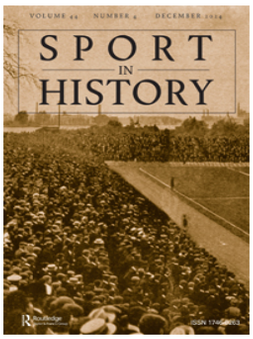

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Sport in History

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rsih20

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To cite this article: Ross Walker (21 Jan 2025): The struggle to establish basketball in Scotland, Sport in History, DOI: 10.1080/17460263.2024.2446768

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/17460263.2024.2446768

Published online: 21 Jan 2025.

SPORT IN HISTORY
https://doi.org/10.1080/17460263.2024.2446768

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The struggle to establish basketball in Scotland

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ABSTRACT

This article documents the spread and uptake of basketball, specifically the infancy and the difficulty of establishing the sport in Scotland during the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth century. It discusses factors that help explain why basketball struggled to develop in Scotland and was sparsely played until World War II. It utilises accounts from former Scottish basketball personnel, local newspapers alongside documents from the Archives and Special Collections at Springfield College. The article proposes a seven-fold framework that rests upon two overarching arguments: that basketball relied on being voluntarily accepted and adopted in a new host country; and the assimilation of basketball into a different culture was difficult because of the existing social landscape and sporting environment. It concludes that modern sports such as association football, golf and rugby developed earlier in Scotland and by the arrival of basketball, held dominant positions. Furthermore, the Young Men's Christian Association played a key role in developing basketball worldwide were committed to football. Lastly, the contemporary gender ideologies led to men being off put from playing basketball due to the 'girls' game' reputation. This coincided with and was replaced by the rise of netball, which quickly established improved foundations within training colleges for women.

KEYWORDS Basketball; culture; modernity; Scotland; society

This article discusses the diffusion of basketball, specifically the infancy and the difficulty of establishing the sport in Scotland. Similarly to previous research, it highlights how the journey of sport reflects historical transformations of Scottish society and how sport historiography offers a more encompassing understanding of Scotland.[1] When compared to curling, football, golf and Highland Games, the main issue with developing a history of basketball is the absence of diverse literature.[2] While this means there is limited accepted wisdom to be supported or challenged, it enhances the value of the article which generates knowledge of an under-researched

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area in Scottish basketball. Subsequently, information is drawn from authors who document English and British basketball.[3] Similarly, further research is incorporated to help contextualise Scottish society alongside the domestic and broader sporting landscape.[4] Through discussing the experiences of an imported sport within the Scottish context, the article contributes to and can be more explicitly positioned against Scottish sport and British basketball history alongside sporting origins and wider sport diffusion research. It also provides insights supporting some foundational realities of Scottish sport alongside Scottish national sporting identities such as gendered activities and participatory patterns.

This research is not the first to identify that new and existing sports endure difficulties. Yet, sport history has predominantly concentrated on success stories to date. In contrast this research considers the more adverse ecosystem and relative lack of success surrounding establishing basketball in Scotland. The failure of cricket that Penman covered provides counterpoints and distinctions to basketball.[5] Despite Holt and Polley offering a history of sport in Britain, it differentiates and is not fully representative of Scotland.[6] While few historical models to pin the narrative on exist, documenting aspects of sporting challenges arguably provides unique insights into understanding the host environment alongside lessons for the future. Although this approach goes against the grain of traditional sport history scholarship, a more balanced lens of sport history is required, one investigating the evolution of sport through failures and successes. As highlighted by the work of Steel on netball, this framework offers an antithesis to and support for parallel narratives documenting the origins and development of primary and secondary sports in Scotland and Britain.[7] It can subsequently be utilised for comparative purposes to understand sporting modernities more extensively. This stems from the beleaguered development of Scottish basketball being largely unremarkable in the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century context.

Within historiography documenting sporting origins, the notion of a struggle is a common trope, which has become somewhat ineffective in characterising nuances of individual and collective sporting trajectories. Throughout the development of sport, even mainstays in Scotland such as cycling and rugby have experienced developmental challenges, which can be conceptualised as a struggle.[8] Thus, any idea of a struggle arguably represents hegemonic practices and sporting modernity. While this article is akin to other modernisation theses such as the work of Macbeth on women and football, this approach to investigating sporting origins has limitations.[9] These include an inability to account for or explain broader socio-economic-political-cultural forces, which inhibited and expedited sporting developments. Yet, conceptually, the framework can provide some insights and explanations directly associated with each sport or

across sports. This lays the foundations for further in-depth research in the future to consider more non-sporting, but impactful, influences such as deprivation or migration.

This article rests upon two overarching arguments: that basketball relied on being voluntarily accepted and adopted in a new host country; and the assimilation of basketball into a different culture was difficult because of the existing social and sporting environment. The aim is to outline and discuss factors that help explain why basketball struggled to develop in Scotland. Similarly to other sports in Scotland, basketball faced challenges regarding equality, legitimacy, participation, power and public perception.[10] However, three defining aspects of basketball which highlight its exceptionalism compared to other sports concern how: basketball was replaced in the Scottish sporting landscape by netball, a by-product of basketball which arrived five years later; the marginalisation of basketball stemmed from its misinformed introduction by print media as a solely female-only game; and multiple variations of the sport existed during its infancy. These instances led to basketball becoming peripheral to the sporting ecosystem until World War II (WWII). In synergy with other origin sport histories, the entrance, diffusion and development of the sport in Scotland can be attributed to various individual and organisational facets alongside broader socio-economic-political-cultural factors.[11] This concept provides an effective means to understand the nuances of the evolution of basketball as it emerged in Scotland. Subsequently, a seven-fold framework is utilised to understand the inhibition of the development of basketball and to make broad comments about the prevailing challenges.

Methods and sources

The weaknesses of primary-source material in Scottish sport and British basketball history are not new and have been previously highlighted.[12] To overcome the limited historiography, the author underpins the narrative by creating a historical database. To acquire empirical materials, organisations and personnel from within Scottish basketball including the governing body, basketballscotland, were contacted. Visitations to sites associated with the origins of basketball in Scotland such as the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA) alongside Ward Road Gymnasium in Dundee were undertaken. Both these efforts gleaned no insights. Communications with Scottish basketball personnel, past and present, revealed that documents once held by the governing body were previously destroyed. What remains is accessible online through newspaper repositories, mainly the British Newspaper Archive, alongside people within the Scottish basketball community who possess considerable information but lack a location to store and utilise it for research. However, almost all materials are from post-WWII.

Having been curated by aficionados, they are problematic to incorporate and retrace because most sources lack key information, particularly dates, author titles and publisher names. While the National Basketball Heritage Archive in Worcester holds data, they primarily cover British or English basketball. Until the basketball community receives greater attention, some of the history of basketball in Britain risks being lost.

The database comprises forty-four empirical sources from three methods. These documents are the only contemporaneously available and accessible materials, which exist and offer information about establishing basketball in Scotland. The first method utilises accounts from former Scottish basketball personnel.[13] While none discuss basketball during the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, they collectively provide insights into some long-standing issues Scottish basketball faced; albeit at the surface level, necessitating increased usage of secondary sources to expand discussions. The second method entails official documents from the Archives and Special Collections at Springfield College where the YMCA International Training School was based. Despite proving useful, there is little information about the Scottish context. What is available serves more to contextual and descriptive purposes through numerical statistics. The third and primary method gleans information from reports in local and national newspapers such as the *Evening Telegraph* and *The Scotsman,* which were accessed through the British Newspaper Archive. These columns lack author details, background information, critical depth, a geographical spread incorporating the west of Scotland, particularly Glasgow, and are typically short in narrative. From what information is known, all three methods have been produced by men and lack the perspective of women.

The arrival and infancy of basketball in Scotland

Basketball was invented in 1891 by Dr James Naismith at the YMCA International Training School at Springfield College, Massachusetts.[14] After publishing 13 rules in *The Triangle* in January 1892, the basis for globally diffusing the game was catalysed.[15] Although predominantly for males, basketball spread quickly throughout different American YMCA branches before the Association translocated it worldwide to China, France, India and Persia among others.[16] YMCA internationalism arguably enabled basketball to establish itself more easily. In the Dominican Republic, the Philippines and Puerto Rico, the organisation used it for American cultural imperialism and social control by creating comprehensive basketball programmes for cultural interplay.[17] According to Guttmann, basketball subtly instilled commercial, moral, and racial virtues in colonial subjects alongside beliefs in American systemised principles and values.[18] Although, different countries had diverging experiences with the Philippines

considering basketball a game for males, Germany for females and Japan for everyone.[19] In some countries upholding Victorian gender ideologies, basketball was played by females because the adapted codification and practicalities by Senda Berenson in 1892 aligned better with Victorian perceptions of femininity than other sports.[20] Given different countries' experiences of establishing basketball, this article considers Scotland which was found to reject American imperialism, maintaining and prioritising traditional sports over foreign imports.[21]

Knowledge of basketball first arrived in Dundee on 1 January 1895, through local newspaper, the *Evening Telegraph*.[22] Yet, there was no mention of how the content which discussed its creation, contemporary popularity among women in America and the baseline rules was accessed. Research into the translocation of basketball to Scotland proposed four possibilities: Hampstead College graduates; YMCA personnel; sojourners; and Mormon missionaries.[23] Basketball arrived through a multidirectional process of cultural exchange involving a globally active complex of adaptation, interpretation, modification, mutation and translation.[24] Through newspapers, information quickly spread to surrounding areas Broughty Ferry and Forfar before moving nationwide from Edinburgh to Inverness.[25] During this time, local physical education instructors introduced basketball to private and public schools in and around Dundee who embraced it within the broader array of sports.[26] Through the process of ludic diffusion, the game slowly spread to broader society, particularly social clubs and youth organisations including the YMCA.[27] Basketball appealed and was included because it offered participants a deviation from indoor activities such as general exercises and gymnastics.[28] For boys, contemporary practitioners considered it useful for building character and leadership training, whereas, for girls, it was an opportunity for improving all-round wellbeing through physical activity and socialisation.[29] The early development of basketball in Scotland, similarly to Collins' findings on American football, was not an expression of American exceptionalism, but a blended by-product of its transnational and new ecosystem.[30] This links to and supports Pope's assertions that American exceptionalism represented a self-identified notion of uniqueness and superiority.[31]

Despite arriving and establishing foundations in 1895, the *Dundee Courier* published an article two years later detailing the first public display of basketball:

> A special tit-bit is promised in an exposition of the new American game "basket-ball" by two picked teams, adepts at the game. I am not quite au fait in this new sport, but I understand it is a hybrid of baseball, cricket, Rugby, water-polo, lawn tennis … This is the first time the game has been played in public in Scotland, and it remains to be seen whether it will be taken up with similar enthusiasm.[32]

As informed by the *Evening Telegraph*, the first exposition of basketball in Scotland was on 6 February 1897, at Ward Road Gymnasium in Dundee.[33] Under the supervision of instructor Mr R. Elgin Deuchars, the match incorporated two teams from the Broughty Ferry YMCA and headlined an all-day Saturday sports festival.[34] According to Bale, basketball was inaugurated when modern sport allied to sporting interests were developing exponentially domestically and internationally.[35] Scotland was concurrently exporting its national pastimes worldwide such as association football, golf, and rugby.[36] Scots who brought football to Brazil during this period helped influence and change the national cultural landscape.[37] Although sport was central to British imperial culture, it helped propagate imperial sentiments whilst creating a 'we-image' of virtuous superiority.[38] Yet, American imports in baseball (1874) and ice hockey (1895) had attempted to penetrate British sporting culture and received different outcomes, with the latter proving more successful and the former rejected.[39] Underpinning these exchanges was the fact that by the 1890s, the imperial power of Britain was declining while American imperialism was ascending.[40] These changes sparked irrevocable shifts in the balance of global power, impacting sport and its dissemination worldwide.[41] While America would soon lead the world as practitioners of multiple global pastimes, they were yet to overhaul Britain as a disseminator of sports, albeit contributing to the climate of insularity, exceptionalism and imperialism.[42] Although, many sports that America was diffusing had English and Scottish origins. Whether a gap existed in Scotland for basketball to fill was to be determined. This uncertainty was displayed in a review of the first public display in the *Dundee Courier*:

> No doubt the new American game, "basketball", was looked forward to as one of the principal attractions. Coming as it did, however, at the end of a rather lengthy programme, it could hardly be said to have had a fair trial. I fancy a good Rugby player would require little time to become an expert at basket ball … The introduction of the game into the Gymnasium, it is to be feared, would play havoc with gymnastics, and if, as is rumoured, the D.G. [Dundee Gymnastics] and A.C [Athletics Club] intend practising the game.[43]

The opening game received mixed responses from the local press. While the *Dundee Courier* reported that sceptics believed basketball would gain traction, physical instructors raised concerns that its rise would interfere with the current sports system and replace pre-established indoor activities such as gymnastics.[44] Subsequently, more popular, traditional sports became barometers to affirm domestic superiority and protect historic pastimes.[45] In some contemporary Scots' opinion, Scotland was pioneering the development of sport worldwide as highlighted through the global dissemination of football, curling and golf.[46] The Scottish national identity was

and is strongly intertwined with sport alongside their perceived exceptionalism and superiority complex.[47] Sport has always been a prominent feature of popular culture in Scotland, epitomising and shaping the Scottish identity and subsequently, Scots are protective of their relationship with sport.[48] Thus, the critics as documented by the *Dundee Courier* believed basketball threatened the contemporary Scottish sporting environment, concerned that it might displace longstanding sports representing Scottishness and Scottish sport.[49] This reflects notions of exceptionalism, imperialism and insularity more broadly because sporting prowess also symbolised national power.[50] Threats to Scotland's sporting superiority thereby contested national strength. However, in labelling basketball a threat, this also highlights an initial interest which led to observers believing it could attain traction in Scotland.[51] It links to the growing ascendancy of American imperialism which Scots sought to mitigate through preservation of traditionalism. Despite critics questioning basketball, the *Dundee Courier* discussed how others commended it for having broad-ranging benefits:

> This new pastime, however, is already arousing considerable interest among gymnasts here, and doubtless it will gain popularity as the season goes on … Basketball is a very exciting game to watch … Outdoor athletes and members of gymnasia will find basketball a good game for getting rid of their superfluous "adipose tissue", and also a pleasant deviation from the usual routine of hard work.[52]

As the *Evening Telegraph* and *Dundee Advertiser* highlight, spectators attended the display with 'great anticipation' whilst journalists described it as being 'followed with much interest', concluding basketball was a sport which would appeal to Scottish society.[53] Having aroused interest, the *Dundee Courier* wrote that basketball was expected to gain popularity in time with some local gymnasiums and sports clubs adopting it.[54] Basketball received positive remarks as it aligned with Scottish sports contemporary recreational nature, but also the Scots' desire to try new games. This reflects the exceptionalism of basketball that differed in design, practicality and significance from pre-existing activities.[55] While not unique to Scots, the development and baseline nature of basketball appealed because the sporting background and system generally revolved around the idea of competition.[56] This was represented by the landscape of association football, curling, golf and rugby alongside the Scotland-England rivalry which has at times formed a nationally unified Scottish sporting culture.[57] Although, internal divisions within society exist in local derbies such as the 'Old Firm', the collective name for Celtic Football Club and Rangers Football Club.[58] Whilst concerns about basketball existed, early protagonists believed it had the necessary mechanisms to be successful in Scotland.

The early success and interest in basketball was highlighted through these preliminary engagements in Dundee which link to the experiences of other places. In Britain, basketball initially popularised in blighted industrial areas stifled by economic torment due to failing industries and mass outmigration.[59] During the 1890s and 1900s, the economy and population of Dundee, where basketball arrived and diffused from, was declining.[60] As highlighted by the *Dundee Evening Post*, this was due to the jute industry, upon which the city and people relied to a large extent, concurrently shifting to India.[61] Consequently, local residents either migrated to other Scottish cities to acquire employment or emigrated to America among other countries where millworkers' skills were in demand.[62] As per Bloyce and Murphy, the significance of basketball was that it provided a sense of hope and success for those impacted.[63] The value attached to and broader benefits of basketball among Dundonians during the late nineteenth/early twentieth century was previously outlined in the *Evening Telegraph*.[64] According to Horger, basketball contemporarily generated social cohesion whilst simultaneously developing values alongside life skills and helping mould physical, moral and social characteristics in participants.[65] This links to the broader purpose of basketball whereby Naismith created it with the intentions of helping people.[66]

With the initial exposition further spreading basketball, Scottish newspapers continued writing supportively about basketball, describing it as a 'exceedingly fascinating' and 'fashionable' sport.[67] Headlines from the *Evening Telegraph* such as 'The New Game of Basketball', promoted basketball and encouraged people to participate.[68] In contrast, baseball was contemporarily detailed in more disparaging and negative manners, showcased by columns entitled, 'The Invasion of Baseball'.[69] The method and intent behind implementation caused this experience because baseball was introduced to Britain by American entrepreneurs seeking profit through cultural penetration,[70] whereas basketball was inaugurated by Scots and adopted by social and youth organisations alongside some district school systems.[71] Therefore, it aligned to society's prevailing belief system and social conditions with how some Scots, depending on their classist views, believed sport should be delivered.[72] As Anderson details, this was primarily those belonging to the upper-middle classes and in private institutions whose sporting values supported the amateur ethos.[73] Despite association football professionalising, the commercial components associated with baseball were strongly opposed.[74] Furthermore, baseball possessed similarities to the pre-established games, rounders and cricket, whereby the latter lacked popularity in Scotland and failed due to declining national aristocratic patronage, competition from other sports, alongside the cost and style of the game.[75] These imported pastimes were unappealing to locals

whose rejection reflected their cultural resistance to American exceptionalism and support for their own sporting traditions.[76]

In its infancy, basketball was considered more than a game. As *The Scotsman* detailed, contemporary observers believed it alongside the broader participation of women and girls in sport helped strengthen the global movement for the suffrage of women:

> The House of Commons is going to vote again on woman suffrage … Woman calls on man to give up to her half the sovereign power … The new women, perhaps, shows herself there even in a more startling way than with you. She is now asserting her right … The other day there was a public match at "basket-ball" between two bodies of female athletes before a large body of spectators, who, according to the report, were "paralysed to see the proficiency in slugging suddenly developed by the gentle players".[77]

As *The Scotsman* documented, women and girls were among the first to play basketball in Scotland such as students at St George's High School for girls who provided exhibitions.[78] With a close relationship to concepts of sexuality and womanhood, playing basketball helped advance gender equality and the progressive rights of women, aiding social change through modernising societal attitudes.[79] When basketball arrived, women could not vote in elections, with many males, including those who governed sport, deeming women inferior.[80] Some believed women should not partake in physically-demanding activities because it was perceived as unwomanly and opposed notions of femininity.[81] If women assumed traits of power, strength, or vigour, then some males believed this violated the laws of nature.[82] Yet, strenuous activities like basketball were favoured by supporters of equal rights for women because an argument against women earning equal pay was an aptness for illness which required greater access to sport to become healthier and more resilient.[83] Some progressive social reformers within the global movement thought basketball could help advance equality for women.[84] Through participation, basketball provided a natural outlet to develop courage, instinct, endurance, quickness of action and thought whilst promoting through teamwork, the power of organisation.[85] Based on this standpoint, Treagus argues that basketball can be conceptualised as a cultural artefact, which embodies the era's values and ongoing societal transformations.[86]

Compared to British basketball history, the evidence highlights that the experiences of basketball were more considerable than first conceptualised, albeit no less marginalised.[87] Similar to Birkenhead, Dundee became the central hub of the sport.[88] However, contrary to the denotations of Cox and Physick who found basketball remained a regional activity until 1911 when American YMCA representatives sought to expand the sport beyond the North-West of England, basketball in Scotland instantly spread more extensively to different cities, institutions and organisations nationwide.[89] Furthermore, the relationship between women and basketball highlights

prevailing social mores and societal inequalities within the Scottish context. Similar to the impact of cycling, the novelty of these lesser-populated activities helped women contribute to the broader emancipation movement.[90] These collective sporting efforts enabled women to challenge societal restrictions and helped women access greater independence, mobility and physical freedom.[91] However, while basketball advanced suffrage, it simultaneously created difficulties in becoming more extensively established in Scotland. As initially proposed, the evidence highlights that basketball operated within a space involving adaptation, interpretation, modification, mutation and translation within sporting and non-sporting contexts. These are further delineated in the next section which introduces the seven-fold framework encapsulating the challenge of developing basketball in Scotland.

The struggle to establish basketball in Scotland

> If the *Advertiser Club* are unable to indulge in gymnastics competitions, the members thereof make up for the loss in the way of football … Speaking of football, what has come over the way of "basketball"? It has surely had an early death.[92]

As highlighted by the *Evening Telegraph* in 1897, two years after knowledge first penetrated Scotland, basketball was still unestablished. The time between the arrival of basketball in 1895 and its first public display in 1897 indicates that the uptake of basketball was slow. Scholars have previously acknowledged this, mentioning that following the first exhibition, the sport failed to gain traction and fully penetrate Scottish sporting culture and society.[93] Within Britain overall, the growth of the sport during the 1890s stagnated. However, the reasons why remain unknown. Whilst basketball experienced increased participation post-World War I (WWI) due to Scot's engagements with and displays from American soldiers, basketball remained peripheral to the Scottish sporting landscape.[94] According to Nauright and Parrish, it was sidelined until WWII, when more Scots were introduced to basketball whilst serving in the armed forces.[95] The post-war establishment of a national governing body, the *Amateur Basketball Association of Scotland* (ABAS), in 1946 capitalised on this increased participation. They provided basketball with the necessary formalisation, organisation, structure, and system it required to develop into a more established and legitimate sport in Scotland.[96] With no information existing to explain the factors inhibiting the growth of basketball, the following discussion outlines seven contributory factors.

The introduction and misconception of basketball being a 'girls' game'

> A NEW GIRL'S GAME. Basket-ball, a feminine substitute for football, is all the rage among New York girls … It was (says a correspondent of the *Lady*) soon

> taken up by young women, who declared that if there was anything good in the game, they would like to become acquainted with it.[97]

As the extract from the *Evening Telegraph* highlights, basketball struggled to establish itself in Scotland because it was labelled and introduced to society as a sport for women and girls upon arrival. While serving as a chaplain in France between 1917 and 1919, upon visiting the British sector in Bordeaux, Naismith discovered British forces avoided basketball because of its feminine reputation.[98] In 1907, the *Northern Chronicle and General Advertiser for the North of Scotland* also confirmed this statement, denoting: 'Some of the sporting public have described this as a game for girls'.[99] This misconception began with the first newspaper article on basketball by the *Evening Telegraph* in 1895 which was entitled, 'A New Girls' Game'.[100] Ensuing titles such as 'For the Ladies' by the *Inverness Courier*, 'Maidenly Mems' from *Highland News* and 'Notes for our Women Readers' by the *Evening Post* reinforced this misunderstanding.[101] Following its arrival, columns in the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* and *John O'Groat Journal* highlighted that basketball in Britain was primarily played by women and girls, particularly in educational institutions.[102] This was predominantly in newly established physical education colleges for women in Anstey, Bedford, Chelsea, Dartford, and Liverpool.[103] *The Scotsman* reported similar participation in Edinburgh.[104] With the inception of basketball in Scotland publicising the sport as a girls' game and many preliminary engagements in institutions for women, basketball subsequently became known as a female-oriented recreational activity.

The version of the game played in the physical education colleges for women upheld the rules for women's basketball as established by Senda Berenson in 1892.[105] The baseline codification: disallowed snatching the ball from opponents; disallowed before holding it for more than three seconds; separated the court into three divisions (line basketball) whereby players could not cross these lines, to prevent overexertion and forego individual domination; and removed more than three dribbles.[106] Through reflecting the Victorian ideals of female frailty and passivity whilst prohibited physical contact alongside having clearly defined sections for players, this version was deemed 'ideal for girls'.[107] The rules also comprised similarities to the later development of netball, which further cemented the female stereotype.[108] Launching basketball became difficult because the contemporary Scottish sporting environment was male-dominated and disinterested with associating itself with games for girls.[109] Anderson further highlights the struggle of women stating that men left women to organise their own sporting affairs.[110] Yet, it was not until post-WWI that the feminine perception of basketball subdued in Scotland.[111] Naismith noted Scots serving in the armed forces, who witnessed exhibitions and interacted with American

forces, subsequently disproved this belief.[112] The Americans showed basketball to be a strenuous and fast-paced game, which contradicted their knowledge of and hesitancy to play basketball.[113]

The contemporary genderisation of sports

> America's popular sport, basketball, has a small following … A well-known Dundee sportsman thinks it is not popular over here because of the lack of body contact. Scotsmen like their games tough. Budding Joe Louis are more numerous.[114]

The feminine representation of basketball aligns with the *Evening Telegraph* extract above which indicates how notions of masculinism changed during the nineteenth/twentieth century, leading to sports becoming gendered.[115] From the 1860s to the 1930s, Scottish sporting culture for men favoured more aggressive games, which involved contact as the prowess of a sportsman was derived from characteristics showcasing masculinity and vigour.[116] Basketball was only preferred when utilised to deter males from anti-social and criminal behaviours by instilling discipline and restraint.[117] However, this was rare, and the participation of men was minimal. As the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* highlighted, it was predominantly played by women and girls amongst the array of sports deemed acceptable.[118] In comparison to masculine games, Porter and Melnick both discuss that the physical culture of basketball for women was not about competition or winning, but personal and social development through cooperation, enjoyment, and socialisation.[119] The aim: to teach people to live joyfully and harmoniously.[120] In the physical education colleges for women, the *Falkirk Herald* outlined how basketball helped create the 'perfect women' and prepare pupils for post-school life as housewives, mothers or workers.[121] As a spokesman in the *Evening Telegraph* mentioned, basketball was unfavoured as it lacked contact with the game purposefully designed to prevent the sporting characteristics Scottish men preferred.[122]

The genderisation of games helps explain why basketball minimally developed. It provides some insights into the growth of association football and rugby, which embodied the masculine characteristics of aggression and vigour.[123] It also informs knowledge around the decline of sports such as figure-skating which reflected feminine qualities.[124] Albeit confined to the upper classes, figure-skating during the early nineteenth century was indulged by men and deemed acceptable.[125] As Victorianism flourished, Adams notes that the characteristics of elegance and grace associated with figure-skating aligned with concepts of femininity, catalysing the belief of it being a girls' sport, forcing the male role to alter and conform to prevailing social norms.[126] Whereas, basketball was adapted to fit the prevailing status quo to allow women and girls to participate in a way deemed acceptable by

men governing the sporting environment.[127] Similar to the early challenges of association football in America, this necessitated the need to locate the sports niche in an overpopulated market, leading to women, who now had a newfound leisure time, being targeted.[128] As research outlined, men and women were generally assigned to and typically played different sports based on feminine or masculine affiliations.[129] An article by the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* confirmed this, explaining how many men and boys were uninterested in playing sports deemed feminine.[130] While the gendered nature of basketball reflects its exceptionalism through its role in helping emancipate women, this link was arguably a key factor marginalising basketball in Scotland.

Competition from pre-established sports

> There is in the more recent history of British sports perhaps no feature so remarkable as the extraordinary zeal and enthusiasm with which in these days of our football is practised and patronised.[131]

With basketball arriving in the 1890s, this era was described by Tranter as a 'revolution' with multiple sports already entrenched in the national sporting culture of Scotland.[132] As highlight by the *Falkirk Herald* extract, association football was favoured amongst society.[133] Although popularity varied across different regions, association football was the male working-classes favoured sport, rugby the middle-classes and golf the upper-classes.[134] For women, the term 'New Women' and 'Modern Girl' now extended to the leisure world, leading to greater participation in sports like cycling and swimming among others, sparking new trends beyond traditional options such as tennis.[135] However, every activity struggled for players and spectators compared to association football who had 560 teams nationwide.[136] By contrast, curling was the second most played activity with eighty-seven.[137] Whereas, basketball-only clubs were not formed in Scotland until post-WWI with the arrival of American students at Scottish institutions who established university teams.[138] Yet, by competing with association football, all sports including cricket and rugby endured difficulties.[139] Expediting the growth of association football was its increasing professionalisation.[140] Although, other sports including athletics and the Highland Games had encountered criticisms for increasing professionalism.[141] By comparison, researchers explain how basketball was more recreational in nature with the social organisations and key personnel involved upholding the amateur philosophy.[142] The difficulty for basketball was through association football embodying the notion of superiority.[143]

With other sports developing more quickly, recreational games like basketball became sidelined. One key reason was dominant sports established clubs and leagues comprising competitive structures, ones where

rules were codified, generalised, and standardised.[144] Whereas, basketball was new and dysfunctional.[145] Previous insights on Scottish basketball showcased how the formation of the ABAS led to the rules becoming officially standardised, the sport formally governed, and training provisions introduced for coaches and officials.[146] Until then, games were managed by players or referees lacking in-depth knowledge of the rules alongside player--coaches with no significant experience or expertise in basketball practices.[147] Whilst a basis for local competition was introduced in 1905 in Dunfermline alongside a national competition in the 1920s for higher learning institutions, these opportunities were restricted to select groups or in specific locations.[148] Structured leagues did not become widespread in Scotland until 1947, providing the necessary foundations to enable increased participation.[149] Such undertakings reflected the amateur model basketball represented, comprising three overarching characteristics: voluntary administrators, slapdash organisation and uneven playing standards.[150] With a poorly coordinated and supported basketball community, the game struggled to surpass pre-established, governed sports and establish itself within the highly competitive and evolving sporting landscape.

Competition from other new sports

> Mr Jerry Hart's American net ball team is the principal novelty on the Empire programme for this week. The game is played by five ladies on each side and consists in landing the ball, which is much larger than an ordinary football … Played last night, the match was rather exciting.[151]

The arrival and development of netball made establishing basketball difficult. It was initially introduced to Britain through Hampstead College in 1895 by Dr Toles, a visiting American lecturer.[152] However, netball, a by-product of women's basketball, was first reported in Scotland by the *Evening Post* in 1900.[153] Furthermore, the first public display was not until 1901 in Edinburgh.[154] As *The Scotsman* extract above outlines, unlike basketball, netball was brought and displayed to society by experts such as Hart.[155] Hart founded American stage netball and designed it for convenient transportation to and participation in new locations.[156] Three differences distinguish netball from basketball: metal rings instead of basketball hoops; a larger ball; and three sectioned boundaries.[157] According to Scraton, netball was considered by contemporary practitioners as a more acceptable female activity because it was devoid of masculine connections and stigmatisations.[158] It also retained femininity and decorum while helping prepare women for responsibilities as wives and mothers.[159] Netball swiftly replaced basketball because it further developed concepts of noncontact and restricted movement, enhancing conformity to

society's conceptions of femininity as a physical restraint.[160] Such acceptance led to netball becoming the leading off-putting for women throughout the British Empire, leaving basketball behind.[161] Thus, the exceptionalism of the relationship between basketball and netball was its adaptation and adoption to suit British sensibilities.[162] For men, the games feminine reputation and style which resembled basketball was off-putting, prompting participation in alternative sports as some believed basketball and netball were the same sport.[163] This confusion stemmed from the inaugural years where netball was known as 'women's basketball' and labelled a female-only sport.[164]

Netball surpassed basketball in Scotland because it quickly established foundations. Once accepted within Hampstead College alongside other female-only institutions, a cascade teaching method was employed.[165] Those initially taught by Toles spread the game to new students, perpetuating perspectives of femininity alongside women and girls' participation in sports.[166] Throughout the 1890s, Scots attending the English colleges for women transported netball to Scotland.[167] For example, Ethel Adair, who in 1906 became the first Lady Principle of Dunfermline College of Hygiene and Physical Training which opened in 1905, introduced netball to retain Edwardian gentility and decorum.[168] Netball subsequently became a core sport learned by student teachers who upon leaving, dispersed nationwide and spread netball to local schools, starting clubs before engaging in friendly competition.[169] While basketball was recreationally played in teacher training facilities in Scotland, it was not incorporated into the Jordanhill College of Education curriculum until the 1950s and Dunfermline in the 1960s.[170] By comparison, basketball lacked the quantity and quality of trained physical educators that netball obtained and who were needed to encourage grassroots involvement, build knowledge and develop lifelong affiliations. This allowed netball to establish itself and replace basketball. The experiences of basketball in Scotland reflect Collins observations of association football in America, Australia, and New Zealand where it struggled to gain traction because alternative variations emerged and attained mass societal appeal before it penetrated sporting customs.[171]

Reduced publicity within print media

> MAIDENLY MEMS … Exercise is what you need. Just the moment the frost is out of the ground, begin outdoor sports; tennis, if possible, or basket ball, or rowing.[172]

Refined searches in the British Newspaper Archives for 'basketball', 'basket ball' and 'basket-ball' from 1895 onwards returned few results. For a sport to gain traction, it required publicity. As Holt explained, the increase of popular press both locally and nationally within specialist football

newspapers underpinned the rise of association football during the mid-late nineteenth century and allowed society to become better informed while having wider horizons.[173] Yet, basketball lacked equal press coverage to raise awareness and rival association football. It was not until the late 1970s that Scottish basketball established its own specialist newspaper; *The National Basketball Newspaper of Scotland*.[174] When basketball was publicised, it was steered towards women as shown by columns from the *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette* entitled, 'Feminine Athletics' alongside the *St. Andrews Citizen*, 'Women's Colleges'.[175] Similar to the experiences of women in football within newspapers, Macbeth found the sport was treated as a novelty and, although on occasion encouraging participation, did so condescendingly.[176] The media and its portrayal influenced the construction of public opinion which undermined the development of certain sports alongside the involvement of women through attaching separate sports to opposing genders.[177] Basketball was one such sport whereby the misinformed representation of basketball as a girls' game became upheld by society. Before the sport penetrated Scottish society, the feminine stereotype arguably inhibited its ability to attain traction. Based on the evidence portrayed, those with knowledge of basketball among society either perceived it as a girls' sport or did not know it existed.[178]

During the 1890s, Scots unlike other Britons preferred regional newspapers over national due to the inclusion of sporting news.[179] National newspapers tended to minimally cover Scottish sport and prioritised English.[180] Furthermore, English sports lacked popularity in Scotland as the Scottish sporting system predominantly operated separately, but also because sporting preferences varied across localities.[181] Journalists were rarely dispassionate observers of the sports they reported with most assuming roles as administrators, committee members, players, or secretaries and articles reflected these positions through built-in bias.[182] Another issue was that newspapers only published sports sustaining impetus and increasing profit.[183] With dominant readers being males from the middle-upper classes, except for association football, more upper-middle class sports, particularly, golf, rugby, and tennis, were prioritised.[184] This marginalised other sports due to having insufficient column inches.[185] Aside from instances where a narrative was deemed a first or connected to a topic of broader significance such as the suffrage of woman by *The Scotsman*, basketball featured infrequently.[186] When it did, it was in local newspapers such as the *Dundee Courier* where hotspots of participation existed, and where readership could be acquired.[187] With print media contemporarily existing as the main way information spread quickly and en masse, through lacking media attention, it partially explains how and why basketball failed to develop in Scotland. However, given basketball was written about amidst notable growth and modernisation of sports such as association football whilst

print media had primacy and substantially aided nascent sports to grow in memberships, develop competitions and attract spectatorship, this was significant and highlights that a need to publish information on basketball existed.

Lack of springfield-trained YMCA personnel

> A few of the positions in the Association now filled by Springfield men: … [included the] national director of physical education for Scotland.[188]

Basketball struggled itself to establish in Scotland due to lacking supporting infrastructure and protagonists to develop it. Compared to countries such as the Philippines where basketball expanded quickly and became a primary sport, this growth was partially due to the influences and guidance of YMCA personnel who provided direction, knowledge, opportunities, and resources.[189] As YMCA records show, the first Springfield-trained YMCA personnel in Scotland was T.D. Preston from Dublin, Ireland, who became the Secretary of the Kirkaldy association in 1909.[190] The second was G.H. Mummert who was based in Edinburgh and became the first YMCA National Director of Physical Education for Scotland in 1915.[191] Yet, it was not until the late 1930s that YMCA personnel sought to organise basketball in Scotland and successfully helped establish the ABAS in 1946.[192] Given basketball arrived in 1895, it could be argued that the advent of these Springfield graduates alongside the actions of the Association were late in establishing the sport. By 1909, basketball had already been falsely stereotyped and subjected to secondary sporting status to dominant sports. As this article previously highlighted, initial interest in basketball existed but lost impetus because nobody manifested and organised it, so it eventually stagnated. Nauright and Parrish suggest the uncoordinated and informal undertakings of basketball confined it to the sporting periphery as vested sportspeople sought participation in more organised and structured sports.[193] Whereas, in other countries, the growth of the game was accelerated by the YMCA assuming a governing role, helping provide the necessary momentum and leadership to ensure consistency, coordination, direction, legitimisation and organisation.[194]

While Springfield documentation reveals that only one director out of the contemporary fourteen in Europe were based in Scotland, training became essential.[195] In time, voluntary Scottish figures from institutions nationwide enrolled in ten-week courses, comprising lessons of community leadership which incorporated sport.[196] Although, no mention of basketball existed within these sessions. By 1925, twelve courses took place and seventy-four leaders were fully trained whereby upon returning to their branches, they shared the new knowledge of sport and modern YMCA practices.[197]

However, Association leaders and secretaries were encouraged to adapt training programmes to fit local needs, meaning that depending on the locality, basketball, if it was included, was not always the optimal sport to implement with more popular activities likely to generate improved outcomes.[198] In Scotland, the YMCA helped establish the sporting landscape of sports such as association football, influencing the creation of the first professional team, Queen's Park Football Club, in 1867.[199] Given the role of the YMCA in the development of association football, it became the official pastime of the Association.[200] This was because the sport represented the national identity of Scotland which simultaneously expressed contemporary sporting superiority.[201] Hence, throughout its infancy, basketball was sparsely played in community hotspots countrywide, ones not always connected to the YMCA.[202] Overall, the YMCA context reveals two overarching issues regarding the development and uptake of basketball in Scotland: that it was dependent on voluntarism; and that it involved more serendipity and fortuitousness relying upon the right people who possessed the agency, resource, and inclination to advance the sport further.

Insufficient facilities and resources

> Football, £13; hockey, £15; swimming, basket ball, badminton, £3/10; tennis, £9; cricket, £15.[203]

The extract from the *Milngavie and Bearsden Herald* reflects the annual cost to play basketball compared to other sports. Although basketball was a cheaper alternative to more popular sports, given it was new, insufficient equipment existed to support participation. As *The Scotsman* highlighted, the first designated basketball court was not constructed until 1922 at Jordanhill.[204] According to Johnston, Scotland did not have a full-size indoor basketball court until the 1950s or a purpose-built basketball stadium until the 1970s.[205] Since basketball arrived, participants used whatever provisions they could acquire such as a football or a hand-crafted leather ball which was the common playing method.[206] However, as Johnston pointed out, because of the stretched leather panels and lacing covers, early basketballs were not symmetrical and difficult to dribble, often affecting the trajectory of a pass or shot.[207] This made playing basketball less enjoyable. To successfully indulge, participants were required to wear a top with a number on the front and back to help identify the corresponding teams.[208] However, initially, athletic vests were in short supply and either borrowed from other sports teams, embroidered by hand from family members or not worn at all making the game more challenging and unstructured.[209] Among multiple issues, the lack of necessary resources coincided with a shortage of opportunities to play basketball.

A key hindrance in the development of basketball was the competition for and limited availability and accessibility to facilities.[210] Participants either played outside or turned to church, civic, co-operative, drill, school, and town halls, which were used for anything but basketball and often required makeshift hoops.[211] Most spaces were wider than longer, comprising unstable floorboards, overhanging apparatus, low ceilings, cold conditions, irremovable objects, and no space or marked boundaries.[212] In small gymnasia, the walls were considered the boundaries.[213] Free-standing basketball hoops were commonplace and located where possible.[214] The backboard was generally supported on a tubular metal frame with a heavy counterweight located at ground level to the rear.[215] In adapting these spaces, 'local' regulations surrounding court type and player numbers were continuously altered to fulfil participants needs and fit the environment.[216] Basketball was subsequently modified to suit the hosts circumstances with a simplified set of Americanised rules.[217] During the sports infancy, basketball encountered multiple variations. It could be argued that the diverging variations differentiates the development of basketball in Scotland from other sports and made it unique. However, as Cox and Physick discuss, the uncoordinated nature of the game, combined with substandard facilities, ultimately marginalise basketball and undermine its ability to become an established sport.[218] Collectively, the insufficient facilities and resources further consolidated its status as a recreational game.

Determining the struggle of establishing basketball in Scotland

Several complex factors led to the inability to develop basketball in Scotland. While basketball initially showed promise, it lost momentum during its infancy and plateaued. The following reasons explain the challenge. Modern sports such as association football, golf and rugby developed earlier in Scotland and by the arrival of basketball, held dominant positions within culture and society. Resultantly, the YMCA who were key to developing basketball worldwide were committed to association football. Furthermore, the contemporary gender ideologies led to men being offput from playing basketball due to the 'girls' game' reputation. This coincided with and was replaced by the rise of netball which quickly established improved foundations within training colleges for women. Lastly, basketball relied on being voluntarily accepted, adopted and maintained. The other factors mentioned can be deemed side-effects of these more seminal influences which collectively made establishing basketball in Scotland more challenging, and marginalised the sport until WWII.

The experiences around an attempt to establish basketball in Scotland were less of a plight or struggle than they might appear at first conception. Rather, they featured within the sport development du jour of basketball

which reflects the growth of the sport and contemporary sporting modernisations under the contemporary societal circumstances. This would explain why basketball originally gathered some interest amongst society, why its popularity was short-lived and that early basketball protagonists unlikely saw themselves as struggling. However, this latter perception would appear so from hindsight through the collated data, which reveals that those trying to introduce basketball experienced difficulties from the Scottish landscape. Furthermore, while several challenges facing the basketball community are outlined, some inhibitions have never fully assuaged and remain today. Ones which have been somewhat addressed regarding facilities, governance, opportunities and resources have brought about new issues regarding cost, management and sustainability. In that sense, the challenge of establishing basketball is still ongoing, albeit hindered by some new and historic issues.

The insights gleaned from this article provide links to some of the issues and state of Scottish and British basketball today. However, they are only but a few. Since arrival, basketball in participatory terms has grown considerably and exists as the second most played team sport behind association football.[219] In Scotland, the gender participatory split is becoming more equal while disparities between males and females are improving. Furthermore, the increasing opportunities available to all demographics reinforce the reputation of basketball as a game for all, not a 'girls' game'.[220] Yet, similarly, decreases in, or an entire lack of, council or state funding remain a common issue. Despite research highlighting the value of basketball to society, this has resulted in more private investments and creative entrepreneurialism to grow the game.[221] While attempts have been made to raise awareness of the history of basketball and how it can better serve broader purposes, in the future, the usage of heritage to celebrate and reframe the significance of the sport to wider populations is necessary.[222] Likewise, there is a need for more research into basketball within Britain. To resolve this lacuna, future research will either need to develop their own database or utilise more creative approaches such as oral histories.

While seven influences were outlined, this does not provide a fully adequate framework to understand the genesis of basketball or notions of the modernisation of sports more generally. This stems from the lack of existing empirical materials and historiography to develop more holistic insights around basketball in Scotland alongside its relationship with the wider national, international and sporting ecosystem. There are potentially more than seven factors which impacted basketball; the points discussed are more extensive. The broader influence of culture and society upon basketball alongside its early protagonists has only been briefly unearthed and requires further exploration. Furthermore, other socio-economic-political-

cultural factors warranting consideration aside from gender inequalities such as deprivation and migration could have been involved in developing or inhibiting the sport. While further materials become available, future research might modify points emphasised here, but given the limited available knowledge on Scottish basketball, this article lays foundations.

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Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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