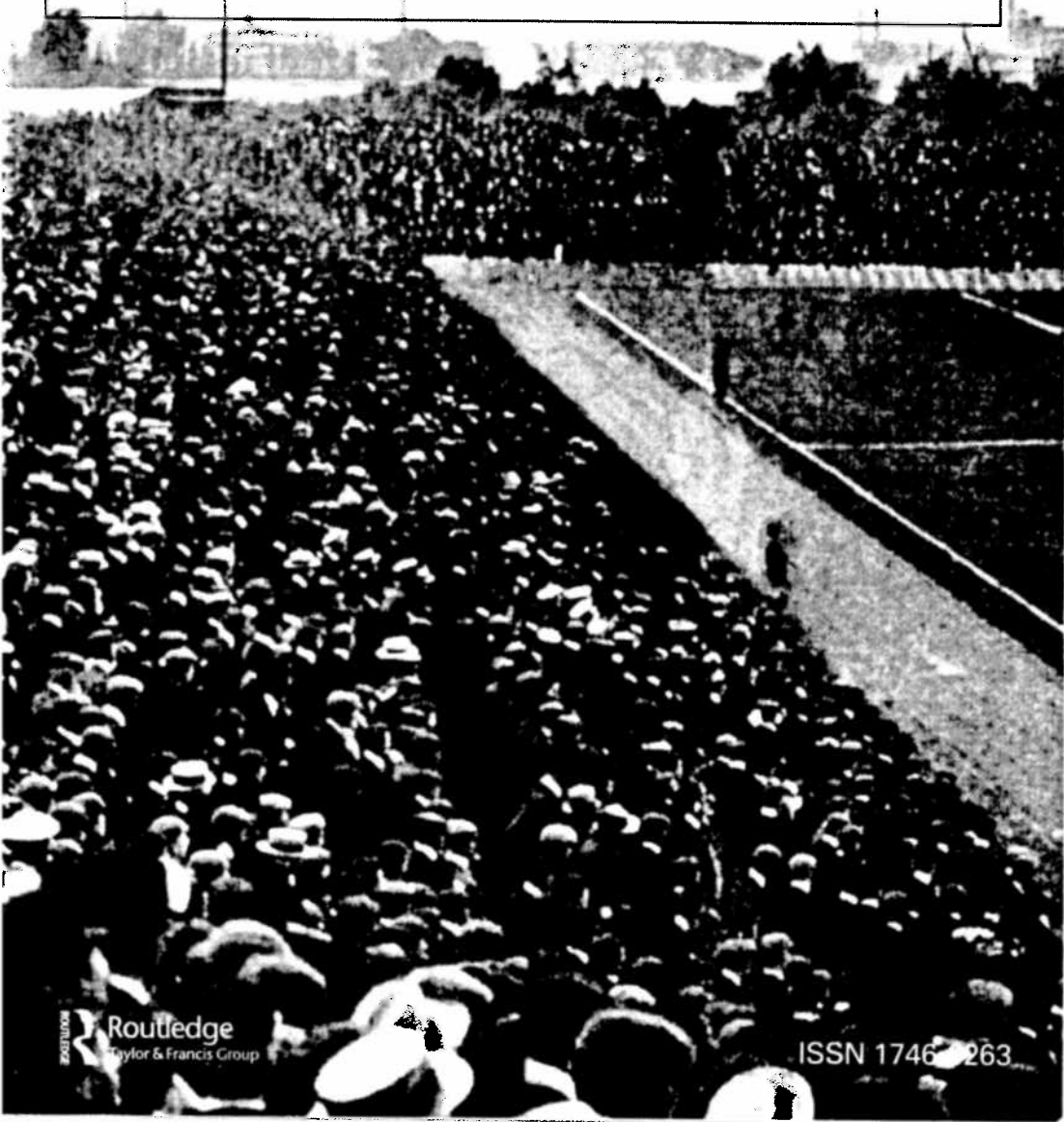


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Enhancing the Odds: Horse Racing, Gambling and the First Anti-Doping Movement in Sport, 1889–1911

John Gleaves

The sporting world has long considered doping both a recent phenomenon and one associated with performance enhancement. It has also typically viewed the debate over prohibiting doping to be one about safety, fair play and the spirit of sport. Yet this article will show that concerns about doping, which first emerged in the sport of horse racing, was indeed about fair play, but not fair play for the athletes. Rather the fair play threatened by doping related to gambling. Indeed, turn-of-the-century horse racing viewed doping as a tool equally useful for improving a horse's performance as it was for slowing it. This article concludes that such concerns over doping reflect the 'developed cosmology' of the early-twentieth-century public imagination. In this way, the historical roots of anti-doping reveal much about today's fascination with drugs and sports.

Introduction

Doping continues to captivate the twenty-first-century public's imagination.¹ From Barry Bonds's designer steroids to the stored blood bags of *Operación Puerto* to the omnipresent fear of gene doping, the public appears both fascinated and mortified by modern medical technology's promise of 'Promethean sport'.² Every new scandal brings out both

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...ing politicians who worry about the message sent to the world's ... and reformist pundits who demand harsher sanctions that would ... up sport'. Sponsors threaten to withdraw their money while once ... athletes apologize and return to their sports remade. All ... while, the public continues to tune in with greater regularity to see the ... round of 'higher, faster, stronger' athletes who would push the limits ... of human performance.

This all-too-familiar doping discourse, however, first appeared over a century before Barry Bonds's use of 'the cream' and 'the clear' made national news. Although modern doping experts have regularly stressed the significance of these later aspects of doping, this study examines the earliest concerns expressed about doping in sport, which occurred in American and British horse racing near the start of the twentieth century.³ This examination will show that the issues and events that stirred the first doping controversies in any sport related primarily to concerns regarding fair gambling environments and not the typically assumed twentieth-century concerns about safety or preserving the spirit of sport. Although the horse racing world's general negative attitudes about doping likely influenced the decision to ban such practices in human sport, this essay will show that the wider social context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century explains much of the original doping concern. These concerns relate towards a post-enlightenment world view where society expected science and technology to yield increasing control over the physical world, as well as the general moral panic regarding substance use during this period in both Great Britain and the United States. These conclusions shed important light on the origins of contemporary moral concerns about the use of performance-enhancing substances in elite sport.

To be sure, dating back at least to the ancient Greeks, human athletes have attempted to enhance their performance through a variety of methods, including the use of substances and herbal remedies.⁴ Thus the idea of enhancing performance is not new. Even in the late nineteenth century, as the horse racing community first passed anti-doping rules, human athletes sought to enhance their performance by using stimulants such as alcohol, strychnine, narcotics or digitalis.⁵ However, these earlier practices did not capture the public's imagination in the way that modern doping did. Few raised objections to such practices and even fewer labelled such practices 'doping'. In fact, not until 1928, 30 years later, did another sporting organization – the International Amateur Athletic Federation – follow horse racing's proscriptions and ban doping among its athletes.⁶

The horse racing community, on the other hand, voiced significant and sustained concerns over doping decades earlier. Racing organizations passed rules prohibiting the practice. More importantly, newspapers covered the doping issue often and in great detail. Concerns over doping spread beyond the confines of the track insiders and into popular discourse. Thus, while turn-of-the-century six-day cyclists openly experimented with stimulants without garnering much negative attention, newspapers regularly decried the doping of horses and referred to it in no uncertain terms as an 'evil of the turf'.⁷

Eventually, public concerns about doping would lead to human sports banning the practice as well. While many historians have examined the political, social and cultural forces that shaped doping in human competition during the twentieth century, scholars heretofore have not paid enough attention to the intellectual birth of doping *discourse* that first occurred in the late nineteenth century in horse racing.⁸ In focusing solely on human athletics, they have tended to examine reactions to doping as a cultural extension of increasingly rationalized and scientized sport or a result of sport's changing political and cultural landscape. Certainly such views, and the social, cultural and political patterns revealed by those views, have a great deal of merit. Yet what remains unanswered is why horse racing, of all sports, was the first to address doping? How did the sport address the issue? What influence did horse racing's concern over doping have on other sports? And, more importantly, given the lack of effective doping techniques during that era, what explains the enormous fears doping raised for horse racing's leaders?

Such questions necessitate an examination of the fascination with doping as it migrates beyond horse racing to truly capture the modern world's imagination. This is what makes the concerns and fears about doping so interesting. Concerns over doping reveal deeply rooted cultural beliefs that translated into socially effective elements for shaping the larger social discourse. Indeed, concerns over doping in horse racing mask the anxieties as well as the desires that governed the social imagination. The first reactions to doping stemmed from larger cultural and social forces that existed beyond horse racing or sport in general, yet these reactions subsequently laid the groundwork for how modern communities responded to performance enhancement.

To those familiar with the cultural and social forces that helped modernize sport, it is no surprise that horse racing would be home for the first anti-doping attitudes. Numerous historians have noted the impact that horse racing had on modernizing sport.⁹ Indeed, much before other sports, horse racing embodied Allen Guttman's seven characteristics of

modern sport: standardization, rationalization, bureaucratization, quantification, equality, secularization and the quest for records. Richard Holt notes that 'horse racing was transformed from a casual competition between noblemen to perhaps the most highly organized of all sports'.¹⁰ The degree of organization – from standardized tracks to the detailed calculation of odds – meant that horse racing became one of the first quintessentially modern sports.¹¹ Perhaps it is not mere coincidence, then, that horse racing also was the first modern sport to address doping.

The initial rejection of doping

John Hoberman argues that modern sport reflects a scientific and rationalized approach first to quantify human performance and then to improve it. For Hoberman, doping is the extension of modern sport's rationalized attempt to push human performance to its boundaries.¹² Yet if doping is the rational result of modern sport, why did other modern sporting communities in general, and horse racing in particular, vehemently reject the thoroughly rationalized practice of doping? The answer lies at the very birth of 'doping'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), accepted generally as the authority on the evolution of the English language, dates the word 'dope' to 1851, where it was first used colloquially to mean 'a stupid person, a simpleton, and a fool'.¹³ By 1889, however, 'dope' had taken on a new verb form – doping – that meant 'to administer dope to (a person, a horse); to stupefy with a drug; to drug'.¹⁴

Stupefying with a drug is not typically considered when discussing doping in elite sport today. In the horse racing world of 1889, however, stupefying a horse had a clear purpose. As evidenced by one of the first doping trials, which occurred in 1890 in Canada, two owners, George Renwick and Frank Baldwin, faced criminal charges for what the press called 'doping' a horse. According to the press account, the Canadian magistrate dismissed the case citing insufficient evidence but 'gave both [defendants] a severe lecture on disreputable practices involved at the race courses and advised them not to engage in any of the disgraceful tricks so common at races on American soil'. The judge explained that 'there were laws here for the protection of legitimate sport and they would be vigorously enforced'.¹⁵

For modern audiences, the judge's admonition about doping appears to echo contemporary sport's concerns. Sporting organizations today, such as the World Anti-Doping Agency, assert that they aim to preserve legitimate sport and prevent disreputable practices. However, the initial

concerns about doping do not reflect today's anti-doping attitudes about safe, fair competition for the athletes but rather about the need to preserve fair environments for gambling on horse racing. Thus in one sense, anti-doping rules were about fairness. But it was for the gamblers' sake, not so much the jockeys or horses or, if they even existed, the select few non-betting fans.

In fact, early examinations of doping focused almost solely on its impact on gambling. An 1896 *Los Angeles Times* correspondent reported that trainers could dope horses to 'start off with a good show of winning or he can so handicap [the horse] that the very elect can scarcely detect the difficulties under which the poor animal is labouring'. However, this early article clearly expressed moral reservations about the practice. 'The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals would do well to turn their attention to the race tracks of the country,' the reporter contended:

From a mercenary point of view, sacrificing a horse to win stakes of from \$5,000 to \$10,000 doesn't seem such a terrible thing; but from a humane point of view, it is brutal and indefensible. That 'man's best friend' should be 'dosed' and doctored to death for gambling purposes is a sad comment on the morals of our day and generation.¹⁶

The eastern branch of the prestigious Jockey Club, one of the United States' most powerful jockey organizations, put force to such concerns (and codified them into formal rules) in 1897, when the organization introduced a rule designed to 'put an end to the reprehensible practice of "doping" horses'.¹⁷ What was so reprehensible about this practice? The article goes on to explain, for those readers still unfamiliar with doping, that "doping" as it is called, is the injecting under the skin of the animal some liquid stimulant, such as cocaine, morphine, etc'. The dope, the author contends, 'can also be used to stop a horse as well as to help him win. ... So its use by the unscrupulous can be made to pay big profits.' Although the reporter names no specific suspects, he contends that 'almost every owner and trainer at the outlaw tracks carries a "dope" outfit with him and uses it as his interest in the pool-box or betting ring dictates'.¹⁸

Concerns over money and gambling had long driven the development of rules in the horse racing community. The transforming force for horse racing's organization primarily came from the influence of gambling. Gambling, notes Wray Vamplew, influenced the development of sport rules in two ways: 'One concerned creating the equality of opportunity to win; the other involved regulations to eliminate cheating and sharp practice.' With large amounts of money on the line, rule-makers would

not tolerate unfair competitions. Fair competitions facilitated betting both among the owners of the horses as well as those fans enjoying the spectacle. Thus Vamplew notes that at the outset of modern sports such as horse racing, rule-makers concerned themselves with the issue of fair play only in so far as fair betting was concerned.¹⁹

Moreover, the social status of the rule-makers reveals much more about the sport of horse racing. Vamplew notes that modern horse racing's gamewrights, those who formalized the rules of competition, primarily gained their position 'by virtue of their social position'. The rule-makers were both gambling large sums of money and were the owners of the horses racing in the competition.²⁰ With significant financial investments on the line, these men created rules that ensured at the minimum the equality of conditions at the competition.²¹

Against the backdrop of gambling and standardization, the issue of doping horses arose. Insiders in the horse racing world perceived that doping — whether to speed up a long shot or to slow down a favourite — allowed insiders to place wagers on fixed races. This amounted to an unfair advantage, not necessarily just in *winning* the contest but in *profiting* from it as well. Thus those writing the rules banning doping and those concerned over the spread of doping in horse racing remained primarily concerned about creating fair competition in the utilitarian sense of equality of the conditions of competition. The high-minded rejection of enhanced performances in favour of natural ones or an allegiance to a 'true spirit of sport' — both aspects of today's doping debate in human athletics — were not factors in the initial anti-doping movement.

Although the eastern branch of the Jockey Club in the United States had taken the lead in cracking down on illicit doping by passing the first rule banning doping in 1897, it was not long until the practice (or at least the fear of doping) crossed the Atlantic. Amidst the 'American invasion' in horse racing, the British horse racing world increasingly concerned itself with American practices such as training, breeding and even doping.²² Indeed, the upper-class horse racing aficionado George Lambton writes in his 1924 memoir *The Men and Horses I Have Known* that the American jockeys and trainers were largely responsible for importing doping to British horse racing.²³ Lambton singles out the American trainer Enoch Wishard and his two jockeys Lester and Johnny Reiff as the primary agents responsible for bringing doping to British tracks. Lambton noted that Wishard 'was a genius with horses ... and I am sure whatever dope he used could not have been a very powerful one'.²⁴

The American's success did not sit well with Britain's horse racing aristocracy. In fact, Lambton's older brother, the third Earl of Durham, another British patrician heavily involved in horse racing, publicly accused the American jockeys and trainers of doping their horses while racing in Britain in 1900.²⁵ Lord Durham's allegations that American success related to doping spilled into the press, with press accounts decidedly splitting along national lines. The *Daily Telegraph* of London protested against the idea that the supporters of Lord Durham 'are animated by feelings of jealousy and points to instances of warm welcome extended to American owners and jockeys'.²⁶ However, the British concern regarding the American practice of doping might also mask British nationalism. In the same year that concerns over 'the American practice of doping' arose in the press, American jockeys and trainers had begun beating the British on their home soil. In fact, the same rider accused by Lambton of doping, Lester Reiff, had won the British Jockey Club's prestigious award for Jockey Champion that same year.²⁷ Other American jockeys, including Reiff's brother Johnny and the famed Ed Corrigan, raced exceptionally well that year.²⁸

There were also doubts as to whether Lord Durham had solid evidence or was simply drawing an inference about the American's practices. Quoted in the same article, *The Times* asserted that

there is no doubt that if he [Lord Durham] possesses evidence of the alleged misdeeds of American jockeys the stewards will be pleased to give it careful consideration but the tone of his letter of Wednesday last does not indicate that he possess such evidence as he rather modifies what he said in his speech at the Jockey Club about Newmarket being the dumping ground for American jockeys. It is unfair to single out American jockeys, or even their followers, as worse than English without cogent evidence to support such an allegation.²⁹

Leopold Rothschild, a member of the famous Rothschild family and horse racing enthusiast, heightened the suspicion of doping by suggesting that 'there is no positive proof that doping has been practiced in England, although the extraordinary improvement made by horses which had been trained by Americans led to the supposition that it had'.³⁰

While nationalism likely influenced the focus of the investigation on Reiff, who later would be 'ruled off' in 1901 for 'pulling his horse,' the British focus remained on gambling.³¹ The common belief in Britain remained that American doping allowed individuals to manipulate the gambling action surrounding the sport. Indeed, the Jockey Club's investigation of American jockeys focused on suspicious betting. 'It is

not their method of riding that has caused such a bitter campaign against the Americans, but their open betting on their own and their friends' mounts,' the *Chicago Tribune* noted.³² Ed Corrigan defended his compatriots against such allegations saying that

I don't believe any such thing is done. In my opinion it is a system employed by the new school of training, which gives the horses a change of form, but if there is a trainer in England who dopes his horses it should be traced to him and stopped immediately.³³

In the end, the investigation into American doping practices revealed little. A meeting was called by the Animal Aid Society that included veterinary surgeons, trainers and jockeys, but according to *The Times* the meeting proved a 'fiasco'. When no one came forward with direct information on doping, the meeting's organizer, Professor John Atkinson, became its star witness.³⁴ Atkinson could only repeat unsubstantiated rumours that 'in America, such stimulants as strychnine were given to horses in the form of capsules, while opium was administered to prevent a horse from doing its best'.³⁵ Such claims appeared laughable to many in the audience, according to the newspaper's recounting of events. Atkinson hurt his credibility with the audience further when he insisted that the Americans had used 'an instrument [that] consisted of an electric battery carried by the jockey in a belt, the wires passing down the legs, and the poles being so placed that by pressure of the heels the jockey could impart to the horse an electric shock at any moment'.³⁶ He explained that he had thus far been unable to acquire such an instrument although he had hoped to have one for the meeting. Beyond Atkinson's hearsay, no one present at the meeting came forward with solid information regarding doping, and the meeting was quickly dismissed 'amid much laughter'.³⁷

This meeting, despite the frivolous nature of the doping allegations, reveals a pattern of increasingly serious concerns about doping. These concerns manifested themselves in further investigations of such alleged practices and a willingness to pass anti-doping rules prohibitions – in spite of a lack of clear evidence indicating any widespread doping problem. Indicating how these fears persisted despite evidence, Austria followed the United States and instituted rules banning doping on its tracks in 1900.³⁸

The British Jockey Club continued to wrestle with the issue. As one reporter for *The Times* surmised, 'the Jockey Club could scarcely have a more difficult subject to deal with than what is called "doping", as

it is quite obvious that if on certain occasions animals are subjected to this treatment, and so rendered capable of special exertion, their form will be very different from that which they show when nothing is administered to them; and there is of course, the further suspicion that if they are doctored to run well in some races, drugs which would have the opposite effect might be given to them by dishonest men in others.

The author continued, inferring that '[members of] the American Jockey Club, indeed, have introduced special rules against the practice; they would surely not have done so without reason, and it is admitted that some men on this side have made experiments – whether on race-courses or elsewhere is not quite clear'.³⁹ Although no one had yet been caught in Britain doping a horse, and a formal investigation had turned up little information, newspapers and horse racing officials continued to portray doping as a serious problem in Britain.

The sporting world provides a background lesson

After the initial spate of doping accusations that emerged at the close of the nineteenth century, journalistic reports attempted to provide larger audiences with background on the rise of doping in horse racing. These reports accepted the premise that doping could modify a horse's performance to suit a trainer or owner's pocketbook. Indeed, the *OED* notes this shift in 1900, by introducing a new definition for the word doping, which 'meant the administration to a horse of certain medical preparations, with the object of either stimulating or retarding the animal's progress in a race'.⁴⁰ This use of the word doping governed both how newspaper reporters and turfmen understood the practice.

The notion that dope could modify a horse's performance in either direction played into the notions about how doping entered horse racing. A 1901 *New York Times* exposé on doping cited 'Doc' Ring, a frequenter of the New Jersey tracks, with originating the procedure of using injections of stimulants to dope a horse. Rather than taking payment, Ring insisted that the horse's owner place a bet on the doped animal for him. This was a shrewd move by Ring since having his profit tied to the horse's success protected him from an owner's potential accusations of slowing the horse if the horse failed to do well. Rumours reported that Ring's stimulant was composed of 'nitro-glycerine, cocaine, carbolic acid, and rose water'. As such concoctions proved ultimately damaging to the horse, later doping protocols involved 'strychnine, capsicum, ginger' and other unknown ingredients.⁴¹

Through the spring of 1901, newspaper reports continued investigating doping. Again dividing doping along nationalistic lines, the *New York Times* described 'dope' as 'an American term', asserting that 'since the turf attained the dignity of a language of its own, there has never been coined a term which has attained the popularity that the one "dope" has achieved'. Offering its unsupported history of doping, the *New York Times* explained that the term doping was being used throughout Great Britain, France and even Austria. Further indicating doping's intellectual cachet, the article explained that

though the word, if it be permissible, to so classify it, is used most frequently as a term which implies impropriety, or at least the use of methods that do not come strictly within the provisions of the rules of horse racing and the methods that the usages of the turf as a sport have recognized as legitimated and fair.⁴²

Nonetheless, the *New York Times* column dismissed the British concerns over the supposed American doping scandal. 'In America there are stringent turf laws against "dope"', the article reports, since 'on most of the great race tracks special officials are employed to keep a supervision over the horses as they are being prepared for the track, and to see that they are not dosed in any way, either to stimulate with speed or to have a contrary effect'. The British concern in 1900 grew instead of American success on the track since 'in England it has been less the actual practice of "doping" horses than the scandal that grew out of the talk that American touts indulged in and the impression that they managed to spread throughout the country but their mysterious hints of trickery'. It was these hints of trickery that bothered the British as it became apparent how they influenced the gambling action. The concern was always that doping gave 'unduly shrewd turfmen the opportunity to get more speed out of certain horses than the betting public and the bookmakers believed they had'. Those doping horses maintained secrecy as a 'precaution against the spoiling of contemplated coups by having the knowledge that a horse had been specially prepared to win a certain race become general and so reduce the odds that the bookmakers otherwise might have been willing to bet against his chance'. Perceptions that bookmakers and owners profited by doping greatly added to concerns over doping, since individuals began suspecting that 'several [American] followings had taken enough money out of the betting ring to make the layers feel that a new influence was at work among them'.⁴³ Indeed, the British perceptions that Americans were largely at fault for introducing doping to Great

Britain fitted with the general British attitude towards American sporting practices more broadly.⁴⁴

In Great Britain, Sir George Chetwynd, a well-known English sportsman and aristocrat, complicated the story that doping had been an American import, both in his words and practices. Chetwynd disagreed that doping was an American import, explaining that

all this hue and cry about doping horses is worse than silly. Doping has been practiced on the English turf for twenty-five years. My horse, Chypre, winner of the Ascot Stakes in 1875, went to the post doped. It was a lazy and unmanageable brute and needed stimulant. Veracity, the Cambridgeshire winner in 1888, frequently proved the efficacy of dope. The principle is precisely the same, however a horse is doped. The Jockey club [sic] never pronounced against it.⁴⁵

However, these comments must be read against Chetwynd's past practices. In 1889, Chetwynd was accused by Lord Durham to have engaged in 'serious malpractices which are contrary to the rules of racing'.⁴⁶ These alleged practices involved a conspiracy in 1886 to have his jockey Charles Wood 'pull' several of his own horses in races to suit his betting interests.⁴⁷ Chetwynd denied these accusations and filed suit for libel against Durham. The panel of arbitrators found Durham correct in both 'substance and in fact', and Chetwynd subsequently resigned from the British Jockey Club in July of 1889.⁴⁸ These events may slightly bias Chetwynd's assertion that doping existed in British racing prior to the arrival of American jockeys.

With newspaper reports describing doping throughout 1900 and the spring of 1901, it was no surprise that by summer, turfmen on both sides of the Atlantic began seeing – or believed that they were seeing – doped horses everywhere. A newspaper report indicated that the New Orleans Crescent City Jockey Club ruled that it would no longer permit the owners Buckner and Welker or trainer R.J. Stewart from entering their races after an incident of doping with their horse Apple Jack. The report stated that 'Apple Jack was plainly under the influence of some drug or stimulant when he came out of the paddock in the fifth race and ran away two miles the wrong way of the track. Previously he had been backed down from 30 to 1 to 7 to 1'.⁴⁹ The presumption that gambling and more specifically the manipulation of odds featured prominently in the doping of Apple Jack reveal the suspicion that owners and trainers were attempting to make profits out of doping rather than gaining fame or emerging victorious.

The interest in doping soon affected horse racing's 'insider' language. Discovering which horse was doped became key information for any serious gambler. Such information became 'inside dope'. In fact, the *OED* marks this colloquial usage shift in 1901, explaining dope to be 'information, esp. on a particular subject or of a kind not widely disseminated or easily obtained'.⁵⁰ The *Chicago Tribune* used 'doping' in that sense following one successful day at the track where many bettors 'simply outdid the handicappers, or "dopers", as they are termed. The latter class or turf followers figured the winners of the first three events to a nicety, but slipped numerous cogs in "doping" the last three'.⁵¹ This addition to the meaning of the term doping led to the introduction of the term 'dope sheets' in 1903, which in horse racing parlance referred to sheets listing the odds bookmakers had assigned to horses.⁵² By 1904, the *New York Times* connected the 'doping of horses' with 'information regarding the condition, weights, odds, &c.' and explained to its readers that 'it is well known that the part of a newspaper containing the advance information regarding races horses is called the "dope sheet"'.⁵³ While no direct evidence connected 'dope sheets' to the practice of doping or obtaining insider information on doping, the colloquial usage of dope-as-information connects to the practice of doping horses for gambling purposes.⁵⁴

Eventually, this use of the term 'doping' spread beyond horse racing into any sort of pre-match prediction for sports like prize fighting, football and baseball.⁵⁵ When asked who would win a prize fight in 1901, famed British prizefighter Robert Fitzsimmons was quoted saying that 'when it comes down to doping the thing, why Fitzsimmons figures the better fighter'.⁵⁶ A 1906 article in the *National Police Gazette*, the popular organ of the urban sporting fraternity, explained that "'Doping" fighters and "doping" horses on form are two very different propositions, yet the "doping" the writer refers to was picking the winners rather than administering any sort of drugs'.⁵⁷ Writers would 'dope the World Series' or complain that 'doping baseball was harder than doping football'.⁵⁸ By the start of the 1920s, the connection between 'doping' the World Series and the actual administration of dope to horses appears lost on those who used the term.⁵⁹

Nonetheless, the fact that doping entered the lexicon in such ways shows the link in the public consciousness between doping and gambling. By repeatedly publishing stories on doping, it appears that the media, along with segments of the general public, became captivated by the belief that doping allowed individuals to control physical performances in such a way as to fix the outcomes of competitions. Although the public cried

foul when owners or bookkeepers doped horses, they also aimed to get the 'inside dope' to be used to their own benefit. Either way, with suspicions about doping rife, the horse racing community sought ways to prevent concerns over unfair betting practices from keeping horse racing fans at home.

The move to crack down on the 'evils of doping'

As many historians have noted, the horse racing community understood the threat that perceptions of doping (and unfair gambling practices) posed to their sport's livelihood.⁶⁰ Without gambling, horse racing held very little appeal to its masses of spectators. Thus it is understandable that the horse racing community took the doping concerns seriously. In a 1902 *Chicago Tribune* article entitled 'Turf Officials Show Activity, fears of the 'evils [of doping] on the increase' were offset by news of turf officials cracking down on 'some of the flagrant form reversals and "doping" practices'. The *Tribune* labelled such practices an 'injustice to the public which supports the game'. The guilty culprits, the *Tribune* asserted, remained the 'owners and bookmakers' and not jockeys. The newspaper insisted that sporting penalties and legal action faced those who brought about 'inconsistent running and 'doping' of horses'.⁶¹

The posturing within the horse racing community in the United States during 1902 did not prove to be empty rhetoric. Concerns over doping as a means to fix races caused horse racing officials to alter their anti-doping statute – Rule 162 – to read that 'any person who shall be proved to have affected the speed of a horse by the use of drugs or stimulants administered internally and who shall have used appliances, electrical or mechanical, other than the ordinary whip and spur shall be ruled off'.⁶² The change in wording from 'stimulated' to 'affected' reveals the increasing concern that trainers, owners and jockeys used dope to modify a horse's performance to support their betting needs. Doping increasingly became known as the 'methods of horse swindlers',⁶³ while articles describing how to spot a doped horse encouraged the ambitious gambler to examine a horse for 'profuse perspiration' after exercise and that a doped horse's 'eyes look unnaturally brilliant and he becomes restless and ill at ease' compared to other thoroughbreds.⁶⁴

In 1903, the British Jockey club joined the American tracks and formally banned doping. Yet the bans on both sides of the Atlantic appear to have only fuelled speculation about the degree of doping and its effects on gambling. In April of 1903, the stewards of the New Orleans became suspicious of a thoroughbred owner named W.H. Fizer and suspended

him for doping his stable of horses.⁶⁵ One month later, reports linked the illicit practice of doping to the death of a racehorse in New York.⁶⁶ In July, the press reported that two unnamed men faced criminal charges for doping a 'heavily backed' horse following its poor performance.⁶⁷

By the fall of 1903, the *New York Times* ran a headline entitled "'Dope" Evil of the Turf" [sic] and reported that 'amateur detectives are on the lookout not for the good of racing, but for the benefit of their own betting operations'. Although 'no tangible evidence has been gathered so far', the column contended that doping is 'the scandal of the racing season'.⁶⁸ Later that season, the racing stewards sent a veterinary surgeon with a view towards determining whether or not drugs had been used when six favourites all lost on the same day.⁶⁹ Concerns over doping lurked in behind every inexplicable event.

By the close of 1903, Lord Stanley, the 17th Earl of Durham, made clear how seriously the British horse racing community viewed doping. In a toast to the famed York Gimcrack Club, an aristocratic horse racing club founded in 1767, Lord Stanley explained that 'there was nothing more than likely to tend to the depreciation of the English thoroughbred than the practice of "doping" which had latterly existed'. Although a rule had been passed on the matter and stewards could take swift action, Lord Stanley feared that proving doping would be difficult. Lord Stanley's criterion was simply 'suspicion sufficient to prove to men of common sense and judgment that there had been "doping"'. When such allegations were proven, Lord Stanley asserted that he was one for 'taking such action as would prevent those associated with such practices from ever again setting foot on the British turf'.⁷⁰ For those with a vested interest in the horse racing world, doping merited the severest punishments available.

Horse racing remains alone in its efforts

Despite Lord Stanley's threat of lifetime bans, the doping issue never abated. Doping scandals and accusations kept the subject in the newspaper headlines. With obvious storm clouds looming, the horse racing world turned to modern science for a rationalized approach that could stem the concerns over doping. The proposal was a test that could verify whether a horse had received any doping substances. The horse racing community introduced just such a drug test in 1912. Using a horse's saliva, scientists believed they could test the horse for certain doping substances such as cocaine or opium.⁷¹ Proponents of drug testing saw it as a way to prevent the doping of horses, although it remains unclear what effects such testing had on the sport. Nonetheless, the quick acceptance of

drug testing in horse racing from disparate governing bodies – ranging from France to tracks across the United States – indicates the widespread concern over doping in horse racing.⁷² Horse racing's governing bodies made it clear that doping had no place within its sport.

However, the horse racing communities' efforts to eradicate doping stand in stark contrast to human sports of the era. Not only did no human sport ban drugs during this period, but sports such as six-day cycle racing, pedestrianism and even the modern Olympic Games had athletes openly experimenting with doping.⁷³ Moreover, when reports of doping human competitors appeared in the press, they reflected less moral consternation than that expressed over horse racing. With horse racing calling for lifetime bans, instituting drug tests and generally fretting over the future of the sport, why did doping in human competition escape similar treatment?

In all likelihood, doping in human sports garnered little attention since most assumed that humans only doped to improve performance. While fixing human sporting events remained a major concern, doping to fix an event was not a major subject of concern. This is likely because human athletes could always underperform, slow down, or throw a match in ways that were difficult to detect. Certainly this type of match fixing remained a concern for gamblers and the sporting community alike. But the fears that doping might be employed by an athlete to fix a match likely did not materialize since an athlete would not need to dope himself to underperform – instead they could always fake their poor performance. Additionally, most athletes relied on their performances to prolong their careers. Poor performances often meant poor pay. Thus most assumed that, even if every athlete was not doped, then at least they were doing everything in their power to perform their best. Such an assumption appears relatively safe since, unlike horses, human athletes received payment primarily based on performance. With purses and prize money, along with perhaps a degree of fame, most people assumed that if an athlete chose to dope, they did so in their own best interest.

So while incentives might have reassured bettors that human athletes only doped to enhance their performance, when the opposite occurred and human athletes were harmed through doping, it made major news. For example, a myth about the popular trainer of professional cyclists and pedestrians James 'Choppy' Warburton indicates that he ran afoul of the tenets of fair play not from enhancing his charges but from his alleged poisoning of the champion cyclist James Michael, who was preparing to leave Warburton for more lucrative contracts.⁷⁴ In 1907, the *New York Times* ran an article describing two cyclists ironically accusing someone of

'doping their stimulant' after they had to withdraw from a six-day-race at Madison Square Garden.⁷⁵ The fact that the riders did not hide their use of stimulants and called the administering of a harmful substance 'doping' further reveals turn-of-the-century attitudes about performance enhancement. In 1912, boxing officials investigated the prize fighter Abe Attell for a suspiciously poor performance. To clear his name, Attell argued 'his poor work was the result of an over-dose of cocaine', administered to his right hand before the fight and denied that 'he had made any private arrangement with any one not to do his best'. Attell's admissions, however, did not clear his trainer or medical personnel from suspicion that they had sought to profit by hindering Attell's performance.⁷⁶

The concern over doping as something used to fix matches – whether human or equine – shows that turn-of-the-century sporting culture cared more about fair competitions than about how an athlete enhanced themselves. Today's concerns over naturalness or artificiality did not enter the discourse. Indeed, the discourse shows that the public feared that doping created unfair gambling environments. In other words, the concern for the horse racing community was not ensuring that the fastest horse crossed the finish line first, but that nefarious trainers or bookmakers did not profit from unsuspecting patrons. Thus the rationale for doping bans in horse racing reflects modern sports concern with equality of opportunity but shares little in common with the current arguments against doping.

The Victorians and their drugs

Although efforts to rid the turf of doping were popular decisions, they did not allay the concerns that doping persisted. Doping – or at least fears of doping – became the hallmark of horse racing for decades to come. Efforts to eradicate doping in horse racing resulted in the first anti-doping testing, many suspensions, and an ever increasing number of scandals. In the end, the saga of doping in horse racing reflects the sport's role as a bellwether of modern sport. The rest of the sporting world quickly followed suit, first denouncing doping, then banning it, and finally witnessing the scandals that inevitably followed.

Yet why did the rise in doping – and the concern over the practice – suddenly arrive at the end of the nineteenth century? Certainly owners had used any number of methods to make their horses run faster, even employing special breeding to do so. They had used training, diets and any other magic potion prior to any mention of the word dope. Perhaps doping techniques had finally caught up with other horse racing

innovations that existed at the time such as jockey positions, better fitting horse shoes and improvements in training.⁷⁷

However, there is reason to question the efficacy of doping, especially in this time period. Looking back, we have reason to doubt the widespread belief held in the horse racing community that doping in the early twentieth century actually worked. Modern pharmacology and physiology reveal that the substances used to 'stimulate' horses such as alcohol and cocaine likely had deleterious effects on performance. Scientific studies of substances such as mercury, strychnine, cocaine and nitroglycerine, among many others reported to have been used on horses, show these substances to offer little or no performance-enhancing benefit.⁷⁸ While certainly people at the time believed such substances worked, the horses would not have been fooled by any 'placebo effect'. Moreover, the people would not have been seeing any real improvement since these substances likely did not improve anything. In a sense, all doping likely harmed the horse's performance despite the belief that doping could make a horse run faster. Given that evidence, what explains the consistent and unrelenting concerns that individuals were doping horses to win races?

Indeed, a placebo effect of sorts was at work, except this one was not on the users of the drugs but the people administering them. While the substances themselves did not enhance performance, people believed that humans possessed the knowledge to create substances capable of controlling physical performances. Consequently, the new concern over doping in horse racing was part of a larger cultural turn towards science that had begun with the Scientific Revolution. The belief that humans increasingly could control their environment, including their horse's performance, meant that people were ready to believe that such practices worked. Although no empirical evidence supported such claims, the mindset of the horse racing community reflected the wider social belief that people could control performance through substances and injections.

This wider belief in the advances of medicine and doping reflects a complex web of shifting cultural, political and intellectual forces. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, American and British citizens began witnessing a sea change in modern medicine and pharmaceuticals. Advances in medical knowledge, the increasing use of experimental science, technological breakthroughs such as the hypodermic needle (introduced in the 1850s), and advances in pharmaceuticals (including the introduction of morphine and cocaine) all melded in the public mind to create a new-found trust and expectation that science-driven medicine could alter biological function.⁷⁹

Crane Brinton described this attitude as part of the 'developed cosmology' of the nineteenth century.⁸⁰ Coming on the heels of the overly confident optimism of the late eighteenth century that culminated in the French Revolution, Brinton notes the belief in material progress and scientific advancement continued where other aspects of the Enlightenment's intellectual experiment failed. Thus the attitude about progress put in motion in the eighteenth century became what Brinton describes as 'a state of mind that welcomed and expected material improvements, faster travel, bigger cities, better plumbing, and more abundant diet' – and a magical pharmacology.⁸¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, the public imagination accepted the idea that people increasingly could control the world.

The degree to which the public imagination increasingly accepted and reflected this view was illustrated in a novel gambit employed in New York City during the summer of 1903. The *New York Times* reported a new method of swindling involving men going into pharmacies and, in confidence, reporting that the next day they were going to 'dope' a certain well-known racehorse and were buying drugs precisely for that purpose. If that horse won, the men would pay another call, this time explaining they intended to dope a long shot with a big payoff. They invited the pharmacist to place a bet on the new horse and reap some of the reward. The newspaper reported that many pharmacists had fallen for this scam before one wisely called the police.⁸² The fact that pharmacists, who should have understood their own product's limited powers, could be duped into believing they modified a horse's performance indicates the general willingness to believe that such drugs worked. These con artists played on the powerful belief during this era that human progress had advanced enough that it was possible to dope a long shot into a winner.

What this scam illustrates is that beginning at the turn of the century, it was not that someone suddenly had discovered ways to manipulate a horse's performance. Rather, it was that people believed that such manipulation was possible. The popular belief in the promise of science and medicine proved fertile ground for the idea of doping to take root. The result was a cultural fascination and preoccupation with a practice that had little actually going for it at the time. However, the Western world view allowed people to believe that they could increasingly control their own world.

While the public imagination increasingly expected that drugs and medicine could help or hinder a horse's performance, other social factors influenced the sudden concerns over doping. In the midst of the new-found doping epidemic, both American and British society had grown

increasingly concerned about the use of drugs and alcohol in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As many historians have noted, for the first time citizens in both Great Britain and the United States began viewing the recreational use of drugs and alcohol as cause for moral concern.⁸³ This created an atmosphere best described as moral panic. Moral panic, as Stanley Cohen first described it, occurs when a 'condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests'.⁸⁴ In the United States, where the doping of horses first occurred, the pre-Civil War temperance movement had turned its attention to cocaine and heroin by the 1890s.⁸⁵ Additionally, Victorian Britain began viewing the recreational use of opium, cocaine and alcohol as cause for moral concern.⁸⁶ Fearing degenerative and social effects, both sides of the Atlantic viewed the use of these substances as immoral.

When we consider the horse racing community's efforts to demonize and remove doping practices, it is likely that these wider social concerns about alcohol, opium and cocaine influenced the general moral uneasiness with doping horses. Indeed, these same substances were often the main ingredients employed in the doping of horses. To be sure, the debates focused on doping related to cheating and gambling. But neither cheating nor fixing races for gambling purposes was new. Additionally, doping was not the only way to fix a race. Thus part of the concern over doping was likely tied to the emerging social views about the substances in general. Using these immoral substances, which only suspect persons would be associated with, for other nefarious purposes likely aided in the wider concern about doping. These larger social attitudes, widely covered in the press, likely shaped the public image of doping as something nefarious, no matter what its form.

Whether grounded in the false optimism promised by modern medicine or the moral panic over drug addiction, for those concerned with horse racing on both sides of the Atlantic, the larger social views towards drugs influenced their fears over its use in horse racing. The new-found perception that science permitted people to control physical performance certainly influenced some. Individuals now assumed that manipulating performances was as easy as pulling levers. While the nascent field of physiology sought to quantify such performances, the ordinary individual already assumed the power existed to modify them. Much like today's fascination with genetic modification, or gene doping, the fascination of the Victorian era with scientific and technological mastery convinced the horse racing community that individuals, through doping, could modify a horse's performance. They were willing to believe it was possible and thus responded as if it was already occurring. The lack

of empirical evidence never discouraged or reduced suspicions of doping. Indeed, it only deepened them, as people simply assumed that science permitted individuals to dope in secret.

At the same time, widespread fears over substances such as opium, cocaine, and alcohol – all substances used to dope horses – existed throughout Victorian society. Although driven by the desire to preserve gambling, the efforts to eradicate doping coincided with the general moral concern over these substances in society. These wider Victorian sensibilities may not have driven the concerns over doping to the degree that gambling did, but they influenced public perception and formed the larger context in historically relevant ways. Any discussion of the history of doping – whether it is in horse racing or human sport – should contextualize the events within these wider issues.

Conclusion

As Paul Dimeo notes, the modern assumption is that doping only took on the nature of a 'crisis' in the 1960s.⁸⁷ However, it is clear that doping, as well as the moral panic and crisis-like response the practice draws, existed prior to the 1960s. Although we might not readily connect the world of horse racing to modern elite sport, a connection exists. The issues that drove the early doping concerns in horse racing influenced similar concerns about doping in human sport. At the same time, our own modern assumptions about the moral issues of doping share an often unacknowledged disconnect with the first doping crises. If the value of historical scholarship is in part how it informs contemporary debates, we must acknowledge that today's concerns over enhancement, humanness and the spirit of sport are not the same concerns that drove the earliest efforts to ban doping. It is tempting to assume continuity exists when it does not.

At the same time, a certain degree of continuity is apparent. The horse racing world's concerns regarding doping focused primarily on ensuring the equality of the conditions of competition and not any idealized notion of horse racing. There were no calls for horse racing to be about natural and not artificial talent or fears that doping provided a short cut to racing greatness. Rather, the primary concern was simply ensuring fair and transparent competition that enabled betting. Uncritically reading into turn-of-the-century horse racing today's anti-doping discourse distorts the issues that occupied the debates of the day. Although superficially similar to what contemporary anti-doping advocates currently preach, the driving concerns behind this movement were not based on any idealized

notion of sport serving a higher purpose or assumptions about sport showcasing natural talent; these arguments would enter the doping debate later. Indeed, the concerns regarding doping in this period were not, as one author had explained, for ensuring the quality of racing, but for maintaining the betting operations which supported the sport.⁸⁸

Such conclusions fundamentally alter the traditional doping narrative in academic literature. In John Hoberman's seminal work *Mortal Engines*, he answers his question 'What is Doping?' with the conclusion that

The concept of 'doping' includes two basic themes. In colloquial usage, 'doping' refers to the boosting of human performance by artificial means. In recent years, that has meant drugs in general and anabolic steroids in particular. The second, more complicated aspect of 'doping' aimed at improving human performance is the presumption that it represents an illegitimate strategy. While all sports federations, including the International Olympic Committee, and virtually all sports journalists denounce doping as scandalous, many elite athletes do not regard doping as illegitimate.⁸⁹

Hoberman illustrates two misconceptions about the nature of doping: that its colloquial usage implied 'boosting' performance, and that its rejection is without any justification. In fact, at its outset, doping did not have the colloquial usage of *just* boosting performance. A doped horse was one that was as likely to perform *worse* as it was to perform better. Thus Hoberman is at least partially wrong when he claims that 'the doping of racehorses throughout the twentieth century is only one of many parallel developments that link human and equine athletes', as the doping of racehorses had to do both with fixing of bets as well as the human fixation with boosting performance.⁹⁰ Modifying horses' performances – whether to stimulate or diminish – captured the public imagination. Only later did doping become a practice colloquially understood to be used to boost performance.

Second, that horse racing organizations banned the practice of doping horses appears, at least partially, legitimate. The methods trainers and jockeys used to modify a horse's performance appear cruel by any standards, and people of the time recognized such cruelty. Additionally, although the substances may not have worked, the majority appeared to believe they did. This meant that patrons of horse racing had to respond to what they believed was a corrupting practice. In that way, the need to create the appearance of fair competition in turn-of-the-century horse racing emerged from the need to preserve the integrity of the gambling environment that surrounded horse racing.⁹¹ This at least provides a kind

of logic behind the decision to ban doping in horse racing. Unlike in human contests where assumptions held that all human athletes were performing their best, trainers were modifying horses to suit their betting whims: only a few strange examples of this occurred in human sport.⁹²

Nonetheless, the rejection of doping in horse racing likely influenced negative public perceptions of other doping practices, if only through 'guilt by association'. By using the same word to describe both the practice of modifying horses in order to fix races and the practice of improving elite athlete's performances, those discussing doping imported negative attitudes without being fully aware that they were doing so. The moral condemnation of doping that had emerged from the horse racing world's concerns over cheating and gambling allowed people to more easily condemn the practice in human sport, even if the reasons were not the same. Quickly, doping in human sport became a practice for cheats and unscrupulous touts. The public, so familiar with the negative discourse created by horse racing, accepted this narrative with little debate. Combined with other shifting cultural attitudes about drugs in the early twentieth century, the idea of permitting doping in human sport never really had a chance.

Today, the focus on doping and the rise of anti-doping ideology mainly as a response to drug use in human sport has obscured the intellectual currents that provided the foundation for the rise of a modern anti-doping philosophy. That focus has also underestimated the power of influences outside sport in shaping modern sport's discourses. Such approaches have also neglected the fundamental concerns that brought about initial anti-doping efforts, efforts that influenced larger cultural views towards doping. Indeed, throughout the horse racing world of the early twentieth century, many decried doping – and doping scandals – in terms often repeated today. Articles often referred to dope in terms such as 'evil of the turf' and labelled those who doped as 'unscrupulous touts'.⁹³ Such language could just as easily emerge from a WADA or IOC president. Like today's rhetoric surrounding doping, accusations often emerged based on nationalistic lines or when an athlete suspiciously performed better than expected. Calls for increased testing and surveillance often followed high-profile scandals as a means to 'clean up' the sport. Even the idea that lifetime bans could discourage the practice of doping emerged in the first doping debate.

Given the familiarity with such anti-doping comments, the temptation exists to lump initial anti-doping discourses together with contemporary ones. However, the past debate only provides a fossilized imprint showing what today's debate evolved from. Yet today's discourse still shows the

evolutionary residue of the horse doping concerns. For example, the causal argument that doping should be banned because it is unfair remains prominently placed like an ornamental horn – still eye-catching but of little practical use. Nonetheless, the historical record of the doping discourse's development reveals, like evolution itself, the environmental pressures and stresses to which the subject adapted. Indeed, as modern society increasingly attempted to understand the changing promise of technology and the larger role of drugs in society, sport reflected these views in its doping discourse. Thus, the discourse about doping reflects a public imagination not only coming to terms with its own changing world but also wrestling with the idea of its mastery over it.

Notes

1. The term doping is often used interchangeably with terms such as performance substances and performance-enhancing drugs. While each of these terms carries slightly different connotations, I have chosen to use the term doping first because that was the term used during this period of history and second because, as I will argue in this article, doping was not always performance-enhancing.
2. Beginning in 2003, Bonds became a key figure in the investigation of the Bay Area Laboratory Co-operative (BALCO) scandal. Following the indictment of Greg Anderson, Bonds's trainer, many have speculated that Bonds had used performance-enhancing drugs during a time when there was no mandatory testing in Major League Baseball. Bonds declared his innocence, attributing his changed physique and increased power to a strict regimen of body-building, diet and legitimate supplements.
3. *Operación Puerto* refers to a doping scandal involving professional cyclists. The term was used by Spanish police in an operation against the doping network of Doctor Eufemiano Fuentes, which started in May 2006. The police action resulted in a doping scandal that involved several of the world most famous cyclists at the time, including Tour de France winner Jan Ulrich and Giro d'Italia winner Ivan Basso.
4. Historians have produced a wealth of studies chronicling the spread of doping and performance enhancement in modern sport: Verner Møller, *Dopingdjevlen - analyse af en hed debat [The Doping Devil]* (Copenhagen, Denmark: Gyldendal, 2008); John Hoberman, 'History and Prevalence of Doping in the Marathon', *Sports Medicine* 37, nos. 4–5 (2007); John Hoberman, 'Amphetamine and the Four-Minute Mile', *Sport in History* 26, no. 2 (2006); John Hoberman, *Testosterone Dreams: Rejuvenation, Aphrodisia, Doping* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); Paul Dimeo, *A History of Drug Use in Sport 1876–1976: Beyond Good and Evil* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Daniel Rosen, *Dope: A History of Performance Enhancement in Sports from the Nineteenth Century to Today* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008).

4. Evidence on this cultural practice remains controversial, as it is unclear how the Greeks understood this aspect of sport performance. Nonetheless, there is evidence that they sought to improve performance in such ways. See John Hoberman, *Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).
5. See Dimeo, *A History of Drug Use in Sport*.
6. See International Amateur Athletic Federation, Minutes of the Ninth Congress of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, August 6, 1928, Pg 39, International Amateur Athletic Federation, 17 rue Princesse Florestine BP 359 MC98007 Monaco.
7. "Dope" Evil of the Turf', *New York Times*, 19 October 1903, 8.
8. I emphasize discourse here because scholars have certainly examined the history of athletes using doping but few have examined how sporting communities debated the issue. Thus this text examines the intellectual discourse of doping rather than the practice itself.
9. Wray Vamplew, 'Playing with the Rules: Influences on the Development of Regulation in Sport', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 7 (2007); Mike Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society, 1790–1914: A Social and Economic History* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000); Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820–70* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990).
10. Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1989), 22.
11. For a discussion on the change from traditional to modern sport and the characteristics of modern sport, see Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports*, updated with a new afterword (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).
12. Hoberman, *Mortal Engines*.
13. 'Dope, N³', in *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
14. Indeed, the vast majority of times doping was used in connection to horse racing and sport and not the general drugging of people: 'Dope, V¹', in *Oxford English Dictionary*.
15. 'The Field of Sport', *The Oregonian*, 18 October 1890, 2.
16. 'How Horses Are "Doped"', *Los Angeles Times*, 5 January 1896, 25.
17. The rule reads as follows: 'Any person who shall be proved to have stimulated the speed of a horse by the use of drugs, whether administered by hypodermic or any other method, or who shall have used appliances, electrical or mechanical, other than the ordinary whip and spur, shall be ruled off: "Doping" to Be Stopped', *Michigan Farmer*, 6 February 1897, 100.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Vamplew, 'Playing with the Rules', 857.
20. *Ibid.*, 855.
21. For more on this development, see chapter 2 of Guttman, *From Ritual to Record*.
22. For more on the American invasion in horse racing, see Vamplew, Wray. (1976). *The turf: a social and economic history of horse racing*. London, Allen Lane.

23. Lambton writes in his book *Men and Horses I Have Known* that 'there is no doubt that the Americans started the practice of doping. . . . They had seen too much of the mischief it caused in their own country, but, when they came over, there was no law against doping and those people who, like Wishard, made a study of it were perfectly within their rights'. George Lambton, *Men and Horses I Have Known* (London: T. Butterworth Ltd., 1924), 253.
24. *Ibid.*, 252.
25. 'Turfinen Still Agitated', *New York Times*, 29 October 1900, 5.
26. *Ibid.*
27. 'Lester Reiff's Record', *New York Times*, 25 November 1900, 21.
28. 'American Jockey's Field Day', *New York Times*, 12 October 1900, 8.
29. 'Turfinen Still Agitated'.
30. 'About "Doped" Horses', *New York Times*, 30 October 1900, 9.
31. Pulling one's horse is an accusation of not racing to win: 'Lester Reiff Ruled Off Turf', *Chicago Tribune*, 2 October 1901, 6.
32. 'To Weed out Americans', *Chicago Tribune*, 5 November 1900, 8.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Other occasions indicate the unwillingness or lack of first-hand knowledge surrounding doping. An in-depth examination of doping in 1896 by a *Los Angeles Times* reporter explained that, when asked anonymously about doping, 'each one blames the practice on the others. I only found one man who admitted that he did. The others tracks "over the hills and far away" where the practice prevailed'. This indicates either that doping was not practised as much as people suspected or that few were willing to own up to their own actions: 'How Horses Are "Doped"'.
 35. 'The "Doping" of Racehorses', *The Times* (London), 20 November 1900, 7.
 36. 'Notes, The Outlook, Volume 6, Issue 157 1900, 518.
 37. 'Offer No Evidence of "Doping"', *Chicago Tribune*, 20 November 1900, 9.
 38. 'Tom Collins Defeated at Newport; No "Doping" on Austria Tracks', *Chicago Tribune*, 27 November 1900, 4.
 39. Rapiet, 'Notes', *The Badminton Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, Volume 11, Issue 65 1900, 698.
 40. 'Dope, V', in *Oxford English Dictionary*.
 41. "'Dope" an American Term', *New York Times*, 7 April 1901, 19.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. Matthew Llewellyn, *Rule Britannia: Nationalism, Identity and the Modern Olympic Games* (London: Routledge, 2012).
 45. 'Articulate a Colt of Class', *Chicago Daily*, 13 January 1901, 17.
 46. 'The English Turf Scandal', *Taranaki Herald*, 23 August 1889, 3.
 47. 'Condensed Cablegrams', *Manawatu Herald*, 21 June 1889, 2.
 48. 'The English Turf Scandal', 3.
 49. 'Jumpers Are Ruled Out', *Chicago Tribune*, 23 January 1901, 6.
 50. 'Dope, N', in *Oxford English Dictionary*.
 51. 'Wise Money on Winners', *Chicago Tribune*, 21 August 1901, 7.
 52. 'Dope, N', in *Oxford English Dictionary*.
 53. 'Abolish the "Dope Sheets"', *New York Times*, 16 May 1904.
 54. Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society*.
 55. Hugh S. Fullerton, 'The World's Series According to "Dope"', *New York Times*, 26 September 1915, S3.
 56. 'Both Fighters Stop Sparring', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 November 1901, 6.
 57. 'Hard to "Dope" Fighters', *The National Police Gazette*, 27 January 1906, 1485.
 58. Fullerton, 'The World's Series According to "Dope"'.
 59. Hugh Fullerton, 'Fullerton Says Doping Majors This Season Is Hard Task', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 30 March 1919, A1.
 60. Wray Vamplew, *The Turf: A Social and Economic History of Horse Racing* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), 49–61; Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society*.
 61. 'Turf Officials Show Activity', *Chicago Tribune*, 15 September 1902, 6.
 62. 'Change in the Racing Rules', *Chicago Tribune*, 29 November 1902, 6 [emphasis added].
 63. 'Methods of Horse Swindlers', *Colman's Rural World*, 17 December 1902, 5.
 64. In hindsight, it is unclear how such 'tips' actually helped bettors. Few, if any, would ever see the horses close enough to 'examine their eyes' or to view a horse exercising before the race. These clues to a doped horse appear to be, like other things in this era, more myth and hearsay designed to ward off fears of being duped or to inspire confidence in betting on doped horses rather than on any real science of doping. But this is a point to be returned to later: 'Use of "Dope" Grow on Turf', *The Times of Washington*, 22 September 1902, 5.
 65. 'Reopening of Selling War', *Chicago Tribune*, 1 April 1903, 6.
 66. "'Doped" Race Horse Died: Dr. Riddle, Figure in Morris Park Scandal', *New York Times*, 16 May 1903, 7.
 67. 'Bondage Suffers from Dope', *Chicago Tribune*, 30 July 1903, 7.
 68. "'Dope" Evil of the Turf', *New York Times*, 19 October 1903, 8.
 69. The veterinarian concluded that no evidence of doping could be found. 'Six Favorites Beaten', *New York Times*, 4 November 1903, 11.
 70. 'The Gimcrack Club', *The Times*, 5 December 1903, 8.
 71. 'French Club after "Dopers"', *Chicago Tribune*, 16 September 1912, 14.
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A Diversion from the New Leisure: Greyhound Racing, Working-Class Culture, and the Politics of Unemployment in Inter-war South Wales

Daryl Leeworthy

This article examines the development of greyhound racing in inter-war South Wales and its relationship to the prevailing economic conditions of the coalfield, regional political culture and popular aspiration. Making use of recently recovered archival sources, company records and newspapers, it builds upon existing historical work and argues that greyhound racing gained popularity not only for its commercial novelty and the release it provided from day-to-day hardship but also because it created new jobs and brought new investment vital to economic recovery.

Introduction

On Boxing Day 1931, a greyhound racing circuit opened at the Ynys Stadium in Aberdare. Situated in the town that nearly a century before had promoted itself as the Athens of Wales, its construction and very existence had been a matter of controversy among local religious leaders.¹ The first notice of the track was published in the town's local newspaper, the *Aberdare Leader*, in late October.² A small group of local tradesmen, including a grocer and a furniture salesman, had taken out a lease from

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