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Book of Abstracts

This collection of abstracts includes all papers and speaker biographies submitted by the deadline. It is correct at time of going to press (19 August 2022).

Keynote Paper 1: BSSH at 40

Richard Holt, De Montfort University

Taking Stock: British Sports History Forty Years On

This lecture is a survey by theme of what has been done on the history of sport in Britain from the early eighteenth century to the late twentieth century both by members of the BSSH and by others. It is personal, selective and restricted to book length works. Much work of high quality and historical importance has inevitably slipped through the net. My approach to the subject has always been to see sport through the lens of general history. This is reflected in the structure I have chosen, which is organised in three parts, each of which has two linked themes:

- (1) my first part is based on social class and looks first at professionalism both as an occupation and a commercial spectacle and secondly at amateurism in terms of participation and ideology;
- (2) the second part looks at the cross-cutting themes of gender and ethnicity both in their own terms and in their relationship to the social structure of Britain;
- (3) the third part deals with nationalism and internationalism both in terms of the United Kingdom as a multi-national state and its wider role in world sport.

In each case I will briefly try to indicate not only what has been well done, but also some neglected or unexplored questions and topics. I will conclude by looking at what I know least, and what I know best: the history of physical culture and the body; and the writing of general histories of sport.

Richard Holt's Oxford doctorate was published as *Sport and Society in Modern France* (1981) and was followed by *Sport and the British* (1989), which he is currently re-writing. He is Professor emeritus in the International Centre for Sports History and Culture, DMU. He gave his first keynote lecture to the inaugural meeting of the BSSH in 1981, and has since published widely on the history of sport.

Session 1: Sporting Equipment and Kits

Elif Akarlilar, Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts London, UK

Evolution of football kit design (1950's and 1960's): Changing technologies and internalization the kit after WW II

This paper explores the evolution of football kit design to discuss how the kit evolved from functional clothing to a mass-consumed product after WWII. The study positions the football kit as a global product, shaped by the rules and regulations of the Football Association and international organizations and changing media and materials. Using Appadurai's concept of

global flow, the paper considers the emerging global football network after the 1950's as a key area to introduce new designs and usages that have shaped the materiality and representation of the football kit. It examines, in particular, the changing rules and material influences that shaped the kit in the UK and Continental Europe in the 1950s and 1960's as football was re-establishing itself. Three different aspects are examined – the role of football institutions in guiding the design standards, the influence of new materials and technologies, and the role of media on the design of the football kit. By presenting the data collected from the FIFA and football archives, such as players' equipment manuals, regulation documents, and marketing materials, the paper will highlight the interaction of social practices, material innovations, and technological changes that impact the internalization of the design of the football kit.

Elif Akarlilar holds a Master of Arts in Costume Studies from New York University. She is a third year PhD student at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts London. Her doctoral research explores the evolution of football kit design and its visual representation to discover how the kit evolved from a functional product to mass-consumed casual wear after 1945. Her research focuses on the relation between the design, representation, and materiality of sports and leisure clothing and examines the intersections of social and technological aspects.

Erica Munkwitz, American University, Washington DC, USA

Fields of Dreams: Horse Sports and the English Landscape

Sports have a considerable impact on how we design and understand landscapes – and vice versa, landscapes impact how sports are played. One of the most important “sport landscapes” has been the English countryside, from which field sports like fox-hunting developed and evolved from the late eighteenth through twentieth centuries. Changes in these landscapes not only impacted sporting strategies, but also influenced new ideals of gender and femininity in the Victorian era. In the early eighteenth century fox-hunting was a leisurely countryside recreation, conducted at slow speeds with little jumping – meaning that women riding sidesaddle could easily participate. By the late eighteenth century, however, this landscape was being transformed by enclosure; thus, speeds increased as the number of jumps increased – meaning that women were all but excluded from participating. Sportswomen responded to these changes by adopting a new kind of sidesaddle that allowed them to safely jump and gallop at speed. Women thus rejoined field sports and gained a sporting parity with male sportsmen. In this way, the landscape of the English countryside transformed fox-hunting, as much as hunting transformed the countryside – both of which advanced sporting equality for women.

Erica Munkwitz is a Professorial Lecturer in Modern British and European history at American University in Washington, DC. Her research focuses on gender, sport and empire in modern Britain. Her first book, *Women, Horse Sports, and Liberation: Equestrianism and Britain from the 18th to the 20th Centuries*, was published by Routledge in 2021.

Nick Guoth, Independent Scholar, Australia

By the Numbers: Antipodean initiatives in football shirt numbering

Numbers on the back of players shirts is assumed in almost all sports. For various forms of football, this was common as far back as the late nineteenth century. Yet for the Association variant, it took until 1950 for its governing body FIFA to insist on team numbers for the World Cup in Brazil. Two decades prior various trials of numbering took place, including the 1933 Football Association Cup Final between Everton and Manchester City. Many have seen this as its inauguration into the football folklore. However, in Australia and New Zealand, numbering of shirts of Association football players was commonplace just after the turn of

the century. This paper extends further a chapter in the recent book by the authors to investigate the numbering of shirts and how this altered throughout the early part of the nineteenth century. Particular reference will be to the Australasian context including the usage of numbered shirts as part of the international series of 1922 and 1923 between Australia and New Zealand. The paper, thus, creates alternate views of a lesser known aspect of football history.

Nick Guoth is a retired historian who has written extensively on 19th and early 20th century Association football in Australasia. He is working with Trevor Thompson, who is well known for his decades' long involvement in Australian Association football through radio and print media. Together, Nick and Trevor have recently released their 2022 book *Burning Ambition: The Centenary of Australia-New Zealand Football Ashes*.

Session 2: Intercultural Connections

Daphné Bolz, University of Münster, Germany and University of Rouen Normandy, France

From drill to fun? Differences and variations in interwar British physical education

The interwar years were a turning point in the development of sport and physical training in Europe. After WWI, the spread of various forms of physical culture resumed across Europe as part of a wider 'modernity', and this was particularly noticeable in Britain. There were numerous debates about the role of the state in promoting health and national efficiency and on physical education in schools (McIntosh, Zweiniger-Bargielowska, McDonald). This paper will provide an overview of the European situation and set the development of interwar British physical education in this broad context, highlighting differences and variations. Several themes will be considered: theoretical orientation given by the Board of Education, exercises and methodology in PE, school equipment and facilities, training of teachers, gender differentiation, etc. In particular, the paper will discuss the content of the 1933 *Syballus of Physical Training for Schools* and examine international exchanges and possible influences. The main sources for this research are printed documents and other deposits in the London Metropolitan Archives and the National Archives at Kew.

Daphné Bolz is an associate professor (MCF-HDR) at the University of Rouen Normandy (France) and currently an EU Research Fellow at the University of Münster (Germany). Her work focus on sports architecture, the Olympic Games and international relations in sport and PE in Europe. She is the President of the European Committee for Sports History (CESH).

Amanda Callen-Spen, Royal Historical Society, UK

'It will not make them ugly like other methods of what you call physical culture': Japonisme, women and the Japanese martial arts in Edwardian Britain

The Anglo-Japanese relationship of the Edwardian period contributed to profound cultural and political transitions in Britain. Japonisme was the height of fashion, and a small group of young Japanese men brought their 'scientific' approach to fighting, otherwise known as *jūjutsu* or judo, to Britain. Demonstrating how a smaller man could defeat a much larger, heavier opponent, they were soon employed by the British Government to teach the police and armed forces these 'new' techniques. Remarkably, *jūjutsu* was also promoted to British women, a group who had previously enjoyed little defence against those stronger than themselves. In a disturbing parallel with the debate over women's safety in Britain today, current scholarship shows the culture of domestic abuse and attack in the street through the

period. Women sought effective methods of self-defence. Additionally, as militancy in the women's suffrage movement gained momentum, these techniques were appropriated by women who trained under the early Japanese teachers, contributing to a new culture of feminist agency and aggression to achieve political goals. This paper introduces the key players whilst illustrating the importance of a multidisciplinary approach to transnational studies in revealing new and hitherto untapped resources to tell the global story of the Edwardian period.

Amanda Callan-Spenn is an ECR working in the fields of theatre and martial arts in the early twentieth century. She is an Associate Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Co-convenor of the Sport and Leisure Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, and an Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Officer of the British Society of Sports History.

Saverio Battente, University of Siena, Italy

Between UK and Siena: Ida Nomi Pesciolini and the birth of the female basketball in Italy
Ida Nomi Pesciolini imported basketball to Italy in 1907 in Siena. To study her history, it's really useful to understand the emancipation process of women in Italy started, thanks to the sport. At the same time, it's interesting to discover how Siena, a small city in which medieval traditions were so fundamental, Pesciolini introduced this modern sport and after her in 1909 Monsignor Nazareno Orlandi founded the first male basketball team in Italy, importing two baskets from the UK. One of the reasons was that in Siena there was an important Anglo-Saxon community from the grand tour which guaranteed an important link with the UK.

Saverio Battente is a Professor of Contemporary History in the Department of Social, Political and Cognitive Sciences at the University of Siena, Italy.

Session 3: Politics, Community and Memory

Huw Richards, St Mary's University, UK

Jim McCormick and the Baseball Hall of Fame

Baseball's Hall of Fame is more than just a decent museum. Its importance reflects baseball's fascination with, and respect for, its history. Debates over elections are a barometer for changing conceptions of what constitutes greatness. Like baseball as a whole, it has inspired copious research which, while non-academic, is well up to standard in depth and rigour: books like Bill James's *The Politics of Glory* (1994), Jay Jaffe's *Cooperstown Casebook* (2017) and resources like the Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) biographical archive and Baseball Reference website. All impinge on Jim McCormick, the Glasgow-born pitcher active from 1878 to 1887, whose score on James's Hall of Fame Index is 194, the highest for any unelected eligible player not tainted by Performance Enhancing Drugs. Yet he was last considered in the 1950s. Jay Wiley, curator of the 'McCormick for the Hall of Fame' website, attributes his exclusion to a shortened career depriving him of the vital 'counting statistic' of 300 wins. Chris Rainey's SABR essay points to the playing conditions of early baseball. This paper examines the reasons for his rejection, and chances of eventual induction, in the light of the Hall's history, politics and changing practices.

Huw Richards lectures at St Mary's University, Twickenham, and is former Rugby Correspondent of the *Financial Times* and Cricket Correspondent for the *International Herald Tribune*. He is author of rugby union histories *Dragons and All Blacks* and *A Game*

for Hooligans, and co-author of *The Indomitables, Rugby League's Greatest Tour* (forthcoming).

Pierre Botcherby, University of Warwick, UK

'This sporting life': community, de-industrialisation, and Rugby League in St. Helens

This paper argues for sport's – particularly Rugby League's – importance for understanding community in northern England. Concentrated in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cumbria, regions synonymous with de-industrialisation, League's heartlands are the ex-industrial *towns* central to current political debates like 'levelling up' and the 'Red Wall'. The paper begins in St. Helens, my thesis' case study town and a bastion of Rugby League. Whether amateur or professional, League has intertwined with the town's working-class industries since the nineteenth century. Workplace amateur sport was important in paternalist and nationalised industries. The town's professional club's success fosters local pride, and its identity and standing has bolstered the town during difficult periods like the 1984-1985 Miners' Strike, the socio-economic challenges of de-industrialisation, and Covid-19. Taken together, the amateur and professional game are ongoing links to the town's industrial, working-class past. The paper then demonstrates League's applicability to community across the North. De-industrialisation and towns aside, it shows that League – inclusive of women and children, progressive regarding race and sexuality – captures a wider community than the white male one often central to studies of (de)industrial Britain. A working-people's game, encapsulating the North in popular conception, League is perfectly placed for understanding community and identity in recent British history.

Pierre Botcherby completed his PhD in History at Warwick University in 2021. He is now the Doctoral Training Manager of CADRE, in the university's Arts Faculty, and a PGR Development Officer in the Doctoral College. He is Administrative Assistant for the Warwick Oral History Network.

Rob Fitt, University of Birmingham, UK

Festive Federalism: Neoliberalism and the Iconography of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics

The 1984 LA Olympics are often cited as an example of the endemic nationalism and patriotism that accompany the Games. This paper analyses the aesthetics of LA'84, its iconography and design principles, which organisers dubbed "festive federalism". It argues that festive federalism constituted a neoliberal aesthetic which, rather than trumpeting nationalistic themes, instead transmitted neoliberal ideas about the place of LA and its residents in a global economic order of "world cities". As the first ever Games to be privately financed by corporations, LA'84 organisers faced two material challenges which governed their planning: placation and profit. Organisers needed to encase the Games as a safe space for capital by protecting their profitability from disruptive, identity-based demands emerging out of LA's diverse communities. Simultaneously, organisers sought maximum revenues by persuading locals to "buy in" financially and emotionally. Festive federalism gave organisers an ideological aesthetic to accomplish these material goals. It celebrated global diversity, communicating the virtues of identities shorn of overt articulations of racial, ethnic, or gendered particularism, and in doing so, sapped local, identity-based activism of its political potency. Moreover, it transformed sceptical residents into active Olympic consumers. This paper posits LA'84 as an early testbed for American neoliberal ideas.

Rob Alex Fitt is a doctoral researcher at the University of Birmingham, UK. His thesis is entitled “Neolympics: Race, Nation, and Neoliberal Culture at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics”. The project uses LA’84 as a window on the development of neoliberal thought in the early 1980s United States.

Session 4: Sports History Methodologies

Eric Blakeley, Independent Scholar, UK

Tracking down Britain’s 1908 Olympians: using online resources during ‘lockdown’ to explore athletes’ socio-economic backgrounds

When, in 1908, London hosted the Olympics for the first time, sport was highly fractured along class lines. The games saw the largest British team to ever compete and was the only time the country topped the medals table. However, despite the event’s importance in ‘establishing’ the tenure of the modern games and the team’s unprecedented success, historians have written little about these pioneering British athletes, and most of that has been based on anecdotal evidence. This makes my master’s, *‘The class of ’08’: an analysis of the socio-economic backgrounds of the Great Britain and Ireland team at the London Olympics of 1908*, the subject’s most comprehensive study. The thesis is also notable for another reason, which is the theme of this presentation: its methodology—an empirical approach using online data. Using my thesis as a case study, this presentation explores the potential and practicalities as well as the pitfalls of using online sources, particularly census returns, and dips into the details of database construction and analysis, as well as how useful this might be for historians working on other projects. Finally, it touches on the often-debated issue of how useful a quantitative approach to historical enquiry is.

Eric Blakeley is a former television journalist with a long-standing interest in sport and history. He climbed Mount Everest in 1997, swam the English Channel in 2002, and was later appointed an MBE for ‘services to mountaineering, sport, and charity’. Earlier this he completed the MA Sports History and Culture at De Montfort University, with a dissertation the background of Great Britain’s 1908 Olympians.

Lauren Beatty, Glasgow Caledonian University and the R&A World Golf Museum, Scotland

Representations of women golfers in Ladies’ Golf Union photographs 1893-1945

The establishment of the Ladies’ Golf Union (LGU) in 1893, marked the beginning of organised golf for women in Britain. Since their inception, the LGU recorded the history of British women’s golf up until their merger with the R&A in 2017 when the R&A World Golf Museum became the home of this impressive collection of photographs and archival material. This paper will discuss a Collaborative Doctorate Partnership PhD placement at the R&A World Golf Museum dedicated to digitising the LGU photograph albums, demonstrating the importance of doing so for the preservation of this somewhat hidden history. This presentation will focus on photographs taken between 1893 and 1945 in particular, highlighting how representations of the women photographed in the albums contrast with written accounts in golf historiography. The paper will explore how the pioneers of women’s golf were portrayed and the impact they had on the sport’s development. The value of sports photography as a resource for historians of women’s sport will be argued along with the advantages of active collaborations with museums and heritage organisations.

Lauren Beatty is a third year Sporting Heritage Collaborative Doctorate Partnership student funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, enrolled at Glasgow Caledonian University and working in collaboration with the R&A World Golf Museum. Lauren's research uses oral history to uncover the personal experiences of women club golfers in Scotland c.1945-1995.

Mike Huggins, University of Cumbria, UK

Non-human animals and the cultural history of British sport

BSSH has encouraged work in under-researched areas such as black/ethnic, LGBTQ, women's and disability sports. One even more shamefully under-researched area is the past role of non-human animals in sport. In work on sports such as fox-hunting or horse-racing humans are still foregrounded while other animals' roles are sometimes effaced. Yet a history of sport without animals should be unthinkable. Things are changing. This paper begins by briefly exploring the post-human, post-Derrida approaches to animal-human relationships now emerging more broadly across a widely interdisciplinary new field, showing the ways in which animal-human relationships are being re-examined in mainstream history, and exploring the historiographical issues raised by the inclusion of animals, taking into account animals' actual experience of the world and its role in the co-constitution of the relationship. The second half of the paper provides some examples of the ways in which mainstream cultural history, while largely neglecting sport, has begun to re-explore the animal world of the eighteenth-century. It examines ways in which these new methodologies and analytic approaches might be applied to eighteenth-century sports in which animals were involved, focusing particularly on the roles of horses and fighting cocks.

Mike Huggins is Emeritus Professor of Cultural History at the University of Cumbria. He has published many books and edited collections, most recently *Horse Racing and British Society in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Boydell, 2018) and *A Cultural History of Sport in the Age of Industry* (Bloomsbury 2021) and over a hundred peer-reviewed articles and book chapters largely focused on British sport and leisure across the past three centuries.

Session 5: Pioneers

Keith Myerscough, Independent Scholar

Blackpool's Mermaids and Mermen: Social and Cultural Aspects of Nineteenth Century Commercial Swimming

Commercially organized swimming was delivered by Blackpool's leisure entrepreneurs and penny capitalists in the resort's aquatic leisure venues. This paper examines a nexus of social and cultural shaping factors that serve to highlight the blurred boundary between sport and leisure entertainment in nineteenth century Blackpool. As a seaside destination for the working classes it prided itself on delivering health, pleasure, and recreation to the inhabitants of 'cotton Lancashire'. Due to a paucity of source material and a lack of research the concept of swimming as a commercial activity has not received the level of scholarly attention it deserves. An examination of Blackpool's male and female natationists uncovers layers of historical evidence that may well be used as a catalyst for a broader disciplinary approach. This paper examines the contribution made by Blackpool's Mermaids and Mermen to the development of commercial swimming in nineteenth century Lancashire.

Keith Myerscough concluded his doctoral studies at De Montfort University this academic year. His thesis examines *Commercial Swimming in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*. He has written extensively on aspects of the social and cultural development of basketball in the USA and England.

Mark Evans, Independent Scholar, UK

Osborne Swimming Club – Water Polo Pioneers

Osborne Swimming baths, has been demolished and forgotten about. However, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it was home to Osborne Swimming and Water Polo club, one of the most successful water polo clubs the country has known. The crowds who flocked to the baths to watch the games witnessed some of the finest players in the country plying their trade. Using newspaper articles from the period and my own local knowledge I will highlight some of the club's achievements and show how important water polo was in the Manchester area and in particular the working class area of Collyhurst, where the club was based. The club was founded in 1887 but by 1907/8 it had disbanded. I will concentrate on their successful years, 1892 to 1902 when it won numerous national water polo titles and an Olympic water polo gold medal. Many of its members were stars and record breakers but now are largely unknown. As a number were also national swimming champions, I will also touch on this. Through my presentation I will look to remind people that the game was once a major sport in this country and Manchester was one of its main centres.

Mark Evans is a retired police officer, who has an interest in the history of most sports. Since retiring he has become a volunteer with the Hockey Museum and has conducted research into ladies' league hockey and its early development. His interest in Osborne Swimming Club developed when he was president of the Manchester Swimming and Water Polo Association.

Jo Halpin, Independent Scholar, UK

Get your skates on! The origins of rink hockey in England and women's participation in it up to World War One

Rink hockey is a form of the game that has received little attention from sport historians. Also known as roller hockey, the game is played by men and women, and – at a professional level – is currently dominated by sides from Spain and Portugal. The national league in England consists of 15 amateur sides based largely in the East and South East. The sport grew out of the roller-skating craze of the mid-19th century that followed the invention of a new type of skate by James L Plimpton. Entrepreneurs hoping to cash in on the new amusement set up rinks all over the US and the UK, with as many as 50 operating in London at one point. This paper will look at the origins of rink hockey, its introduction into England, and the growth of the sport in the years leading up to World War One, with particular reference to the women's game. It will reveal connections to a famous cricketing dynasty and, through a case study of Blackpool-based side South Shore Ladies, will show that there was a seemingly un-noteworthy acceptance of women's teams competing against men's sides – adding to the debate about gender and sport in the early 20th century.

Jo Halpin: I was awarded my PhD in sport history from the University of Wolverhampton in November 2019, having gained my Master's in sport history from De Montfort University in 2013. My main area of research is women's hockey in the UK and Ireland up to the mid-20th century. I am a professional journalist, working for a contract publisher in Cambridge.

Session 6: Irish Soccer

Fiona Skillen, Glasgow Caledonian University, UK

Rutherglen Ladies F.C and interwar Ireland

Rutherglen Ladies F.C was the preeminent football team in interwar Scotland. Founded in 1921, when many other teams were disbanding as a result of increasing hostility to women's football from official organisations, the team became the most significant one to play in Scotland during the 1920s. They were also ground breaking in that they toured to the island of Ireland, firstly in 1927 to Northern Ireland and the Republic and again in 1928 to Northern Ireland only, on both occasions a team made up of Irish players returned to with the Rutherglen side and toured in Scotland. Research by myself and Steve Bolton suggests that this was the first tour of its kind. This paper will explore the development of Rutherglen F.C and the significance of their Irish tour.

Fiona Skillen is a senior lecturer in History in the Dept of Social Sciences, at Glasgow Caledonian University. Her research interests concern aspects of sport, gender and popular culture. She is particularly interested in the influence which dominant discourses concerning gender and modernity had on women's sport and popular culture during the 19th and 20th centuries. She has also worked on projects focusing on aspects of Scottish sports history including, the sporting heritage of Glasgow, the history of Scotland's role in the Commonwealth Games and Play Like A Lassie: women in Scottish sport history community project (with West Boathouse and Glasgow Preservation Trust). She is currently working on a FIFA-funded project mapping the early years of women's football in Scotland.

Steve Bolton, Independent Scholar, UK

Molly Seaton: Ireland's Greatest Interwar Footballer

An overlooked and important part of the history of female participation in football is the startling rise of high profile women's football in and around Belfast in 1931 and 1932. This contrasts with the steady and gradual growth of high profile women's football in England, Scotland and Wales over the whole decade of the 1930s. The reasons for this explosive growth in Belfast have hitherto not been explored or understood. Molly Seaton was a key part of this story, as were the Rutherglen, Dick Kerr Ladies and Femina Sport tours. Molly Seaton was the greatest Irish woman footballer of that period and arguably the greatest British and Irish woman footballer. I think that it is worth sharing insight into how she was able to achieve this status apart from just being a talented footballer.

Steve Bolton researches and writes about the history of women's football. Steve has published a number of articles on the Playing Pasts and Football and War online history sites. Steve is the custodian of the 'Lizzy Ashcroft Collection' which is one of the foremost archives of early women's football history.

Conor Heffernan, Ulster University, UK

"Women Lead the Fracas": Women's Spectatorship in 1930s Ireland

Beginning in the late 1920s and continuing to the outbreak of the Second World War, newspapers in Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State began noting the increasing number of women attending football matches. What was initially deemed unproblematic by many reporters – several journalists claimed men played better in front of women - was quickly an object of scorn. From the mid-1930s stories of female gambling, hooliganism and 'unruly'

behaviour emerged in both states. Such were the disruptions that several matches were supposedly abandoned due to violence. The study of Irish spectators is still a nascent field. This is especially the case for female spectators. This presentation provides one of the first efforts to study women's spectatorship in the 1930s with reference to its promotion and, more importantly, to concerns about women's 'unruly behaviour.' As will be shown, female fandom simultaneously disrupted notions of Irish domesticity while also reinforcing them.

Conor Heffernan is Lecturer in the Sociology of Sport at Ulster University. His research interests are fitness cultures in twentieth century Ireland, America and the British Empire. He is currently working on a history of strength and conditioning in English football.

BSSH Projects

Derek Peuple, Sporting Heritage

'Back to the Future II': the Sporting Heritage Day Programme and its Relationship to BSSH One Year On

Sporting Heritage <https://www.sportingheritage.org.uk> is a not-for-profit community interest company working to support and promote a love of sporting history in communities, clubs and formal and informal education settings. Following the presentation of a paper at last year's BSSH Conference on the launch of Sporting Heritage's new Education Strategy, this year's paper will update on how, working with BSSH and other education, sporting and heritage partners, it's reach and impact have significantly expanded across the sector over the last twelve months. The paper will therefore outline: The suite of education resources and programmes, including those produced in partnership with BSSH members; Their reach and impact, as reflected in materials produced on the history of women's football and the UEFA WEURO 2022, the history of women's cricket and the MCC Symposium, the history of women's rugby with the World Rugby Museum, Rounders, Birmingham 2022 and its context in the history of the Commonwealth Games, historical acts of sporting kindness themed in relation to schools' Anti-Bullying Week, an 'A-Z' of sporting heritage and Sporting History and Art Month; Collaborative work with BSSH on the Extended Project Qualification; Support and research-based opportunities for student members; The role of National Sporting Heritage Day – 30 September; Future opportunities for partnership-working

Derek Peuple became Education Lead at Sporting Heritage in 2021 following early retirement as the Headteacher at Park House School in Newbury. Over Derek's 20 years of leadership, Park House developed as one of the country's most successful Sports Colleges and he was recently shortlisted as the TES National Headteacher of the Year for the breadth of his work.

Gayle Rogers, Artist and Independent Scholar, UK

Drawn To Research 'What Times's Kick Off? Project': How the graphic novel is a tool for making academic research more accessible for a wider audience

I recently undertook this project with the support of a BSSH ECR Grant. I explored how I could creatively translate elements of my PhD into an accessible form of graphic art. Using interviews with participants (who shared their experiences of the impact of the 1958 Munich Air Disaster on their lives) I created new graphic artwork. By analysing the processes and responses to the project, I present the potential for zines and graphic novels to engage new audiences with academic research. I consider how such collaborations are models to help

scholars engage with the communities that they are studying in a more meaningful & innovative ways. I present evidence that a researcher who is a creative translator can bring a new perspective to how memories can be preserved & personal histories told. Many graphic novelists produce of serialised zines or comics as an effective way to develop a community around a project. I seek to argue that such activity within the academic sports history collective could form an innovative ‘graphic sports history’ genre.

Gayle Rogers: I am an early career researcher & artist based in South Wales. I am developing a new audience for my PhD thesis & subsequent academic research into the commemoration & impact of the Munich Air Disaster by translating it into a graphic novel.

Session 7: Asian Sporting Identity

Anas Ali, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

Playing in Style: Modern Sports in the Plantation Zones in the Post Independent South India
The historical trajectory of modern sports in the plantation districts in South India gives a curious case where the dominance of European players both in the playing and management of sports continued for a long time even after the Independence. How a paradigm shift in terms of native playing and management of games happened at the plantations, can be looked at by a historical analysis of sporting engagements and tournaments at the plantation zones slightly before the Independence and after the Independence. One obvious reason for this trend can be attributed to the continuing European ownership and management of various planting industry in South India even after the Independence. European companies continued to manage the plantation industry and they remained in the managerial posts in the estates. A notable break away happened only in 1970s when the plantation industry witnessed a fundamental change in the ownership with the undertaking of estates by the Indian capitalist class. This paper would argue that these features fundamentally influenced the games played in the plantation zones where certain games were discontinued altogether in the absence of European players and patronage and others continue to flourish, yet in a similar cultural landscape. Further, modern games were flourished through significant layers of patronage and support from native managers and officials. This paper would elaborate this complex tale of sporting management and playing in the plantation districts by looking at how slowly and gradually the democratization process, more specifically the horizontal diffusion of games, were happening in the plantation districts. Why certain games like rugby lost its prominence in South India in the absence of patronage from European planters? Whether any fundamental changes happened in the sporting fields in terms of breaking down the discrimination against the daily workers and coolies in the Estates? And more particularly, how the sports in the plantation districts remained a parallel sporting avenue undisturbed by the historical and organizational changes happening in the larger sporting fields.

Anas Ali teaches at Jawaharlal Nehru University, India.

Dale Whitfield, Hokkaido University, Japan

A historical study of education and shūkyū in Japan: how football identity was shaped by 1945

Though contemporary Japanese society adopted the American-designated terminology of *sakkā* (soccer) in reference to association football, prior to the end of the Second World War, the sport was commonly referred to as *shūkyū* (football), a designation directly associating the country’s football identity with British athleticism values and the English

public school games ethos even after the Second World war. Consequently, this paper utilises a three-dimensional approach to clarify the influence of British athleticism on Japanese football identity. Firstly, the influence of British nationals on the institutionalisation of football within the Japanese education system and its consolidation within educational organisations due to the pre-war supremacy of student-led extra-curricular organisations both domestically and internationally. Secondly, Japan's 'educated elite' role in reinforcing this cultural accommodation through disseminating British athleticism values in the earliest national Japanese football periodical *Shūkyū*. Finally, how the intersectionality was perceived and embraced by Japanese players through an analysis of personal accounts drawn from magazine excerpts. These three dimensions combine to explain how Japanese football identity developed prior to 1945, with the complexities defined during this period inherent to Japanese football in the present day.

Dale Whitfield is currently a Ph.D. student studying at the Graduate School of Education, Hokkaido University. His research area includes Japanese football history and identity formation in sports development environments.

Souvik Naha, University of Glasgow, UK

Playing for British Empire 2.0: Cricket and Commonwealth Relations in the 1940s-50s
This paper acts upon records of England's cricketing contacts with India and Pakistan in the 1940s-50s to examine the extent to which cricket constituted a situational diplomatic tool for Britain's bid to retain close ties with its former colonies in the Indian subcontinent. The sources are largely fragmentary and inaccessible as historical archives rarely index 'cricket' or 'sport' in their collections of private papers and official reports or correspondences. Through a study of UK government and MCC administrative reports as well as newspapers from the UK, India and Pakistan, this paper will enhance the understanding of sport's role in Britain's Commonwealth and postcolonial relations. Specifically, it will discuss the use of cultural diplomacy as a means to shape Britain's international perception and enrich the historiography of state-influenced cultural missions. This will be achieved through critical reflections on the extent to which sporting exchanges were a part of the short-lived British triumphalism regarding the country's contribution to the making of a new world order. In doing so, the paper will contribute to the still relatively under-researched domain of how Britain reshaped an old symbol of empire into a shared culture while seeking new forms of unions with decolonised territories.

Souvik Naha is Senior Lecturer in Imperial and Post-colonial History at the University of Glasgow. Prior to joining Glasgow, he held the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions fellowship at Durham University. He has published extensively in colonial and postcolonial history and has co-edited several journal special issues including *FIFA World Cup and Beyond: Sport, Culture, Media and Governance* (2017), *Global and Transnational Sport: Ambiguous Borders, Connected Domains* (2017), *Ethical Concerns in Sport Governance* (2018), *Moments, Metaphors, Memories: Defining Events in the History of Soccer* (2019), and *Cricket in the 21st Century* (2021).

Session 8: Representation in the Arts

Jared Strange, University of Maryland, USA

Playing for Peace: Historicizing Theatrical Depictions of the Christmas Truce

On Christmas Day of 1914, pockets of Allied and German troops up and down the Western Front laid down their arms to celebrate the holiday together. This collection of temporary ceasefires was marked by carols, exchanges of gifts, and scattered reports of football matches. Since then, football has become integral to popular renditions of “the Christmas Truce,” while its dubious role in supposedly fostering this brief peace is held up as evidence of sport’s capacity to transcend conflict. As part of my dissertation on football in the performing arts and activism, I interrogate depictions and re-enactments of the Christmas Truce with an eye to how they mobilize the sport’s “transcendent” qualities. Integral to this project is historicizing the truce itself, which I will do by analyzing archival records alongside my critique of such case studies as Phil Porter’s play *The Christmas Truce* and various commemorative events staged throughout 2014. At issue is developing a greater understanding of how performance is used to extrapolate narratives out of historical records and perpetuate cultural myths through reiteration.

Jared Strange is a PhD candidate in theatre and performance studies at the University of Maryland. His primary research examines the cultural, social, and political performativity of football as realized in the performing arts and activism. He is also a playwright, dramaturg, and teaching artist based in Washington, DC.

Enrico Castro Montes, KU Leuven, Belgium

Football, Ethnicity and the Visual Representations of National Identity in Ecuador

Many foreigners see Ecuador as one of the Latin American countries with the largest indigenous population, while Ecuadorian elites conceive the nation as “mestizo” (the product of mixed Spanish and indigenous ancestry). In the 1960s, however, more and more football teams began to integrate Afro-Ecuadorian and black players from abroad into their squads. In this way, an ethnic population group that the elites had ignored in their dominant views on Ecuadorian national identity now came to the fore. By examining articles and images related to Alberto Spencer, Ecuador’s most famous Afro-Ecuadorian football player, in the Ecuadorian sport magazine *Estadio*, this paper explores the textual and visual representations of national identity in Ecuador in the 1960s. The analysis shows that football was one of the sectors in civil society that provided a popular public arena for neglected ethnic groups to negotiate subaltern national identities that differed from the dominant narrative of the (white)mestizo elites. Incorporating subaltern theories into the history of nationalism and football demonstrates how sport media can intensify or channel issues of ethnicity.

Enrico Castro Montes is a PhD candidate of the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO) at the research group Modernity and Society 1800-2000 at the KU Leuven (Belgium). In his doctoral project, he explores the role of sport in the construction of national identities in Latin America.

Stuart Gibbs, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

Women’s football: Image and Perception

With the UEFA Women’s Championships, women’s football has, once again, enjoyed an increased profile. One of the supplementary contributors to this increased profile has been art. In 2019 Google and Women in Football invited artists to produce work to tie in with the FIFA, Women’s World Cup. Women’s football has also featured in more formal art exhibitions in

gallery and museum settings. Imagery depicting the game, however, is not new with illustrations and even ceramic figures produced from the late 1870s onwards. During the 1920s colour illustrations of the game featured in publications such as *La Domenica del Corriere* and a series of famous paintings of female players was produced by the Mexican artist Angel Zarraga. This paper will examine how early women's football has been depicted in art and illustration. How images were used as commentary, sometimes satirical and other times derogatory, on the sport. Visual material was also used by the participants, and I will explore how visual imagery was used by the organisers to promote the game. I will also examine recent art projects that have not only highlighted the women's game but also played a part in recovering the sport's heritage.

Sturat Gibbs: I have worked in the past with women's football history projects such as *Game for Girls* with Annan Museum. I was also a researcher for *Mapping Irish Football*, the *Great War Theatre* and *Miracle Workers* projects. At present, I am a PhD student at Manchester Metropolitan University.

Session 9: International Politics and Identity

Matt McDowell, University of Edinburgh, UK

The Royal Caledonian Curling Club and Scottish imperialism

It is typically England which is noted as gaining a dominant role in certain "imperial" sports, most notably cricket. This paper looks to (provisionally) challenge this by examining pre-Second World War curling. The governing body of global curling during that period, in a similar fashion to the Marylebone Cricket Club (and indeed much like the Royal and Ancient Golf Club), was Scotland's Royal Caledonian Curling Club (RCCC). The RCCC were tastemakers of the game whose membership, whilst ostensibly featuring men (and women) across the social spectrum, was dominated by (lowland) Scottish aristocratic and upper-middle-class men who represented the mainstream of imperialist, royalist, and unionist politics. The RCCC, from its inception in 1843, had as its members clubs in Canada, and by the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century curling's world additionally included Scandinavia, Russia, Switzerland, the United States, and New Zealand, with clubs there almost always created by Scottish emigres. Within Scottish historiography, it is often remarked that some parts of the "formal" and "informal" British Empire were dominated by Scottish leaders and institutions, most notably in Malawi. This paper seeks to discuss how Scottish dominance over the institutions, traditions, and values of curling represent a kind of tartan imperialism regarding the "global north".

Matthew L McDowell is a lecturer in sport policy, management, and international development at the University of Edinburgh, Moray House School of Education and Sport. He is a former Chair of the British Society of Sports History, and is an editor of the *International Journal of the History of Sport* and *Northern Scotland*.

Yichen Lian, Durham University, UK

The narrative of Chinese history in the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics: the construction of Chinese national identity

In contrast to the image of China as weak and backward since the late nineteenth century, the success of the 2008 Beijing Olympics showed the world a China on the rise. It was also through the Games that Chinese national self-confidence grew tremendously, and a strong

national identity was built. Research on the Beijing Olympics and national identity has been analysed in terms of infrastructure development and the promotion of Olympic slogans. The opening ceremony of the Olympic Games is also a research angle, but scholars ignored the hidden Chinese history writing in the content of the programme. The opening ceremony, however, is a unique example of Chinese history writing, with its presentation of the five thousand years of Chinese history and culture. It also evoked the patriotism and national pride of the Chinese people through the performance of China's glorious achievements such as the Four Great Inventions and the Silk Road. Therefore, studying the narrative of Chinese history in the opening ceremony has profound implications for the study of the establishment of Chinese national identity.

Yichen Lian is a History MA student at Durham University, having previously studied at Tianjin Normal University, China.

Alec Hurley, University of Texas at Austin, USA

Concern in the Caribbean: Cold War Politics and National Sovereignty at the 1966 Central American and Caribbean Games

This presentation examines the role Puerto Rico, its athletes, and diplomats, played in contesting, resisting, or in some moments, facilitating foreign policy aims of the United States during the height of the Cold War. In 1966, the unincorporated island territory hosted their first Central American and Caribbean Games. Faced with daunting prospects from both athletic and political sides, Puerto Rico deftly pulled off one of the largest and most successful international athletic competitions in North America. In doing so, they flexed their autonomy in front of stern opposition from the United States mainland and set the precedent for later movements of more explicit rejection of US foreign policy aims during the Cold War. Puerto Rico's actions will be examined through a neocolonial framework, focused on modalities of freedom and human actualization. (Carrington 2010) Research for this presentation stems from archived collections at the *Comité Olímpico de Puerto Rico*, the Central Intelligence Agency. This endeavour builds off the pioneering works of Antonio Sotomayor and Roberta Park whose works frame this discussion. The inclusion of existing neocolonial states in the sportive nationalism discourse is crucial to our field as a reminder that sport may challenge political hegemony but is often insufficient.

Alec Hurley is a doctoral candidate at the University of Texas at Austin. His research is focused on generating digital histories of immigrant communities by mapping the evolution of ethnic sport clubs. He's published and presented on nationalism vis-à-vis sport in imperial, colonial, and immigrant contexts in Europe and the Americas.

Keynote Paper 2: Sir Derek Birley Memorial Prize Paper

Ramachandra Guha, Krea University, India

The Accidental Sports Historian

For many years, Ramachandra Guha wrote scholarly, heavily footnoted, academic books and papers which dealt with subjects other than sport, while moonlighting during the weekends as a writer of popular, anecdotal, articles on Indian cricket and cricketers. The serendipitous discovery that India's first great slow bowler, Palwankar Baloo, played a modest role in a political controversy that took place long after he retired from the game, encouraged Guha to bring his profession and passion together. The outcome was his book *A Corner of a Foreign*

Field, a social history of cricket in India. Guha will discuss the methodological lessons he learnt while researching the book, and also speak of the future prospects for sports history. Ramachandra Guha is a historian and biographer based in Bengaluru. His books include a pioneering environmental history, *The Unquiet Woods* (University of California Press, 1989), an award-winning social history of cricket, *A Corner of a Foreign Field* (Picador, 2002), and a widely acclaimed history of his country, *India after Gandhi* (Macmillan/Ecco Press, 2007). He is also the author of a two-volume biography of Mahatma Gandhi (*Gandhi Before India*, 2013, and *Gandhi: The Years that Changed the World*, 2018, both published by Knopf), and of a memoir of his life as a cricket fan, *The Commonwealth of Cricket* (William Collins, 2020).

Ramachandra Guha is a historian and biographer based in Bengaluru. His books include a pioneering environmental history, *The Unquiet Woods* (University of California Press, 1989), an award-winning social history of cricket, *A Corner of a Foreign Field* (Picador, 2002), and a widely acclaimed history of his country, *India after Gandhi* (Macmillan/Ecco Press, 2007). He is also the author of a two-volume biography of Mahatma Gandhi (*Gandhi Before India*, 2013, and *Gandhi: The Years that Changed the World*, 2018, both published by Knopf), and of a memoir of his life as a cricket fan, *The Commonwealth of Cricket* (William Collins, 2020).

Session 10: British Sport and the wider world

Verity Postlethwaite, University of Manchester and SOAS University of London, UK

An analysis of the six UK-hosted British Empire and Commonwealth Games through time, 1934-2014

Since the inaugural British Empire Games in 1930, six editions of this event have been hosted in the United Kingdom. With the seventh taking place in Birmingham this year it is pertinent to take stock of what has been a neglected event in sports history and debates around the use of international sporting events. This presentation will examine historical changes to, and continuity within, the six editions to relate to contemporary conversations about the role of the event in domestic and international politics. Building on works by Michael Dawson, Carol Phillips, Nancy Bouchier, Martin Polley, Fiona Skillen and Matthew McDowell (amongst others), this presentation will adopt a ‘liquid imperialism’ approach. Specifically, the roles and views of political, public, and sporting bodies will be used to understand the complex nature of the corresponding contexts around each of the UK-hosted editions. The empirical underpinnings are a collection of official and media sources for each of the previous hosts (London/Manchester 1934, Cardiff 1958, Edinburgh 1970 and 1986, Manchester 2002, Glasgow 2014). The contribution of this piece is to offer a snapshot of a larger project which looks at aspects of sports diplomacy and place branding during the life cycle of international sports events.

Verity Postlethwaite is an early career researcher with extensive research, teaching, and administration experience. Her main interests and research are connected to an established international network of governing actors related to sports events, sports policy, and sports diplomacy. Her recent publications include an analysis of bid narratives for the 2023 FIFA Women’s World Cup and a comparison of UK/Japan sports diplomacy activities.

Rob Lake, Douglas College, Canada

What is a good and proper display? Behavioural Etiquette as a Reflection of Social Class and Elitism in Post-War Tennis

This project explores the connections between playing etiquette in tennis and structures of social class. Expanding from earlier intersectional studies examining connections between etiquette, gender, and social class in tennis in the late-Victorian era, this present project seeks to discover how changes to the sport in the post-war era mainly at the elite level – notably its rampant professionalization, commercialization and globalization – have impacted on how on-court etiquette is understood, valued, expressed and enforced. Primary source data includes mainly biographies/autobiographies from former players as well as instruction guides – books about ‘how to play tennis’ – which often included sections or chapters about tennis etiquette. These publications proliferated in the 1970s and 80s especially, at a time when tennis underwent something of a ‘boom’ in popularity. The presence of these sections/chapters on etiquette attests to its sustained importance. Simply put, knowing how to play the various strokes was not enough to be a true ‘player’ or to be accepted into a club; one had to learn how to behave on court or risk ostracization. This study concludes by considering why playing etiquette in tennis continues to matter in the 21st century, at both elite and recreational levels, despite the gradual but nearly complete erosion of many forms of what might be termed ‘gentlemanly’ and ‘ladylike’ behaviour as an expression of status.

Robert J. Lake is at Douglas College, Canada. He has authored/edited several books and articles on the social history of tennis, including *A Social History of Tennis in Britain* (Routledge, 2015), winner of the Lord Aberdare Literary Prize. He is an Associate Editor for *The International Journal of the History of Sport* and *Sport in History*.

Luke Harris, University of Birmingham, UK

The same old problems? Britain’s preparations for the 1932 Olympic Games
Britain’s late Edwardian Olympic entries were shrouded in statements of apathy, failed appeals and disappointing performances, with continual questions asked about Britain’s continued participation at the quadrennial event. Following a renewed enthusiasm for the Games at Antwerp, British interest steadily declined throughout the 1920s, particularly after the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics, where the issue of broken time payments was at the centre of British indifference. Through the use of archival material from the British Olympic Association and the Amateur Athletic Association, along with contemporary newspapers, this paper looks at Britain’s preparations for the 1932 Olympics. These preparations began under a cloud as some associations believed that it was too far for its athletes to travel in order to compete, an issue exacerbated by the financial problems of the early 1930s. There will be a focus on the attempts to improve British performance in field events, a long-standing area of British weakness, the Olympic appeal, amateurism and the extensive planning undertaken to ensure that the team made it to the West Coast of America.

Luke J Harris is an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Birmingham. His research interests include the Olympics, athletics and Snooker.

Session 11: Integration

Raf Nicholson, Bournemouth University, UK

“Why should we merge with the women?”: Male Perspectives on Sporting Amalgamations, 1985-2000

In 1993 the Sports Council’s new policy document, *Women and Sport*, recommended that all national governing bodies of sport ‘establish a single governing body’. Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, almost all women’s sports that were administered separately to their male counterparts therefore ‘merged’ with the men’s governing body: squash in 1989, football and athletics in 1992, lacrosse in 1996 and hockey in 1996, and cricket in 1998. Previous studies of similar amalgamations between men’s and women’s sporting organisations have focused on the female perspective, emphasizing that these processes increase male control at the expense of female autonomy (Cox and Thompson 2003, Nicholson 2019, Stronach and Adair 2009). But how do the men involved in these amalgamations feel about being forced to “go in with the women”? And how do they reflect on these mergers, 25 years after the fact? In this paper, I use clips from oral history interviews with men who were involved in a variety of sporting mergers, as well as contemporary, male-authored articles from sporting magazines like *Hockey Digest* and *Squash Player International* to try to understand the dynamics of these mergers from a male perspective.

Raf Nicholson is a Senior Lecturer in Sport & Sustainability at Bournemouth University. Her research focuses on the history of women’s sport and her first book on women’s cricket history, *Ladies and Lords* (Peter Lang, 2019) was shortlisted for the Lord Aberdare Literary Prize and the Cricket Society & MCC Book of the Year. She is also a women’s cricket journalist and edits the women’s cricket website www.crickether.com

Alex Jackson, English National Football Museum, UK

“Women referees – why not?”: The early history of female referees in England, c1900-1967

In 1919, male officials overseeing the Surrey County FA referee’s examination received a shock. Among the candidates presenting themselves was Mrs Butler, a female schoolteacher who had refereed boys’ games at her school. Surprised by her presence, the officials decided to bar her from taking the examination. In 1967 Pat Dunne passed the Dorset FA’s examination, only for the FA to introduce a ban shortly afterwards, forbidding County FAs to register female referees. In 1976, thanks to Pat’s campaigning, this decision was reversed paving the way for women to formally qualify as referees. Whereas Pat Dunn is today recognised as playing a leading role in paving the way for today’s female referees, less is known of Mrs Butler and other predecessors. This talk seeks to explore the early history of female referees in England prior to 1967. It focuses on four attempts by women, with varying degrees of success, to take the referee’s examination which was administered by County FA’s. These stories have been primarily researched through digitised newspapers in the British Newspaper Archive, supported by archival material in the National Football Museum. It will argue that Pat Dunn’s achievements can be situated within a longer timeframe of women attempting to take the referee’s examination. Early female referees seem to have emerged from schoolteachers at state primary and secondary schools. These cases also reveal wider prejudices amongst some male-school teachers against female teachers taking control of boys in general, and specifically of sports classes. They also reveal a variety of male responses, ranging from qualified support to outright hostility from schoolteachers, football officials and journalists. The research also poses interesting questions about how unofficial and official bans operated in the period prior the FA’s official ban of 1967. This research is at an early stage so comments, suggestions and critiques will be greatly appreciated.

Alexander Jackson has been a curator at the English National Football Museum since 2011. He is author of *Football's Great War: Association Football on the English Home Front, 1914-1918* (Pen & Sword, 2022)

Katie Holmes, Independent Scholar, UK

The Reluctant Bride – an attempt to force amalgamation of the Women's Amateur Athletic Association with the AAA

2022 marks the centenary of the Women's Amateur Athletic Association. During its 69-year existence, the WAAA was often the subject of criticism from male athletics administrators and journalists. In 1974/75, the athletics journalist Cliff Temple waged a concerted campaign to force the WAAA to merge with the men's AAA. As a contributor to *Athletics Weekly*, he was able to use the pages of the magazine to press his case. Insisting it was not a takeover, Temple and others used the metaphor of marriage, describing the AAA as wooing the WAAA. Drawing on *Athletics Weekly* and press reportage, academic and other texts, this paper will look at the "sensible and logical" arguments for merger and the reasons behind the WAAA's staunch resistance. It will also examine why women's voices were largely missing from the public debate in the context of a male-dominated sports media (Hargreaves, 1994) and limited opportunities in athletics for women. It will argue that the fears of the marginalisation of women's athletics were well-founded given the very poor representation of women in mixed sex sports governing bodies (White, Brackenridge, 1985).

Katie Holmes: My research into the history of women's distance running in the UK is driven by a desire to capture stories which might otherwise be lost and to recover, and uncover, stories which have faded out of the collective memory due to the marginalisation of women in sport.

Session 12: Influencers

Andrew Carter, Manchester Metropolitan University, UK

Hubert Parry, Crack House Hard Man

Hubert Parry is remembered today as one of England's greatest composers, but he was also a lifelong sportsman who excelled at football, cricket, athletics, golf and yachting. He was educated at Eton in the late 1860s when athleticism was rife in public schools and some commentators worried the love of games encouraged by masters like Edmond Warre and R.A.H. Mitchell might completely eclipse the culture of learning. Such masters, and the boys they produced, were subsequently characterised as 'athletic philistines'. As captain of the Eton Field XI, and reputedly the hardest tackler of his generation, Parry might have been considered part of this group. His diary certainly reveals episodes of boorish behaviour, horrific injuries and an obsession with football, but Parry obtained a degree in music while still at school, before studying history and law at Exeter College, Oxford. Using extracts from the diary, *The Eton Chronicle* and other memoirs of staff and pupils, this paper looks at the school life of Parry and his contemporaries and revisits the idea of the 'athletic philistine' to explain why, contrary to stereotype, the successful public school sportsman had a stronger than average motivation to apply himself to his studies.

Andy Carter is currently a PhD student at Manchester Metropolitan University where his thesis is entitled 'Games, Greek and Pluck: Athleticism, Classicism and Elite British Education,

1850-1914'. He previously studied at Bangor University and Royal Holloway, University of London.

Susan Barton, De Montfort University, UK

The influence of Sir Henry Lunn's business model on the development of winter sports before 1930

The development and popularisation of winter sports was influenced by the business models of companies such as those of Sir Henry Lunn. Many of those involved in the popularisation of skiing or who took part in the earliest competitions were stakeholders in the hotel or wider tourism industry, either personally or through family or friendship networks. Lunn's business opened up some Swiss resorts in winter for the first time, allowing exclusivity as there was no existing commitment to established visitors. Membership of a club, proficiency tests, the opportunity for competition and year-round activities encouraged brand loyalty and repeat bookings. Awareness of the new sports was raised amongst the wider public through the involvement of public figures such as aristocrats and well-known sportsmen combined with media output in British newspapers, publicity that attracted more winter guests in a new and growing tourism market. This paper will discuss the role of ownership and control of the Swiss hotel sector in the promotion and popularisation of winter sports before 1930. It will explore the connections between sportsmen and women with those with investments in the business of tourism. To do this there will be a focus on the company accounts of Swiss hotels owned by Sir Henry Lunn's companies and on the membership and reports of Lunn's Public Schools Alpine Sports Club and those of the Ski Club of Great Britain.

Susan Barton is an honorary visiting research fellow in DMU's International Centre for Sports History and Culture, with particular interests in tourism, leisure, popular culture and winter sports history. She has published several books, including *Working-class organisations and popular tourism*, *Healthy Living in the Alps: the origins of winter tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914* and *Internment in Switzerland During the First World War*, an investigation of Swiss neutrality. Currently, she is investigating winter sports as business history and is also collaborating with Swiss colleagues on a history of skiing, commemorating the centenary of the Winter Olympics and the FIS in 2024.

Paul Wheeler, University of Chichester, UK

Female Artisan Golfers and were there any?

When golf boomed in England in the 1890s it initially excluded the working man who wanted to play. He could not afford to join, let alone overcome the social barriers that were required to join a golf club and so artisan sections were formed. Artisan members had reduced fees and reduced access to the course, but in return they committed time spending a set number of hours and days a year helping out with work at the club. When the Artisan Golf Association was founded in 1921, by five times Open champion JH Taylor, it brought together a number of Artisan or Working Man's Golf Clubs under one umbrella association. JH Taylor, who had previously been a member of Northam Working Men's Club, had learnt his craft from being a caddy on the links of the Royal North Devon Golf Club. This post WW1 period, was also a watershed time for women; they enjoyed wider emancipation, increased access to employment opportunities and greater participation in sport. This paper aims to discover if this extended to women joining artisan sections and the experiences they had overcoming the gender and class barriers to play golf.

Paul Wheeler is the programme coordinator for the Sport Management degree at the University of Chichester. He completed his MA at De Montfort University in Sport History

and Culture and has recently gained his PhD researching The History of Golf Tourism on the South Coast of England 1880-1938. Paul is a member of the British Golf Collectors Society.

Session 13: Fascism and Autocracy

Jake Lawton, Liverpool Hope University, UK

‘Boycott of the sign’: Contrasting narratives of touring Football League player’s refusal to perform the Nazi salute

After the Second World War numerous British footballers, including Dixie Dean, recalled their refusal to perform the Nazi salute whilst touring with their clubs in Germany during the 1930s. However, limited evidence from the 1930s exists to verify such claims of resistance, with further contradictory evidence disputing these narratives. This paper builds on Peter Beck’s research of the England national team’s performance of the salute when playing in 1938 Berlin, by considering the dozens of British club sides who played in Nazi Germany. Contrasting post-war memoirs, biographies, interviews, and press reports with archival material from the 1930s, including British and European newspapers and photographs, this paper seeks to better understand the inconsistencies between these conflicting narratives. Exploring the politics of memory alongside contemporary discourse regarding evidence of football players performing the salute, the paper will consider the significance of these narratives of resistance among football supporters today. The paper will also recognise evidence of German and European footballers who refused to perform the salute and the consequences they faced.

Jake Madgwick Lawton is a first-year PhD student at Liverpool Hope University researching the role of the British in the emergence of European Football Cultures during the early twentieth century.

Mike McGuinness, Independent Scholar, UK

It’s a Red Card for Hitler – Dictators, Autocrats and Sport

Recent events have highlighted the vanity of political leaders and how sport has become a forum for political debate, as Dictators and Autocrats have frequently attempted to utilise sport to bolster their power. Offering ‘bread and circuses’ or presenting the ‘Superman’ has been part of the imagery. There has been established research into some prominent examples such as Adolf Hitler and the 1936 Olympics, Stalin and the 1945 Moscow Dynamo 1945 tour attempting to reflect the superiority of the Soviet system, Mussolini and self-presentation and suspicions surrounding the 1934 World Cup, plus many well publicised figures. Less attention has been given to other Dictators/Autocrats but they deserve investigation as they also have links to and use sport. The focus of the presentation will be on the sporting links of leaders like General Franco, the North Korean leaders, Putin and a few other more minor characters.

Mike McGuinness is an Independent Researcher who was a Senior Lecturer in Sports Studies/History at Teesside University, Middlesbrough, North Yorkshire. His interests are in Sport and Identity, Memorabilia and Sportsmen and the Spanish Civil War.

Paul Reef, Radboud University, Netherlands

To Boycott or Not to Boycott? Amnesty International’s Human Rights Activism around the 1978 FIFA World Cup in Argentina and the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games

This paper explores how and why Amnesty International (AI) has sought to advocate human rights via mega-sporting events between 1977 and 1980. It builds on recent studies on sport

diplomacy and non-state actors, human rights and sport, and social movements and sport. The paper is grounded in an analysis of AI's International Secretariat and Dutch section's archives – then the second largest national AI section – and the IOC and FIFA archives. AI was the first human rights INGO which decided to campaign around sport, aiming to reach a broader audience. However, wary of estranging public opinion by politicizing sport and in line with AI's impartiality principle, AI campaigners distanced themselves from activist groups and boycott calls. Focusing on national football associations and governments in 1978 instead of targeting FIFA, in 1980 Amnesty did pressure the IOC on human rights grounds and linked organizing the Games to several human rights violations. However, AI's 1979-1980 campaign for Soviet dissidents' rights was not initially conceived as sport-centered or a follow-up to the Argentina campaign. Rather, the Olympics were thrust upon AI by existing (human rights) contention around the Moscow Games, demonstrating the contingency of the entanglement of human rights and sport during this period.

Paul Reef is a PhD Candidate at Radboud University in the Netherlands. His dissertation examines the emergence and development of popular protest around the Olympic Games and FIFA World Cup and how international sport organizations and the organizers of these mega-sporting events have dealt with protest from the late 1960s until the present day.

Session 14: Fandom and Community

Nigel Hancock, Independent Scholar, UK

Cricket and its crowds in 1953

Being part of a sporting crowd and otherwise following preferred sports loom large in the lives of many people. This centrality, arguably with scope for greater coverage in sports history, was vividly illustrated during the Covid pandemic where much sport was played without spectators present at the physical venues but still followed avidly. The partial and then full lifting of restrictions saw the return of crowds, seemingly more exuberant in many cases. Looking at how sport was followed and seen in particular years – for example in terms of the size and composition of crowds; people's outlooks and behaviours; how sport was portrayed in writing and visually; and how sport and its followers were viewed by authorities - can help fuel comparisons and contrasts between crowds and following over time and how that relates to wider societal characteristics and change. This paper looks at the year of 1953 with a focus on cricket crowds and following.

Nigel Hancock, a retired senior civil servant, runs the prestigious Cricket Society and MCC Book of the Year Award, and until recently was Chair of The Cricket Society and editor of its Journal. An independent researcher with a particular interest in the history of cricket and its crowds, he is an enthusiastic follower of Leicester sport, above all of Leicester City.

Tom Campbell, Birmingham City University, UK

A comparison of the treatment of football hooliganism and the Miners' Strike by the Thatcher Government

During the 1980s Margaret Thatcher's government attempted to reduce the economic power of the industrial working class by legislating against the trade unions and defeating the 1984-85 Miners' Strike. At the time English football was an important part of male working-class culture, particularly for northern industrial workers and was under attack from the Government and Press over football hooliganism. It has often been argued that Thatcher's trade union policies were designed to break the economic power of the industrial working

class (Young, 1993, Richards 1996). If, through comparison, a link between this policy and the treatment of football supporters is found it will determine whether this conflict had a cultural aspect. Scholars such as Giulianotti (1985) and McArdle (2000) have anecdotally made this link but there has not been sufficient analysis of the comparison. Waiton (2012, 2014) also references the similarities in Thatcher's description of football fans and strikers with the IRA but does not interrogate this in depth. This paper will address this and focus on the Government and press treatment of football and trade unions and assess whether the Government was seeking to bind the two issues together.

Tom Campbell recently completed a masters in history at Durham University. He works on the dynamics between class and football and on the racial power dynamics of Regency boxing. He is currently completing a masters in education at Birmingham City University while working as a full time maths teacher.

Abhinava Goswami, University of Manchester, UK

Minorities at Play: Mohammedan Sporting Club and the Politics of Fandom in Colonial Calcutta

Extant studies on South Asian football (Mitra, 1991; Dimeo and Mills (eds.), 2001; Majumdar and Bandyopadhyay, 2006; 2011) do not appreciate the agency of the fans in constructing the club identity, wherein the club forms an extension of the 'self' of the fan. The paper examines the historical discourses of 'difference' of the Muslim minorities in colonial Calcutta, whose urban experiences came to underpin the footballing identity of the Mohammedan Sporting Club in the wake of the Indian Partition. Analysing census and municipal reports between 1881 – 1931 in combination with the data on patrons and members from club souvenirs and institutional papers, contemporary newspapers and literature, it traces the social integration and identity assertion of disparate classes of Bengal Muslims in the 1920s and 1930s, which ran parallel to the consolidation of the Hindu communal ideology during the same time. This was further epitomised in the rise of Fazlul Haque's Krishak Praja Party in Bengal, which rallied around the club's banner while influencing to secure football grounds and additional public parks for the community. This sporting patronage had an enormous effect on the concretion of Muslim fandom around Mohammedan Sporting, making football ripe for political representation while engendering a sense of cohesiveness to the party and the community that would lend credence to their subsequent political furtherance.

Abhinava Goswami: My ESRC funded doctoral project '*Sport in the City and the City in Sport: Football, Urbanity, and Belonging in Calcutta, 1911 – 1984*' examines the role of football as a driver of urbanisation and commercialisation as well as an expression of migrant identities in late colonial and postcolonial Calcutta. Moving beyond conventional narratives of South Asian sport as an anti-colonial and nationalist expression, I examine football as a force of urban history, investigating how sporting and leisure practices of its residents impacted urban development, fostering unique civic and community identities. The present paper is a section from my second chapter, a work-in-progress.

Session 15: Global Rugby Narratives

Liam O’Callaghan, Liverpool Hope University, UK

Rugby Union and Irishness 1860-2020

This paper explores the complex relationship between rugby union and Irish nationality. Throughout the game’s history on the island, rugby union has accommodated several varieties of Irishness. The game was initially fostered by the Anglo-Irish Protestant elite, whose Irishness had a pronounced British inflection, before being embraced by the Catholic middle classes, many of whom were nationalists. After partition, the game preserved its 32-county structure, meaning that it had to accommodate both southern nationalists and northern unionists. This has meant that the game’s governing body in Ireland, the IRFU, have traditionally made political neutrality an article of faith. This is apparent in their attitude to symbolism, most obviously flags and anthems. This paper will explore these issues over the long term and tease out the contexts and complexities in which Irish rugby’s relationship with nationality has evolved. This topic is timely, given the fact that Irish unity has reappeared on the political agenda.

Liam O’Callaghan is Associate Professor of Sport Studies at Liverpool Hope University. He is the author of *Rugby in Munster* (Cork, 2011) and (with David Doyle), *Capital Punishment in Independent Ireland* (Liverpool, 2019).

Parwine Patel & Tina Lauzis, University of Réunion Island, France/ Réunion Island

From Rugby to Réunion: the introduction and diffusion of rugby union in Réunion Island (1960s-1980s)

While recently wondering about the origins of rugby in Réunion, a French island located in the Indian Ocean, we found that nothing had been written on the subject. However, the number of rugby clubs on this small piece of land seems to have significantly increased over the last decades although Réunion has been a stronghold of football for more than a century (Combeau-Mari, 1997; 2006). We have therefore conducted some primary research about the oval ball which was apparently introduced to the inhabitants of Réunion in the 1960s by Father Dattas, a clergyman from the southwest of France. It means that rugby was first played in Réunion some twenty years after the island officially became a French overseas department (1946), at a period when many volunteers from mainland France came to the former colony to work as civil servants (Gauvin, 2006). But why did rugby become more and more popular in the 1970s and 1980s when it eventually became one of the sports included in the first edition of the Indian Ocean Island games (1979)? Based on archives and interviews, this presentation will examine how and why the diffusion of rugby in Réunion was made possible.

Parwine Patel and **Tina Lauzis** both hold PhDs in sports history. They are currently working at the University of Réunion Island as teaching fellows. Dr Patel is a member of the European Committee for Sports History (CESH) and the SFHS.

Keynote Paper 3: Aberdare Prize

Rob Colls, De Montfort University, UK

Writing *This Sporting Life*

I will try to explain where *This Sporting Life* came from as an idea, as a research project, as a strategy, as an argument, and as 400 pages of prose

Rob Colls writes: I was born in South Shields in 1949. His strongest childhood memories are to do with play, especially ‘playing out’, football and cricket especially. Sometimes we played what we’d seen at the pictures. You can ‘play’ a lot of things although going to ‘a play’ we never did. We played on what we called the ‘back field’ but it was, in fact, the site of an old colliery wagon way. There was no grass. I went to Sussex University in 1967 and York University in 1971, where Gwyn A Williams supervised my DPhil. We were all mad about E P Thompson in those days, although Gwyn was a Welsh Marxist star in his own right. I learned a lot from both men (not all of it consciously). In 2012, after thirty three years at Leicester University, I moved to the International Centre for Sport History and Culture at DMU. I’m currently Professor Emeritus.