Carter, Neil. "Notes." *Medicine, Sport and the Body: A Historical Perspective*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012. 205–248. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781849662062.0006>>.

Downloaded from Bloomsbury Collections, www.bloomsburycollections.com, 26 April 2023, 01:06 UTC.

Copyright © Neil Carter 2012. You may share this work for non-commercial purposes only, provided you give attribution to the copyright holder and the publisher, and provide a link to the Creative Commons licence.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 J.G.P. Williams (ed.), *Sports Medicine* (London: Edward Arnold, 1962).
- 2 J.G.P. Williams, *Medical Aspects of Sport and Physical Fitness* (London: Pergamon Press, 1965), pp. 91–5. Homosexuality was legalized in 1967.
- 3 James Pipkin, *Sporting Lives: Metaphor and Myth in American Sports Autobiographies* (London: University of Missouri Press, 2008), pp. 44–50.
- 4 Paula Radcliffe, *Paula: My Story So Far* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2004).
- 5 Roger Cooter and John Pickstone, 'Introduction' in Roger Cooter and John Pickstone (eds), *Medicine in the Twentieth Century* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 2000), p. xiii.
- 6 Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 9.
- 7 Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 3.
- 8 Deborah Brunton, 'Introduction' in Deborah Brunton (ed.), *Medicine Transformed: Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1800–1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. xiii.
- 9 Cooter and Pickstone, 'Introduction' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), p. xiv.
- 10 Patricia Vertinsky, 'What is Sports Medicine?' *Journal of Sport History*, 34:1 (Spring 2007), p. 87.
- 11 Cooter and Pickstone, 'Introduction' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), p. xiv.
- 12 It was originally called the Association Internationale Médico-Sportive (AIMS). In 1933, the name was changed to Fédération Internationale de Médico-Sportive et Scientifique before it adopted its current title in 1934.
- 13 Vanessa Heggie, 'Specialization without the Hospital: The Case of British Sports Medicine', *Medical History*, 54: (2010), p. 458.
- 14 Parissa Safai, 'A critical analysis of the development of sport medicine in Canada', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 42 (2007), p. 326.
- 15 B. Thompson, *et al*, 'Defining the Sports Medicine Specialist in the United Kingdom: A Delphi Study', *British Journal of Sports Medicine (BJSM hereafter)*, 38 (2004) 214.
- 16 Paul McCrory, 'What is sports and exercise medicine?' *BJSM*, 40 (2006) pp. 955–7.
- 17 See John Welshman, 'Only Connect: The History of Sport, Medicine and Society', *International Journal of the History of Sport (IJHS hereafter)*, 15:2 (August 1998), pp. 2–5.
- 18 John V. Pickstone, 'A brief history of medical history', <http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/history>; Jeffrey Hill, 'British Sports History: A Post-Modern Future?', *Journal of Sport History*, 23:1 (Spring 1996), pp. 1–19.
- 19 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).
- 20 For example, Charles M. Tipton, 'Sports Medicine: A Century of Progress', *Journal of Nutrition*, 127:5 (May 1996), pp. 878s–85s; John D. Massengale and Richard A. Swanson (eds), *The History of Exercise and Sport Science* (New York: Human Kinetics, 1997).

- 21 Nicholas D. Bourne, 'Fast Science: A History of Training Theory and Methods for Elite Runners Through 1975' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 2008).
- 22 For example, Roberta J Park, 'Physiology and Anatomy are Destiny!?: Brains, Bodies and Exercise in Nineteenth Century American Thought', *Journal of Sport History*, 18:1 (Spring 1991), pp. 31–63; 'Boys' Clubs Are Better Than Policemen's Clubs': Endeavours by Philanthropists, Social Reformers, and Others to Prevent Juvenile Crime, the Late 1800s to 1917, *IJHS*, 24:6 (June 2007), pp. 749–75; 'Physiologists, physicians, and physical educators: Nineteenth century biology and exercise, hygienic and educative', *IJHS*, 24:12 (2007), pp. 1637–73; 'Setting the Scene – Bridging the Gap between Knowledge and Practice: When Americans Really Built Programmes to Foster Healthy Lifestyles, 1918–1940', *IJHS*, 25:11 (2008), pp. 1427–52; 'Sharing, arguing, and seeking recognition: International congresses, meetings, and physical education, 1867–1915', *IJHS*, 25:5 (2008), pp. 519–48. See also Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
- 23 Patricia Vertinsky, 'Exercise, Physical Capability, and the Eternally Wounded Woman in Late Nineteenth-Century North America' in Berryman and Park (eds), pp. 183–211; 'Making and marking gender: Bodybuilding and the medicalization of the body from one century's end to another', *Sport in Society*, 2:1 (1999), pp. 1–24; 'Body Shapes: The Role of the Medical Establishment in Informing Female Exercise and Physical Education in Nineteenth-Century North America' in J.A. Mangan and Roberta Park (eds), *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: Sport and Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-industrial Era* (London: Frank Cass, 1987), pp. 256–81.
- 24 Roberta J. Park, "'Cells or soaring?': Historical reflections on "visions" of body, athletics, and Modern Olympism', *IJHS*, 24:12 (2007), pp. 1701–23; 'Physicians, Scientists, Exercise and Athletics in Britain and America from the 1867 Boat Race to the Four-Minute Mile', *Sport in History*, 31:1 (March 2011), pp. 1–31.
- 25 Rob Beamish and Ian Ritchie, *Fastest, Highest, Strongest: A critique of high-performance sport* (London: Routledge, 2006); Vanessa Heggie, "'Only the British Appear to be Making a Fuss": The Science of Success and the Myth of Amateurism at the Mexico Olympiad, 1968', *Sport in History*, 28:2 (June 2008), pp. 213–35; Alison Wrynn, 'The Athlete in the Making: The Scientific Study of American Athletic Performance, 1920–1932', *Sport in History*, 30:1 (March 2010), pp. 121–7. For a history of coaching see special edition on 'Coaching Cultures' in *Sport in History*, 30:1 (March 2010).
- 26 John Hoberman, *Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Ivan Waddington, *Sport, Health and Drugs: A Critical Sociological Perspective* (London: E & FN Spon, 2000), Chapters 6 and 10; Barrie Houlihan, 'Building an international regime to combat doping in sport' in Roger Levermore and Adrian Budd (eds), *Sport and International Relations: An Emerging Relationship* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- 27 Paul Dimeo, *A History of Drug Use in Sport 1876–1976: Beyond Good and Evil* (London: Routledge, 2007); Thomas Hunt, *Drug Games: The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960–2008* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011). For a variety of approaches to this issue see special edition on Drugs in *Sport in History*, 25:3 (December 2005).

- 28 Neil Carter, 'Metatarsals and Magic Sponges: English Football and the Development of Sports Medicine', *Journal of Sport History*, 34:1 (Spring 2007), pp. 53–74; 'The Rise and Fall of the Magic Sponge: Medicine and the Transformation of the Football Trainer', *Social History of Medicine*, 23:2 (August 2010), pp. 261–80.
- 29 For example, S. Loland, B. Skirstad and I. Waddington (eds), *Pain and Injury in Sport: Social and Ethical Analysis* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 30 Ivan Waddington, 'Jobs for the Boys: A Study of the Employment of Club Doctors and Physiotherapists in English Professional Football', *Soccer and Society*, 3 (2002), pp. 51–64; Ivan Waddington, Martin Roderick and Graham Parker, *Managing Injuries in Professional Football: A Study of the Roles of the Club Doctor and Physiotherapist* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1999); I. Waddington, M. Roderick and R. Naik, 'Methods of Appointment and Qualifications of Club Doctors and Physiotherapists in English Professional Football: Some Problems and Issues', *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, 35 (2001), p. 48; Dominic Malcolm, 'Sports medicine: A very peculiar practice? Doctors and physiotherapists in elite English rugby union' in Loland *et al* (eds), *Pain and Injury in Sport*, pp. 165–81; Dominic Malcolm and Ken Sheard, "'Pain in the Assets": The Effects of Commercialization and Professionalization on the Management of Injury in English Rugby Union.' *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 19 (2002), pp. 149–69; Dominic Malcolm 'Unprofessional Practice? The Status and Power of Sport Physicians', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 23 (2006), pp. 376–95.
- 31 Ken Sheard, "'Brutal and Degrading": The Medical Profession and Boxing, 1838–1984', *IJHS*, 15:1 (1998), pp. 74–102; 'Boxing in the Civilizing Process' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Anglia Polytechnic, 1992).
- 32 Vanessa Heggie, *A History of British Sports Medicine* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 2.
- 33 Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 2.
- 34 Christopher S. Thompson, *The Tour de France: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 96–7.
- 35 Tony Mason and Eliza Riedi, *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 42–4.
- 36 Neil Carter, 'From Knox to Dyson: Coaching, Amateurism and British Athletics, 1912–1947', *Sport in History*, 30:1 (March 2010), pp. 59–60.
- 37 Richard Holt, 'The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain', *Sport in History*, 26:3 (December 2006), pp. 358–62.
- 38 Interview between Geoff Dyson and Tom McNab, c.1968, transcript in possession of the author. I am grateful to Tom McNab for access to this interview.
- 39 Quoted in Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), pp. 113–14.
- 40 For a discussion of political culture related to professional societies see Harold Perkin, *The Third Revolution: Professional Elites in the Modern World* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- 41 For example, see John Hoberman, *Darwin's Athletes: How Sport has Damaged Black America and Preserved the Myth of Race* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997); Ben Carrington and Ian McDonald (eds), 'Race', *Sport and British Society* (London: Routledge, 2001); David Wiggins, *Glory Bound: Black Athletes in a White America* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997); Ian

- Brittain, *The Paralympic Games Explained* (London: Routledge, 2010); Julie Anderson, “‘Turned into Taxpayers’: Paraplegia, Rehabilitation and Sport at Stoke Mandeville, 1944–56’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 38 (2003), pp. 461–75; P. David Howe, ‘The tail is wagging the dog: Body culture, classification and the Paralympic movement’, *Ethnography*, 9 (2008), pp. 499–517.
- 42 Dimeo, *Drug Use*.
- 43 John Welshman, ‘Boxing and the historians’, *IJHS*, 14:1 (1997), pp. 195–203.

Chapter 1 Sport as Medicine: Ideas of Health, Sport and Exercise

- 1 Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health, and Fitness in Britain, 1880–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 170–1.
- 2 Bernard Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State: Social Welfare in England and Wales, 1800–1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), p. xi.
- 3 Klaus Bergoldt, *Wellbeing: A Cultural History of Healthy Living* (translated by Jane Dewhurst) (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), pp. 1–6.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 55–6.
- 5 Vivian Nutton, ‘Humoralism’ in W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine, Volume One* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 281.
- 6 Roberta Bivins, *Alternative Medicine? A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 12.
- 7 Human temperaments bear humoral names: choleric, melancholic, sanguine and phlegmatic.
- 8 Bivins, *Alternative Medicine?*, p. 9.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Jack W. Berryman, ‘Exercise and the Medical Tradition from Hippocrates through Antebellum America: A Review Essay’ in Berryman and Park (eds), p. 3.
- 11 For a critique of this period see Peter Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge and its Ambitions, 1500–1700, Second Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- 12 *Ibid.*, Chapters 7 and 8; Bergoldt, *Wellbeing*, p. 202; Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), p. 218; Bivins, *Alternative Medicine?*, p. 33.
- 13 Wolfgang Behringer, ‘Arena and Pall Mall: Sport in the Early Modern Period’, *German History*, 27:3 (2009), p. 334.
- 14 Bergoldt, *Wellbeing*, p. 200.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 236–7.
- 17 Harris, *British Welfare State*, pp. 16–19.
- 18 Dorothy Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State: A history of public health from ancient to modern times* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 63.
- 19 Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, pp. 1–16.
- 20 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, pp. 97–110; Deborah Brunton, ‘Dealing with Disease in Populations: Public Health, 1830–1880’ in Brunton (ed.), pp. 196–204.
- 21 Matthew Ramsey, ‘Public Health in France’ in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994) pp. 45–118.
- 22 Paul Weindling, ‘From Germ Theory to Social Medicine: Public Health, 1880–1930’ in Brunton (ed.), p. 239.

- 23 See Kay Schiller and Christopher Young, 'The History and Historiography of Sport in Germany: Social, Cultural and Political Perspectives', *German History*, 27:3 (2009), pp. 313–30.
- 24 Jan Todd, 'The Classical Ideal and its Impact on the Search for Suitable Exercise: 1774–1830', *Iron Game History*, 2:4 (1992), p. 7.
- 25 Margaret MacMillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London: Hodder, 2001), p. 365.
- 26 Todd, 'The Classical Ideal', p. 7; Felix Saure, 'Beautiful Bodies, Exercising Warriors and Original Peoples: Sports, Greek Antiquity and National Identity from Winckelmann to 'Turnvater Jahn'', *German History*, 27:3 (2009), pp. 358–73.
- 27 Saure, 'Beautiful Bodies', pp. 358–73.
- 28 Christiane Eisenberg, 'Charismatic Nationalist Leader: Turnvater Jahn', *IJHS*, 13:1 (March 1996), pp. 14–26. A Turnfeste was a very large gymnastic festival in which the Turnen performed mass gymnastic exercises along with listening to patriotic orations and pledging their allegiance to the Kaiser.
- 29 Arnd Kruger, 'The role of sport in German international politics, 1918–1945' in P. Arnaud and J. Riordan, (eds), *Sport and international politics* (London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1998), p. 80; Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 304.
- 30 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 304; Jean Barclay, *In Good Hands: The History of the Chartered Society of Physiotherapy 1894–1994* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1994), pp. 4–5.
- 31 Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp. 94–5.
- 32 Eugen Weber, 'Gymnastics and Sports in *Fin-de-Siècle* France', *American Historical Review*, 76:1 (February 1971), pp. 70–7.
- 33 Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain* (London: Headline, 2001), pp. 60–8.
- 34 Todd, 'The Classical Ideal', pp. 8–9.
- 35 Peter McIntosh, 'Archibald Maclaren', *Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 [accessed 18 Nov 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50298>].
- 36 Frank Galligan, 'The History of Gymnastic Activity in the West Midlands, with special reference to Birmingham, from 1865 to 1918: With an analysis of military influences, secular and religious innovation and educational developments' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Coventry University, 1999), p. 263.
- 37 Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (London: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 3.
- 38 Haley, *Healthy Body*, pp. 19, 4; Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 361.
- 39 Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010).
- 40 Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 76. Sport in the schools, however, was generally organized and ran by the boys.
- 41 Haley, *Healthy Body*, p. 167.
- 42 *Times Higher Education*, 26 March 2009, p. 48.
- 43 Tony Collins, *A Social History of English Rugby Union* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1–21.
- 44 Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp. 74–88; Eliza Riedi and Tony Mason, "'Leather" and the Fighting Spirit: Sport in the British Army in World War I', *Canadian Journal of History*, 41 (2006), p. 496.
- 45 Patrick F. Devitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire 1880–1935* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 1–13. Notions of masculinity though differed according to social context.

While the working classes, for example, adopted many of the games of the elites, there was less acceptance of the attendant values associated with the games.

- 46 Holt, 'The Amateur Body', pp. 352–69.
- 47 Harris, *British Welfare State*, pp. 104–24.
- 48 Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture*, pp. 165–6.
- 49 Claire Parker, 'The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878', *The Sports Historian*, 21:2 (November 2001), pp. 54–67.
- 50 J. Hurt, 'Drill, discipline and the elementary school ethos' in W.P. McCann (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1977), p. 176; Galligan, 'Gymnastic Activity', pp. 257–74.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 189; Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society 1863–1915* (Brighton; Harvester Press, 1980), p. 125 n19.
- 52 John Welshman, 'Physical Education and the School Medical Service in England and Wales, 1907–1939', *Social History of Medicine*, 9:1(1996), pp. 32–4.
- 53 John Welshman, 'Physical Culture and Sport in Schools in England and Wales, 1900–40', *IJHS*, 15:1 (April 1998), p. 56.
- 54 Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture*, p. 167.
- 55 Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp. 136–48. For other literature regarding rational recreation see Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830–1885* (London: Methuen, 1987); Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A social history, Second edition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), Chapters 2 and 3.
- 56 Mason, *Association Football*, p. 123 n6.
- 57 For a detailed study of the origins and motivations of these and similar organizations see John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society; British Youth Movements, 1883–1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977). Tammy Proctor, '(Uni) Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908–39', *History Workshop Journal*, 45 (1998), pp. 105–6.
- 58 Mason, *Association Football*, pp. 82–7; Colm Kerrigan, 'London Schoolboys and Professional Football, 1899–1915', *IJHS*, 11:2 (August 1994), pp. 287–97.
- 59 Roger Munting, 'The Games Ethic and Industrial Capitalism before 1914: The Provision of Company Sports', *Sport in History*, 23:1 (Summer 2003), pp. 45–63; Kathleen Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain 1830–1990* (London: Athlone, 1994), pp. 42–4.
- 60 James Moore, 'The Fortunes of Eugenics' in Brunton (ed.), pp. 266–97.
- 61 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, p. 24.
- 62 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, pp. 166–73.
- 63 Jones, *Social Policy*, p. 77.
- 64 Geoffrey Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A study of British politics and British political thought 1899–1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), pp. 54–67.
- 65 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 72–3; Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration 1903–4.
- 66 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 147.
- 67 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 417.
- 68 Berryman, 'Exercise', pp. 35–6.
- 69 Green, *Fit For America*, pp. 6–7.
- 70 Todd, 'The Classical Ideal', p. 6.

- 71 Gertrud Pfister, 'The Role of German Turners in American Physical Education', *IJHS*, 26:13 (2009), pp. 1893–1925.
- 72 Roberta J. Park, 'Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth-Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic and Educative' in Berryman and Park (eds), pp. 137–40.
- 73 Green, *Fit for America*, pp. 182–3.
- 74 Park, 'Sharing, arguing', pp. 519–48.
- 75 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, pp. 147–62.
- 76 Green, *Fit for America*, pp. 219–33.
- 77 *Ibid.*, pp. 233–40; Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 214–15.
- 78 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 305.
- 79 Dorothy Porter, 'The Healthy Body' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), p. 202.
- 80 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 1–14.
- 81 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 306.
- 82 Eugen Sandow, *Life is Movement: The Physical Reconstruction and Regeneration of the People* (London: National Health Press, 1919), pp. 282–3.
- 83 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 36–50.
- 84 *Ibid.*, pp. 46–50; Hans Bonde, 'I.P. Muller: Danish Apostle of Health', *IJHS*, 8:1 (December 1991), pp. 347–69; I.P. Muller, *My System: 15 Minutes' Exercise a Day for Health's Sake* (London: Link House, 1904).
- 85 Green, *Fit For America*, pp. 242–50. See also Jan Todd, 'Bernarr Macfadden: Reformer of Feminine Form' in Berryman and Park (eds), pp. 213–32.
- 86 Mark Dyreson, 'Johnny Weissmuller and the Old Global Capitalism: The Origins of the Federal Blueprint for Selling American Culture to the World', *IJHS*, 25:2 (2008), pp. 268–83.
- 87 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 298–9.
- 88 Ina Zweinigier-Bargielowska, 'Raising a Nation of 'Good Animals': The New Health Society and Health Education Campaigns in Interwar Britain', *Social History of Medicine*, 20:1 (2007), pp. 73–89; Porter, *Health, Civilization*, pp. 303–8.
- 89 Ina Zweinigier-Bargielowska, 'Building a British Superman: Physical Culture in Interwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 41:4 (2006), pp. 596–602.
- 90 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 169–74.
- 91 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 208.
- 92 Angela Teja, 'Italian sport and international relations under fascism' in Arnaud and Riordan (eds), pp. 147–70.
- 93 Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, p. 3.
- 94 *Ibid.*, pp. 158–72; Nikolaus Katzer, 'Soviet physical culture and sport: A European legacy?' in Alan Tomlinson, Christopher Young and Richard Holt (eds), *Sport and the Transformation of Modern Europe: States, media and markets 1950–2010* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 18–34.
- 95 Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, p. 115.
- 96 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 193.
- 97 Erik Jensen, *Body By Weimar: Athletes, Gender and German Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 98 Barbara Cole, 'The East German Sports System: Image and Reality (Unpublished PhD: Texas Tech University, 2000), p. 54; Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, p. 125.
- 99 Keys, *Globalizing Sport*, pp. 125–6.

- 100 For a similar response amongst other countries in the British Empire see Charlotte Macdonald, *Strong, Beautiful, and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935–1960* (Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books, 2011).
- 101 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 329–30.
- 102 Anne Hardy, *Health and Medicine in Britain since 1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 77–9.
- 103 *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- 104 Stephen G. Jones, ‘State Intervention in Sport and Leisure in Britain between the Wars’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 22 (1987), p. 167; Hugh Cunningham, ‘Leisure and Culture’ in FML Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 323.
- 105 Welshman, ‘Physical Education’, pp. 40, 64–5; Charles Webster, ‘The Health of the School Child During the Depression’ in N. Parry and D. McNair (eds), *The Fitness of the Nation-Physical and Health Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Proceedings of the 1982 Annual Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain* (History of Education Society, 1983), pp. 73–4.
- 106 Elsa Davies, ‘National Playing Fields Association’ in Richard Cox, Grant Jarvie and Wray Vamplew (eds), *Encyclopedia of British Sport* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 2000), pp. 275–6.
- 107 It had been originally called the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training but this was changed to the Central Council of Physical Recreation in 1944.
- 108 H. Justin Evans, *Service to Sport: The Story of the CCPR – 1935–1972* (London: Pelham, 1974), pp. 31, 39.
- 109 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, p. 313.
- 110 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 208.
- 111 *Ibid.*, pp. 209–11.
- 112 *Ibid.*, pp. 211–2.
- 113 Harris, *British Welfare State*, p. 303.
- 114 *Lancet*, 21 November 1953, pp. 1053–7.
- 115 Robert Crawford, ‘Healthism and the Medicalization of Everyday Life’, *International Journal of Health Services*, 10:3 (1980), pp. 365–88.
- 116 Virginia Berridge, ‘Medicine, public health and the media in Britain from the nineteen-fifties to the nineteen-seventies’, *Historical Research*, 82:216 (May 2009), p. 361.
- 117 Virginia Berridge, ‘Medicine and the Public: The 1962 Report of the Royal College of Physicians and the New Public Health’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 81: (2007), pp. 286–311.
- 118 Virginia Berridge, *Health and Society in Britain since 1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 88.
- 119 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, *passim*.
- 120 Mike Saks, ‘Medicine and the Counter Culture’ in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), pp. 114–20. Roberta Bivins has argued that cross-cultural or alternative medicine never went away and these therapies have their origins in Ancient Egypt and Greece. Bivins, *Alternative Medicine?*, p. 171.
- 121 Nancy Phelan and Michael Volin, *Yoga for Women* (London: Arrow, 1963), p. 23; Carey Watt, Book Review of John J. MacAloon (ed.), *Muscular Christianity in Colonial and Post-Colonial Worlds* (London: Routledge, 2008), *IJHS*, 26:15 (2009), pp. 2287–8; Bivins, *Alternative Medicine?*, p. 79; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 35–6.
- 122 Mason, *Sport in Britain*, pp. 83–4.

- 123 J. Smith Maguire, 'Leisure and the Obligations of Self-Work: An Examination of the Fitness Field', *Leisure Studies*, 27:1 (2008), p. 61; Matthew Frew and David McGillivray, 'Health Clubs and Body Politics: Aesthetics and the Quest for Physical Capital', *Leisure Studies*, 24:2, (2005), pp. 161–2; Roberta Sassatelli, 'The Commercialization of Discipline: Keep-Fit Culture and Its Values', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 5:3 (2000), pp. 396–7.
- 124 Jutta Braun, 'The People's Sport? Popular Sport and Fans in the Later Years of the German Democratic Republic', *German History*, 27:3 (2009), pp. 414–28.
- 125 Porter, 'Healthy Body', pp. 212–15.
- 126 Mick Green, 'Olympic Glory or Grassroots Development?: Sport Policy Priorities in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, 1960–2000', *IJHS*, 24:7 (July 2007), p. 930.
- 127 Penny Tinkler, 'Cause for Concern: young women and leisure, 1930–50', *Women's History Review*, 12:2 (2003), p. 241.
- 128 Park, 'Setting the Scene', pp. 1427–52.
- 129 Thomas M. Hunt, 'Countering the Soviet Threat in the Olympic Medals Race: The Amateur Sports Act of 1978 and American Athletics Policy Reform', *IJHS*, 24:6 (June 2007), pp. 798–800.
- 130 Phil Dine, 'Sport and the State in contemporary France: from la Charte des Sports to decentralisation', *Modern and Contemporary France*, 6:3 (1998), p. 310.
- 131 For the relationship between sport and the state in the Third Republic (1870–1939) see Richard Holt, 'Sport, the French, and the Third Republic', *Modern and Contemporary France*, 6:3 (1998), pp. 289–99.
- 132 Lindsay Sarah Krasnoff, 'Resurrecting the nation: The evolution of French sports policy from de Gaulle to Mitterand' in Tomlinson *et al* (eds), pp. 67–82.
- 133 N. Baker, 'The Amateur Ideal in a Society of Equality: Change and Continuity in post-Second World War British Sport', 1945–48, *IJHS*, 12:1 (April 1995), p. 101.
- 134 Martin Polley, *Moving the Goalposts: A history of sport and society since 1945* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 10.
- 135 Wolfenden Committee on Sport, *Sport and the Community*, London: CCPR, 1960, paragraphs 269–72.
- 136 For the even greater role of local government in British sport see Barrie Houlihan, *The Government and Politics of Sport* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 51.
- 137 Krasnoff, 'Resurrecting the nation', pp. 67–82.
- 138 Roger Bannister, 'Sport, Physical Recreation, and the National Health', *British Medical Journal* (23 December 1972), p. 712.
- 139 Richard Holt and Tony Mason, *Sport in Britain 1945–2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 150. Sport for All was originally a European Commission initiative.
- 140 Berridge, *Health and Society*, p. 88.
- 141 Mason, *Sport in Britain*, p. 82. For the role of leisure centres in Northern Ireland see Holt and Mason, *Sport in Britain*, p. 189 n16; Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture*, pp. 173–4.
- 142 Holt and Mason, *Sport in Britain*, p. 166.
- 143 *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5.

Chapter 2 This Sporting Life: Injuries and Medical Provision

- 1 Oriard, *Reading Football*, p. 205.
- 2 John Harding, *Living to Play: From Soccer Slaves to Socceratti – A Social History of the Professionals* (London: Robson, 2003), p. 105.
- 3 Steve Sturdy, 'The Industrial Body' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), p. 217.

- 4 Brad Beaven, *Leisure, citizenship and working-class men in Britain, 1850–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), Chapter 1.
- 5 Haley, *Healthy Body*, p. 225.
- 6 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 27–8; Andrew August, ‘A culture of consolation? Rethinking politics in working-class London, 1870–1914’, *Historical Research*, 74:183 (August 2001), pp. 193–217; Stan Shipley, ‘Tom Causer of Bermondsey: A Boxer Hero of the 1890s’, *History Workshop Journal*, 15 (1983), p. 31.
- 7 See Steven Fielding, Peter Thompson and Nick Tiratsoo, ‘England Arise!’ *The Labour Party and Popular Politics in 1940s Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- 8 Muller, *My System*, p. 24.
- 9 Sandow, *Life is Movement*, pp. 390–2.
- 10 Collins, *Rugby Union*, p. 19.
- 11 *Field*, 18 December 1880, p. 920.
- 12 Tony Collins, *Rugby’s Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), p. 129.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- 14 For a critical analysis of these injuries see Tony Collins, ‘History, Theory and the “Civilizing Process”’, *Sport in History*, 25:2 (August 2005), pp. 298–9.
- 15 Football refers to both the rugby and soccer codes. *Lancet*, 6 January 1894, p. 40; 24 March 1894, pp. 756, 764–7.
- 16 Collins, ‘History, Theory’, pp. 298–9.
- 17 *Lancet*, 16 November 1907, pp. 1402–3.
- 18 *Lancet*, 19 September 1908, p. 886.
- 19 James Whorton, ‘“Athlete’s Heart”: The Medical Debate Over Athleticism, 1870–1920’, *Journal of Sport History*, 9:1 (Spring 1982), pp. 38–9.
- 20 RH Anglin Whitelocke, *Football Injuries* (London: Medical Officers of Schools Association, 1904).
- 21 *The Times*, 27 May 1910, p. 10.
- 22 Collins, *Rugby’s Great Split*, p. 124.
- 23 Green, *Fit For America*, p. 233.
- 24 See Oriard, *Reading Football*.
- 25 Steven A. Riess, *Sport in Industrial America 1850–1920* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1995), p. 116.
- 26 Roberta Park, ‘“Mended or Ended?”: Football Injuries and the British and American Medical Press’, 1870–1910, *IJHS*, 18:2 (June 2001), pp. 110–33.
- 27 Howard Savage, Harold W. Bentley, John T. McGovern and Dean F. Smiley, *American College Athletics, Bulletin Number 23* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929), pp. x–xxi.
- 28 Savage *et al*, *American College Athletics*, pp. 140–2.
- 29 *Ibid.*, pp. 144–5.
- 30 Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 173.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 106. For a more recent scandal concerning the sacking of Pennsylvania State University’s coach, see *Times Higher Education*, 24 November 2011, pp. 20–1.
- 32 Richard D. Hawkins and Colin W. Fuller, ‘A prospective epidemiological study of injuries in four English professional football clubs’, *BJSM*, 33 (1999), pp. 196–203.

- 33 S. Drawer and C.W. Fuller, 'Propensity for osteoarthritis and lower limb joint pain in retired professional soccer players', *BJSM*, 35 (2001), pp. 402–8. Although the figure is relatively low when considering the high injury levels.
- 34 Martin Roderick, 'The sociology of pain and injury in sport' in Sigmund Loland, Berit Skirstad and Ivan Waddington, *Pain and Injury in Sport: Social and ethical analysis* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 17–33.
- 35 Tony Collins, *Rugby League in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Routledge), 2006, pp. 151–3.
- 36 Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 173.
- 37 John Williams, *Red Men* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2012).
- 38 Interview with Ian Adams, 22 August 2005.
- 39 Malcolm and Sheard, "Pain in the Assets", pp. 149–50.
- 40 Questionnaire survey of footballers. Qualitative data was extracted from the replies of 19 former professional footballers. I am grateful to John Rowlands for his help.
- 41 *Daily Telegraph* (Sport), 25 June 2009, p. 14.
- 42 *Field*, 7 July 1883, p. 11.
- 43 I am grateful to Honor Godfrey at the Wimbledon museum for this information.
- 44 *The Times*, 30 December 1889, p. 10.
- 45 Roger Cooter, 'The Moment of the Accident: Culture, Militarism and Modernity in Late-Victorian Britain', in Roger Cooter and Brian Luckin (eds), *Accidents in History: Injuries, Fatalities and Social Relations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 107–9.
- 46 Hardy, *Health and Medicine*, p. 36.
- 47 Roderick, 'Pain and injury in sport', pp. 17–33.
- 48 Beaven, *Leisure, citizenship*, p. 111.
- 49 Sheard, "Brutal and Degrading", p. 78.
- 50 John A. Williams, 'Winter Sports' in J.R. Armstrong and W.E. Tucker (eds), *Injury in Sport: The Physiology, Prevention and Treatment of Injuries associated with Sport* (London: Staples Press, 1964), pp. 250–1.
- 51 Harding, *Living to Play*, p. 106. Admittedly, these figures were gathered by a newspaper, and the methodology used is not known. However, they do indicate the accepted nature of injuries in football.
- 52 Matthew Taylor, *The Leaguers: The Making of Professional Football, 1900–1939* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), p. 155.
- 53 Charles Buchan, *A Lifetime in Football* (London: Sportsman's Book Club, 1956), p. 71.
- 54 Tony Mason, *Passion of the People? Football in South America* (London: Verso, 1994), p. 25.
- 55 Martin Roderick, Ivan Waddington and Graham Parker, 'Playing Hurt: Managing Injuries in English Professional Football', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 35:2 (2000), pp. 165–80.
- 56 R.D. Hawkins *et al*, 'The association football medical research programme: an audit of injuries in professional football', *BJSM*, 35 (2001), pp. 43–7.
- 57 Mason and Riedi, *Sport and the Military*, pp. 68–73. See Chapter 2 for more detail on officer sports.
- 58 Virginia Holgate, *Ginny: An Autobiography* (London: Stanley Paul, 1986), p. 51.
- 59 Nick Skelton, *Only Falls and Horses* (London: Greenwater, 2001), Chapter 29.
- 60 Savage *et al*, *American College Athletics*, p. 155.
- 61 R. Salisbury Woods, 'Disorders and Accidents of Athletes', *Practitioner*, (September 1930), pp. 414–16.

- 62 *Observer* (Sport), 19 May 2002. Hingis made a brief comeback a few years later.
- 63 *New York Times* (Sports), 25 May 2006, D1, D6.
- 64 Marcus Trescothick, *Coming back to me: The Autobiography* (London: Harper, 2008).
- 65 *Guardian* (G2), 16 April 2001, pp. 2–4.
- 66 Thompson, *Tour de France*, p. 216.
- 67 Martin Tolich and Martha Bell, 'The Commodification of Jockeys' Working Bodies: Anorexia or Work Discipline' in Chris McConville (ed.), *A Global Racecourse: Work, Culture and Horse Sports* (Melbourne: Australian Society for Sports History, 2008), pp. 101–13.
- 68 James Huntington-Whiteley (ed.), *The Book of British Sporting Heroes* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1998), p. 31.
- 69 Dick Francis, *Lester: The Official Biography* (London: Michael Joseph, 1986), pp. 71–2.
- 70 Wray Vamplew, 'Still Crazy after All Those Years: Continuity in a Changing Labour Market for Professional Jockeys' in A. Smith and D. Porter (eds), *Amateurs and Professionals in Post-War British Sport* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), pp. 119–21. A study of the medical treatment received by horses would make an interesting subject but it is beyond the scope of this book.
- 71 Waddington, *Sport, Health*, pp. 103–4.
- 72 Harris, *British Welfare State*, Chapter 11; Mike Savage and Andrew Miles, *The Remaking of the British Working Class 1840–1940* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- 73 Taylor, *The Leaguers*, Chapters 3 and 4.
- 74 A. Clement Edwards, *The Compensation Act 1906* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1907), pp. 8–10.
- 75 Taylor, *The Leaguers*, p. 129.
- 76 Colin Fuller, 'Implications of health and safety legislation for the professional sportsperson', *BJSM*, 29:1 (1995), p. 5.
- 77 Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'Marginalising the Body at Work? Employers' Occupational Health Strategies and Occupational Medicine in Scotland c.1930–1974', *Social History of Medicine*, 21:1 (April 2008), pp. 127–44.
- 78 Mason, Association Football, p. 107.
- 79 Collins, *Great Split*, pp. 126–7.
- 80 www.coylehamiltonwillis.com/gaa/gaa.htm [accessed 24 September 2005].
- 81 Taylor, *The Leaguers*, p. 161.
- 82 Middlesbrough FC Minutes, 19 September 1898.
- 83 Middlesbrough FC Minutes, 14 November 1898, Middlesbrough turned professional in 1899–1900.
- 84 Harding, *Living to Play*, pp. 106–7.
- 85 Wolverhampton Wanderers FC, Rules for players 1914–15. Information provided by Wolverhampton Wanderers FC.
- 86 Wolverhampton Wanderers Football Club (1923) Ltd., Season 1933–34, Player's Ticket; Hull City AFC, Season 1939–40, Player's Ticket.
- 87 Collins, *Rugby League*, p. 49.
- 88 *FA Bulletin*, April 1955, p. 436.
- 89 Vamplew, 'Still Crazy', pp. 124–5.
- 90 Ken Foster, 'Developments in Sports Law' in Lincoln Allison (ed.), *The Changing Politics of Sport* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 105–24.
- 91 *Guardian*, 24 February 2004.

- 92 Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood* (London: BBC Books 2006), pp. 211–45.
- 93 Cooter, 'The Moment of the Accident', pp. 107–9.
- 94 Frederick O. Mueller and Jerry L. Diehl, 'Annual Survey of Football Injury Research, 1931–2003', National Center for Catastrophic Sport Injury Research, <http://www.unc.edu/depts/nccsi/AllSport.htm> [accessed 22 October 2004].
- 95 Amateur Athletic Association Archives, Annual Report 1950.
- 96 Les Woodland (ed.), *The Yellow Jersey Companion to the Tour de France* (London: Yellow Jersey Press, 2003), p. 119.
- 97 Pierre de Coubertin, Timoleon J. Philemon, N.G. Politis and Charalmbos Anninos, *The Olympic Games: B.C. 776–A.D. 1896, Second Part, The Olympic Games in 1896* (London: H.G. Grevel, 1897), pp. 86–7.
- 98 Charles J.P. Lucas, *The Olympic Games 1904* (St. Louis: Woodward and Tiernan, 1905), p. 51; A.J. Ryan, 'History of sports medicine' in A.J. Ryan and F. Allman (eds), *Sports Medicine* (London: Academic Press, 1974), pp. 24–5.
- 99 British Olympic Council, *The Fourth Olympiad: London 1908* (London: British Olympic Council, 1908), pp. 72–3. The refreshments en route were supplied by Oxo.
- 100 Stockholm Organising Committee, *The Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912* (Stockholm: Swedish Olympic Committee/Wahlstrom and Widstrand, 1912), p. 1003, 1015.
- 101 *Ibid.*, pp. 832–42.
- 102 John Bryant, *The London Marathon: The History of the Greatest Race on Earth* (London: Arrow, 2005), pp. 188–91.
- 103 See, for example, J.R. Miles, 'The racecourse medical officer', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners*, 19 (1970), p. 228.
- 104 Timothy Collings and Stuart Sykes, *Jackie Stewart: A Restless Life* (London: Virgin, 2003), pp. 123–42; Sid Watkins, *Life at the Limit: Triumph and Tragedy in Formula One* (London: Pan, 1996), pp. 12–28; *Beyond the Limit* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2001), Appendix 2.
- 105 Personal correspondence with Dr Hugh Seward, chairman of AFLMOA and team doctor for Geelong in Australian Football League.
- 106 Martin Johnes, '"Heads in the Sand": Football, Politics and Crowd Disasters in Twentieth-Century Britain', *Soccer in Society*, 5:2 (Summer 2004), pp. 135–6.
- 107 Wray Vamplew, 'Playing with the rules: Influences on the development of regulation in sport', *IJHS*, 24:7 (2007), p. 862; Foster, 'Sporting Law', pp. 105–7.
- 108 Holt, 'The Amateur Body', pp. 353–62.
- 109 Collins, *Rugby Union*, pp. 18–19.
- 110 *Evening News* (Glasgow), 15 October 1931, p. 1; *Daily Record*, 16 October 1931, p. 7; *Sunderland Echo*, 14, 15 February, p. 12, 3 March 1936.
- 111 *Sunderland Echo*, 3 March 1936.
- 112 Taylor, *The Leaguers*, pp. 252–5.
- 113 FA Minutes, Council, 24 April 1936; 4. Minutes of Referees' Committee, 3 April 1936.
- 114 Personal correspondence with Dr Hugh Seward, chairman of AFLMOA and team doctor for Geelong in AFL.
- 115 J.B. Byles and Samuel Osborn, 'First Aid', *Encyclopedia of Sport* (London: G.R. Putnam, 1912).

- 116 Tom McNab, Peter Lovesey and Andrew Huxtable, *An Athletics Compendium: An annotated guide to the UK Literature of Track and Field* (Boston Spa: British Library, 2001), p. xl. Presumably there was a similar impact on the pole vault.
- 117 Wray Vamplew, 'Still Crazy', p. 124.
- 118 FA Minutes, Council, 2 March 1936; 4. Minutes of Referees' Committee, 17 February 1936.
- 119 Williams, 'Winter Sports', pp. 250–1.
- 120 Patrick Murphy, *'Tiger' Smith of Warwickshire and England* (Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1981), p. 7.
- 121 John Arlott, *Fred: Portrait of a Fast Bowler* (London: Coronet, 1971), pp. 17–18.
- 122 The figures included college and school football as well as the NFL.
- 123 <http://www.unc.edu/depts/nccsi/AllSport.htm> [accessed 27 September 2007].
- 124 John Underwood, 'An Unfolding Tragedy', *Sports Illustrated*, 14 August 1978.
- 125 *The Times*, 7 December 2011, p. 46.
- 126 N. Biasca, S Wirth and Y Tegner, 'The avoidability of head and neck injuries in ice hockey: an historical review', *BJSM*, 36:6 (2002), pp. 410–27.
- 127 K.K. Eaton, 'Motor Racing', *Journal of the Royal College of General Practitioners*, 20 (1970), p. 42.
- 128 Collins *Rugby Union*, Chapter 4.
- 129 J.P. Nicholls, P. Coleman and B.T. Williams, *Injuries in sport and exercise: A national study of the epidemiology of exercise-related injury and illness, A Report to the Sports Council* (November 1991); Doris Weightman and RC Browne, 'Injuries in Rugby and Association Football', *BJSM*, 8:4 (December 1974), pp. 183–7; *British Medical Journal* (hereafter, *BMJ*), 18 June 1977, pp. 1556–7.
- 130 Weightman and Browne, 'Injuries', pp. 183–7.
- 131 *BMJ*, 18 June 1977, pp. 1556–7. In 1978 it was anticipated that every NFL player would sustain at least one injury during the season. Underwood, 'An Unfolding Tragedy'.
- 132 John Brooks and Colin Fuller, *England Rugby Injury and Training Audit* (London: Professional Rugby Players' Association, 2005).
- 133 *Ibid.*
- 134 Dominic Malcolm, Ken Sheard and Stuart Smith, 'Protected Research: Sports Medicine and Rugby Injuries', *Sport in Society*, 7:1 (2004), pp. 96.
- 135 Brooks and Fuller, *England Rugby Injury*. For a historical perspective of the development of rugby union's rules see Collins, *Rugby Union*, Chapter 6.
- 136 Malcolm *et al*, 'Protected Research', p. 96.
- 137 J.P.R. Williams, *JPR: Given the Breaks: My Life in Rugby* (London: Hodder, 2006), pp. 98–102.
- 138 *BMJ*, 18 June 1977, pp. 1556–7; 19 August 1995, p. 511; 14 December 1996, p. 1550.
- 139 J.R. Silver, 'The impact of the 21st century on rugby injuries', *Spinal Cord*, 40 (2002), pp. 552–9; Timothy Noakes and Ismail Jakoet, 'Spinal cord injuries in rugby union players', *BMJ*, 310 (27 May 1995), pp. 1345–6.
- 140 *Observer*, 3 September 2006.
- 141 *Guardian*, 6 October 2006. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2006/oct/06/rugbyunion.gdnreport3> [accessed 20 December 2007].
- 142 *Guardian*, 30 August 2006.
- 143 *Daily Telegraph* (Sport), 16 January 2008, p. 13.

Chapter 3 Sports Medicine: Pioneers and Specialization

- 1 Neal Bascomb, *The Perfect Mile: Three Athletes. One Goal. And less than Four Minutes to achieve it* (London: Harper Collins, 2004), pp. 105–6; Richard Lovell, ‘Choosing People: An Aspect of the Life of Lord Moran (1882–1977)’, *Medical History*, 36: (1992): 442–54.
- 2 Holt, ‘The Amateur Body’, pp. 358–62.
- 3 Collins, *Rugby Union*, p. 108.
- 4 For close analysis of this process, see Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, chapters 4–6.
- 5 Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 3–4.
- 6 Joanna Bourke, ‘Wartime’ in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), p. 591.
- 7 Deborah Brunton, ‘The Emergence of a Modern Profession?’ in Brunton (ed.), p. 129.
- 8 Roger Cooter, ‘The meaning of fractures: orthopaedics and the reform of British hospitals in the inter-war period’, *Medical History*, 31: (1987) pp. 306–32.
- 9 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 383–4.
- 10 Heggie, ‘Specialization’, p. 458.
- 11 Allan J. Ryan, ‘Sports Medicine in the World Today’ in Allan J. Ryan and Fred L. Allman Jr. (eds), *Sports Medicine 2nd Edition* (London: Academic Press, 1989), pp. 3, 13.
- 12 *New York Times*, 21 December 1997.
- 13 John Bale, ‘The Mysterious Professor Jokl’ in John Bale, Mette K. Christensen and Gertrud Pfister (eds), *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies, Life-histories and Methods* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004), p. 26.
- 14 David R. Bassett, ‘Scientific contributions of A.V. Hill: exercise physiology pioneer’, *Journal of Applied Physiology*, 93 (2002), p. 1567. I am grateful to Julie Anderson for this reference.
- 15 Brunton, ‘Modern Profession?’ in Brunton (ed.), p. 120.
- 16 Mike Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine: Politics, Professionalization and Health Care* (London: Continuum, 2003), pp. 38–41.
- 17 Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870–1914* (London: Penguin, 1993), p. 56.
- 18 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 628.
- 19 Brunton, ‘Modern Profession’, p. 120.
- 20 Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine*, p. 3.
- 21 Mike Saks, ‘Introduction’ in Mike Saks (ed.), *Alternative Medicine in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 1–21; *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine*.
- 22 Toby Gelfand, ‘The history of the medical profession’ in Bynum and Porter (eds), *Volume Two*, p. 1119.
- 23 Malcolm, ‘Unprofessional Practice?’, pp. 376–95.
- 24 Park, ‘“Cells or Soaring?”’, p. 6.
- 25 Allan J. Ryan, ‘Sportsmedicine History’, *Physician and Sportsmedicine* (October 1978), pp. 77–8.
- 26 *Lancet*, 5 October 1912, p. 977; W. Hollmann, ‘Sports medicine in the Federal Republic of Germany’, *BJSM*, 23:3 (1989), p. 142.
- 27 Anon., ‘Inauguration of sports medicine at the University of Giessen 1920’, *International Journal of Sports Medicine*, 23: (2002), pp. s164–5. See also Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, pp. 185–91.

- 28 Gigliola Gori, *Italian Fascism and the Female Body: Sport, Submissive Women and Strong Mothers* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 75–81; Simon Martin, *Sport Italia: The Italian Love Affair with Sport* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), pp. 55–7.
- 29 Jim Riordan, 'Sports Medicine in the Soviet Union and German Democratic Republic', *Social Science and Medicine*, 25:1 (1987), pp. 19–26.
- 30 Katzer, 'Soviet physical culture', p. 24.
- 31 Milton I. Roemer, 'Internationalism in Medicine and Public Health' in Bynum and Porter (eds), pp. 1417–25. Interestingly, one of the great supporters of the League of Nations was Philip Noel Baker who was also a member of the British amateur sporting elite.
- 32 The physicians included Hüntemüller and Herxheimer from Germany and Bramwell and Ellis from Britain.
- 33 Amsterdam Olympic Committee, *The Official Report of the IXth Olympiad, Amsterdam 1928* (Amsterdam: Olympic Committee of the Amsterdam Olympic Games, 1928), pp. 950–6.
- 34 E. Ergen, F. Pigozzi, N. Bachl and H.H. Dickhuth, 'Sports medicine: a European perspective. Historical roots, definitions and scope', *Journal of Sports Medicine and Physical Fitness*, 46: 2 (June 2006), p. 169.
- 35 Guiseppe La Cava, 'Sports medicine in modern times: A short historical survey', *Journal of Sports Medicine and Physical Fitness*, 13:3 (July–September 1973), pp. 155–8; 'The International Federation for Sports Medicine', *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 162: (17 November 1956), pp. 1109–11.
- 36 K. Tittel and H.G. Knüttgen, 'The development, objectives and activities of the International Federation of Sports Medicine (FIMS)' in A. Drix, H.G. Knüttgen and K. Tittel (eds), *The Olympic Book of Sports Medicine, Volume 1 of the Encyclopedia of Sports Medicine* (Oxford: International Olympic Committee, 1988), pp. 7–9.
- 37 Initially, it was called the American Chapter of FIMS but was renamed the American College of Sports Medicine in 1955.
- 38 Jack Berryman, *Out of Many, One: A History of the American College of Sports Medicine* (Champaign, Ill: Human Kinetics, 1995), Chapters 1–3; Wrynn, 'Athlete in the Making', pp. 124–5.
- 39 It was soon dissolved due to the war and then reformed in 1949.
- 40 Alison Wrynn, '"Under the Showers": An Analysis of the Historical Connections between American Athletic Training and Physical Education', *Journal of Sport History*, 34:1 (Spring 2007), pp. 37–51.
- 41 Peter Sperry, 'A personal letter from the retiring honorary secretary', *BJSM*, 17:3 (September 1983), p. 217.
- 42 Elsworth R. Buskirk and Charles M. Tipton, 'Exercise Physiology' in Massengale and Swanson (eds), p. 417.
- 43 Allan J. Ryan, 'Sports Medicine in the World Today' in Allan J. Ryan and Fred L. Allman (eds), *Sports Medicine* (London: Academic Press, 1974), p. 9.
- 44 Anon., *Lancet*, 19 November 1960, p. 1144.
- 45 http://www.acsm.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=About_ACSM [accessed 10 August 2010].
- 46 Peter McCrory, 'Warm Up', *BJSM*, 35 (2001), p. 209.
- 47 L.A. Reynolds and E.M. Tansey, *The Development of Sports Medicine in Twentieth Century Britain* (Transcript of a Witness Seminar) (London: Wellcome Trust, 2009), p. 38. (Hereafter, *Witness Seminar*).
- 48 Berryman, *Out of Many*, pp. 3–6, 13–14, 23.

- 49 Fred Mason, 'R. Tait McKenzie's Medical Work and Early Exercise Therapies for People with Disabilities', *Sport History Review*, 39:1 (2008), p. 56; Wrynn, 'The Athlete in the Making', pp. 124–5.
- 50 John Bale, 'The Mysterious Professor Jokl' in John Bale, Mette K. Christensen, Gertrud Pfister (eds), *Writing Lives in Sport: Biographies, Life-histories and Methods* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004), pp. 25–40. (Jokl is pronounced 'Joke-el').
- 51 Ernst Jokl, *The Medical Aspect of Boxing* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1941).
- 52 Carol Porter McCullough, *The Alexander Technique and the String Pedagogy of Paul Rolland* (Phoenix: Arizona State University Press, 1996).
- 53 'Dr Ernst F. Jokl, a Pioneer in Sports Medicine, Dies at 90', *New York Times*, 21 December 1997; John Bale, 'Lassitude and Latitude: Observations on Sport and Environmental Determinism', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37: (2002), pp. 147–8; Floris Van Der Merwe, 'Ernst Franz Jokl as the Father of Physical Education in South Africa', NASSH Proceedings 1990.
- 54 Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, p. 190.
- 55 Welshman, 'Physical Education', p. 39.
- 56 Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, p. 11.
- 57 *Manchester Guardian*, 2 August 1956, p. 8.
- 58 BASM AGM, 27 February 1953. The following year BASM was accepted as an associate member of FIMS.
- 59 Quoted in *Witness Seminar*, p. xxxvi.
- 60 BASM Executive Committee Minutes, 23 June 1952.
- 61 Anon., *BASM Bulletin* (1968), pp. 96–104.
- 62 Adolphe Abrahams, 'Athletics' in Humphrey Rolleston (ed.), *The British Encyclopaedia of Medical Practice: Volume 2* (London: Butterworth, 1936), p. 225; Anon. *Lancet*, 10 April 1937, pp. 899–90.
- 63 Adolphe Abrahams, *The Human Machine* (London: Penguin, 1956), p. 134.
- 64 He was also an advisor for the 1981 film, *Chariots of Fire*, about the 1924 Olympics but in the film he was referred to as Tom Watson.
- 65 Wolfenden Committee on Sport, Draft Report, 8 July 1960.
- 66 Douglas G.A. Lowe and Arthur E. Porritt, *Athletics* (London: Longmans, 1929), p. 84.
- 67 Berridge, *Health and Society*, p. 88.
- 68 Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 217.
- 69 Berridge, 'Medicine, public health'.
- 70 An advisory Sports Council was first established in 1965 and it gained its Royal Charter in 1972 giving it executive powers.
- 71 Wolfenden Committee on Sport, *Sport and the Community* (London: CCPR, 1960–61), pp. 105–6.
- 72 See Heggie, 'Only the British', pp. 213–35.
- 73 For an in-depth analysis of this process, see Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, Chapter 5.
- 74 Interview with Ian Adams, 22 August 2005; *Witness Seminar*, 25–30; Anon., *BJSM*, (December 1975); Henry Robson, 'Obituary: William Eldon Tucker', *BJSM*, 25:4 (1991), p. 241.
- 75 The Institute of Sports Medicine (ISM) was jointly sponsored by BASM, the British Olympic Association and the Physical Education Association. It had initially been founded as a specialist postgraduate medical institution for the promotion of sports medicine knowledge through research and education.

- BASM, as a membership organization that aspired to charity status, was unable to establish an academic institute on legal grounds, and it was felt at the time that the ISM would act as BASM's academic arm to give it greater credibility within medicine as a whole.
- 76 Dan Tunstall-Pedoe, 'Obituary: Dr John G.P. Williams', *BJSM*, 29:4 (1995), pp. 220–2.
 - 77 Heggie, 'Specialization', pp. 461–8.
 - 78 Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, pp. 148–9.
 - 79 Carter, 'Mixing Business?', pp. 69–91; *Witness Seminar*, p. xxiv, 70 n.186.
 - 80 Tunstall-Pedoe, 'Obituary', pp. 220–2; *Witness Seminar*, pp. 21–2, 25, 128–9.
 - 81 Anon., *BJSM* (September 1978), p. 157.
 - 82 *Witness Seminar*, pp. 128–9.
 - 83 Peter Sperry, 'Secretary's Column', *BJSM*, 11:2 (June 1977), p. 242.
 - 84 Tunstall-Pedoe, 'Obituary', pp. 220–2.
 - 85 *Witness Seminar*, p. 87.
 - 86 These included the British Institute of Musculoskeletal Medicine (1992), formed from the merger of the Institute of Orthopaedic Medicine and the British Association of Manipulative Medicine (1993).
 - 87 BASM, AGM, 25 May 1977; BASM, AGM, 14 October 1984.
 - 88 BASS combined the Biomechanics Study Group, the British Society of Sports Psychology and the Society of Sports Sciences. In 1993, it was renamed the British Association of Sport and Exercise Sciences.
 - 89 *Witness Seminar*, p. 74 n.195.
 - 90 *Ibid.*, *passim*.
 - 91 Henry Robson, 'Editorial', *BJSM*, 19:1 (March 1985), p. 3. Other groups included: Physiotherapists – 260; Remedial Gymnasts – 55; Chiropodists – 87; Other clinical professions – 35; PE and sports sciences – 266; and Administrators – 28.
 - 92 'Honorary Treasurer's Report for the year 1987', *BJSM*, nd.
 - 93 M. Cullen and M. Batt, 'Sport and exercise medicine in the United Kingdom comes of age', *BJSM*, 39: (2005), pp. 250–1.
 - 94 BASM Executive Minutes, 1 December 1999.
 - 95 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 51–61.
 - 96 *Guardian*, 26 August 2006, p. 6.
 - 97 Tony Blair's speech on healthy living, <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/print/0,,329538655-1070979,00.html> [Accessed 26 July 2006].
 - 98 *Guardian* (Sport), 25 October 2004, p. 25; *Observer*, 30 July 2006.
 - 99 The establishment of the IABSEM brought the Scottish royal colleges exam and the Apothecaries' diploma under its wing and so there was only a single diploma.
 - 100 *Witness Seminar*, p. xxvi n.13.
 - 101 By contrast, the ACPSM had 1,200, almost exclusively physiotherapists and the osteopaths' group, OSCA had 250 members. 'The Future of BASEM: Opinion Poll of BASEM Members', BASEM Archives, in possession of author.
 - 102 *Witness Seminar*, pp. 78–9, 136.
 - 103 Paul McCrory, 'Evidence-based sports medicine', *BJSM*, 35 (2001), pp. 79–80.
 - 104 These included IOC member, Kevin O'Flannagan, an Irish rugby international who also played for Arsenal in the 1940s. *Guardian*, 22 June 2006. James Marshall played for Glasgow Rangers between 1925 and 1935 when he moved to West Ham. He also won three England caps.

- 105 Anne Digby, *Making a medical living: Doctors and patients in the English market for medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 170; Irvine Loudon, *Medical Care and the General Practitioner, 1750–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 282–301. In the 1840s there had been an unsuccessful attempt to establish a College of General Practitioners.
- 106 Loudon, *Medical Care*, p. 205.
- 107 R. Woods, 'Physician, Heal Thyself: the Health and Mortality of Victorian Doctors', *Social History of Medicine*, 9:1 (1996), pp. 1–30.
- 108 Interview with Neil Phillips, 21 June 2005.
- 109 Interview with Ian Adams.
- 110 Simon Inglis, *League Football and the Men Who Made It: The Official Centenary History of the Football League* (London: Collins Willow, 1988), p. 391; *FA News*, November 1970, p. 4.
- 111 Royal Society, Harold W. Thompson papers (HWT), E149, Coaching scheme reports, Report: Re-structuring of the Football Association Coaching Scheme, Charles Hughes, 1976, p. 6.
- 112 Barrie Smith, *Doc: Jottings of a Football Club Doctor* (Birmingham: Self-published, 2003), p. 7; Interview with Stuart Carne, 13 August 2008.
- 113 West Bromwich Albion FC Minutes, 1895–1920.
- 114 Questionnaire survey of football club doctors.
- 115 Stuart Carne, 'General practitioner to a football club', *BMJ*, 283 (19 September 1981), pp. 765–6.
- 116 Interview with Ian Adams.
- 117 Smith, *Doc*, p. 16.
- 118 Ellen Welch and Sara Kelly, 'Premier league doctor', *Student BMJ*, 12 (2004), p. 265.
- 119 Carne, 'General practitioner', p. 766.
- 120 Interview with John Rowlands, 17 February 2005.
- 121 It was renamed the Centre of Medicine and Exercise Science in 2000.
- 122 Interview with Alan Hodson, 31 August 2005.
- 123 *Ibid.*
- 124 Welch and Kelly, 'Premier league doctor', p. 265.
- 125 One example was Sheffield Wednesday. Waddington *et al*, *Managing Injuries*, pp. 56–7.
- 126 In 2006 the average salary for a general practitioner was £100,000. *Guardian*, (London), 5 May 2006.
- 127 John Pickstone, 'Production, Community and Consumption: The Political Economy of Twentieth Century Medicine' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), p. 16.
- 128 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 717–18.

Chapter 4 Science and the Making of the Athletic Body

- 1 Huntington-Whiteley (ed.), *British Sporting Heroes*, p. 214.
- 2 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 39.
- 3 The terms 'coach' and 'trainer' used here are interchangeable.
- 4 For example, see Dave Day, 'London Swimming Professors: Victorian Craftsmen and Aquatic Entrepreneurs', *Sport in History*, 30:1 (March 2010), pp. 32–54. See also Neil Carter (ed.), *Coaching Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2011).
- 5 McNab *et al*, *Athletics*, pp. xxxv–i. David Day, 'From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England', (Unpublished PhD: De Montfort University, Leicester 2008),

- pp. 91–2; Wray Vamplew, ‘Training’, in Tony Collins, John Martin and Wray Vamplew (eds), *Encyclopedia of Traditional British Rural Sports* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 270–1.
- 6 Thomas Schlich, ‘The Emergence of Modern Surgery’ in Brunton (ed.), p. 68.
 - 7 Vamplew, ‘Training’, pp. 270–1.
 - 8 Day, ‘From Barclay to Brickett’, p. 92.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 91–2; Vamplew, ‘Training’, pp. 270–1.
 - 10 Peter Radford, ‘The good, the bad and the ugly’, *Sociology of Sport Online*, vol. 1 (1), 1998.
 - 11 Tony Collins, ‘Captain Robert Barclay’ in Collins *et al* (eds), p. 40; John Bryant, 3:59.4: *The Quest to Break the 4 Minute Mile* (London: Arrow, 2004), pp. 20–1.
 - 12 McNab *et al*, *Athletics*, p. xxxvi.
 - 13 Roberta J. Park, ‘Athletes and their training in Britain and America, 1800–1914’ in Berryman and Park (eds), p. 70.
 - 14 See Deborah Brunton, ‘The Rise of Laboratory Medicine’ in Brunton (ed.), pp. 92–118.
 - 15 Brunton, ‘Introduction’, pp. 4–5; Day, ‘From Barclay to Brickett’, pp. 82–3.
 - 16 Brunton, ‘Laboratory Medicine’, pp. 100–1.
 - 17 Bergdolt, *Wellbeing*, p. 202; Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 218, 337–41; Bivins, *Alternative Medicine?*, p. 33.
 - 18 Holt, ‘Amateur Body’, p. 360; Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 337–41.
 - 19 Cronin, ‘Not Taking the Medicine’, p. 27.
 - 20 Hoberman, *Mortal Engines*, pp. 80–3.
 - 21 Anon., ‘History of sports medicine in the Netherlands’, *BJSM*, 23:4 (1989), p. 219.
 - 22 Hoberman, *Mortal Engines*, p. 78.
 - 23 See Whorton, ‘Athlete’s Heart’, pp. 30–52.
 - 24 *The Times*, 10 October 1867, p. 9.
 - 25 Vanessa Heggie, ‘A Century of Cardiomythology: Exercise and the Heart c. 1880s–1980’, *Social History of Medicine*, 23:2 (August 2010), p. 293.
 - 26 Day, ‘From Barclay to Brickett’, p. 131; Patricia Vertinsky, ‘Embodying Normalcy: Anthropometry and the Long Arm of William H. Sheldon’s Somatotyping Project’, *Journal of Sport History*, 29:1 (Spring 2002), p. 96.
 - 27 Park, ‘Physiologists, Physicians’, pp. 44–5; Vertinsky, ‘Embodying Normalcy’, pp. 103–4.
 - 28 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 36–50.
 - 29 Park, ‘Athletes’, p. 90.
 - 30 Holt, ‘Amateur Body’, p. 361.
 - 31 Day, ‘From Barclay to Brickett’, p. 108.
 - 32 Whorton, ‘Athlete’s Heart’, pp. 38–9.
 - 33 Day, ‘From Barclay to Brickett’, pp. 102, 108.
 - 34 Park, ‘Athletes’, pp. 76–8. McNab *et al*, *Athletics*, p. xxxvi.
 - 35 Day, ‘From Barclay to Brickett’, pp. 98–9.
 - 36 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
 - 37 James Irvine Lupton and James Money Kyrle Lupton, *The Pedestrian’s Record: To which is added a description of the external human form* (London: WH Allen, 1890), p. 4.
 - 38 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
 - 39 Day, ‘From Barclay to Brickett’, p. 132.
 - 40 This exercise was still used by Steve Ovett’s coach, Harry Wilson, a century later.

- 41 Bryant, 3:59.4, p. 35.
- 42 Bryant, 3:59.4, pp. 40–5; Ian Buchanan, 'Jackson, Arnold Nugent Strode Strode- (1891–1972)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [accessed 10 Feb 2006].
- 43 Harry Andrews, *Training for Athletics and General Health* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), p. 18, 70. First published in 1911.
- 44 Sam Mussabini, *The Complete Athletic Trainer* (London: Methuen, 1913), p. 10; David Terry, 'An Athletic Coach Ahead of his Time', *British Society of Sports History Newsletter*, 11 (Spring 2000), pp. 34–8.
- 45 Mussabini, *Athletic Trainer*, p. 143.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 141; Andrews, *Training*, chapter 2.
- 47 Andrews, *Training*, pp. 87–8.
- 48 *The Times*, 6 May 1906, quoted in British Olympic Council (BOC), *Aims and Objects of the Olympic Games Fund* (London: British Olympic Association, 1913), p. 5.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.
- 50 Stockholm Organising Committee, *The Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912* (Stockholm: Swedish Olympic Committee, 1912) pp. 286–92. In 1912 Sweden 'won' the Olympics with 24 gold medals, 24 silvers and 17 bronzes. Britain was third overall behind America with 10, 15 and 16. The Swedes also had employed coaches in other sports such as tug of war, football and lawn tennis.
- 51 Carter, 'From Knox to Dyson', pp. 55–81.
- 52 *Athletic News*, 6 July 1914.
- 53 Bourne, 'Fast Science', pp. 133–45.
- 54 Oriard, *Reading Football*, pp. 35–56.
- 55 J. Kenneth Doherty, *Modern Training for Running* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 13–14.
- 56 Quoted from Alex Natan (ed.), *Sport and Society* (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958), p. 87 in Doherty, *Modern Training*, p. 14.
- 57 Park, 'Athletes', pp. 93–4; F.A.M. Webster, *Coaching and Care of Athletes* (London: George G. Harrap, 1938), pp. 26–9; Bourne, 'Fast Science', p. 120.
- 58 Bourne, 'Fast Science', pp. 145–53.
- 59 Rob Beamish and Ian Ritchie, 'From Fixed Capacities to Performance-Enhancement: The Paradigm Shift in the Science of "Training" and the Use of Performance-Enhancing Substances', *Sport in History*, 25:3 (December 2005), pp. 417–20.
- 60 Cronin, 'Not taking the Medicine'.
- 61 Arnd Kruger, 'Training Theory and Why Roger Bannister was the First Four-Minute Miler', *Sport in History*, 26:2 (August 2006), p. 312.
- 62 For an early history of German sports science, see John Hoberman, 'The Early Development of Sports Medicine in Germany' in Berryman and Park (eds), pp. 233–82 and Beamish and Ritchie, *Fastest, Highest, Strongest*.
- 63 Wrynn, 'Athlete in the Making', p. 127.
- 64 Beamish and Ritchie, 'From Fixed Capacities', pp. 418–19.
- 65 Ernst Jokl, 'Pioneers: 90th Birthday of Professor A.V. Hill', *Journal of Sports Medicine*, 16 (1976), p. 349.
- 66 See also National Archives, FD 1/1948, File on A.V. Hill's work during 1920s.
- 67 Quoted in Berryman, *Out of Many*, p. 10.

- 68 David R. Bassett, 'Scientific contributions of A.V. Hill: exercise physiology pioneer', *Journal of Applied Physiology*, 93 (2002), pp. 1567–82.
- 69 *Ibid.*, pp. 1573–8.
- 70 Bryant, 3:59.4, pp. 64–5.
- 71 Bourne, 'Fast Science', p. 158.
- 72 Kruger, 'Training Theory', pp. 306–12.
- 73 *Ibid.*; Doherty, *Modern Training*, p. 20.
- 74 Bourne, 'Fast Science', pp. 175–6.
- 75 The ideas of Achilles members gradually replaced those of the old trainer-coaches, although clubs and universities continued to employ 'trainer-type coaches' until the late 1950s. McNab *et al*, *Athletics*, pp. xv–xlv.
- 76 Adolphe Abrahams and Harold Abrahams, *Training for Athletes* (London: G. Bell and Son, 1928), p. 14.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 79 Douglas G.A. Lowe and Arthur E. Porritt, *Athletics* (London: Longmans, 1929), p. 84.
- 80 Christopher Lawrence and Anna-K. Mayer, 'Regenerating England: An Introduction' in Christopher Lawrence and Anna-K. Mayer (eds), *Regeneration England: Science, Medicine and Culture in Inter-War Britain* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), p. 2.
- 81 Arthur Porritt, 'General Health' in H.A. Meyer (ed.), *Athletics: By members of the Achilles Club* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1955), pp. 342–3.
- 82 Abrahams and Abrahams, *Training*, p. 57.
- 83 Douglas G. A. Lowe, *Track and Field Athletics* (London: Sir Issac Pitman and Sons, 1936), p. 20.
- 84 Lowe and Porritt, *Athletics*, p. 103.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 F.A.M. Webster and J.A. Heys, *Athletic Training for Men and Boys* (London: John F. Shaw, 1933), p. 13.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 88 R.M.N. Tisdall and F. Sherie, *The Young Athlete* (London: Blackie, 1933), p. 21.
- 89 Carter, 'From Knox to Dyson', pp. 70–4.
- 90 A.J. Newton, *Boxing* (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), p. 71. First published in 1910.
- 91 Andrews, *Training*, p. 86.
- 92 Lowe and Porritt, *Athletics*, pp. 90–1.
- 93 Graham Vaughan and Bernard Guerin, 'A Neglected Innovator in Sports Psychology: Norman Triplett and the Early History of Competitive Performance', *IJHS*, 14:2 (August 1997), pp. 84–5.
- 94 Diane L. Gill, 'Sport and Exercise Psychology' in Massengale and Swanson (eds), pp. 297–9.
- 95 Hoberman, 'Sports Medicine in Germany', pp. 254–61.
- 96 Neil Carter, *The Football Manager: A History* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 74–5.
- 97 Mathew Thomson, 'The Psychological Body' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), pp. 302–4.
- 98 *The Football Association Coaching Manual* (London: Evans, 1938), pp. 11–12.
- 99 Peter Beck, 'Britain and the Cold War's "Cultural Olympics": Responding to the Political Drive of Soviet Sport, 1945–58', *Contemporary British History*, 19:2 (June 2005), p. 170.

- 100 Interestingly, the likes of Nurmi, Hagg and Zátopek served in the army and military life enabled them to spend more time training than they would have been able to in civilian life.
- 101 Bourne, 'Fast Science', p. 279.
- 102 *Ibid.*, pp. 277–80.
- 103 *World Sports*, April 1953, pp. 9–10; September 1953, pp. 5–6.
- 104 Bryant, 3:59.4, pp. 284–5. It was perhaps the effects of the sun as much as over-training that were the cause. Ironically, Peters' ordeal took place just 20 minutes after Bannister had defeated Landy in the so-called 'Mile of the Century'.
- 105 For a critical view on Bannister's achievement see a collection of essays in *Sport in History, Special Issue, The Sporting Barrier: Historical and Cultural Interpretations of the Four-Minute Mile*, 26:2 (August 2006).
- 106 John Bale, 'How Much of a Hero? The Fractured Image of Roger Bannister', *Sport in History*, 26:2 (August 2006), pp. 237–40.
- 107 Kruger, 'Training Theory'.
- 108 Beamish and Ian Ritchie, 'From Fixed Capacities', p. 425.
- 109 *World Sports*, November 1953, p. 12.
- 110 Bourne, 'Fast Science', pp. 315–25.
- 111 Cronin, 'Not Taking the Medicine', p. 27.
- 112 Beamish and Ritchie, 'From Fixed Capacities', p. 427.
- 113 Patrick Mignon, 'The Tour de France and the Doping Issue', *IJHS*, 20:2 (June 2003), p. 233.
- 114 Bourne, 'Fast Science', pp. 301–8.
- 115 *Ibid.*, pp. 309–10.
- 116 *Ibid.*, pp. 352–4; Geoff Dyson, *The Mechanics of Athletics: seventh edition* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977).
- 117 McNab *et al.*, pp. xlii–iii.
- 118 Interview between Geoff Dyson and Tom McNab.
- 119 Heggie, 'Only the British', pp. 213–35.
- 120 Hopman is one of the few coaches to have a trophy named after him: the Hopman Cup. The most famous example is the Vince Lombardi Trophy in American football.
- 121 Murray Phillips, *From Sidelines to Centre Field: A History of Sports Coaching in Australia* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2000), pp. 52–3.
- 122 Forbes Carlile, *Forbes Carlile on Swimming* (London: Sphere, 1963), p. 15.
- 123 *Ibid.*, pp. 87–98; Bourne, 'Fast Science', p. 311.
- 124 Carlile, *Forbes Carlile*, p. 9.
- 125 Phillips, *From Sidelines*, pp. 73–81.
- 126 Percy Wells Cerruty, *Middle-Distance Running* (London: Pelham Books, 1964); Doherty, *Modern Training*, pp. 17–19, 82–4; Phillips, *From Sidelines*, pp. 73–81.
- 127 Nicholas Bourne, Jan Todd and Terry Todd, 'The Cold War's Impact on the Evolution of Training Theory in Boxing', *Iron Game History*, 2:2&3 (July 2002), p. 27.
- 128 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–30.
- 129 Beamish and Ritchie, *Fastest, Highest, Strongest*, pp. 52–65.
- 130 Riordan, 'Sports Medicine', pp. 19–26.
- 131 Bourne, 'Fast Science', pp. 375–401.
- 132 *Ibid.*, pp. 360–1.
- 133 *Ibid.*, p. 360.
- 134 *Ibid.*, pp. 344–5.

- 135 Mick Green, 'Olympic Glory or Grassroots Development?: Sport Policy Priorities in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, 1960–2006', *IJHS*, 24:7 (July 2007), p. 922.
- 136 *The Coaching Task Force – Final Report* (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2002), p. 31 n9.
- 137 Green, 'Olympic Glory', p. 940.
- 138 B. Bloom, *Developing Talent in Young People* (New York: Ballantines, 1985).
- 139 Dave Day, 'Craft Coaching and the "Discerning Eye" of the Coach', *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching*, 6:1 (2011), pp. 179–95.
- 140 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- 141 *Ibid.*
- 142 Steve Cram, Distinguished Lecture Series, De Montfort University, 2 December 2010.
- 143 C. Hencken and C. White, 'Anthropometric Assessment of Premiership Soccer Players in Relation to Playing Position', *European Journal of Sport Science*, 6:4 (2006), pp. 205–11.
- 144 Day, 'Craft Coaching', p. 189.
- 145 David Simons, 'The Evolution of the Endurance Athlete: Training, Diet and Performance, c.1750–1914', (Unpublished MA Dissertation: De Montfort University, Leicester, 2008), pp. 81–2; Paula Radcliffe, *Paula: My Story So Far* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2004); *Observer* (Sport), 6 January 2008.

Chapter 5 Testing Times: Drugs, Anti-Doping and Ethics

- 1 For this particular 'battle' see William Fotheringham, *Put Me Back On My Bike: In Search of Tom Simpson* (London: Yellow Jersey Press, 2002), pp. 1–20.
- 2 *Cycling Weekly*, 22–29 December 2001, pp. 72–3.
- 3 The term 'anti-doping' refers to attitudes against the use of what have been deemed performance-enhancing drugs in sport. Doping though can mean either to impair or enhance performance. 'Dope' usually refers to a substance that impairs performance.
- 4 For example, Waddington, *Sport, Health*.
- 5 Dimeo, *Drug Use in Sport*.
- 6 Hoberman, *Mortal Engines*.
- 7 For example, Steven Ungerleider, *Faust's Gold: Inside the East German Doping Machine* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001). Although strictly not an academic book, it is based on interviews with former athletes.
- 8 Philip Ball, *Unnatural: The heretical idea of making people* (London: Bodley Head, 2011).
- 9 Mike McNamee, 'Whose Prometheus? Transhumanism, biotechnology and the moral typography of sports medicine', *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*, 1:2 (2007), p. 178.
- 10 Alex Mold, '"Consuming Habits": Histories of Drugs in Modern Societies', *Cultural and Social History*, 2:2 (2007), p. 261–70.
- 11 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, pp. 3–16.
- 12 Domhanll MacAuley, 'Fortnightly Review: Drugs in sport', *BMJ* 313, (27 July 1996), pp. 211–15.
- 13 Charles E. Yesalis and Michael S. Bahrke, 'Anabolic Steroid and Stimulant Use in North American Sport between 1850 and 1980', *Sport in History*, 25:3 (December 2005), p. 441.
- 14 Day, 'From Barclay to Brickett', p. 126.

- 15 Wray Vamplew, 'Alcohol and the Sportsman: An Anomalous Alliance', *Sport in History*, 25:3 (December 2005), p. 391.
- 16 Lucas, *1904 Olympic Report*, p. 51.
- 17 James Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A history of the drink question in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), chapters 10–12.
- 18 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 663–5.
- 19 Day, 'From Barclay to Brickett', p. 129.
- 20 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 663–5.
- 21 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, p. 31.
- 22 For a more in-depth analysis of horses and sports science, see Hoberman, *Mortal Engines*, Chapter 8.
- 23 Mike Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society 1790–1914: A Social and Economic History* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), pp. 193–4; Erkki Vettenniemi, 'Runners, Rumors, and Reams of Representations: An Inquiry into Drug Use by Athletes in the 1920s', *Journal of Sport History*, 37:3 (Fall 2010), p. 419.
- 24 Andrews, *Training*, p. 83.
- 25 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, p. 33.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- 27 Lowe and Porritt, *Athletics*, pp. 108–9.
- 28 Abrahams and Abrahams, *Training*, pp. 34–5. The practice in Germany was later brought to the attention of the British athletics administrator, Jack Crump. See Jack Crump, *Running Round the World* (London: Hale, 1966), p. 54.
- 29 Quoted in Vettenniemi, 'Runners, Rumors', p. 419.
- 30 Martin Pugh, *We Danced All Night: A Social History of Britain Between the Wars* (London: Vintage, 2009), p. 223.
- 31 Virginia Berridge, 'The Origins of the English Drug "Scene"', *Medical History*, 32 (1988), pp. 51–64.
- 32 Vettenniemi, 'Runners, Rumors', p. 421.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 See Bernard Joy, *Forward Arsenal: A History of the Arsenal Football Club* (London: Phoenix House, 1952), pp. 32–3.
- 35 See also Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, pp. 81–2.
- 36 Brunton, 'Laboratory Medicine', pp. 101–2.
- 37 David Hamilton, *The Monkey Gland Affair* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1986), pp. 102, 114–19.
- 38 *News of the World*, 3 April 1938, p. 19; *Express and Star* (Wolverhampton), 29 March 1939, p. 12.
- 39 *Daily Mirror*, 15 March 1938, p. 12.
- 40 Bob Ferrier, *Soccer Partnership: Billy Wright and Walter Winterbottom* (London: Heinemann, 1960), pp. 88–9.
- 41 *Daily Mirror*, 31 May 1938, p. 27.
- 42 *Express and Star*, 29 March 1939, p. 12.
- 43 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, p. 45.
- 44 Hardy, *Health and Medicine*, pp. 152–7; Jordan Goodman, 'Pharmaceutical Industry' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), pp. 146–50.
- 45 Hunt, *Drug Games*, p. 21.
- 46 John Hoberman, 'Amphetamine and the Four-Minute Mile', *Sport in History*, 26:2 (August 2006), pp. 289–304.
- 47 Paul Dimeo, 'Introduction', *Sport in History*, 25:3 (December 2005), p. 352.
- 48 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, p. 58.

- 49 Ruy Castro, *Garrincha: The triumph and tragedy of Brazil's forgotten footballing hero* (London: Yellow Jersey Press, 2004), p. 86.
- 50 Roger Bannister, *The First Four Minutes* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), pp. 89–101.
- 51 Anon., 'Is the oxygenation of athletes a form of "doping"?' *Olympic Bulletin*, 1954, no. 45, pp. 24–5.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 Thompson, *Tour de France*, p. 224.
- 54 Paul Kimmage, *Rough Ride: Behind the Wheel with a Pro Cyclist*, second edition (London: Yellow Jersey Press, 2001), pp. 93–4.
- 55 Thompson, *Tour de France*, pp. 225–6.
- 56 Mignon, 'Tour de France', p. 230.
- 57 Thompson argues this about the Tour de France. Thompson, *Tour de France*, pp. 249–53.
- 58 Fotheringham, *Tom Simpson*, pp. 137–53.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
- 61 See Dimeo, *Drug Use*, pp. 87–95.
- 62 A.J. Ryan, 'Use of Amphetamines in Athletics', *Journal of American Medical Association*, 170:5 (30 May 1959), p. 562.
- 63 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, pp. 90–1.
- 64 Les Woodland (ed.), *The Yellow Jersey Companion to the Tour de France* (London: Yellow Jersey Press, 2003), pp. 38, 94. Coppi died of malaria in 1960.
- 65 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, p. 57.
- 66 Alison Wrynn, 'The Human Factor: Science, Medicine and the International Olympic Committee, 1900–70', *Sport in Society*, 7:2 (2004), pp. 211–31.
- 67 Adolphe Abrahams, *The Human Machine* (London: Penguin, 1956), p. 125.
- 68 Williams, 'The Athlete's Life', pp. 402–3.
- 69 For an in-depth examination of the reasons and myths surrounding his death, see Vernon Moller, 'Knud Enemark Jensen's Death During the 1960 Rome Olympics: A Search for Truth?', *Sport in History*, 25:3 (December 2005), pp. 452–71.
- 70 Hunt, *Drug Games*, p. 11.
- 71 Mike Saks, 'Medicine and the Counter Culture' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), pp. 113–23.
- 72 John Davis, 'The London Drug Scene and the Making of Drug Policy, 1965–73', *Twentieth Century British History* (Advanced Access, 11 January 2006), pp. 1–24.
- 73 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, p. 14.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 75 BASM Committee Minutes, 5 October 1966.
- 76 Quoted in Hunt, *Drug Games*, pp. 22–3.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 78 Krasnoff, 'French Sports Policy'.
- 79 Thompson, *Tour de France*, pp. 228–41.
- 80 Hunt, *Drug Games*, p. 14.
- 81 Dimeo, *Drug Use*, pp. 105–6; Waddington, *Sport, Health*, p. 154.
- 82 Thompson, *Tour de France*, p. 237.
- 83 Vanessa Heggie, 'Testing sex and gender in sports: reinventing, reimagining and reconstructing histories', *Endeavour*, 34:4 (December 2010), pp. 157–63.
- 84 See Heggie, "Only the British".

- 85 Yesalis and Bahrke, 'Anabolic Steroid', p. 438.
- 86 Hunt, *Drug Games*, p. 45.
- 87 See Ungerleider, *Faust's Gold*.
- 88 Cole, 'East German Sports System'; Paul Dimeo, Thomas M. Hunt and Richard Horbury, 'The Individual and the State: A Social Historical Analysis of the East German "Doping System"', *Sport in History*, 31:2 (June 2011), pp. 218–37; Paul Dimeo and Thomas Hunt, 'The doping of athletes in the former East Germany: A critical assessment of comparisons with Nazi medical experiments', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* (Published on-line 11 April 2011), pp. 1–13.
- 89 Hunt, *Drug Games*, p. 53.
- 90 *Ibid.*
- 91 Yesalis and Bahrke, 'Anabolic Steroid', p. 440.
- 92 Hunt, *Drug Games*, pp. 49–60.
- 93 *Ibid.*, pp. 68–79.
- 94 *The Times*, 27 May 1987.
- 95 *The Times*, 21 November 1986.
- 96 *The Times*, 19 September 1987.
- 97 Ivan Waddington, 'Changing Patterns of Drug Use in British Sport from the 1960', *Sport in History*, 25:3 (December 2005), p. 480.
- 98 *Ibid.*, pp. 481–92.
- 99 Hunt, *Drug Games*, p. 78.
- 100 *The Times*, 20 April 1987.
- 101 *The Times*, 5 October 1985.
- 102 *Sunday Times*, 27 October 1985.
- 103 *The Times*, 24 April 1987.
- 104 *Sunday Times*, 20 October 1985.
- 105 *The Times*, 19 April 1988.
- 106 Elsewhere, Clive Everton has claimed that the tremor was the result of a car accident. *Guardian* (Sport), 19 April 1997, p. 9.
- 107 He later claimed this as an overhead for the purposes of income tax.
- 108 *Independent* (Sport), 20 April 2002, p. 6; *The Times* (Features), 23 January 2003, p. 34; *The Times*, 1 April 1989.
- 109 *The Times*, 5 October 1988.
- 110 *The Times* 10 April 1985, p. 1. That this story made page one of *The Times*, indicates the popularity of the game at this time.
- 111 *The Times*, 20 April 1987.
- 112 *The Times*, 25 April 1987.
- 113 *The Times*, 2 September 1988.
- 114 *The Times*, 4 October 1988.
- 115 Hunt, *Drug Games*, p. 69.
- 116 *Ibid.*, see Chapter 6.
- 117 *Ibid.*, pp. 100–2.
- 118 See Hunt, *Drug Games*, Chapter 6.
- 119 Ruud Stokvis, 'Moral Entrepreneurship and Doping Cultures in Sport' (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, Working Papers 03/04, November 2003), pp. 19–20; Barrie Houlihan, 'Building an international regime to combat doping in sport' in Roger Levermore and Adrian Budd (eds), *Sport and International Relations: An Emerging Relationship* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 72–3.
- 120 Hunt, *Drug Games*, pp. 110–11, 132.

- 121 Waddington, *Sport, Health*, p. 168.
- 122 Hunt, *Drug Games*, pp. 88–9, Chapter 9.
- 123 Stokvis, ‘Moral Entrepreneurship’, pp. 19–20; Hunt, *Drug Games*, p. 130. Cycling still retains some independent control over drug testing as the case of Alberto Contador has recently demonstrated, even if his initial acquittal was overthrown by the Court of Arbitration for Sport following an appeal from WADA.
- 124 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/othersports/drugsinsport> [accessed 21 March 2011].
- 125 Hunt, *Drug Games*, pp. 136–7.
- 126 David Runciman, ‘Is the rise of the super-athlete ruining sport? *Observer*, 10 January 2010.

Chapter 6 Repairing the Athletic Body: Treatments, Practices and Ethics

- 1 *Athletics Weekly*, 10 December 2009, p. 38. A cortisone injection is classified as a therapeutic drug rather than one that enhances performance.
- 2 Quoted in Herman Weiskopf, ‘The Good Hands Man’, *Sports Illustrated*, 16 July 1979.
- 3 Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine*, p. 3.
- 4 William C. Cockerham, *Medical Sociology, Sixth Edition* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), Chapter 7.
- 5 Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine*.
- 6 Park, ‘Training’; Day ‘From Barclay to Brickett’, Chapters 2–4.
- 7 Day From Barclay to Brickett’, pp. 136–8; Andrews, *Training*, p. 45.
- 8 *Boxing News*, 2 August 1950, p. 5; *The Times*, 23 November 1963, p. 4.
- 9 J.W. Graham, *Eight, Nine, Out! Fifty Years as a Boxer’s Doctor* (Manchester: Protel, 1975), p. 61; *The Times*, 23 November 1963, p. 4.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 11 Savage *et al*, *American College Athletics*, p. 146.
- 12 Correspondence with Robin Harland, Belfast, UK, 17 February 2006 and Gerry McFadam, December 2006.
- 13 Correspondence with Tom Hunt, 23 November 2007. O’Neill was the owner of the famous racehorse, Danoli.
- 14 Sean Boylan, *The Will To Win* (Dublin: O’Brien Press, 2006), p. 190.
- 15 In Williams (ed.), *Sports Medicine*, the book’s first plate is that of a football trainer running on to the pitch.
- 16 Carter, *Football Manager*, Introduction.
- 17 Ian Nannestad, ‘No ball practice! Training Methods in the Period to 1914’, *Soccer History*, 13 (2005–6), pp. 3–6.
- 18 In 1920, the organization was awarded a royal charter and re-named the Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics (CSMMG).
- 19 Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, pp. 43–51.
- 20 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, pp. 8–9, 28. In 1921 its membership was 2,655, 191 of whom were men. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 21 P. Vaughan, ‘“Secret Remedies” in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries’ in Mike Saks (ed.), *Alternative Medicine in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 101.
- 22 Mason, *Association Football*, p. 98.
- 23 G. Larkin, *Occupational Monopoly and Modern Medicine* (London: Tavistock, 1983), p. 94.
- 24 *Birmingham Mail*, 3 October 1936, p. 3.

- 25 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, pp. 50–69; Roger Cooter, *Surgery and Society in Peace and War: Orthopaedics and the Organization of Modern Medicine, 1880–1948* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 134–6. For a more detailed analysis of the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers after both world wars, see Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
- 26 Larkin, *Occupational Monopoly*, pp. 100–18.
- 27 Charles Heald, *Injuries and Sport: A General Guide for the Practitioner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931).
- 28 W. E. Tucker, 'Athletic Injuries' in H. Rolleston (ed.), *The British Encyclopaedia of Medical Practice, volume 2* (London: Butterworth, 1936).
- 29 It was probably written by a former rugby union international, Dr Ronald Cove-Smith, who himself had written a training manual on Rugby Football in 1925.
- 30 *Albion News*, 26 August 1922, p. 2.
- 31 *Sports Budget*, 15 January, p. 14; 5 February, p. 15; 30 April, p. 14; 17 September 1938, p. 22. These 'qualifications' may have been gained through correspondence courses. One such organization was the Swedish Massage Institute. See *Athletic News*, 17 October 1921.
- 32 For Jones's role in the development of orthopaedics, see Cooter, *Surgery and Society*, pp. 30–4; Barclay *In Good Hands*, pp. 17, 66; Roy Peskett (ed.), *Tom Whittaker's Arsenal Story* (London: The Sportsmans Book Club, 1958), pp. 44, 194–200; George Allison, *Allison Calling* (London: Staples Press, 1948), pp. 234–7. Whittaker was later the manager of Arsenal from 1947 until 1956 when he died in office.
- 33 Taylor, *The Leaguers*, pp. 147–60.
- 34 *Aston Villa News and Record*, 8 August 1914, pp. 661–9.
- 35 *Sports Budget*, 15 January, p. 14; 5 February, p. 15; 30 April, p. 14; 17 September 1938, p. 22.
- 36 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, p. 113. Electrotherapy was part of the growing consumption of electricity during the inter-war period.
- 37 Questionnaire survey of professional footballers.
- 38 J.W. Mowles, 'Injuries at Sport', *Journal of the Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics* (September 1937), pp. 75–6.
- 39 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, p. 164.
- 40 FA Minutes, Report on the Regional Conferences of Club Doctors, May 1962. In 1999, it was found from a survey of 53 physiotherapists, that 27 were chartered. Most of them worked in the Premier League. Waddington, 'Jobs', p. 60.
- 41 Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game: A History of British Football* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), chapter 5.
- 42 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, pp. 141–3; *FA News*, August 1956, p. 6.
- 43 John Colson and William Armour, *Sports Injuries and their Treatment* (London: Stanley Paul, 1968).
- 44 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, p. 142. The Society of Remedial Gymnasts merged with the CSP in 1985. The former head of the FA's Medical and Exercise Science Department, Alan Hodson, also trained as a remedial gymnast at Pinderfields.
- 45 This form of treatment would lead to the establishment of the Stoke Mandeville Games and eventually the Paralympics. See Anderson, *War, Disability*.
- 46 Wrynn, "Under the Showers", p. 46.
- 47 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, pp. 141–4; Interview with Alan Hodson, 31 August 2005.
- 48 Cooter, *Surgery and Society*, p. 239.

- 49 Interview with Norman Pilgrim, 5 January 2007.
- 50 *Practitioner*, July 1981, p. 1047.
- 51 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, pp. 125–51; Anderson, *War, Disability*; Larkin, *Occupational Monopoly*, pp. 118–24; Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine*, pp. 97–8.
- 52 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 686–9; Saks, *Orthodox and Alternative Medicine*, Chapter 4; Hardy, *Health and Medicine*, p. 140.
- 53 Mike Saks, ‘Alternative Medicine and the Health Care Division of Labour: Present Trends and Future Prospects’, *Current Sociology*, 49 (2001), p. 124.
- 54 Initially, the courses were aimed at the coaching of schoolboys but contained treatment of injury lectures. FA Minutes, Instructional Classes for Boys in Association Football, Report of Committee, 1935–6.
- 55 FA Minutes, Report on the Regional Conferences of Club Doctors, May 1962.
- 56 FA Minutes, Coaching Report 1957–8.
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 See Carter, *Football Manager*, Chapter 5.
- 59 Barclay, *In Good Hands*, pp. 163–4, 245, 294. In 1994 the CSP had 26,000 members.
- 60 Interview with Alan Hodson.
- 61 *Doctor*, 2 December 1982, p. 72.
- 62 *Football News*, March 1976, p. 10.
- 63 *Four Four Two*, May 2001, p. 9.
- 64 Waddington, ‘Jobs’, p. 59.
- 65 By 2000 89 per cent of chartered physiotherapists were women.
- 66 Personal correspondence with Amanda Johnson, March 2008. She claimed that Wimbledon was the first to employ a female physiotherapist in the mid-1980s. Female physiotherapists had also begun working at professional rugby league clubs from the late 1980s. Viv Gleave at Widnes was the first.
- 67 Amanda Johnson, ‘Society of Sports Therapists – A Response’, *BJSM*, 24 (1990), p. 78.
- 68 Interview with Laurie Brown, 7 June 2005.
- 69 Interview with Alan Hodson.
- 70 R. Verdonk, ‘Alternative Treatments of Meniscal Injuries’, *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery*, 79:B (1997), p. 866.
- 71 Peskett, *Tom Whittaker’s*, pp. 37–41.
- 72 *Athletic News*, 16 September 1912.
- 73 *Albion News*, 11 December 1937, p. 139.
- 74 William B. Mead, ‘The surgeon general of baseball’, *National Pastime*, Annual 2002, p. 95.
- 75 M. Randal Roberts, ‘A Footballers’ Hospital’, *Windsor Magazine*, March 1899, pp. 511–16.
- 76 Hardy, *Health and Medicine*, 16.
- 77 *Athletic News*, 18 August 1913.
- 78 Harding, *Living to Play*, pp. 108–10; Ian Nannestad, ‘John Allison and His Football Hospital’, *Soccer History* 9 (2004), pp. 42–3.
- 79 Charlton Athletic Football Co. Ltd Minutes, 18 November 1943.
- 80 Peskett (ed.), *Tom Whittaker*, pp. 44, 194–200; Allison, *Allison Calling*, pp. 234–7.
- 81 BASM Executive Committee Minutes, 1 December 1955.

- 82 Obituaries: *BJSM*, 25:4 (1991), p. 241; *BJSM*, 25:3 (1991), p. 170; *BMJ*, 19 October 1991, pp. 988–9; *Independent*, 8 August 1991, p. 25; *The Times*, 16 August 1991. His father was also called William Eldon Tucker, was also a surgeon and also played rugby for England. ‘Obituary’, *BMJ*, 7 November 1953, p. 1051.
- 83 John Oaksey, *Mince Pie for Starters* (London: Headline, 2003), p. 264.
- 84 Stephen Chalke, *Tom Cartwright: The Flame Still Burns* (Bath: Fairfields, 2007), pp. 150, 155.
- 85 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 383–4; G. Larkin, ‘Orthodox and Osteopathic Medicine in the Inter-War Years’ in Mike Saks (ed.), *Alternative Medicine in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 112–23; Norman Gevitz, ‘Unorthodox Medical Theories’ in Bynum and Porter (eds), pp. 620–6; Cooter, *Surgery and Society*, pp. 1–10; ‘The Meaning of Fractures: Orthopaedics and the Reform of British Hospitals in the Inter-War Period’, *Medical History*, 31 (1987), pp. 306–32.
- 86 BASM Executive Committee Minutes, 1 March 1963.
- 87 Denis Law, *The King: My Autobiography* (London: Bantam, 2003), pp. 216–18.
- 88 See Martin Roderick, *The Work of Professional Football: A labour of love?* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 89 Cockerham, *Medical Sociology*, pp. 134–6. In 1987 a federal court ruled that the AMA had conspired to undermine chiropractic and was ordered to cease its campaign.
- 90 Herman Weiskopf, ‘The Good Hands Man’, *Sports Illustrated*, 16 July 1979.
- 91 Kevin Keegan, *Kevin Keegan: My Autobiography* (London: Little, Brown, 1997), pp. 188–93.
- 92 Glenn Hoddle, *Glenn Hoddle: My 1998 World Cup Story* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1998), pp. 49–55, 232; Tony Adams, *Addicted* (London: Collins Willow, 1998), pp. 159–60; David Davies, *FA Confidential: Sex, Drugs and Penalties: The Inside Story of English Football* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2008), pp. 115–16. Davies, the FA’s spokesman at the time, also visited Drewery about a long-standing back injury.
- 93 *The Times* (The Game), 11 April 2005, p. 21.
- 94 Simon Compton, ‘The most feared man in football’, *The Times*, 3 June 2006; Steven Downes, ‘Mystery of marathon proportions over Ethiopian runner’s death’, *Scotsman*, 9 January 2005; Simon Turnbull, ‘Healing Hans’ adds needle to ‘burn-up in Berlin’, *Independent*, 14 August 2009; Radcliffe, *Paula Radcliffe*, pp. 85–6, 277–8.
- 95 *Independent*, 19 November 2009, pp. 56–7.
- 96 *Times* (London), 16 December 2002, p. 4; *Guardian* (London) 20 August 2002; *Guardian* (Sport) (London), 13 October 2005, p. 8.
- 97 Quoted from Ivan Waddington, ‘Ethical problems in the medical management of sports injuries: A case study of English professional football’ in Loland *et al* (eds), *Pain and Injury in Sport*, p. 182.
- 98 Brunton, ‘Medical Profession’, pp. 133–4.
- 99 Mike Saks, ‘Bringing together the orthodox and alternative in health care’, *Complementary Therapies in Medicine*, 11 (2003), pp. 142–5.
- 100 Waddington, ‘Ethical problems’, p. 182.
- 101 Hence the title of his book, Rob Huizenga, ‘You’re Okay, It’s Just a Bruise’: *A Doctor’s Sideline Secrets About Pro Football’s Most Outrageous Team* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1994), pp. 124, 259.
- 102 William Nack, ‘Playing Hurt – the Doctors’ Dilemma’, *Sports Illustrated*, 11 June 1979.

- 103 Huizenga, "You're Okay", pp. 74–5.
- 104 Lester Munson, 'Fast Operators', *Sports Illustrated*, 6 November 1995.
- 105 Carter, *Football Manager*.
- 106 Questionnaire survey of football club doctors.
- 107 Ted Farmer, *The Heartbreak Game* (Wolverhampton, U.K.: Hillburgh, 1987), 53–4.
- 108 Roderick, *Professional Football*, p. x, Chapter 2.
- 109 Interview with Ian Adams. By the time Adams had worked off his notice, relations had thawed and he resumed his position.
- 110 Interview with Ian Adams.
- 111 For a post-1992 analysis of this issue, see Waddington *et al*, *Managing Injuries*.
- 112 Interview with Norman Pilgrim.
- 113 Questionnaire survey of football club physiotherapists.
- 114 Interview with Laurie Brown.
- 115 European Rugby Cup, Decision of Appeal Committee in Appeal by Tom Williams, held at the Radisson SAS Hotle, 301 Argyle Street, Glasgow, 17 August 2009; *Guardian*, 26 August 2009.
- 116 European Rugby Cup, Decision of Appeal Committee in Appeal by Tom Williams.
- 117 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/rugbyunion/club/8002256/Harlequins-Bloodgate-physio-Steph-Brennan-struck-off-by-Health-Professions-Council.html>; <http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2010/sep/14/steph-brennan-harlequins-bloodgate>; *Frontline*, 19 May 2011. *Guardian*, 22 January 2011.
- 118 *The Times*, 21 August 2009.
- 119 Radcliffe, *Paula Radcliffe*, pp. 161–2, 248.
- 120 The Football League did not permit substitutions until 1965.
- 121 Law, *The King*, pp. 216–18.
- 122 Ian St. John, *The Saint: My Autobiography* (London: Hodder, 2005), pp. 66–9.
- 123 Roderick, *Professional Football*, pp. 60–1.
- 124 Smith, *Doc*, 36.
- 125 Huizenga, "You're Okay", pp. 72–8.
- 126 *The Times*, 9 November 1971, p. 2.
- 127 Interview with Ian Adams. Hartford's condition did not have a detrimental effect on his career, however. He played in a total of 731 Football League games between 1967 and 1990 for nine clubs. In 1997 this put him nineteenth on the all-time list for league appearances.
- 128 *Guardian* (Sport) (London), 29 April 2000. Van Nistelrooy broke down in training a few days later but following a successful knee operation was signed by United in 2001.
- 129 Roderick, *Professional Football*, p. 37.
- 130 Queen's Bench Division, 2 April 1998.
- 131 Joseph Nocera, 'Bitter Medicine', *Sports Illustrated*, 6 November 1995.
- 132 William Oscar Johnson, 'This Strange and Perilous Joint', *Sports Illustrated*, 24 October 1977; <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=990DEFDE173BF93BA1574C0A9649C8B63&sec=health&spon=&pagewanted=3> [accessed 24 June 2011].
- 133 William Nack, 'Playing Hurt – the Doctors' Dilemma', *Sports Illustrated*, 11 June 1979. Pappas had been team physician since 1977.
- 134 Joseph Nocera, 'Bitter Medicine', *Sports Illustrated*, 6 November 1995.
- 135 *Daily Telegraph* (Sport), 3 January 2003, p. 4.
- 136 *BASEM Today*, Issue 12, Autumn 2008, p. 8.
- 137 Roderick, *Professional Football*, pp. 62–5.

Chapter 7 Medicine, Sport and the Female Body

- 1 *Daily Telegraph* (Sport), 6 September 2007, p. S18.
- 2 Heggie, 'Testing sex', pp. 157–63.
- 3 Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 8.
- 4 Carol A. Osborne and Fiona Skillen, 'Introduction. The State of Play: Women in British Sport History', *Sport in History*, 30:2 (June 2010), p. 190.
- 5 Claire Langhamer, *Women's leisure in England 1920–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 16–18.
- 6 See for example, Judy Lee, 'Media Portrayals of Male and Female Olympic Athletes: Analyses of Newspaper Accounts of the 1984 and the 1988 Summer Games', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 27:3 (1992), pp. 197–219.
- 7 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, p. 335.
- 8 Mason and Riedi, *Sport and the Military*, p. 249.
- 9 Mary Louise Adams, 'From Mixed-Sex Sport to Sport for Girls: The Feminization of Figure Skating', *Sport in History*, 30:2 (June 2010), p. 237. This also included boys playing so-called 'girl's' sports.
- 10 Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), pp. 48–9.
- 11 *Times Higher Education*, 15 October 2009, p. 47.
- 12 See Catriona Parratt, 'Little Means or Time: Working-Class Women and Leisure in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', *IJHS*, 15:2 (August 1998), pp. 22–53.
- 13 Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 89.
- 14 Gertrud Pfister, 'Women and the Olympic Games: 1900–97' in B.L. Drinkwater (ed.), *Women in Sport, Volume 8 of the Encyclopedia of Sports Medicine* (Oxford: Blackwell Science, 2000), p. 10.
- 15 Gertrud Pfister, 'The Medical Discourse on Female Physical Culture in Germany in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries', *Journal of Sport History*, 17:2 (Summer, 1990), p. 183.
- 16 Vertinsky, 'Exercise, Physical Capability', pp. 183–6.
- 17 *Practitioner*, 1 July to 31 December 1904, p. 719.
- 18 Jennifer Hargreaves, "'Playing Like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies": Contradictory Features of the Formative Years of Women's Sport', *British Journal of Sports History*, 2:1 (May 1985), p. 43.
- 19 Quoted in Nicky Fossey, 'Gender' in Richard Cox, Grant Jarvie and Wray Vamplew (eds), *Encyclopedia of British Sport* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 2000), p. 149–51.
- 20 Gregory P. Moon, 'A New Dawn Rising: An Empirical and Social Study concerning the emergence and development of English Women's athletics until 1960' (Unpublished PhD: Roehampton Institute, 1997), p. 246.
- 21 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, p. 12.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 105–48; Tranter, *Sport, Economy*, pp. 85–6.
- 24 *Practitioner*, 1 July to 31 December 1904, p. 719.
- 25 Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, p. 95.
- 26 Quoted in Jean Williams, *A Game for Rough Girls? A history of women's football in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 35.
- 27 Catherine Horwood, "'Girls who arouse dangerous passions": women and bathing, 1900–39', *Women's History Review*, 9:4 (2000), pp. 653–73.
- 28 Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, pp. 87–9.

- 29 Abrahams and Abrahams, *Training*, p. 15.
- 30 Abrahams, *Human Machine*, pp. 68–9.
- 31 These were the 4 sports that prospective teachers taking the examination to enter the Ling Association had to learn the rules of. *Journal of Scientific Physical Training* 6:16 (Autumn 1913), p. 36.
- 32 Shelia Fletcher, 'The Making and Breaking of a Female Tradition: Women's Physical Education in England 1880–1980', *British Journal of Sports History*, 2:1 (May 1985), pp. 29–31.
- 33 Nicky Fossey, 'Netball' in Cox *et al* (eds), p. 279.
- 34 Quoted in Ali Melling, 'Women and Football' in Cox *et al* (eds), p. 325.
- 35 Tranter, *Sport, Economy*, p. 85. See Chapter 6 for a comprehensive survey of women's sport during this period.
- 36 In 1904 there were 8 women; in 1908, 36; and in 1912, 57.
- 37 Tipton, 'Sports Medicine', pp. 878s–85s.
- 38 Jennifer Hargreaves, 'Women's sports between the wars: Continuities and Discontinuities', *Warwick Centre for the Study of Sport in Society, Working Papers* (1994), p. 119.
- 39 Jeremy Crump, 'Athletics' in Tony Mason (ed.), *Sport in Britain: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 60.
- 40 Hargreaves, 'Women's sports', pp. 122–6.
- 41 Shelia Rowbotham, *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States* (London: Viking, 1997), p. 162.
- 42 Guttman, *Women's Sports*, pp. 144–6.
- 43 *Ibid.*, pp. 157–9.
- 44 Football Association, Consultative Committee Minutes, 5 December 1921. The FA was also unhappy with the distribution of the receipts from these charity games. For a fuller discussion on the FA ban see Williams, *A Game*, pp. 32–7.
- 45 See Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 236–78.
- 46 Moon, 'Women's athletics', p. 86.
- 47 Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Building a British Superman: Physical Culture in Interwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 41:4 (2006), p. 595.
- 48 Jill Matthews, 'They had Such a Lot of Fun: The Women's League of Health and Beauty Between the Wars', *History Workshop Journal*, 30 (Autumn 1990), pp. 22–54.
- 49 *Recreation and Physical Fitness for Girls and Women* (London: Board of Education, Physical Training Series, no. 16, 1938).
- 50 Moon, 'Women's athletics', pp. 251–2.
- 51 Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, p. 49.
- 52 Lynne Robinson, '"Tripping Daintily into the Arena": A Social History of English Women's Athletics 1921–1960' (Unpublished PhD: University of Warwick, 1996), p. 289.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 287. The perception of the home-bound woman in order to bring up her children was given greater legitimacy in the post-war period through the influence of psychologists such as Benjamin Spock and John Bowlby. Mathew Thomson, 'The Psychological Body' in Cooter and Pickstone (eds), p. 302.
- 54 Heald, *Injuries and Sport*, p. 119.
- 55 Berlin Olympic Committee, *The Official Report of the XIth Olympiad, Berlin* (Berlin: Olympic Committee of the Berlin Olympic Games, 1936), vol. 1, p. 225.
- 56 Moon, 'Women's athletics', p. 249. In addition, it was said that they were restricted in their training and sporting efforts because of their glandular structure and were liable to organic upsets.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

- 58 Robinson, 'Women's athletics', p. 17. Tug-of-war was attached to the AAA. Peter Lovesey, *The Official History of the Amateur Athletic Association* (London: Guinness Superlatives, 1979), p. 116.
- 59 Robinson, 'Women's athletics', p. 17.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 61 See Heggie, 'Testing Sex'.
- 62 Moon, 'Women's athletics', pp. 261–2; Robinson, 'Women's athletics', pp. 17–18.
- 63 Kevin B. Wamsley, 'Womanizing Olympic Athletes: Policy and Practice during the Avery Brundage Era' in Gerald P. Schaus and Stephen R. Wenn (eds), *Onwards to the Olympics: Historical Perspectives on the Olympic Games* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), p. 274.
- 64 James Riordan, 'The Social Emancipation of Women Through Sport', *British Journal of Sports History*, 2:1 (May 1985), p. 57; Tipton, 'Sports Medicine', pp. 878s–875s.
- 65 Wamsley, 'Womanizing Olympic Athletes', pp. 276–8.
- 66 Shelia Mitchell, 'Women's Participation in the Olympic Games 1900–1926', *Journal of Sport History*, 4:2 (1977), pp. 208–19.
- 67 Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, pp. 166–8.
- 68 *Ibid.*, pp. 163–71; Wamsley, 'Womanizing Olympic Athletes', p. 265. Florence Carpentier and Jean-Pierre Lefevre, 'The Modern Olympic Movement, Women's Sport and the Social Order During the Inter-War Period', *IJHS*, 23:7 (November 2006), pp. 1112–27.
- 69 Moon, 'Women's athletics', p. 263.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 264; Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, p. 44.
- 71 In 1933 the WAAA abolished their distance limit but this did not result in any new distances in practice.
- 72 Robinson, 'Women's athletics', pp. 18–22; Moon, 'Women's athletics', pp. 264–5.
- 73 Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, pp. 163–71; Wamsley, 'Womanizing Olympic Athletes', p. 265.
- 74 Elidh Macrae, '"Scotland for Fitness": The National Fitness Campaign and Scottish Women', *Women's History Magazine*, 62 (2010), pp. 26–36.
- 75 For other accounts of this episode see, Heggie, *British Sports Medicine*, pp. 87–8; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body*, pp. 255–6.
- 76 National Archives (TNA), ED 113/49, National Fitness Council (hereafter NFC), Sports and Games Committee, 2 February 1938.
- 77 TNA, ED 113/49, NFC Sports and Games Committee, 29 April 1938.
- 78 TNA, ED 113/49, NFC, Medical Sub-committee on the Desirability of Athletics for Women and Girls, 8 March 1939.
- 79 The four were: Miss K. Doman – Team Games – Games lecturer at Dartford PT College, Games Mistress Roedean School, former Captain of All England hockey team, member of the All England Lacrosse team, international selector of hockey, lacrosse and cricket teams; Miss Verrall Newman – Swimming and water polo – President of the Southern Counties Amateur Swimming Association, Olympic Diver; Mrs L.A. Godfree – Tennis – Wightman Cup player; Dr Violet Cyriax – Rowing – All England rower.
- 80 TNA, ED 113/49, NFC, Sub-Committee, 3 July 1939.
- 81 Miss M. Fountain – Physical Training – Headmistress, Chelsea PE College; Dr Garrow – Physical Training – MO at Chelsea College of PE; Miss R. Foster – Physical Training – PT Organiser to Willesden LEA, international hockey player and captain for Lancashire and the North.
- 82 TNA, ED 113/49, NFC, Medical Sub-committee, 26 April 1939.

- 83 Lara Freidenfelds, *The Modern Period: Menstruation in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 1–4.
- 84 TNA, ED 113/49, NFC, Medical Committee, 15 June 1939.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 *The Times*, 28 December 1959, p. 8.
- 87 TNA, ED 113/49, NFC, Sub-Committee, 3 July 1939.
- 88 Pfister, 'Medical Discourse', p. 193.
- 89 Stephan Westmann, *Sport, Physical Training and Womanhood* (London, 1939), p. ix.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. ix.
- 92 *Lancet*, 18 November 1939, p. 1091.
- 93 *Lancet*, 4 November 1939, p. 988.
- 94 Joyce Kay, 'A Window of Opportunity? Preliminary Thoughts on Women's Sport in Post-war Britain', *Sport in History*, 30:2 (June 2010), pp. 196–217.
- 95 Abrahams, *Human Machine*, p. 69.
- 96 Ernst Jokl, 'The Athletic Status of Women: An Analysis of a Social Phenomenon', *British Journal of Physical Medicine* (November 1957).
- 97 Moon, 'Women's athletics', p. 249.
- 98 Sophie Eliott Lynn, *Athletics for Women and Girls* (London: Robert Scott, 1925), p. xiv.
- 99 Lynne Duval, 'The Development of Women's Track and Field in England: The Role of the Athletic Club, 1920s–1950s', *The Sports Historian*, 21:1 (May 2001), pp. 15–16.
- 100 Kay, 'Window of Opportunity', p. 211.
- 101 Wamsley, 'Womanizing Olympic Athletes', p. 276.
- 102 FR M Messerli, 'Women's participation to the Modern Olympic Games', *Olympic Bulletin*, no. 33, 1952, p. 31.
- 103 *Ibid.*, p. 26. He had been a judge in this event.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 105 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 106 It has also been referred to at various times as femininity controls, sex control and gender verification.
- 107 Heggie, 'Testing sex', pp. 157–63.
- 108 *Ibid.*
- 109 Stefan Wiederkehr, '“We shall never know the exact number of men who have competed in the Olympics posing as women”: Sport, Gender Verification and the Cold War', *IJHS*, 26:4 (2009), p. 559.
- 110 Tamara won gold in the shot putt and silver in the discus in 1960, and gold in both events in 1964. Irina won gold in the 80 metres hurdles in 1960 and gold in the Pentathlon in 1964.
- 111 Wrynn, 'Human Factor', p. 221.
- 112 *Guardian* (Olympics 2004 Souvenir), p. 82.
- 113 M.A. Ferguson-Smith and Elizabeth Ferris, 'Gender verification in sport: the need for change?', *BJSM*, 25:1 (1991), pp. 17–20.
- 114 *Ibid.*
- 115 *The Times*, 7 June 1971, p. 9.
- 116 *The Times*, 29 October 1976, p. 13; *Guardian* (Sport), 22 May 2004, p. 19.
- 117 Ferguson-Smith and Ferris, 'Gender verification', pp. 17–20; Anon., 'Editor's Note', *BJSM*, 25:2 (1991), p. 104; Heggie, 'Testing sex', pp. 157–63.
- 118 Guttman, *Sports*, p. 308.

- 119 'American College of Sports Medicine Opinion Statement on: The Participation of the Female Athlete in Long-Distance Running, November 1979', FIMS, 1967–1981 et Executif 1981.
- 120 Annemarie Jutel, "'Thou Dost Run as in Flotation": Femininity, Reassurance and the Emergence of the Women's Marathon', *IJHS* 20:) (September 2003), pp. 27–30.
- 121 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 122 *The Times*, 2 February, p. 4; 14 April, p. 2; 15 June, p. 4; 16 June, p. 2; 3 July, p. 8; 29 July 1978.
- 123 House of Commons Culture, Media and Sport Committee, *Women's Football: Fourth Report of Session 2005–06* (London: Houses of Commons, 2006), p. 7; Evidence 38, 2.9.
- 124 Amanda N. Schweinbenz, 'Selling Femininity: The Introduction of Women's Rowing at the 1976 Olympic Games', *IJHS*, 26:5 (2009), p. 660.
- 125 Adams, 'From Mixed-Sex', pp. 218–41.
- 126 Ann Chisholm, 'Acrobats, Contortionists, and Cute Children: The Promise and Perversity of U.S. Women's Gymnastics', *Signs*, 27:2 (Winter, 2002), pp. 415–50.
- 127 Natalie Barker-Ruchti, 'Ballerinas and Pixies: a Genealogy of the Changing Female Gymnastics Body', *IJHS*, 26:1 (January 2009), p. 47.
- 128 *Ibid.*, pp. 52–5.
- 129 Joan Ryan, *Little Girls in Pretty Boxes: The Making and Breaking of Elite Gymnasts and Figure Skaters* (New York: Warner, 1995), p. 65.
- 130 *Ibid.*, pp. 47–53.
- 131 See Chisolm, 'Acrobats', pp. 444–5.
- 132 Karen Stabiner, *Courting Fame: The hazardous road to women's tennis stardom* (London: Kingswood Press, 1986).
- 133 Ryan, *Little Girls*, p. 11.
- 134 *Guardian* (Sport), 14 November 1997, p. 11; *The Times*, 4 March 1999.
- 135 *Observer* (Sport), 8 October 1995.
- 136 Wendy Varney, 'Legitimation and Limitations: How the Opie Report on Women's Gymnastics Missed its Mark', *Sporting Traditions*, 15:2 (May 1999), pp. 73–90. The Australian government actually set up an enquiry, although its outcome was criticised due to the narrowness of its parameters. *Ibid.*
- 137 *Guardian* (Education), 6 October 1998, p. 9.
- 138 Varney, 'Legitimation', p. 83.
- 139 Women had been boxing as far back as the early eighteenth century and an exhibition of women's boxing was included in the 1904 Games.
- 140 Osborne and Skillen, 'Introduction', p. 191.
- 141 *Ibid.*
- 142 Dave Russell, 'Mum's the Word: The Cycling Career of Beryl Burton, 1956–1986', *Women's History Review*, 17:5 (2008), pp. 787–806.
- 143 Adams, 'From Mixed-Sex', p. 238.
- 144 Kay, 'Window of Opportunity', pp. 197–8.

Chapter 8 Boxing: A Medical History

- 1 Although it would have shed greater light on the subject, I was unable to gain access to the records of the British Boxing Board of Control.
- 2 Timothy Chandler, Mike Cronin and Wray Vamplew, *Sport and Physical Education: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2002), 'Boxing Debate'.

- 3 While head injuries have aroused the most controversy, other common boxing injuries include the 'boxer's nose' in which there is a flattening of the nasal bones from previous fractures with dislocation of the nasal septum. Eye injuries, like detached retinas, are treated very seriously and have led to the mandatory retirement of fighters like Sugar Ray Leonard and Frank Bruno.
- 4 Mandler, *English National Character*, pp. 24–40.
- 5 Ken Sheard, 'Boxing in the western civilizing process' in Eric Dunning *et al* (eds), *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 15–30.
- 6 Sheard, "Brutal and degrading", pp. 74–102; Welshman, 'Only Connect', pp. 1–21.
- 7 The last significant prizefight was in 1860 between Tom Sayers of Brighton and the American, John Heenan.
- 8 For an early history of boxing see Dennis Brailsford, *Bareknuckles: A Social History of Prize-Fighting* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1988) and Kasia Boddy, *Boxing: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion, 2008) Chapters 1–4.
- 9 Stonehenge 'Forrest' [aka Rev JG Wood], *The Handbook of Manly Exercises: Comprising Boxing, Walking, Running, Leaping, Vaulting, etc. with chapters on Training for Pedestrianism and other purposes* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1864), pp. 7–18.
- 10 *BMJ*, 8 January 1955, p. 102.
- 11 *BMJ*, 2 July 1960, Supplement, p. 15.
- 12 *Lancet*, 11 May 1901, p. 1366.
- 13 J.L. Blonstein, *Boxing Doctor* (London: Stanley Paul, 1965), pp. 17, 22–4.
- 14 Graham, *Eight, Nine, Out!*, p. 21.
- 15 Peter Koehler, 'The evolution of British neurology in comparison with other countries' in F. Clifford Rose (ed.), *A Short History of Neurology: The British Contribution 1660–1910* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), pp. 58–74.
- 16 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, pp. 534–51, 612–13.
- 17 *Lancet*, 11 May 1901, p. 1336.
- 18 Byles and Osborn, 'First Aid'.
- 19 Brailsford, *Bareknuckles*, p. 158.
- 20 Originally comprising 12 clubs, the ABA held its first championship a year later where four weight classes (Feather, Light, Middle, Heavy) were contested. In prize-fighting there were generally no weight classes.
- 21 Michael Gunn and David Ormerod, 'The legality of boxing', *Legal Studies*, 15:2 (July 1995), pp. 190–1.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- 23 In 1919 a British Board of Boxing Control was formed but was essentially ran by the NSC. An initial meeting had taken place in February 1914 between 10 members of the NSC together with representatives from the Army and Navy Boxing Association, the ABA and various boxing promoters. Sheard, 'Boxing', p. 302.
- 24 Sheard, 'Boxing', pp. 295–6. Arthur Conan Doyle was a regular and in his novel, *Rodney Stone*, he used a prize-fighter as one of the characters.
- 25 In 1898, following the death of Thomas Turner, six men including his opponent, Nathaniel Smith, the club's owners and its manager, Arthur Bettinson, were charged with manslaughter. They were found not guilty. *The Times*, 11 November 1898, p. 13; 18 November 1898, p. 14. Following the death of Michael Riley on its premises in 1900 a similar verdict was reached. *The Times*, 13 March 1900, p. 14.
- 26 *The Times*, 2 May 1901, p. 7.
- 27 *The Times*, 16 May 1901, p. 14.

- 28 *The Times*, 29 June 1901, p. 19.
- 29 *The Times*, 14 November 1911, p. 7.
- 30 *The Times*, 15 March 1912, p. 13.
- 31 K.B. Wamsley and D. Whitson, 'Celebrating Violent Masculinities: The Boxing Death of Luther McGrory', *Journal of Sport History*, 25:3 (Fall 1998), pp. 419–31.
- 32 http://www.boxrec.com/media/index.php/USA:_New_York_Laws; http://www.boxrec.com/media/index.php/Walker_Law.
- 33 *The Times*, 21 March 1911, p. 4.
- 34 *The Times*, 30 April 1901, p. 10.
- 35 Norman Clark, *The Boxing Referee* (London: Methuen, 1926), p. 59.
- 36 Sheard, 'Boxing', p. 289.
- 37 *Boxing*, 29 May 1929, p. 1.
- 38 Lewis Carroll had been a champion at Rugby school.
- 39 George Saintsbury and Jeff James, *Boys Will Be Boxers* (London: Lonsdale, 1997), pp. 13–23; Mason and Riedi, *Sport and the Military*, p. 18.
- 40 Stan Shipley, 'Boxing', in Mason (ed.), p. 93.
- 41 Matthew Taylor, 'Round the London Ring: Boxing, Class and Community in Interwar London', *The London Journal*, 34:2 (July 2009), pp. 139–62.
- 42 James Morton, *Fighters: The Lives and Sad Deaths of Freddie Mills and Randolph Turpin* (London: Time Warner, 2004), p. 73.
- 43 Matthew Taylor, 'Boxers United: Trade Unionism in British Boxing in the 1930s', *Sport in History*, 29:3 (September 2009), pp. 462–70.
- 44 Jack Birtley, *The Tragedy of Randolph Turpin* (London: New English Library, 1975), pp. 24–5.
- 45 Graham, *Eight, Nine, Out!*, p. 11.
- 46 Morton, *Fighters*, p. 7.
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11. It was unusual for a boxer who had been knocked out to be required to box a second time on the same bill.
- 48 Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 302.
- 49 Morton, *Fighters*, p. 55.
- 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 87–8.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 53 In a fictional story about baseball in the *Washington Times*, 17, 18 November 1913, p. 9, titled 'The Girl and the Pennant', the phrase is used in connection with drink. Thereafter, other references are in connection with boxing, e.g. *Washington Herald*, 13 January 1914, p. 10.
- 54 I am grateful to Kasia Boddy for this reference.
- 55 *The Times*, 6 July 1953, p. 5.
- 56 Harrison Martland, 'Punch Drunk', *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 91:15 (13 October 1928), pp. 1103–7.
- 57 C.E. Winterstein, 'Head Injuries Attributable to Boxing' *Lancet*, 18 September 1937, pp. 719–20. Winterstein, a German by birth, had been an amateur boxer from 1923–29. He had carried out his research at Guy's Hospital in 1934. *The Times*, 20 January 1939, p. 4.
- 58 Jokl, *Boxing*, pp. 154–5.
- 59 *Boxing*, 3 October 1933, p. 8.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 61 *The Times*, 6 October 1939, p. 15.
- 62 *Daily Mirror*, 4 February 1938, p. 31.

- 63 Although unnamed in the article, the paper was successfully sued by Henry Wiseman and his son, Cyril (his fighting name was Charlie Wise).
- 64 *The Times*, 18 January 1939, p. 4. In court, it was said that Wise, due to a low score in intelligence tests, had been sent to a 'special school for mental deficients'.
- 65 *The Times*, 17 January 1939, pp. 5, 18, pp. 4, 19, pp. 4, 20, p. 4.
- 66 Peter Leese, *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 3.
- 67 *Boxing*, 3 October 1933, p. 8.
- 68 By the 1920s the definition of mental deficiency had been extended to include later-onset cerebral trauma. Sharon Morris, 'Human dregs at the bottom of our national vats': The interwar debate on sterilization of the mentally deficient' in David M. Turner and Kevin Staggs (eds), *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 143.
- 69 Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 97.
- 70 See Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- 71 Ronnie Johnston and Arthur McIvor, 'Marginalising the Body at Work? Employers' Occupational Health Strategies and Occupational Medicine in Scotland c.1930–1974, *Social History of Medicine*, 21:3 (April 2008), p. 131.
- 72 *Empire News*, 30 September 1951, p. 7.
- 73 *Empire News*, 7 October, p. 7; 14 October, p. 7; 16 December 1951, p. 7.
- 74 Graham, *Eight, Nine, Out!*, pp. 57–8.
- 75 *International Olympic Committee Bulletin*, no. 29, September 1951, pp. 16–17.
- 76 International Olympic Committee, 45th Session Minutes, Paris, 1955. In 1952, no bronze medals were awarded, only golds and silvers.
- 77 International Olympic Committee, 52nd Session Minutes, Sofia, 1957.
- 78 *Boxing News*, 11 January 1950, p. 6.
- 79 *Boxing News*, 22 March 1950, p. 6.
- 80 *Boxing News*, 14 June 1950, p. 15.
- 81 Blonstein, *Boxing Doctor*, pp. 67–8; J.L. Blonstein and Edwin Clarke, 'The Medical Aspects of Amateur Boxing', *BMJ*, 25 December 1954, pp. 1523–5.
- 82 Graham, *Eight, Nine, Out!*, pp. 66–9.
- 83 Blonstein, *Boxing Doctor*, pp. 126–7.
- 84 In conversation with Teddy Carter, 1 December 2004.
- 85 Henry Cooper, *Henry Cooper: An Autobiography* (London: Coronet Books, 1972), p. 54.
- 86 J.W. Graham, 'Professional Boxing and the Doctor, *BMJ*, 22 January 1955, pp. 219–21.
- 87 *The Times*, 5 June 1959, p. 9.
- 88 *BMJ*, 2 July 1960, Supplement, p. 15.
- 89 Anon., 'Brain Injury in Boxing', *BMJ*, 25 December 1954, p. 1535.
- 90 Blonstein and Clarke, 'Medical Aspects', pp. 1523–5; Graham, 'Professional Boxing', pp. 219–21.
- 91 *BMJ*, 16 February 1957, p. 392.
- 92 MacDonald Critchley, 'Medical aspects of boxing, particularly from a neurological standpoint', *BMJ*, 16 February 1957, pp. 358–9.
- 93 J.L. Blonstein and Edwin Clarke, 'Further observations on the medical aspects of amateur boxing', *BMJ*, 16 February 1957, pp. 362–4.
- 94 *BMJ*, 16 February 1957, pp. 392–3.
- 95 *The Times*, 1 March 1982, p. 6.

- 96 *Lancet*, 7 February 1953, pp. 282–3; *BMJ*, 25 December 1954, pp. 1525, 1535.
- 97 *BMJ*, 16 February 1957, pp. 392–3.
- 98 Fielding *et al.*, ‘*England Arise!*’, Chapter 6.
- 99 Penny Summerfield, ‘“Our Amazonian Colleague”: Edith Summerskill’s problematic reputation’ in R. Toye and J. Gottlieb (eds), *Making Reputations: Power, Persuasion and the Individual in Modern British Politics* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 135–50.
- 100 *The Times*, 27 November 1950, p. 3; 21 May 1953, p. 8.
- 101 Edith Summerskill, *The Ignoble Art* (London: William Heinemann, 1956), p. 47.
- 102 *Ibid.*, pp. 43–4.
- 103 *The Times*, 12 December 1953, p. 6.
- 104 Sheard, ‘“Brutal and Degrading”’, pp. 93–4.
- 105 Macdonald Critchely, ‘Summary’ in A.L. Bass, J.L. Blonstein, R.D. James and J.G.P. Williams (eds), *Medical Aspects of Boxing: Proceedings of a Conference held at the Goldsmiths’ College London, November 1963* (London: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 66.
- 106 *The Times*, 25 November 1963, p. 3.
- 107 Geoffrey Nicholson, *The Professionals* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964), p. 22; *The Times*, 11 January 1964, p. 8; Blonstein, *Boxing Doctor*, p. 126.
- 108 This is not to argue that the impact of debates over boxing’s safety was the sole reason for the sport’s decline. Factors such as changes in the economy, the increase in leisure opportunities and an increase in living standards would also need to be taken into consideration.
- 109 Cunningham, *Invention of Childhood*, pp. 211–45.
- 110 Freddie Mills had received a pair of boxing gloves on his birthday. Morton, *Fighters*, p. 9.
- 111 BASM Executive Committee Minutes, 11 October 1954.
- 112 National Archives, FD 23/1894, Letter 21 January 1960 Mr Casson to Medical Research Council. He was directed to articles in the *Lancet*, 6 June 1959. p. 1185 and correspondence plus London ABA’s booklet, ‘Medical Aspects of Amateur Boxing’. Letter MRC, PJ Chapman M.B., 28 January 1960.
- 113 *Evening Standard*, 24 November 1966, p. 13; *The Times*, 25 November 1966, p. 10. Only 41 out of 700 schools offered boxing either on its curriculum or as an evening club activity.
- 114 *The Times*, 17 September 1984, p. 11.
- 115 Anthony Quick, *Charterhouse: A History of the School* (London: James and James, 1990), p. 126.
- 116 *Lancet*, 22 November 1969, p. 1114. An interim report in 1964 had reached the conclusion that the existing evidence concerning the medical dangers of boxing was insufficient.
- 117 The report came out a year later in the form of a book. A.H. Roberts, *Brain Damage in Boxers: A Study of the Prevalence of Traumatic Encephalopathy Among Ex-Professional Boxers* (London: Pitman Medical and Scientific Publishing, 1969), pp. 56–69.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 119 Virginia Berridge, ‘Medicine and the Public: The 1962 Report of the Royal College of Physicians and the New Public Health’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 81 (2007), pp. 286–311; ‘Medicine, public health and the media in Britain from the nineteen-fifties to the nineteen-seventies’, *Historical Research*, 82:2 (May 2009), pp. 360–73.

- 120 Roberts, *Brain Damage*, p. 56.
- 121 *The Times*, 4 November 1969, p. 1.
- 122 *The Times*, 28 October 1970, p. 7.
- 123 For a more detailed discussion of how this decision was reached see Sheard, "Brutal and Degrading", p. 98.
- 124 *The Times*, 1 March 1982, p. 6; *Practitioner*, July 1981, p. 1054.
- 125 *The Times*, 8 March 1980, p. 12.
- 126 Sheard, 'Boxing', p. 341.
- 127 Barry J. Hugman (ed.), *British Boxing Yearbook 1985* (London: Hamlyn, 1984), p. 522.
- 128 *The Times*, 24 July 1978, p. 6; 20 March 1985, p. 26.
- 129 *The Times*, 15 December, p. 1; 20 December 1979, p. 15.
- 130 *The Times*, 17 November 1982, p. 22.
- 131 *The Times*, 23 September 1980, p. 18.
- 132 *The Times*, 15 January 1983, p. 19.
- 133 *Doctor*, 29 July 1982, p. 16.
- 134 *The Times*, 2 December 1980, p. 11; Hugman (ed.), *British Boxing Yearbook 1985*, p. 523.
- 135 *The Times*, 27 November 1981, p. 12.
- 136 J. Corsellis, C. Burton and D. Freeman-Browne, 'The aftermath of boxing', *Psychological Medicine*, 3 (1973), pp. 270–303; *The Times*, 1 March 1982, p. 6; *BMJ*, 24 November 1973, pp. 439–40.
- 137 *BJSM*, April 1972, vol. 6 (2), p. 85.
- 138 *BJSM*, June 1983, vol. 17 (2), p. 75.
- 139 *BJSM*, September 1986, vol. 20 (3), p. 98.
- 140 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, pp. 236–7.
- 141 Professional boxing had been banned in Iceland in 1957.
- 142 *BMJ*, 17 March 1984, p. 874.
- 143 *The Times*, 8 July 1982, p. 19.
- 144 *The Times*, 15 January 1983, p. 19.
- 145 Council on Scientific Affairs, 'Brain Injury in Boxing', *Journal of American Medical Association*, 14 January 1983, p. 256.
- 146 *The Times*, 9 March 1984, p. 3; *BMJ*, 17 March 1984, p. 876.
- 147 *The Times*, 4 July 1984, p. 1.
- 148 *The Times*, 9 March 1984, p. 13.
- 149 *BMJ*, 4 August 1984, p. 324.
- 150 *The Times*, 23 January 1985, p. 22.
- 151 *BMJ*, 31 March 1984, p. 1007; Hugman (ed.), *British Boxing Yearbook 1985*, p. 522; *The Times*, 3 May 1984, p. 28.
- 152 *The Times*, 3 May 1984, p. 28.
- 153 Porter, *Greatest Benefit*, p. 610; Sheard, "Brutal and Degrading", p. 95.
- 154 *The Times*, 4 April 1984, p. 23.
- 155 COMMI-MEDIC-SCOMM, 1982–84 (203621), Minutes of the Meeting Concerning Problems of Boxing, Brussels, 11 May 1983; COMMI-MEDIC-SCOMM, 1977–84 (2036843), Meeting of the IOC Medical Sub-commission 'sports medicine and orthopaedics', Cologne, 28 September 1983, IOC Historical Archives, Lausanne; 85th IOC Session, Sarajevo 1984, re: Medical Report – Annex 22; 94th IOC Session, Tokyo 1990, re: Medical Report – Annex 9.
- 156 LM Adams and PJ Wren, 'The doctor at the boxing ring: amateur boxing' in Simon DW Payne (ed.), *Medicine, Sport and the Law* (London: Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1990), pp. 230–76.

- 157 *The Times*, 13 January 1983, p. 18. The European Boxing Union had made the reduction in 1978 after the death of Jacopucci. Following the death of Duk Koo Kim in 1983, the World Boxing Council followed.
- 158 One honorary area medical officer recalled how after a few years of not doing the job, he rang up the area secretary anonymously to ask for the details on the area MO, who then repeated the doctor's own name and address. Sheard, 'Boxing', p. 326.
- 159 A.L. Whiteson, 'The doctor at the boxing ring: professional boxing' in Payne (ed.), *Medicine*, pp. 278–81.
- 160 *Daily Telegraph*, 10 July 1999.
- 161 *Guardian*, 31 October 1996, p. 13.
- 162 *Guardian*, 16 June 1994, p. 5; 16 October 1995, p. 3.
- 163 *Guardian*, 31 October 1996, p. 13.
- 164 *Guardian*, 27 February 1995, p. 19.
- 165 *Guardian*, 16 November 1994, p. 26.
- 166 *Guardian*, 16 October 1995, p. 3.
- 167 *Guardian*, 15 March 1996, p. 26.
- 168 *Guardian*, 24 October 1995, p. 24.
- 169 *Guardian*, 4 May 1994, p. 17.
- 170 *Guardian*, 28 February 1995, p. 6.
- 171 *Daily Telegraph*, 10 July 1999.
- 172 *Guardian* (Sport), 11 January 1994, p. 15; (Education) 16 March 1994, p. 10.
- 173 *Guardian*, 5 May 1994, p. 23.
- 174 British Medical Association, *The Boxing Debate* (London: BMA Scientific Department, 1993), pp. 70–1; *Guardian*, 10 June 1993, p. 6.
- 175 *Guardian*, 31 October 1996, p. 13.
- 176 *Guardian*, 23 September 1991.
- 177 *Guardian* (Education), 14 March 1994, p. 11.
- 178 Middleweight boxers used 10-ounce gloves and were permitted 18 feet of bandages, held in place by 9 to 11 feet of zinc-oxide tape for each hand. *Economist*, 4 March 1995.
- 179 *Guardian*, 25 September 1999, p. 2.
- 180 *Guardian*, 15 November 1991.
- 181 *Guardian*, 27 February 1995, p. 19.
- 182 *Guardian*, 26 October 1995, p. 27.
- 183 *Guardian*, 27 March 1997, p. 27.
- 184 *Independent*, 18 December 2000.
- 185 *Guardian*, 16 February 2001, p. 35.
- 186 *Independent*, 19 December 2000.
- 187 *Guardian*, 16 February 2001, p. 35.
- 188 Hugh Brayne, Lincoln Sargeant, Carol Brayne, 'Could boxing be banned? A legal and epidemiological perspective' *BMJ*, 316 (13 June 1998), pp. 1813–15.
- 189 *Guardian*, 16 July 1984.
- 190 *Guardian*, 28 February 2000, p. 8; <http://sport.independent.co.uk/general/article2214804.ece>.
- 191 *Observer*, 2 October 2005.
- 192 Contests only went ahead under stringent medical conditions. This included: 6 two minute rounds, boxers had to be over 20 and had to wear 10 oz. gloves, and the doctor had the right to stop the fight when he, and not the referee, wanted. *Boxing News*, 8 December 2006, p. 9.

Conclusion

- 1 Susan Barton, Neil Carter, Richard Holt and John Williams, *Learning Disability, Sport and Legacy: A Report by the Legacy Research Group on the Special Olympics GB National Summer Games Leicester 2009* (Leicester: De Montfort University, 2011).
- 2 See Anderson, *War, Disability*, Chapter 5.
- 3 David Howe, 'The Paralympic Movement: Identity and (Dis)ability' in John Harris and Andrew Parker (eds), *Sport and Social Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009), pp. 32–5.
- 4 *Guardian*, 10 July 2007.
- 5 *Guardian*, 14 January 2008, 28 April 2008. Medical debate and evidence has continued over the merits of both sides of the argument e.g. *Guardian*, 4 November 2009.
- 6 Porter, *Health, Civilization*, p. 314.
- 7 Runciman, 'Super-athlete?'.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Andy Miah, 'The engineered athlete: Human rights in the genetic revolution', *Sport in Society*, 3:3 (2000), pp. 25–40. Miah actually advocates the removal of barriers to sporting performance.
- 10 Runciman, 'Super-athlete?'.