunder: The Creation of Notre Dame Football (New York: Henry Holt, 1993); John Thelin, Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in College Athletics (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1994); Robin Lester, Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1995); Murray Sperber, Onward to Victory: The Crises That Shaped College Sport (New York: Henry Holt, 1998); Murray Sperber, Beer and Circuses: How BigTime College Sports Is Crippling Undergraduate Education (New York: Henry Holt, 2000); John Watterson, College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Gerald R. Gems, For Pride, Profit, and Patriarchy: Football and the Incorporation of American Cultural Values (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000); Ronald A. Smith, Play-by-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sport (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Richard Whittingham, Rites of Autumn: The Story of College Football (New York: Free Press, 2001); Raymond Schmidt, Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919–1930 (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007).

On basketball see Robert W. Peterson, Cages to Jump Shots: Pro Basketball's Early Years (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Randy Roberts, 'But They Can't Beat Us': Oscar Robertson and the Crispus Attucks Tigers (Champaign, IL: Sports Publishing Inc., 1999); Murry R. Nelson, The Originals: The New York Celtics Invent Modern Basketball (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1999); Ron Thomas, They Cleared the Lane (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Adolph H. Grundman, The Golden Age of Amateur Basketball: The AAU Tournament, 1921–1968 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Jeffrey Lane, Under the Boards: The Cultural Revolution in Basketball (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Milton S. Katz, Breaking Through: John B. McLendon: Basketball Legend and Civil Rights Pioneer (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2007).

For other sports see Pamela Cooper, The American Marathon (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998); Donald M. Fisher, Lacrosse: A History of the Game (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Alan S. Katchen, Abel Kiviat, National Champion: Twentieth-Century Track & Field and the Melting Pot (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009).

72 David Zang, SportsWars: Athletes in the Age of Aquarius (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2001). For other exceptions see Randy Roberts and James Olson, Winning Is the Only Thing: Sports in American Society since 1945 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Richard O.

Davies, America's Obsession: Sports and Society since 1945 (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994); Mike Marqusee, Redemption Song: Muhammad Ali and the Spirit of the Sixties (New York: Verso, 2000); Kathryn Jay, More than Just a Game: Sports in American Life since 1945 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Tod Papageorge, American Sports, 1970: Or How We Spent the War in Vietnam (New York: Aperture, 2007); Kurt Edward Kemper, College Football and American Culture in the Cold War Era (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); James W.

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Johnson, The Dandy Dons: Bill Russell, K.C. Jones, Phil Woolpert, and One of College Basketball's Greatest and Most Innovative Teams (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

73 For notable exceptions see Bruce Kuklick, To Everything a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909–1976 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Peter Richmond, Ballpark: Camden Yards and the Building of an American Dream (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993); Robert C. Trumpbour, The New Cathedrals: Politics and Media in the History of Stadium Construction (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007); Mark Dyreson and Robert Trumpbour, eds, The Rise of Modern Stadiums in the United States: Cathedrals of Sport (London: Routledge, 2009).

74 A few good studies on those subjects have appeared. See, Gerald Redmond, The Caledonian Games in Nineteenth-Century America (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971); Mary Lou LeCompte, Cowgirls of the Rodeo: Pioneer Professional Athletes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Scott C. Martin, Killing Time: Leisure and Culture in Southwestern Pennsylvania, 1800–1850 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995).

75 Nancy Struna, People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure and Labor in Early Anglo-American (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

76 A by no means inclusive list of sport and society series would begin with the seminal series begun in the early 1980s at the University of Illinois Press and include the Sport in Global Society book series at Routledge Press, and series at the Syracuse University Press, University of Nebraska Press, the University of Tennessee Press, the University of Arkansas Press, the University of Mississippi Press, the State University of New York Press and Johns Hopkins University Press. Most university presses publish at least occasional volumes on the history of sport, including the University of North Carolina Press, Oxford University Press, Columbia University Press, Cornell University Press, Harvard University Press, University of Minnesota Press, New York University Press, University of Texas Press, Texas A&M University Press, University of California Press, Duke University Press, Yale University Press, Princeton University Press, University of Georgia Press, University of Oklahoma Press, Pennsylvania State University Press and Cambridge University Press.

77 The list of English-language journals focused on the historical approaches to sport is quite large, and includes the Journal of Sport History, the International Journal of the History of Sport, Sport History Review Sport History Review, Sport in History, Sport and Society, Sporting Traditions, Journal of Olympic History, Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies, Journal of Comparative Physical Education and Sport, Stadion, Nine and Football Studies.

78 Among the earliest texts were those produced by scholars with homes in physical education: Betty Mary Spears, Richard A. Swanson and Elaine T. Smith, History of Sport and Physical Activity in the United States (Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown Co., 1978); John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, Saga of American Sport (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1978); Paula D. Welch and Harold A. Lerch, History of American Physical Education and Sport (Springfield, IL: C.C. Thomas, 1981). Very quickly, those in history departments followed suit: Harry Jebsen, Sports: A Microcosm of Twentieth-Century America (St Louis, MO: Forum Press, 1978); William J. Baker, Sports in the Western World (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982); Benjamin G. Rader, American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983). Rader's text become the seminal undergraduate reader in the field and is now is a sixth edition. Benjamin G. Rader, American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators, sixth edn (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2009). Following Rader were several other solid texts by both historians of sport and sports historians, including Elliott Gorn and Warren Goldstein, A Brief History of American Sports (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993); Richard O. Davies, Sports in American Life: A History (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007); Dave Zirin, A People's History of Sports in the United States: 250 Years of Politics, Protest, People, and Play (New York: New Press, 2008); Gerald R. Gems, Linda J. Borish and Gertrud Pfister, Sports in American History: From Colonization to Globalization (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2008).

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79 The best, a solid collection of primary and secondary sources, is Steven A. Riess, ed., Major Problems in American Sport History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997). Other strong collections of secondary sources include David K. Wiggins, Sport in America: From Wicked Amusement to National Obsession (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994); S.W. Pope, ed., The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Steven Wieting, ed., Sport and Memory in North America (London: Routledge, 2001); Mark Dyreson and J.A. Mangan, eds, Sport and American Society: Insularity, Exceptionalism and 'Imperialism' (London: Routledge, 2007); Benjamin Eastman, Sean Brown and Michael Ralph, eds, America's Game(s): A Critical Anthropology of Sport (London: Routledge, 2007); Alan Klein, American Sports: An Anthropological Approach (London: Routledge, 2008); Donald Kyle and Robert R. Fairbanks, eds, Baseball in America and America in Baseball (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008).

80 In addition to Booth, The Field, and Pope, 'American Sport History – Toward a New Paradigm', there are several other excellent calls for moving beyond existing methodologies. See Stephen Hardy, 'Entrepreneurs, Structures, and the Sportgeist: Old Tensions in a Modern Industry', in Donald G. Kyle and Gary Stark, eds, Essays in Sport History and Sport Mythology (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1990), 45–82; Jeffery Hill, 'Reading the Stars: A Post-Modernist Approach to Sports History', The Sports Historian 14 (1994), 45–55; Jeffery Hill, 'British Sports History: A Post-modern Future?', Journal of Sport History 23 (Spring 1996), 1–19; Catriona Parratt, 'Reflecting on Sport History in the 1990s', Sport History Review 29 (May 1998), 4–17; Jeffery Hill, 'Cocks, Cats, Caps and Cups: A Semiotic Approach to Sport and National Identity', Culture, Sport, Society 2 (Summer 1999), 1–21; Synthia Sydnor, 'A History of Synchronized Swimming', Journal of Sport History 25 (Summer 1998), 252–67; Murray Phillips, 'Deconstructing Sport History: The Postmodern Challenge', Journal of Sport History 28 (Fall 2001), 327–43; Murray Phillips, ed., Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006); Colin Howell, 'Assessing Sport History and the Cultural and Linguistic Turn', Journal of Sport History 34 (Fall 2007), 459–65.

In addition, see the issue of Sporting Traditions 16 (November 1999), 1–108, the Australian journal of the history of sport, devoted to the question, 'the end of sports history?' The issue includes very interesting essays by Douglas Booth and Annemarie Jutel, John Nauright, Colin Tatz, Joseph Arbena, Amanda Smith, Joan Chandler, Murray Phillips, J.A. Mangan, David L. Andrews, Stephen Hardy and Charlotte Macdonald.

81 I concur with S.W. Pope's assessment of the innovative challenge Hardy made to historians of sport and sports historians. Pope, 'American Sport History – Toward a New Paradigm', 6; Hardy, 'Entrepreneurs, Structures, and the Sportgeist', 45–82.

82 For an early effort at refocusing on memory and cycles instead of replicating the standard linear approaches of the modernization school see Stephen R. Fox, Big Leagues: Professional Baseball, Football, and Basketball in National Memory (New York: William Morrow, 1994). For an example of the trend in broader American historical discourse see Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of American Culture (New York: Knopf, 1991).

83 Daniel A. Nathan, Saying It's So: A Cultural History of the Black Sox Scandal (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); also see John Nauright, 'Nostalgia, Culture and Modern Sport', in V. Møller and J. Nauright, eds, The Essence of Sport (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2003), 35–50.

84 Electronic searches of the Chronicle of Higher Education and Perspectives, the job-listing newsletter of the American Historical Association, reveal nary a job advertised since 1988 in history departments that included sport as a desired sub-field. Indeed, among the 126 specializations and 352 specific fields listed, including 'maritime' and 'chemistry', in the American Historical Association's History Doctoral Program Directory, the history of sport appears only in Kansas State

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University's entry, www.historians. org/projects/cge/PhD/Specializations.cfm (accessed 12 October 2007).

85 For an overview of the current state of kinesiology see Karl Newell, 'Kinesiology Challenges of Multiple Agendas', Quest 59 (February 2007), 5–24; Jerry R. Thomas, Jane E. Clark, Deborah L. Feltz, R. Scott Kretchmar, James R. Morrow, Jr, T. Gilmour Reeve and Michael G. Wade, 'The Academy Promotes, Unifies and Evaluates Doctoral Education in Kinesiology', Quest 59 (February 2007), 174–94; Roberta Rikli, 'Kinesiology: A "Homeless" Field: Addressing Organization and Leadership Needs', Quest 58 (August 2006), 287–309.

86 Dyreson, Making the American Team.

87 I stand between the two provinces in my own career both as a historian of sport and a sports historian. I earned a PhD in history (as well as an MA and a BS – in anthropology also) and taught in history departments for a decade before taking a position in one of the leading kinesiology departments in the USA. I regularly sneak my historian's training into my classes, pushing students to consider how racial dynamics on playing fields illuminate the larger history of race relations in the USA and other nations. At the same time, since I am housed in a science-driven kinesiology department, my students need me to serve them as a sports historian, especially a sport science historian, and to ask them to reconsider notions that race is a scientific fact written in human biology that represents a causal force in the human physical abilities – a perspective that still shapes some of the science they learn. Confusing social data, such as the percentages of African-Americans in the National Basketball Association or National Football League, or the number of Olympic medals won by ethnicity or race, with genetic data remains an all too common problem in studies of race and sport, as Jon Entine's Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We Are Afraid To Talk About It (New York: Public Affairs, 2000), illustrates. For histories that illuminate this particular intersection of science and culture see Hoberman, Darwin's Athletes; David K. Wiggins, '"Great Speed But Little Stamina": The Historical Debate Over Black Athletic Superiority', Journal of Sport History 16 (summer 1989), 158–85; Patrick B. Miller, 'The Anatomy of Scientific Racism: Racialist Responses to Black Athletic Achievement', Journal of Sport History 25 (Spring 1998), 119–51; Mark Dyreson, 'American Ideas About Race and Olympic Races from the 1890s to the 1950s: Shattering Myths or Reinforcing Scientific Racism?', Journal of Sport History 28 (summer 2001), 173–215. See also, Jeffrey T. Sammons, 'A Proportional and Measured Response to the Provocation That is Darwin's Athletes', Journal of Sport History 24 (Fall 1997), 378–88; and John Hoberman, 'How Not to Misread Darwin's Athletes: A Response to Jeffrey Sammons', Journal of Sport History 24 (Fall 1997), 389–96.

88 James C. Whorton, Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Harvey Green, Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); Martha Verbrugge, Able Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Late Nineteenth-Century Boston (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); David L. Chapman, Sandow the Magnificent: Eugen Sandow and the Beginnings of Body Building (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Jan Todd, Physical Culture and the Body Beautiful: Purposive Exercise in the Lives of American Women, 1800–1870 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998); John D. Fair, Muscletown USA: Bob Hoffman and the Manly Culture of York Barbell (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

89 Jack W. Berryman and Roberta J. Park, eds, Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Jack W. Berryman, Out of Many, One: A History of the American College of Sports Medicine (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1995); J.A. Mangan and Patricia Vertinsky, Gender, Sport, Science: Selected Writings of Roberta J. Park (London: Routledge, 2007).

Park's historical essays in the Research Quarterly, a key journal in human movement studies, illuminate her long concern with these subjects. Roberta J. Park, 'Concern for Health and Exercise as Expressed in the Writings of 18th Century Physicians and Informed Laymen (England, France,

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Switzerland)′, Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 47 (December 1976), 756–67; ‘Strong Bodies, Healthful Regimens, and Playful Recreations as Viewed by Utopian Authors of the 16th and 17th Centuries′, Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 49 (December 1978), 498–511; ‘Research Quarterly and Its Antecedents: History of the Research Quarterly′, Research Quarterly of
Exercise and Sport Science 51 (March 1980), 1–22; ‘Research and Scholarship in the History of Physical Education and Sport: The Current State of Affairs′, Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 54 (June 1983), 93–103; ‘1989 C.H. McCloy Research Lecture: Health, Exercise, and the Biomedical Impulse, 1870–1914′, Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 61 (June 1990), 126–40; ‘The Rise and Demise of Harvard′s B.S. Program in Anatomy, Physiology, and Physical Training: A Case of Conflicts of Interest and Scarce Resources′, Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 63 (September 1992), 246–60; ‘A Long and Productive Career: Franklin M. Henry – Scientist, Mentor, Pioneer′, Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 65 (December 1994), 295–307; ‘G. Lawrence Rarick: Gentleman, Scholar, and Consummate Professional′, Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 68 (September 1997), 182–94; Roberta J. Park, ‘″Time Given Freely to Worthwhile Causes″, Anna S. Espenschade′s Contributions to Physical Education′, Research Quarterly of Exercise and Sport Science 71 (June 2000), 99–115.

90 That is certainly my experience in the Department of Kinesiology at Penn State.

91 Alexander Wolff, ‘The Audacity of Hoops′, Sports Illustrated (19 January 2009), 57–63.

92 James wrote in his brief preface, ‘This book is neither cricket reminiscences nor autobiography. It poses the question What do they know of cricket who only cricket know? To answer involves ideas as well as facts′. Beyond a Boundary, xxi.