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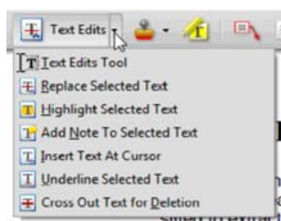

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Sport, Drugs and Amateurism: Tracing the Real Cultural Origins of Anti-Doping Rules in International Sport

John Gleaves* and Matthew Llewellyn

Department of Kinesiology, California State University, Fullerton, 800 N. State College Blvd., Fullerton, CA 92831, USA

The historiography of doping has focused primarily on anti-doping efforts that followed in the wake of Knud Enemark Jensen's death in 1960 and culminated in the first Olympic anti-doping tests in 1968. Such focus has often led to the mistaken claim that prior to 1960, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) had not banned doping, and, more importantly, ignores the cultural origins of anti-doping that took hold prior to the Second World War and which shaped the IOC's response to doping following Jensen's demise. By tracing early doping practices through turn-of-the-century horse racing and its concerns over gambling and the interwar efforts to ban doping in Olympic sports through the amateurism code, the authors examine the influences behind the IOC's decision to first ban doping in 1938. More importantly, it roots the post-Jensen anti-doping rhetoric and legislation in the early twentieth-century push to defend amateurism against the perceived nefarious forces of gambling, commercialism, professionalism and totalitarianism that were supposedly overrunning amateur sport in the 1930s.

Keywords: doping; amateurism; Olympic Games; Knud Enemark Jensen; anti-doping rules

Introduction

In the late summer of 1960, the world's athletes gathered for the Rome Olympic Games. Few anticipated that these Games would forever change international sport. The unseasonably warm weather challenged many athletes as the mercury regularly passed 30°C. In the men's cycling 100 km team time trial, the oppressive heat proved too much for the four-man Danish cycling team. After one lap of Rome's Via Cristoforo Colombo, Jørgen Jørgensen, dropped out due to sunstroke. Needing three riders to finish in order for their time to count, Niels Baunsøe, Vagn Bangsborg and Kund Enemark Jensen persevered. When shortly thereafter Jensen complained of dizziness, Baunsøe and Bangsborg took hold of the cyclist, both pushing and supporting their fading teammate. Tragedy soon struck when Jensen collapsed to the ground and fractured his skull. Being unconscious, an ambulance transported Jensen to an overheated military tent, where he soon passed away.[1]

Jensen's death – the first ever in an Olympic Games – reverberated around the world. With much of the sporting press in Rome to cover the Games, media outlets quickly seized upon the tragedy. The story would take an unexpected twist when Oluf Jorgensen, the

*Corresponding author. Email: jgleaves@exchange.fullerton.edu

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Danish cycling team's trainer, admitted to providing Jensen and his teammates with Roniacol, a drug used to reduce blood pressure. Although the autopsy listed heatstroke as the official cause of death, no doubt exacerbated by his head trauma, media reports somewhat dubiously linked Jensen's demise to doping.[2] The International Olympic Committee (IOC) took Jensen's death as a call to action and implemented an organised effort to prevent doping which the IOC maintained until it helped establish and fund the independent World Anti-Doping Agency in 1999.[3]

Placing this unbroken line with Jensen provides historians with a neat starting point to examine anti-doping efforts in sport. Indeed, much of the doping literature focuses on the period following Jensen's demise as the point where sporting organisations started taking the issue of doping seriously. Historian Thomas Hunt uses Jensen's death in 1960 as his starting point in *Drug Games: The International Olympic Committee and the Politics of Doping, 1960–2008*.[4] The doping scholar Ivan Waddington dates 'the introduction of anti-doping regulations' to the 1960s.[5] To a certain extent, evidence supports such focus. In the years following Jensen's death, the IOC established a medical commission to examine doping (1962), implemented drug testing (1968) and suspended its first athlete, the Swedish pentathlete Hans-Gunnar Liljenwall, for doping violations (1968).[6] Thus it is undeniable that much of today's legislative and bureaucratic anti-doping efforts point back to Jensen and the increased concern about doping in the years after his death. But much of the prevailing historiography ignores earlier anti-doping efforts. Others have gone one step further, erroneously asserting that prior to Jensen's drug-related death no anti-doping rules existed at the Olympic Games. The doping scholar Verner Møller writes that when Jensen and his teammates used Roniacol, 'doping was not illegal at the time'.[7] Historian Paul Dimeo even goes so far as to conclude that as late as 1964, within the Olympic Games 'no rules had yet been established against doping'.[8]

The general historical emphasis on post-Jensen anti-doping is shortsighted, as bureaucratic efforts to stamp out the practice existed for six decades prior to the Dane's demise – the IOC executive committee prohibited doping as early as 1938 and even introduced the ban as part of Rule 26 in their next published charter in 1944 where it stayed until well into the 1970s.[9] The IOC was not alone in establishing early anti-doping legislation: The International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) prohibited doping in 1928.[10] While in the sport where doping first occurred, horse racing, efforts to eliminate the practice date to the nineteenth century.[11] Such a myopic focus also largely ignores the intellectual framework that governed the IOC's nascent efforts to combat doping in sport.[12] Rather than viewing anti-doping initiatives as a coordinated medical response to the tragic death of an Olympic cyclist in 1960, an alternative history reveals that bureaucratic concerns about doping not only predated the Second World War but were also framed by the IOC almost exclusively within the context of amateurism. As the IOC's regulatory framework governing conduct and eligibility, amateurism required athletes uphold certain moral standards. The Olympic amateur played the game for the game's sake, disavowed gambling and professionalism, and competed in a composed dignified manner fitting of a 'gentleman'.[13] Anti-doping rhetoric, and later legislation, first emerged as part of the early twentieth-century push to defend amateurism against the perceived nefarious forces of gambling, commercialism, professionalism and totalitarianism that were supposedly overrunning amateur sport.

These previously ignored anti-doping efforts as well as the intellectual framework that inspired them matter because they shaped the IOC's response to doping in the years after Jensen's drug-related death. In fact, these early anti-doping attitudes continue to subtly shape the contemporary anti-doping discourse that governs sport today. Tracing the real

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cultural origins of anti-doping through horse racing's early discourses and later the IOC's decision that doping violates the amateur sporting ethos reveals how the twin pillars of anti-doping – that the practice is unhealthy and unsporting – took hold as popular tropes now common to contemporary sporting culture.

The Origins of Doping

Doping is fundamentally a product of post-enlightenment modern sport.[14] That is not to say that ancient Greek athletes or medieval jousters never ingested substances hoping to gain an edge – surely some charlatan could be found hawking magic potions or promoting a new ingredient outside of the stadium in Olympia. Doping, however, was a product of the Scientific Revolution. As historian Allen Guttmann has pointed out, the post-Enlightenment application of scientific principles to sport marked a Copernican revolution from traditional to modern sport. As traditional sport gave way to modern practices of rational recreation in the mid-nineteenth century, athletes began rationalising their sporting performances. They used scientific methods to improve their training and incorporated modern technological advances to assist them in their sporting endeavours. Along with quantifying and recording athletic records, by the mid-nineteenth century athletes sought to apply scientific standards to training and competing.[15] Horses now ran intervals to stop watches and boxers studied anatomy to expose their opponents' weaknesses.[16]

This rationalised approach naturally led people to explore the burgeoning fields of physiology, medicine and pharmacology – which after all captured the age's *zeitgeist* – for substances that could alter physical performances. Trade with Asia, Africa and South America had introduced a number of stimulants to Western Civilisation including the kola nut, opium and cocaine.[17] By 1889, the use of drugs to alter performance had become known by the verb form 'doping', taken from an earlier noun which meant 'a stupid person'.[18] The sport of kings, horse racing, had long proven itself an early adopter of modern sporting principles.[19] Thus it is no surprise that it would be the first to embrace pharmacological substances to alter horses' performances and it is also from this sport that the word 'doping' was first used to refer to a substance intended to *modify* athletic performance.[20] As Gleaves has argued elsewhere, it is important to emphasise 'modify' when discussing horse racing – and in fact most early accounts of doping – because unlike current connotations of doping, at least through the 1930s doping practices often intended to *harm* athletic performances.[21] In horse racing, trainers would often dope a horse to make it run slower in order to profit from betting on fixed races.[22] Similarly, human athletes would occasionally accuse a trainer of doping them if they performed unexpectedly poor. In either case, doping was usually done to assist shady gambling practices.[23]

For this reason, early opponents of doping emerged from the horse racing ranks and rejected doping not out of any high-minded ideal about the spirit of sport but out of the practical need to ensure fair betting at the tracks.[24] As early as 1903, tracks and horse racing organisations created the first rules banning doping in any sport.[25] The rhetoric, which flooded popular newspapers around the start of the twentieth century, spoke harshly of those responsible for doping horses because it allowed them to swindle other members of the gambling community.[26] The major issue was not drugs so much as the fixing of matches. Press accounts and reactions from those within the horse racing community labelled doping the 'greatest threat to the sport' and such rhetoric continued well into the 1930s.[27]

In human events, the use of stimulants occurred simultaneous to their adoption in horse racing, although they were not met with the same immediate disapproval.[28] Endurance

athletes competing in long-distance pedestrian and cycling races at the turn of the twentieth century sought substances to ward off fatigue, experimenting with readily available elixirs including coffee and tobacco.[29] By the start of the twentieth century, common stimulants included alcohol, cocaine, caffeine, opium, strychnine and digitalis.[30] While not all of these substances actually had the effects intended by the athletes – in many instances, the substances likely harmed performance – the post-enlightenment desire to rationalise and enhance human performance drove interest in the burgeoning pharmacological arts.[31]

Curiously, doping was not met with the same degree of moral disapproval in human sports as it was in horse racing, most likely because as John Hoberman points out, 'this early doping was not regarded as an illicit practice; it was rather seen as an antidote to the extreme fatigue experienced by the elite athletes of that era.'[32] Nonetheless, objections to doping with stimulants still emerged. In an 1899 article titled 'The Greatest Athlete That Ever Lived', the author praised 'the foremost of American athletes' and 'a model amateur', William B. Curtis, for abstaining from stimulants and maintaining a pure lifestyle of an amateur athlete.[33] At the collegiate level, both the Harvard and Yale crew teams made a similar point in 1900 by forbidding their athletes from using stimulants during the season.[34] In a 1901 article in *Women's Physical Development*, author J.C. Burns described how 'gymnastics and athletic exercises have lately become generally recognized as being far superior to the "drug treatments" so long in vogue.'[35] Setting healthy sport against 'doping the patient' exemplifies the general belief that 'drugs' and 'healthy living' inherently conflicted with one another. In 1905, the Christian newspaper *Herald of Gospel Liberty* pointed to the use of strychnine in American football as evidence of the sport's immoral influences.[36]

Despite such objections, many voices at the start of the twentieth century expressed few moral qualms about using stimulants.[37] An 1895 article in the *New York Times* acknowledged that professional athletes could use such drugs 'in order to help them prepare for their work', but that no 'true athletes' (a veiled synonym for amateur athletes) would use 'any such injurious and adventitious aids'.[38] While such sentiment would later influence the IOC's decision to prohibit doping, not every amateur athlete shared the *New York Times*' opinion. Indeed, the Cambridge University graduate and amateur tennis champion Eustace White boasted in 1901 that 'alcohol does have certain advantages for modern athletic conditions'. White believed that when a player felt tired near the end of a tennis match and needed 10 more minutes of good play, 'he takes a glass of brandy; he keeps up for ten minutes longer; he wins'.[39] A person considered at that time to be a model amateur athlete, White's attitude towards stimulants indicated that he did not see any conflict with the values of amateur sport. Moreover, White reveals other amateur athletes used alcohol for training purposes. To ward off 'staleness', White explains, the Cambridge crew team would take a glass of port following training and a beer at midday.[40] *The Times* dates the use of alcohol for training back to an 1860 resolution from the Oxford rowing team stating that it would pay for the champagne it deemed necessary for the athletes' training.[41]

Nonetheless, turn-of-the-century professional sport proved much more accepting of drugs. In part, the *de facto* class-divide separating working-class professionals and gentleman amateurs allowed professional athletes the freedom to use stimulants free from amateur sport's 'moralising' influence. Professional sports such as boxing, pedestrianism and cycling openly permitted athletes to use stimulants as needed from the 1890s to the 1910s.[42] The old problem of doping athletes to lose still remained an issue. Professional cycling trainer James 'Choppy' Warburton allegedly used substances to prevent one of his

athletes from winning a race, although many professional cyclists switched to his care in order to use his legendary elixirs. By 1903, the public's expectation that professional athletes put on a good show increased to the point that in one case, a reporter openly lamented the lack of doping when fatigue slowed the riders at a 6-day cycling race at New York City's Madison Square Garden. The journalist complained that 'some of them seemed sadly in need of stimulants.'[43] A 1904 article discussed the value of 'a good second' – the person who works in the prizefighter's corner – during a prizefight since they knew how to 'dope the boxers with stimulants'.[44]

The grinding nature of professional sports such as cycling and prize fighting where pay was moderate and performance-based meant newspaper reports portrayed stimulants as a tool to assist professional athletes in doing their job.[45] The general sentiment towards stimulants – as opposed to the doping used to fix horse races – did not see doping as unfair or cheating but simply contrary to the gentlemanly amateur code that governed middle- and upper-class sport. When undertaken by members of the working classes, the act of doping to assist in physical labour fits within the acceptable social behaviours. From the vantage of their 'social betters', the professional need to use stimulants to support their arduous labours reaffirmed the assumed class striations along the manual labour divide. For the 'lower classes', sport was not a means of leisure but a means for economic profit and entertainment. Using sport for such purposes precluded these individuals from realising the middle- and upper-classes notions about sport's moral purpose. Indeed, the tacit tolerance of doping in professional sport permitted upper class social groups to delegitimise the professional athletic performances among those from less powerful social status.

Such tensions were clearly displayed at the Olympic Games. Baron Pierre de Coubertin's vision of the Olympic Games and his tacit embrace of amateurism often put him at odds with the ideology's true advocates, especially on the issue of stimulants. As historian John Hoberman explains:

> De Coubertin's creation of the modern Olympics thus coincided with the early phase of sports medicine that included informal testing of less toxic substances such as milk, tea, and alcoholic beverages. While it is conceivable that de Coubertin could have read about such experimentation in the 1894 volume of the *Archives de physiologie normale et pathologique,* there is no evidence that he did. De Coubertin did, however, anticipate the consequences of the Olympic motto *citius, altius, forties* ("faster, higher, stronger"), and he did so without the trepidation of today's anti-doping activists. De Coubertin knew that the modern sport for which he had created an international stage possessed an element of what he called "excess". "We know", he said in 1901, "that [sport] tends inevitably toward excess, and that this is its essence, its indelible mark."[46]

Coubertin's fascination with excess and his comfort with professional sport were clearly displayed in endurance sports such as the cycling races and, his personal initiative, the Olympic marathon. Many viewed the marathon as not really an amateur sport; entrants in the marathon often emerged from the working classes with hopes of parlaying their Olympic fame into lucrative professional contracts. Given this background, it is no surprise that in both 1904 St Louis and the 1908 London Olympic marathons, the use of doping featured prominently. In 1904, the American runner Thomas Hicks, on his way to winning Olympic gold, used a combination of strychnine, egg whites and brandy without anyone objecting to his doping.[47] Four years later while leading the 1908 Olympic marathon, the Italian marathoner, Dorando Pietri, stumbled and struggled towards the finish line. Newspaper reports document how, in order to assist the brave runner, doctors administered stimulants three times.[48] Adding to that, one of the track officials who assisted Pietri, Maxwell Andrews, reported that a Dr Daniel Bulger had witnessed Pietri

take ‘a dope of strychnine and atropia’ during the race.[49] Interestingly, the Italian was later disqualified from the marathon not as a result of his use of dope, but rather because of the unfair assistance offered by British officials when carrying his flagging body across the finishline. Despite his disqualification and open use of stimulants, Queen Alexandria of Great Britain presented the Italian with a special silver cup for his display of bravery and perseverance. Even Baron Pierre de Coubertin, labelled Pietri the ‘moral winner of the competition’, an odd statement when viewed against contemporary attitudes towards doping.[50]

Most likely, Hicks’ and Pietri’s use of stimulants in the marathon raised little concern for those seeking to preserve amateur sport since the anti-doping advocates realised that these athletes never qualified as true ‘gentleman amateurs’ and fell outside the moral code of amateur sport. Moreover, given the strenuous and time-consuming nature of the marathon, the event itself always carried professional overtones for the amateur ideologues. While prior to their Olympic races neither Hicks nor Pietri had competed for pay or raced against professionals, most people understood that these types of athletes intended to turn pro if the opportunity arose and that the values of amateurism never truly applied to the two runners.[51] In the case of Pietri, the Italian later made the switch from the amateur to the professional ranks and allegedly continued his use of stimulants throughout his successful pedestrian career.[52]

These athletes illustrate how working-class professionals (or amateurs viewed as soon-to-be professionals from the working classes) did not see sport in the same moralised manner as middle-class amateurs. This disagreement between the two classes at times caused frustration. Often one such place was cycling’s pre-eminent race, the Tour de France, where the desires of the middle-class managers and boosters to promote a socially acceptable spectacle butted up against the habits of working-class professionals. In one incident, where professional cyclists Henri Pelissier, Francis Pelissier and Maurice Ville abandoned the Tour de France in protest of the conditions in the 1924 race, they sat down at a café with journalist Albert Londres, from the French newspaper *Le Petit Parisien.* Londres recorded their conversation:

> ‘We suffer on the road. But do you want to see how we keep going? Wait ... ’
>
> From his bag he takes a phial. ‘That, that’s cocaine for our eyes and chloroform for our gums ... ’
>
> ‘Here’, said Ville, tipping out the contents of his bag, ‘horse liniment to keep my knees warm. And pills? You want to see the pills?’ They got out three boxes apiece.
>
> ‘In short’, said Francis, ‘we run on dynamite’.[53]

The working-class connotation of Londres’ ‘laborers of the road’ epitomises the widely accepted doping culture amongst professional cyclists in France. Historian Christopher Thompson explains that working-class behaviour, such as doping, often led to tensions with Henri Desgrange, the creator of the Tour de France, who expected cyclists to behave in more socially acceptable ways. Yet evidence exists that with professional cyclists, their working-class behaviour often endeared them to their fans, much to the frustration of upper management.[54]

By the 1920s, general social views towards drugs shifted. In Great Britain, the patrician classes increasingly articulated that the working classes should not be permitted to use drugs since they lacked the moral fortitude to stave off addiction – ironically, the upper classes sanctimoniously engaged in frequent drug use on the grounds that they were ‘morally superior’.[55] In sport, however, the converse was true. The public widely permitted the use of doping – the same substances the working classes could not use for

recreational enjoyment – in professional sports in much the same way that they tolerated gambling and violence. For those concerned with defining middle-class leisure through amateurism, the behaviour of the working classes for whom honour and chivalry were absent from their sporting code only served to reinforce their belief that their place in the social order was well deserved. Thus when members of the IOC chose to address the doping issue, a number of professional and amateur issues shaped their subsequent decisions.

Objections to Doping Take Root

In the aftermath of the Great War, the growing prevalence of doping in competitive sport aroused considerable concern amongst amateur sporting officials. The IOC spearheaded the bureaucratic fight against doping, framing their opposition within the context of amateurism. The inter-war transformation of the Olympic Games into a highly politicised, nationalistic, global sporting festival heightened the regularity of amateur violations. The expanding global and commercial dimensions of the Olympics presented amateur athletes with increased opportunities to parlay their sporting talents into economic reward. Under-the-table 'black money', padded-expense accounts, extended training camps and broken-time payments – monetary compensation to help defray for time away from the workplace – became a common trend within amateur sporting circles. Fearing the transformation of the Olympic Games into a 'shamateur' event, an emboldened IOC, in conjunction with its affiliated international and national sports federations, was determined to get tough. Idealism had to be governed and enforced. Athletes who transgressed Olympic amateur rules were to be punished.[56]

At the same time, many of the IOC's amateur policies coalesced to support the view that doping contradicted the amateur sporting ethos. For example, despite early efforts to eradicate drug use in horse racing to preserve fair gambling environments, doping – and the concerns about fixed races – persisted throughout the 1920s. Newspapers frequently reported doping scandals at unscrupulous tracks. The continued association with gambling placed doping practices directly at odds with the IOC's long-held amateur ethos that forbade gambling as well as the old patrician way of practicing sport rejected by the new amateur.[57] In fact, the nascent IOC determined at its Olympic Congress in 1894, held in Paris, that betting on sport, in any sense, was incompatible with their understanding of amateurism.[58] Furthermore, the muscular Christianity and the temperance movements increased their influence on amateur sport in the USA and Great Britain. This influence meant that by the late 1920s, certain factions within the IOC would scarcely entertain the earlier behaviour of runners such as Hicks or Pietri or cyclists imbibing 'stimulants' of brandy or whisky along the race route. The now widely known doping practices of professional cyclists, footballers and pugilists by the start of the 1920s left few doubting where doping fell on the professional/amateur divide. So in the midst of fighting back against those tarnishing the spirit of amateurism, the sporting world took aim at doping.[59]

Against this backdrop of gambling, drinking and professionalism, international sporting bureaucracies began crafting anti-doping legislation beginning in 1928 with the IAAF – an organisation founded and led by Sigfrid Edström, a devout amateur apostle and high-ranking Olympic official. During its 9th Congress held in Amsterdam on July 27 and continuing through August 6–7, 1928, the IAAF crafted a new round of stringent amateur policies designed to stem the tide of semi-professionalism flooding amateur sport. Mr Jean Genet of France captured the anti-professional sentiment of the Congress in his report on appearance fees:

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> Before the coming menace, before the bad examples … given in other sports, before the vexations concessions, in my opinion, made by the IOC with reference to the "deficit not earned", we have the duty of carefully studying the situation, of making the texts stricter if necessary, and of completing them by very clearly worded formulas that will make it clear to all our adherents that we are Amateurs [sic] in the full sense of the word, and that we intend to remain Amateurs [sic].[60]

Aside from prohibiting broken-time payments and appearance fees – emerging trends in amateur track and field throughout Europe and North America – the IAAF chose to make their 'texts stricter' by passing rules banning doping. The IAAF executive council, having studied the question of doping at sessions held during the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam, proposed to the Congress on August 6 'that a rule should be made prohibiting the use of drugs or stimulants in athletic competitions'.[61] With a unanimous vote, the Congress's 74 delegates representing 28 countries agreed 'that such a rule should be introduced, whereupon a lively discussion ensured as to the text to be adopted in this respect', with various propositions and amendments handed to the executive council to be transferred into definite text. The next day, the Council proposed the following text to its Congress:

> Doping is the use of any stimulant not normally employed to increase the power of action in athletic competition above the average. Any person knowingly acting or assisting as explained above shall be excluded from any place where these rules are in force or, if he is a competitor, be suspended for a time or otherwise, from participation in amateur athletics under the jurisdiction of this Federation.[62]

Despite the IAAF's trail-blazing anti-doping efforts, its formative definition of what actually constituted doping proved as malleable and troublesome as the definition of amateurism. Reporting to British expatriates on 'home sport', a special correspondent to Singapore's *Straight Times* wrote that the IAAF's ban on doping 'is very right and proper, but they have not supplied any definition of what "doping" is, and until they do so, their edict cannot have very much practical effect'.[63] Illustrating the confusion, the author pondered:

> Does half a glass of brandy before a race amount to dope, or is it only other drugs than alcohol that are aimed at? Some of the later, such as strychnine, are far more insidious in their effects, and far more liable to cause permanent harm, than sherry or spirits, and in the professional world, mixtures containing them are far from unknown.[64]

Although failing to clearly define doping, the IAAF's passage of an anti-doping rule generated little global media attention. While the *New York Times* briefly acknowledged that the IAAF had breached the doping issue, it proved more concerned about American sprinter Charley Paddock's eligibility for the upcoming Amsterdam Games.[65] In Great Britain, *The Times*, the *Guardian* and the *Observer* all ignored the IAAF's landmark piece of legislation. The Edinburgh *Scotsman* did make brief note of the topic, commenting that although 'rare in Great Britain', and 'heartily condemned by sportsmen in this country', the IAAF had 'issued a ban the practice of 'doping' athletes prior to a race'.[66] Melbourne's daily *Argus* was the only Australian newspaper to mention the IAAF's new rule, writing that 'The federation, for the first time, recognized doping as an existing fault, and made provisions for the exclusion of any person knowingly doping or assisting in doping.'[67] Considering the global prominence that doping bans would later take, it is surprising that so little was made of the IAAF's nascent anti-doping efforts.

While the IAAF never appeared to have used this rule to ban any athletes or trainers, in other sports, accusations of doping did emerge. Following the 1932 Olympics Games in Los Angeles, U.S. swim coaches levelled doping charges at members of the Japanese men's swim team which had surprisingly trounced their American counterparts, winning gold in five of the six races. After the Games, two U.S. swim coaches, Matt Mann and

Robert Kiphuth, formed a National Collegiate Athletic Association subcommittee to investigate allegations that the Japanese swimmers breathed purified oxygen prior to their events. Mann adamantly denounced the actions of the Japanese men as doping (despite no rules prohibiting the practice) and declared a 'war against doping' of amateur swimmers, such as was done by the Japanese in the 1932 Olympic Games. Moreover, Mann sought rules 'to forestall the danger of the practice spreading in this country, as it was unethical, regardless of harmful effects'.[68]

Mann's accusations that doping amateur swimmers with oxygen was unethical, regardless of health effects, likely included nationalistic motives. Following a public drubbing, Mann desired to delegitimise the performance of the Japanese. The Associated Press' sports editor, Alan Gould, noted as much in his criticism of Mann:

> It seems quite all right, in principle to conduct a 'war against doping' in the matter of star swimmers or athletes in general, but it smacks of poor sportsmanship at this date for any American, much less a college coach, to belittle the magnificent victory of Japan's young swimmers in the 1932 Olympics, on the basis that oxygen was used by them as a stimulant.

Gould subsequently called Mann's criticism of doping 'altogether inopportune and out of order', pointing out the legacy of American use of stimulants in past Olympic sports.[69]

Mann's comments – and Gould's response – indicate the larger cultural forces at work. Mann's nationalist criticism would not have resonated with newspaper reporters nor the general public – nor would Mann have even offered doping as criticism – unless the general public already believed that doping contradicted amateur values. By tenuously tying the Japanese swimmers to the practice of doping, Mann marginalised the swimmers' accomplishments. Gould's reaction reveals this effect, as he attempted to restore credibility to the Japanese swimmers, calling them 'grand sportsmen', and asserting that 'the Japanese would have won the Olympic swims, anyway, with or without [oxygen]'.[70] Mann intended his criticism of the Japanese to resonate with a broader audience – an audience that also perceived doping as un-amateur and undesirable. Mann and Gould's interchange reveals that a general climate existed that viewed doping as incongruent with amateurism. These views indicate, at least partially, that the wider public also likely accepted a similar narrative during the inter-war years.

The IOC Gets Involved

Although the alleged use of stimulants by Japanese swimmers at the 1932 Los Angeles Games did not spark an immediate reaction, it was not long until the IOC addressed doping. Following the infamous 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, complaints emerged that the Nazi's and a host of fellow authoritarian right-wing regimes had openly flouted the IOC's existing rules on amateurism. Reports of state-run training camps and sizable governmental subsidies for amateur athletes prompted IAAF president (and newly appointed IOC vice-president) Sigfrid Edström to suggest the formation of a new IOC to investigate these allegations.[71] In preparation for this committee, IOC president Henri de Baillet-Latour drafted an essay 'upon various points figuring on the Agenda of the coming Meeting in Warsaw', under the heading: 'AMATEURISM'.[72] In this essay, Baillet-Latour listed seven immediate questions on amateurism that need to be addressed, including 'Doping of Athletes'. The wealthy former Belgian racecourse owner opined:

> amateur sport is meant to improve the soul and the body therefore no stone must be left unturned as long as the use of doping has not been stamped out. Doping ruins the health and very likely implies an early death.

He concluded by asking 'What do you propose?'[73]

Extensive archival research indicates that this statement by Baillet-Latour is the first recorded comment by an IOC official on the issue of doping. Baillet-Latour, who had owned several racehorses and been president of the Jockey-Club Bruxelles, was likely first introduced to the doping issue through his time in the horseracing world.[74] Jockey Clubs around the world had battled doping throughout the 1910s and 1920s. Baillet-Latour's essay on amateurism, however, not only placed doping within the context of amateurism, much like the IAAF in 1928 and Matt Mann did in 1932, but also made it one of the central concerns for the IOC to address at its 1937 Congress in Warsaw, Poland. At that meeting, members of the IOC's executive board opened their June 9 morning session to a number of amateur issues. While shifting through allegations of 'shamateurism' and authoritarian extended training camps, British IOC member Lord David Burghley (the Marquess of Exeter) raised the importance of studying the 'doping of athletes'.[75] The IOC promptly formed a special commission comprising some of its most distinguished officials: Sweden's Sigfrid Edström, American Avery Brundage, Italian Count Alberto Bonacossa and German Karl Ritter Von Halt.[76] Of these four, both Edström and Brundage would serve as IOC presidents and were undoubtedly the most ardent promulgators and defenders of Olympic amateurism. Von Halt served as the president of the organising committee for the Fourth Winter Olympic Games and would go on to direct the Sports Office of the Third Reich before leading the German Olympic Committee from 1951 to 1961.[77] Certainly, this was no 'back-water' committee.

Although Burghley broached the subject, few within the IOC including Baillet-Latour had previously done anything to address the doping issue. In a 1937 letter to Paul Anspach, president of the International Fencing Federation, IOC secretary Albert Berdez, wrote that 'on the question of Doping [sic] .... The IOC has no record on the issue.'[78] He also pointed out that president Baillet-Latour claimed to have no personal record on the issue either. Such evidence indicates that the efforts initiated in 1937 were the first anti-doping queries undertaken on the IOC's behalf. Regarding why Baillet-Latour brought up doping, Berdez explained that 'His attention was drawn to this issue by the sounds everywhere on the use of drugs by athletes, including athletics and cycling.'[79] It also likely reflected his deep roots in horse racing, where doping had been an ongoing problem and where he had likely first encountered the issue as an owner of horse racing tracks. In that sense, horse racing, although coincidently, shaped amateur sport once again.

Anspach took Berdez's letter as indication that the IOC needed additional information on doping and thus sent a report on doping in fencing and shooting that indicated a much more sophisticated view on the subject than previously expressed within the IOC.[80] Anspach's attached report was one of many investigations into doping that Baillet-Latour would gather between the IOC's Warsaw meeting in 1937 and its Cairo meeting in 1938. The IOC received additional reports from both the Belgian Medical Society for Physical Education and Sport (SMBPES) and Italian doctor G. Poggi-Longostrevi. Taken together, these reports represented the state of doping in the era before the Second World War. In these early documents, the authors cite two common themes about doping. First, the documents assert that doping was unhealthy. Second, the documents contend that doping does not belong in sport. Galfre's report indicated that the drugs used by athletes posed harm to their organisms by upsetting its normal balance.[81] The SMBPES objected to doping first, 'because it is harmful to health' and second, 'it poisons the atmosphere of sport ... and creates a mentality inconsistent with the true spirit of sportsmanship.'[82] The Italian doctor Poggi-Longostrevi referred to 'deadly stimulants' and advocated Olympic rules that empowered judges who suspect doping 'be permitted to test this athlete by a

committee of doctors an objective examination of organisms and examining secretions and giving the positive results by testing'.[83] Although the substances mentioned in the reports including strychnine, caffeine, alcohol, heroin and the Kola nut are taken for granted by the authors as common doping techniques, only one specific case of doping – the Japanese use of purified oxygen in Olympic swimming in 1932 – is mentioned.

Whether these reports made it back to the IOC's amateurism commission is unclear, but the IOC's decision to archive these reports under 'Amateurism Issues' alongside other issues such as amateurs competing with professionals in ice hockey and paid ski instructors competing as amateur ski racers indicates that IOC clearly considered doping an issue related to amateurism.[84] More importantly, the Olympic officials serving on the committee appeared to share these sentiments. The committee met twice, once in Cologne and later in Paris between the 1937 IOC session in Warsaw and the 1938 IOC session held in March in Cairo, Egypt. Writing sometime between these two meetings, American IOC chief Avery Brundage observed: 'The use of drugs or artificial stimulants of any kind cannot be too strongly denounced and anyone receiving or administering dope or artificial stimulants should be excluded from participation in sport or the O.G. [Olympic Games].'[85] The special commission submitted nearly identical language to Brundage's original handwritten note (only changing 'denounced' to 'condemned' and including 'in any manner' in the final draft) for inclusion in their report delivered during the Cairo session. Thus Brundage, who would be the IOC president at the time of Jensen's death in 1960, had already penned the language that would provide the framework for the IOC's response as early as 1937.

The strong language and relative lack of amendments indicate that IOC members in general shared similar attitudes concerning doping. Compared to the special committee's other topics such as 'question of nationalism for political purposes', and 'the situation of professional journalists', which included numerous amendments and revisions, the 'doping of athletes' garnered little opposition. However, the glaring omissions, such as policies for testing for drugs and detailed policies for enforcing the ban, indicate that although members concurred on the issue, anti-doping was still in its infancy. On March 17, 1938, the IOC adopted a final 10 resolutions on amateurism which would be included in the next Olympic Charter. Although a revised charter would not appear until after the Second World War in 1946, the committee's resolutions, including its statement against doping, appeared unchanged under 'Resolutions Regarding the Amateur Status'.[86] Considering that doping at the Olympic Games would later garner major headlines, little fanfare existed when the IOC passed its first anti-doping rule.[87] The press supplied almost no coverage of the IOC's new resolutions and completely ignored the decision to ban doping. An extensive search of media coverage of sport from 1937 to 1939 did not find a single mention of the IOC's decision to prohibit doping, although admittedly press coverage was more focused on the larger political and military issues appearing on the horizon.

Conclusion: Drugs Without Amateurism

Despite the Second World War's interruption of the Olympic Games, the IOC's decision to ban doping emerged in the next Olympic Charter published in 1946.[88] Far from forgotten, these pre-war resolutions stayed in the Charter as resolutions regarding amateur status. This language would continue as part of Rule 26 – the IOC's rule on amateurism – until 1975, where it was transferred from an eligibility rule to part of the IOC's new 'medical code' with separate bi-laws created by the IOC's Medical Commission. More importantly, the attitudes that justified anti-doping in the years before the Second World

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War – that doping was unhealthy and violated sport's amateur ethos – continued to shape anti-doping attitudes throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

In light of the cultural origins of anti-doping legislation in sport, the prevailing historiographical association with Knud Jensen and the 1960s ignores the factors that existed before and at the time of Jensen's death. After all, claims that no rules banning doping existed at the time of Jensen's death are simply wrong. The IOC did have a rule that expressly forbade doping as a criterion for competition which had been accepted as early as 1938. More tellingly, in the years following Jensen's death, the IOC used this pre-existing rule in their charter as a starting point for addressing doping. Rather than inventing a new rule, the IOC simply added, amended and modified the text originally handwritten by Avery Brundage in 1937. In fact, from 1962 through 1975, the IOC's anti-doping rule remained part of the IOC's eligibility rule – the rule governing its amateur requirements – which was its most seriously enforced rule governing athletes' conduct. In that sense, a clear and unbroken legislative link connects the IOC's 1938 ban on doping to its anti-doping efforts throughout the 1960s.

While claims that the IOC had no rules prohibiting doping before 1960 are false, what about the general focus on post-1960 anti-doping efforts? Critics might admit that although the IOC did have a rule prohibiting drugs, it did not begin to seriously address doping until the 1960s, thus focus on this era is justified. But, accurately understanding these actions and the reasons that drove them can only make sense in light of the IOC's earlier efforts. The belief that anti-doping attitudes were products of the 1960s ignores the intellectual foundations put in place decades before. Perhaps it would be more accurate to conclude that while anti-doping policies grew more established in the period following Jensen's death, the intellectual and legislative framework that governed anti-doping's expansion existed decades prior. Arguably, the most accurate reading of the events following Jensen's death is that the IOC, although it had passed a rule prohibiting doping, had failed to act seriously on the issue prior to the tragedy in Rome and that Jensen's death forced Olympic leaders to engage the problem on a meaningful level but that both the legislative and cultural foundations for these efforts were erected in an earlier era.

Such an understanding acknowledges the intellectual origins of anti-doping prior to Rome, but also helps explain the increased efforts that followed Jensen's demise. Although perhaps few on the IOC's amateurism committee anticipated how large the doping issue would eventually become, the desire to preserve amateur sport as a moral sphere of healthy competition would influence sports into the twenty-first century. This is because the doping crises and scandals in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s played out on the Olympic stage. This forced the IOC, rather than other sporting organisations, to blaze the trail for doping policies. At the same time, the IOC's *de facto* role as the leading bureaucratic organisation for sport meant that its policies and directions often influenced other sporting bodies as well as popular opinion. Once the persistent drip of doping scandals turned into a deluge during the 1990s, the Olympic movement invoked its traditional status as the moral guardians of sport to enforce anti-doping tests and suspensions as a way to keep sport pure.

Note the tremendous irony here. As the IOC moved to keep sport pure by launching a war on doping, they simultaneously dismantled amateurism, the very ideal that gave rise to the issue. By the close of the millennium, most Olympic sports permitted professional athletes to compete in the Game. At the same time, anti-doping attitudes had never been higher. In that sense, elements of amateurism still live on in the Olympic Games today. Though no longer seeking to enforce amateurism's code, the IOC still helps ensure athletes to still follow amateurism's moral tenets by enforcing anti-doping rules in sports.

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Notes on Contributors

Notes

1. For a fuller discussion of Jensen, see Møller, "Knud Enemark Jensen's Death."
2. Ibid.
3. This is still the version of events presented on the World Anti-Doping Agency's website. See WADA, "A Brief History of Anti-Doping." Accessed June 6, 2013. http://www.wada-ama.org/en/about-wada/history/.
4. Hunt, *Drug Games*, ix.
5. Waddington and Smith, *Introduction to Drugs in Sport*, 8 and 18.
6. Dimeo, *History of Drug Use in Sport*, 96, 99 and 114.
7. Møller, "Knud Enemark Jensen's Death," 465.
8. Dimeo, *History of Drug Use in Sport*, 103.
9. International Olympic Committee, "The Olympic Charter, 1944," International Olympic Committee Olympic Studies Centre, Quai d'Ouchy, 11001 Lausanne, Switzerland (hereafter cited as IOC Archives).
10. International Amateur Athletic Federation, Annual Meeting Minutes, 1928, IOC Archives.
11. See Gleaves, "Enhancing the Odds."
12. Gleaves, "Doped Professionals and Clean Amateurs."
13. For a more complex treatment of amateurism, see Llewellyn and Gleaves, "Rise of the Shamateur."
14. Hoberman, *Mortal Engines*.
15. Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*.
16. Ibid.
17. Davenport-Hines, *Pursuit of Oblivion*.
18. Indeed, the vast majority of times doping was used in connection to horse racing and sport and not the general drugging of people, see 'Dope, V[1]', In *Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 1989.
19. For a fuller treatment of modern sport, see Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*.
20. For more on horse racing, see Gleaves, "Enhancing the Odds."
21. Ibid. Any specific pages for any of these?
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. "'Dope' Evil of the Turf" (*New York Times*, October 19, 1903).
26. Gleaves, "Enhancing the Odds."
27. Ibid.
28. For the dating and introduction of stimulants to human events, see Hoberman, *Mortal Engines*.
29. Dimeo, *History of Drug Use in Sport*.
30. Ibid.
31. Bahrke and Yesalis, *Performance-Enhancing Substances in Sport and Exercise*.
32. Hunt, *Drug Games*, ix.
33. "Greatest All Around Athlete That Ever Lived" (*Fort Worth Morning Register*, July 16, 1899).
34. "College Muscle: Uncle Sam Seeks Suitable Diet and Analyzes Foods Consumed by Harvard and Yale Crews" (*The Biloxi Daily Herald*, April 18, 1900).
35. J.C. Burns, "Casting Out Devils" (*Women's Physical Development*, November 1, 1900).
36. "Foot-Ball" (*Herald of Gospel Liberty*, December 14, 1905).
37. "'Doping' of Athletes" (*The Times*, July 18, 1953).
38. "The Use of Stimulants by Athletes" (*New York Times*, December 1, 1895).
39. The State, "Athletes and the Effect of Alcohol," 6.
40. Ibid.
41. "'Doping' of Athletes" (*The Times*, July 18, 1953).
42. "Brooklyn Prize Fighting" (*New York Times*, August 28, 1894) and "The Use of Stimulants by Athletes" (*New York Times*, December 1, 1895).
43. "Cyclist Behind Record" (*New York Times*, December 9, 1903).
44. "Seconds of Pugilists Often Win a Battle" (*The National Police Gazette*, January 2, 1904).

638 45. "Cyclists Ride to Keep Lead" (*New York Times*, December 10, 1904).
639 46. Hunt, *Drug Games*, ix.
640 47. Dyreson, *Making the American Team* and Llewellyn, "'Viva L'Italia! Viva L'Italia!'," 89.
641 48. Dimeo, *History of Drug Use in Sport*, 28.
642 49. Ibid.
643 50. Muller, *Pierre De Coubertin*, 72.
644 51. Both Hicks and Pietri would capitalize on the pedestrian craze and go on to successful professional running careers, see Llewellyn, "'Viva L'Italia! Viva L'Italia!'."
645 [Q7] 52. For a fuller treatment of Pietri's professional career, see Ibid.
646 53. Thompson, *Tour de France*, 190.
647 54. Ibid.
648 55. For a fuller treatment of this thesis, see Davenport-Hines, *Pursuit of Oblivion*, 61–98.
649 56. For more on the growing commercialism of the Olympics during the interwar period, see Barney, Wenn, and Martyn, *Selling the Five Rings*.
650 57. Holt makes this point in a recent talk on amateurism, see Holt, "Origins of Amateurism in Victorian Britain."
651 58. 'Summary Report, 1894–1930', Box 77, Folder 'IOC meetings', Avery Brundage Archives, University of Illinois Archives, 901 West Illinois Street, Urbana, Ill, 61801 (hereafter cited as Brundage Archives).
652 59. Gleaves, "Doped Professionals and Clean Amateurs."
653 60. International Amateur Athletic Federation, Annual Meeting Minutes, 1928, Section 17, Report by Mr Genet of France, 'appearance money', IOC Archives, 43.
654 61. Ibid., 39.
655 62. Ibid., 55.
656 63. "Home Sport" (*The Straight Times*, September 6, 1928).
657 64. Ibid.
658 65. "Parade of Athletes Will Mark Opening of Olympics Today" (*New York Times*, July 28, 1928).
659 66. "Use of 'Dope'" (*The Scotsman*, August, 9 1928).
660 67. "Olympic Games" (*The Argus*, August 9, 1928).
661 68. "Charges Japanese 'Doped' Swimmers" (*New York Times*, January 14, 1933).
662 69. "Sport Slants" (*The Gettysburg Times*, January 24, 1933).
663 70. Ibid.
664 71. International Olympic Committee, Meeting of the Executive Committee, Berlin, July 31. 1936, IOC Archives.
665 72. Henri de Baillet-Latour, 'Essay on Amateurism' (undated but probably 1937) Box 44, Folder 'Baillet-Latour Letters', Brundage Archives.
666 73. Ibid.
667 74. Findling and Pelle, *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*, 435.
668 75. International Olympic Committee, Annual Meeting Minutes, IOC Session, Warsaw, June 9, 1937, IOC Archives.
669 76. Ibid.
670 77. Kruger, "Role of Sport in German International Politics."
671 78. Albert Berdez to Paul Anspach, October 12, 1937, ID Chemise: 204766 CIO COMMI-ADMIS 1935–1967, IOC Archives.
672 79. Paul Anspach to Albert Berdez, November 6, 1937, ID Chemise: 204766 CIO COMMI-ADMIS 1935–1967, IOC Archives.
673 80. Report, Dr E. Galfre, 1937 'Du Doping', ID Chemise: 204766 CIO COMMI-ADMIS 1935–1967, IOC Archives.
674 81. Ibid.
675 82. Report, undated, 'Rapport Sur le Doping', ID Chemise: 204766 CIO COMMI-ADMIS 1935–1967, IOC Archives.
676 83. Report, 1938, Dott. G. Poggi-Longostrevi, 'Relation sur la Question des 'Excitants'', ID Chemise: 204766 CIO COMMI-ADMIS 1935 a 1967, IOC Archives.
677 84. IOC Archive File: ID Chemise: 204766 CIO COMMI-ADMIS 1935 a 1967, IOC Archive.
678 85. Avery Brundage, Hand written note (undated, likely 1937), Box 77, Folder 'IOC Meeting Minutes', Brundage Archives.
679 86. Olympic Charter, 1946, International Olympic Committee, "Olympic Rules 1946," 28, IOC Archives.
680 681 682 683 684 685 686

87. Hunt, *Drug Games*.
88. Ibid.

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