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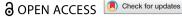
## **Ross Walker**

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## James Naismith: the creation of basketball and the Scottish connection

Ross Walker

Faculty of Health Sciences and Sport, University of Stirling, Stirling, UK

#### **ABSTRACT**

The influence of Scotland on the creation of basketball has not been documented. This article addresses two key themes: the links between the early development of basketball and Scotland; and how Scotland alongside the Scottishness of Naismith and his life experiences influenced the game's creation. Through discussing the life of Dr James Naismith up until basketball was developed in 1891, this article adds to and re-imagines some of the contributions to knowledge about the creation of basketball alongside the connection of the sport and Naismith to Scotland. The article proposes that if the devisal and creation of basketball are considered through the ancestorial, communal, cultural, educational, ethnic, personal, religious, social, and sporting lenses of Naismith, basketball at its inception can be argued to have Scottish influences. These stem from the Scottish heritage of Naismith alongside his life, upbringing and experiences in Scottish settler environments that likewise influenced his own life and future. In highlighting multiple Scottish influences upon Naismith, the article outlines how Scotland in conjunction with other prevalent factors including his professional training as a physical educationist, the pioneering efforts of the Young Men's Christian Association and the advances in muscular Christianity led to the development of basketball.

KEYWORDS Basketball; culture; identity; Naismith; Scotland

The creation of basketball can be traced to a specific location, person and time. According to the family of Dr James Naismith, the creator of basketball, 'to understand the game, you have first got to understand Dr. Naismith' whose Scottishness reflected his identity. Historiography to date has highlighted that basketball from different perspectives was not entirely novel, reinforcing the premise that narratives around Naismith and the creation of basketball must not be overcomplicated or simplified.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, there is a need to re-evaluate the history of basketball due to the

American-centric narrative that obscures the ideological influences on Naismith's thinking and his conception of the game.<sup>3</sup> This is because diverse intercultural knowledge exchanges amongst multiple Western contexts were involved in the process leading to its creation.<sup>4</sup> An issue that remains is that America is known worldwide as the home of basketball and Canada the home of its founding father, with Naismith described as an American Canadian and the sport considered American. Both views are accepted and expressed by organisations ranging from the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame to the University of Kansas alongside global society.<sup>5</sup> The Naismith family confirm and refute this postulation, stating basketball is not an American sport, it was created by a 'Canadian Scot'.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, considerable documentation about the history of basketball, its creation and Naismith's life exist, but only mentions Scotland when contextualising Naismith's background.<sup>7</sup> Despite the influence of Scotland upon the game's devisal, its contribution remains unknown.

Through discussing the life of Naismith prior to the creation of basketball in 1891, the article adds to and re-imagines contributions to the development of basketball by outlining the Scottish connection to the game and Naismith. It supplements debates around the process of taking an office-based designed game to its practical operation with thirteen rules of play. To do so, it documents the journey Naismith underwent before conceiving basketball whilst discovering its function, rationale and structure. This article is subsequently structured around two themes: the link between Scotland and the early development of basketball; and how Scotland influenced the game's devisal. It proposes that alongside factors ranging from his professional development as a physical educator to the pioneering methods of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the impact of muscular Christianity and settler colonial dimensions steeped in proselytisation alongside social Darwinism, Scotland helped inspire basketball's creation. If the devisal and rationale behind the formulation of basketball are considered through the associated ancestral, communal, cultural, educational, ethnic, personal, religious, social, and sporting lens of Naismith, basketball at inception arguably bears Scottish influences. While it is contended that Scotland helped influence basketball's creation, the question remains to what extent.

Given the lack of knowledge and understanding of the relationship between basketball, Naismith and Scotland, this article offers a holistic and encompassing approach to understanding Naismith, highlighting the influence of Scotland on the creation of basketball through his background, development and upbringing. With historiography to date focusing on American and Canadian ecosystems, this article expands upon existing knowledge bases by detailing the Scottish context.<sup>8</sup> The article's intentions are not to establish Scottish-centric research celebrating Scots within

Canada's settler-colonial hierarchy or claim basketball or Naismith as Scottish. Neither does it ignore seminal and modern historiography of Canada alongside Canadian sport.9 Rather, based on the empirical data drawn upon and areas discussed, it provides insights into basketball, Naismith and Scotland's relationship by consulting more context-specific sources. 10 It helps fill a gap around the Scottish-basketball connection, supplementing current historiography on Naismith alongside the creation of basketball and Scottish settler communities during the diaspora. While some historiographical elements might be considered outdated, they remain among the only existing materials that help contextualise each subject matter. Collectively, they revealed a range of themes while providing insights into settler colonial lifestyles alongside broader socio-economic-political issues, but ultimately revealed the Scottish-basketball link through Naismith. When and if further information becomes available in the future, the foundations for more in-depth research into the Scottish basketball connection will have been established.

## The Naismith family heritage

While basketball was born in Massachusetts, the Naismith name was born in Scotland. My great grandfather, John Naismith, was the last of a long line of Scots in the family. My grandad was very proud of his Scottish roots, but our family heritage is not the only tie basketball has to this country. 11

Naismith was the son of a Scot, John Naismith, and Scottish born Margaret Young, whose family hailed from Glasgow. 12 Young was born in Ramsay Township, Ontario, in 1833 to Robert Young from Cambuslang and Annie Mason of Johnston.<sup>13</sup> John was also born in 1833, in Melville Street, Tradeston, Gorbals, to Ann Wood of Pollockshields and James Naismith, the Gorbals.<sup>14</sup> Naismith was Scottish by parentage and with his Scottish ancestry predating the late Middle Ages, has been described as a 'Son of Scotland'. 15 The Naismith family endorsed the Scottish-basketball connection confirming Glasgow was 'where the background started and a lot of that thinking came out of this very neighbourhood'. 16 The insights and influence referred to links to the two families' staunch Presbyterian and Church of Scotland backgrounds. 17 The Church of Scotland's ethos was embodied and actioned by Naismith throughout his life and best reflected through his desire to help people. 18 One example was the later creation of basketball which through the onus of pacifying some students, reflected the church's philosophy: to inspire the people of Scotland and beyond through religion whilst serving communities.<sup>19</sup> The Naismith's family history alongside their religious beliefs establishes a direct link between basketball, Naismith and Scotland.

The Young family in 1832 alongside John Naismith and his grandfather in 1839 emigrated from Greenock to Ramsay Township, Lanark County, Ottawa Valley, British North America.<sup>20</sup> Ramsay Township was founded in 1821 by Scottish immigrants, Andrew Dickson (Dalkeith, Midlothian) and Duncan Campbell (Campbelltown, Argyllshire) alongside six hundred other Scots.<sup>21</sup> Given the forty settlement societies from around Glasgow who organised the emigration, they were called the Lanark Society Settlers. 22 Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, ninety thousand Scots relocated to Lanark County.<sup>23</sup> These were predominantly from Glasgow-based constituencies, but also Perthshire.<sup>24</sup> Similarly to other emigrees, the Naismith and Youngs left Scotland seeking a better life with a letter from Glasgow in the Almonte Gazette highlighting how Glaswegians regularly endured intense starvation.<sup>25</sup> Societal issues from austerity and disease to epidemics, mortality, overcrowding, poverty and unemployment among other problems were rife throughout the 1800s and prompted emigration to Upper Canada that simultaneously strengthened colonisation.<sup>26</sup>

With the Naismith and Youngs hailing from lower-working-class backgrounds, employed in mills and trades such as carpentry and stonemasonry, emigration offered possibilities for improved livelihoods.<sup>27</sup> Despite these occupations, the Naismiths and Youngs were enticed to Upper Canada by opportunities for land to farm.<sup>28</sup> From 1821 onwards, the British Government earmarked sixty thousand acres for land acquisition whereby upon arrival, emigrants selected plots in Ramsay Township.<sup>29</sup> This appealed to emigrants because unlike in Scotland, it provided sustainability and security, becoming self-dependent for food and income without the threat of forced eviction or dismissal.<sup>30</sup> In Almonte, John stayed with his uncle Peter, who had left Glasgow in 1832 and started farming.<sup>31</sup> This was where John met Margaret whose family operated the neighbouring steading.<sup>32</sup> The two families became successful farmers with Peter Naismith, Peter Young and Robert Young winning arable and pastoral accolades at the North Riding of Lanark Agricultural Annual Show.<sup>33</sup> In 1861, the competition was held on the Young family farm and their successes were published in the Almonte Gazette.34

The hardships of the family background and ecosystem in which they settled instilled stereotypical Scottish characteristics in Naismith from birth, ensuring he became like his fellow Scots: a 'rugged individual'.<sup>35</sup> Yet, the decision to leave Scotland to provide their children with a better life by relocating to Upper Canada proved a key factor in providing Naismith with the opportunity and necessary environment to later devise basketball. Had they stayed in Scotland or emigrated elsewhere, basketball might have never been developed at all or in its known form. Whilst the Scottish input would have remained, the circumstances and nature of his upbringing would have differed. The Naismith and Young family heritage in Scotland



provides key insights into understanding the person Naismith would later become and explanations for the difficulties and challenges endured during his upbringing. These stem from the family dynamics, and the context surrounding his youth that emanate from his Scottish background and began in Scotland.

#### The birth of James Naismith

'Dr. Naismith was born Nov. 6, 1861, on lot 21, Concession 9, in the Township of Ramsay in Lanark County in the province of Ontario.'36

Naismith was born in Almonte, Canada West, in 1861. Given the year, Naismith was not born in the independent, self-governing nation of Canada, nor was he a Canadian citizen. The British North America Act, or the Constitution Act, which officially granted the constitution of Canada and recognised its confederacy, was not passed by the British Parliament until 1867.<sup>37</sup> This did not grant sovereignty. Under the British North America Act, the Union of Canada remained a British territory.<sup>38</sup> It was not until after the First World War that Canadian independence and nationalism emerged.<sup>39</sup> This stemmed from events and legislation such as the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, the Chanak Crisis in 1922 and the Halibut Treaty of 1923. 40 Yet, it was the 1931 Statute of Westminster that established Canada as an autonomous and equal country to Britain. 41 However, it was the Second World War that arguably shifted the Canadian identity with people now considering themselves Canadian over British. 42 The Canadian Citizenship Act commencing in 1947, this legalised Canadian citizenship. 43 Yet, Naismith was born before the country's birth, in the Province of Canada, British North America, which was within the British Empire. 44 He also died in 1939 before Canadian citizenship was possible. 45

Under the Union of Canada, the British Government classified people as a 'British subject'. 46 British subject status preceded Canadian citizenship. People deemed Canadian citizen were British subjects. Similar to the contemporary Home Nations (England/Scotland/Wales), which had and do have a collective yet individual identity, being a British subject also entailed dual identities.<sup>47</sup> Scots could consider themselves Scottish and Canadian, albeit in declaring the latter, they would be no less a Scot. 48 Columns in the Almonte Gazette reflect this dual identity as Scots regularly expressed a strong affinity with Scotland whilst acknowledging their residency within the 'Dominion of Canada' and 'colonial empire'. 49 The difference between identities was Scotland was expressed through civil society rather than the state as its outlet.<sup>50</sup> However, the empire was important to Scottish nationalism as Scots helped develop Canadian business, education, medicine, military, politics, sport and much more.<sup>51</sup> This involvement supported the construction of the dual identity by generating pride in their new host environments. Based on this information, referring to Naismith as solely a Canadian is inaccurate and misrepresents his identity.

Under the British empire's contemporary political circumstances, Naismith alongside his family, friends and local community members, considered themselves Scottish over British or Canadian.<sup>52</sup> Although Naismith is labelled a Canadian, this misconception stems from geographical positioning alongside contemporary politics dictating how he was and has been perceived. Whereas if his personal preference and description of himself were considered, this makes him more British, despite his identity being Scottish-Canadian or a Canadian Scot. The Almonte Gazette reinforced this point, highlighting how Scots in Almonte believed being Scottish is what binds us to this earth'. 53 The political context Naismith was raised in catalysed national tensions, alongside new symbols and rhetoric of Scottish national identity, which was historically characterised as weak, defined by kailyard and tartanry.<sup>54</sup> Yet, they were common and showcased with pride in Almonte as Scots' regularly expressed their affinity with Scotland. 55 The Scots' outspokenness within print media throughout Ramsay Township facilitated this rhetoric whilst maintaining and prioritising Scottishness. Scottish nationalism resultantly grew in Almonte and was reflected in Naismith's personality through his passion for Scottish culture.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, to other second generation Scots worldwide, they harboured a genuine desire to connect with these imagined pasts and communities through the church, organisations, schools and visitations.<sup>57</sup> This affinity helped reinvigorate Scottish culture in the nineteenth century, colonial settlers maintain their connection to Scotland and second generation Scots develop bonds with their ancestorial homeland.

#### Almonte

'I was closely associated with the people of this district, and I recall distinctly some of the lessons that I learned as a boy.'58

The Scottish settler community and its lifestyle influenced Naismith throughout his life. The foundation for the Scottish character and identity of Naismith was formed in the 'hardworking, straight-talking and godfearing' ward of Almonte.<sup>59</sup> Robert McFarlane from Neilston alongside other Scots, developed the area in 1821.<sup>60</sup> These lower-working-class blacksmiths, carpenters, cotton spinners and shoemakers built infrastructure from churches to houses, and started businesses including the local Agricultural Association and lumber mills, determining the settlement's culture and future. 61 Throughout the nineteenth century, Scots continually arrived at Almonte House, selecting available plots while transporting the latest sporting provisions alongside clothing and materials such as Scottish tweed, which were sold in local stores.<sup>62</sup> From the Scots' developments, the Almonte Gazette observed how the ward went from 'comparative obscurity into an important and thriving village' before becoming a corporation in 1871, comprising thirty stores and forty businesses. 63 This determination and diligence to develop Almonte into a thriving area with communitarianism at its core was instilled in Naismith who grew up amidst these societal developments. The communitarianism was reflected in his later creation of basketball which through its team nature became its own community of practice with players dependent on each other, similarly to how the people of Almonte depended on each other to survive. Whilst English and Irish natives lived nearby, specific wards amassed a growing and identifiable Scottish community, becoming Scottish-dominated and orientated.<sup>64</sup> Almonte was one example that helped develop Naismith's mindset and outlook alongside his 'Scottish accent' and other identifiable characteristics. 65

The Almonte Scots established a close-knit Scottish landscape bound by national identity whereby similarly to Scotland, day-to-day life prioritised the church.<sup>66</sup> The importance of religion to Scots in the community was reflected in a poem published in the Almonte Express in the broad Scottish dialect entitled, 'Scotland and her Kirk'. 67 Through verse, it stated that despite the distance and challenges encountered, Scots would defend and remain loyal to the church because of its importance in their lives, providing spiritual guidance, a sense of meaning and community cohesion. During the 1800s, the Church of Scotland played an active role in emigration, helping establish churches, train ministers and offering religious instruction for Scots in Upper Canada. 68 This provided less dislocation for emigres, replicating their old life in new environments. <sup>69</sup> In 1851, Presbyterians comprised 21 per cent of the 952,004 population of Upper Canada, typically congregating in Scottish communities throughout the region.<sup>70</sup> Religion significantly influenced Naismith while his family wanted to instil staunch Presbyterian and Church of Scotland values.<sup>71</sup> Alongside attending school and undertaking chores, his daily routine incorporated morning and evening prayers alongside readings from the Bible, Good Book and Pilgrim's Progress.<sup>72</sup> Naismith also attended church services, the weekly Sabbath and taught a Sunday School Class at St. Johns Presbyterian Church which he later reinstated at other institutions. 73 Following the Church of Scotland split in 1843, St. Johns was a new church that distanced itself from the British government and supported the 'Scottish sermon'.74

The Almonte Gazette, the successor of the Almonte Express, retained a Scottish readership amongst the constituency and maintained its Scottish identity by continuing to publish content that connected to Scotland. The newspaper was established in 1867 by William Templeman with the assistance of R.J. Northgraves.<sup>75</sup> Templeman was a second-generation Scot who made the newspaper an 'advocate of reform' and 'a benefit to its neighborhood', becoming the 'exponent of public sentiment'. A prominent feature of public sentiment was the Scottish identity whereby colonial newspapers often conformed to the communal model of interest and motivation.<sup>77</sup> Many volumes of the Almonte Express and Almonte Gazette featured articles such as 'A Movement on Foot in Scotland', 'Curious Trial in Scotland', 'Fashionable Tailoring' and 'Terrible Calamity in Ayr, Scotland', keeping locals updated with Scottish affairs whilst maintaining connections to the 'old country'. 78 In the 1800s, local newspapers publicised specifically Scottish content rather than national print media which was more Anglicised because it appealed to readers and was more reflective of their identity and interests. 79 Given that colonial newspapers accepted advertisements, articles, columns and extracts written about the community, by community members, the regional Scottish dialects employed showcased that people identified as Scottish and upheld Scottish mannerisms. 80 Naismith was subsequently raised in a transplanted Scottish community which simultaneously evolved with Scotland and remained up-to-date on current Scottish affairs.

Poetry in the Almonte Gazette manifested the Scottishness of the local community and subsequently influenced Naismith. Written in the broad Scots' dialect in weekly features entitled 'Poetry' and 'Song', it often romanticised the Scottish landscape, telling stories about Scotland from the history of clanship to the Lowland and Highland clearances.<sup>81</sup> Common themes reflected the Scots' oppression from and resentment of the English bourgeoisie, the 'Lairds' and the rejection of Anglicisation. 82 Poetry isolated Scottish traditions while the national dialect constructed a collective identity, national affinities, and a rationale for recognising a common culture, which bound people to Scotland.<sup>83</sup> Those upholding Scottish customs solidified the Scottish national identity.<sup>84</sup> These original works helped construct the local Almonte Scots' identity, contributing to the spread and maintenance of Scottish culture through supplementing Robert Burns and Walter Scott.<sup>85</sup> For Naismith, poems helped him learn to read, spell and write with the broad Scots' dialect becoming his first language. 86 Burn's work moulded his character and demeanour with Naismith regularly referring to Scotland, his Scottish values and Burn's messages in personal documents.<sup>87</sup> For example, Naismith later gifted his wife, Maude, a book by Burns with the enclosed message: 'Tae the bonniest lass'. 88 In day-to-day life, Naismith used Scottish mannerisms and words stemming from this introduction to, engagement with and daily enactments in childhood. It could be argued that Scottish poetry helped generate the necessary foundations to support Naismith in his later education. Without having developed a basis for reading, spelling and writing, Naismith may have followed a different route away from pursuing higher education towards the countless manual labour opportunities available in his local community.

The music further evoked Scottishness in Naismith. Scottish celebrations alongside traditional dances and songs from 'A Nicht wi' Burns' and 'A Nicht wi' the Jacobites' to 'Twa Hours at Hame' regularly occurred in the Almonte Music Hall.<sup>89</sup> Inspired by these performances, Naismith played Scottish music on the fiddle in his youth. 90 Naismith alongside his uncle Peter and grandfather Robert were also lifelong members of the local choir while his grandfather assumed a senior role and determined song choices. The Almonte Choir at rehearsals and weekly services also sang Scottish songs which told stories emphasising Scottishness such as 'Bruce's Address to his Army' by Burns. 91 This song evokes a strong Scottish sentiment and sense of patriotism because it refers to Robert the Bruce defeating the English army at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314 during the Scottish War of Independence.<sup>92</sup> These histories still sustain the identity of Scotland today.<sup>93</sup> As the information alludes, selecting and performing music underpinned with political and anti-English sentiments suggests the Naismith and Young family shared Burn's national pride and were staunch Scots.<sup>94</sup>

The Scottish identity was further expressed through organised affairs. With a population of two thousand people in 1869, the community offered activities embedding Scottish themes.<sup>95</sup> In 1872, the Upper Canada Tract and Book Society formed a branch whereby works by Scottish authors including Henry Mackenzie and Tobias Smollett were read fortnightly.<sup>96</sup> The local gallery hosted annual exhibits comprising paintings and pictures of scenery and wildlife in Scotland alongside blankets and quilts depicting tartan alongside historical artefacts, from clothing to shells.<sup>97</sup> The most ocular expression of Scottishness gleaned from the Almonte Gazette was through sport. Organised by social groups including the Committee of the St. Andrew's Society, settlers cultivated links to Scotland through tartan athletic activities and Highland Games. 98 Due to the popularity and sentimental value of these events, the Almonte residents between 1879 and 1882 celebrated Dominion Day with Scottish games because this represented progress towards separation from the British government. 99 Maintaining heritage helped strengthen the cohesion amongst Scottish settlers whilst shaping the emerging identities of first-generation Scots like Naismith who participated in these events. 100 These experiences were an important feature of his upbringing and helped develop his Scottish affinity and passions.

The main sport played locally was curling. The first organised sports club in Almonte was the Almonte Curling Club, established in 1855. 101 From its inception, Robert and Peter Young were active, long-term members. 102 Consisting of over twenty members and multiple teams, participants played matches every week on the Mississippi River at the Evergreen Rink during the winter against other teams from Upper Canada and internally at the Club Championship. 103 The success of curling stems from its Scottish roots alongside the Canadian climate, which though different, helped transplant the sport. <sup>104</sup> The Scots' development of activities, games and sport in Upper Canada during the nineteenth century was significant, resonating amongst future pioneers like Naismith before spreading nationwide. <sup>105</sup> The Scots' sporting appetite and ingenuity allied to the environment led to the first sporting production from Naismith; a pair of ice-skates. <sup>106</sup> Naismith's Scottish pride through the culture, diligence, habits and traditions learned in his Scots-dominated hometown remained throughout life. <sup>107</sup> In contrast to youth living in Scotland during the 1800s, Naismith's upbringing was arguably no different. <sup>108</sup> The tight-knit ecosystem alongside the overseas basis arguably prompted greater interactions with Scottish elements than perhaps those currently residing in Scotland.

#### Bennie's Corners and duck-on-the-rock

'Duck on the rock that I learned at Bennie's Corner School gave me the idea of the horizontal goal. The three games that contributed most were games that I had played as a boy.' $^{109}$ 

Bennie's Corners is considered a place of inspiration behind basketball. 110 With only seventy-five people, it was a close community. 111 Naismith and his friends, who catalysed his competitiveness, met there for gamesmanship. 112 In the summer, they canoed, fished, high-jumped, hunted and swam while in winter, variations of bobsledding, snowshoeing and tobogganing alongside ice-skating were indulged. 113 Boxing and fisticuffs were also popular, but Naismith particularly enjoyed Caledonia and Highland Games associated events such as hill racing and tug-of-war whilst their outdoor rollicking resembled caber tossing, hammer throwing and atlas stone lifting.<sup>114</sup> Watching the Highland Games growing up informed his sporting ideology, teaching Naismith about sportsmanship, but also sport's broader meaning to people like the Caledonia Games' importance to Scots overseas.<sup>115</sup> Aside from these pre-established sports, Naismith also devised and played self-created team games requiring ingenuity, building resources such as toboggans from available materials. This creativity provided the foundations for the later development of basketball while these boyish exploits influenced the devisal of basketball. 117

In childhood, John and Peter Naismith taught James duck-on-the-rock. <sup>118</sup> Connor has described the activity as 'an old Scottish bairns' game'. <sup>119</sup> Said to be popular among Scottish youth, it was one John and Peter learned in Scotland before emigrating and introducing it to Naismith. <sup>120</sup> The game was played behind blacksmiths in Bennie's Corners. It comprised seven steps: locate a stone about first size and a rock standing a foot high; nominate one person to be the 'guard' and place their stone on the rock; everyone else lines up fifteen feet away; each person takes turns throwing their stone at the 'guard's' stone, trying to displace it; if somebody removes the

'guard's' stone, the 'guard' joins the line and waits to throw their stone; if someone misses, they run and get their stone before the 'guard' catches them; if the runner gets tagged, they become the 'guard' and swap positions before resuming. 121 To prevent injury from throwing stones, Naismith adapted it by using apples. Naismith recalls duck-on-the-Rock as a favoured childhood pastime, one that helped formulate basketball, sparking the creative reasoning behind its devisal. 122 He was introduced to it through its Scottish affiliation because wherever Scots settled, they translocated national and local games into the new host environment to retain Scottishness. 123 This enabled second-generation Scots to have similar childhoods to their parents and youth in Scotland. 124

This childhood pastime significantly influenced the development of basketball. 125 It provided two important principles. The first was the desired target's (basket/rock) elevated positioning which gave Naismith the idea to put two peach baskets at either end of the court. 126 Naismith purposely implemented this component to prevent defenders from making the ball's ability to enter the goal impossible, requiring the ball to be tossed rather than thrown or the goal rushed. 127 It also removed aggressive behaviours, requiring characteristics like finesse. 128 This links to the second element regarding the technique used to score. Similarly to basketball, duck-onthe-rock was also a game of strategy. 129 To effectively reach the guard's stone, stones were launched in an arched manner. 130 Naismith introduced this approach to basketball for greater entertainment and enjoyment. 131 His incorporation and remembrance of duck-on-the-rock reflects his Scottish kin's influence in Almonte whose ingenuity in developing sport in Canada was engrained in him through the necessity to become innovative with games due to the underdeveloped Almonte environment and lack of resources to enable participation. 132 The lagging resources prompted the cultivation of skills such as craftmanship which were required to put his ideas into practice. This highlights the importance of the Naismiths' decision to settle in Upper Canada because the isolated and harsh ecosystem necessitated his development of soft and hard skills from ambition to critical thinking.

#### Childhood influences

The last time ... James saw his mother was from the back buck board waving goodbye as his uncle took the children to live with their maternal grandmother, Annie Young. Her home was between Bennie's Corners and Almonte. The family believed in a religious upbringing; worshipping morning and evening at home and of course, church on Sundays. 133

One key influence was his Scottish grandmother, Annie Mason Young. 134 A life-changing moment for Naismith was when both their parents and his

grandfather died of typhoid in 1870, leaving his grandmother to continue his upbringing under Scottish customs. 135 Through the difficult childhood circumstances, Naismith at his mother's bequest 'was raised as a wee Scot'. 136 An important aspect was learning the value of honesty and hard work through labouring in the family home and on the farm, helping foster valuable life lessons and skills which assisted his personal development. 137 Yet, sport was only afforded to Naismith providing he had tended to the animals and crops with play a privilege to be earned. 138 Naismith was held accountable for completing his tasks as the family were dependent on each other for survival. 139 Albeit often missing school to support his family when extra work was required, labouring built character in Naismith. 140 This absence partially led to him leaving school at age fifteen before working as a lumberjack for four years. 141 However, he strongly believed in family values which ultimately determined his life choices. 142 One example was when Naismith was a lumberjack and drinking whiskey in a saloon whereby upon a family associate sharing his mother's disapproval, he never consumed alcohol again. 143

Another influential figure was his uncle, Peter Young. Following Annie's death in 1872, from 1873 to 1883 Naismith lived with Peter who worked for him as an adult. 144 Peter 'disliked cowards' and expected Naismith to 'fear only god'. 145 Determined to be a good guardian, Young continued the family's desire to turn Naismith into a respectable Scot. 146 Albeit through extreme measures, Young developed Naismith through life's harsh realities, labour and religion, where he 'inculcated presbyterian integrity into the intellect of James'. 147 Both families were deeply religious and succeeded in developing a 'devout Presbyterian' whereby 'the lessons of the Lord were well ingrained in the mind of young Naismith'. 148 Adolph Rupp, a later student of Naismith confirmed this, stating: 'You'll never find a more honorable, honest, Christian man than Dr. Naismith'. 149 Two moments define the challenging yet impactful upbringing of Naismith under his 'stern Scotch uncle': whilst attempting to save the family sleigh and horses from drowning in the Mississippi River after ice collapsed, Young left Naismith alone to risk his life; and Young forced Naismith to walk to school in life-threatening conditions amidst minus thirty-degree temperatures. 150 Any problems encountered, Naismith resolved them himself. 151 Young believed these experiences encouraged maturation whilst teaching Naismith initiative and self-reliance, instilling solid 'Scotch family virtues', which helped develop his inventiveness that he later applied when creating basketball. 152 Under Young's strict tutelage, Naismith became a strong, skilled and well-developed person with staunch Scottish values engrained in his mindset. 153

The third key actors who contributed to Naismith's journey and growth were the McKenzie family. In 1876, Naismith befriended Robert Tait McKenzie, a fellow second-generation Scot. 154 McKenzie was the son of local Presbyterian minister, William McKenzie from Kelso, who emigrated to Ramsay Township in 1857 and influenced Naismith's decision to pursue theology. 155 In becoming life-long best friends, McKenzie, a selfcertified Scot 'whose heart really was in Scotland', helped guide Naismith towards the key steps to creating basketball. 156 McKenzie was: responsible for Naismith returning to school and attending McGill University; accredited for helping him stay committed to his faith and values; his university roommate; his teammate and motivator behind trying new sports at school and university; his comrade in the Fifth Royal Scots; his assistant director of physical training at McGill; and his most trusted confident whom Naismith sought advice and support. Together these 'spiritual brothers' epitomised Scottish stereotypes, embodying and recreating the traditions of passionate Scots worldwide from reciting traditional poetry and music to partaking in Scottish country dancing and sword dancing. 158 Owing to these childhood-adolescent influences, Dewar believes 'A powerful Scotch Canadian Christian was the resultant outcome of these early impressions'. 159 According to Naismith's family, these boyhood experiences profoundly influenced his entire outlook on life and helped hone the decisions for his future. 160

## Almonte high school

During school life, athletics of all kinds interested me and whenever there was an opportunity, I took part in them. My progress was largely due to the work of the H.S. Prin. Peter McGregor who spent recess and dinner hours preparing several students for matriculation exercises. 161

Naismith enrolled at Almonte High School in 1880 under Scottish headmaster, Dr Peter McGregor. McGregor is accredited with transforming the institution from a lowly ranked, poorly coordinated school to which few parents sent their children to one 'modern in every way and was a credit to the Board of Education'. 162 McGregor also assisted 'his pupils along the path of learning' and enabled 'his pupils to make a success of their lives'. 163 A former blacksmith with a thick Scottish accent, McGregor introduced an education system consisting of components that youth in Scotland were simultaneously undertaking. 164 By the nineteenth century, Scotland had one of the best education systems worldwide which was suited to Scots' needs. 165 At secondary schools, character, feelings, intellect and manners were inculcated into adolescents through daily lessons connected to the life of Scotland alongside Scots' identity. 166 Arguably, the reason why Scots went on to be successful in Upper Canada, assuming important roles in its development from doctors to prime ministers, was because of this educational background. 167 The Scottish education system provided a basis, skillset and understanding enabling people to excel, opening Scots' minds to new horizons whilst empowering students to strive for success and make something of their life. 168 If true, this educational experience contributed to Naismith's later success.

Classes at Almonte High School incorporated Scottish themes. For example, geography covered different areas of Scotland. 169 In school. Naismith enjoyed geometry, mathematics and science, but found grammar and languages difficult. 170 However, to attend McGill University, he had to pass exams in Latin and Greek whilst obtaining an acceptable written standard.<sup>171</sup> Naismith subsequently dedicated his time to teaching himself these subjects. 172 What helped him prepare was when in his senior year in 1882, a local teacher became ill whereby Naismith taught their class until they could return.<sup>173</sup> Upon inspection, his students performed well in grammar, but ranked lowest in mathematics, highlighting that teaching your most difficult subject was easier than your preferred, necessitating more work and greater understanding. 174 This student-teacher experience in a Scottish-influenced institution surrounded by Scottish educators helped inform his later career decisions and pathway, providing the necessary confidence, experience and knowledge to teach post-university graduation. <sup>175</sup> Naismith confirms this statement, pinpointing the support from McGregor as a key factor in advancing his personal and career development. 176 He credited the local community which donated resources such as books to facilitate his studies. 177 According to Naismith, these factors allied to his self-determination collectively earned him a fellowship at McGill University. 178

At Almonte High School, sports helped develop students. McKenzie recalled, 'education was not confined to the classroom', stating the 'gymnasium filled an important place' as here 'healthy bodies were trained' and the 'spirit of observation and cooperation cultivated to a degree that could not be attained elsewhere'. <sup>179</sup> In his personal communications, Naismith partook in physical activity at every given opportunity, showcasing his athletic ability whilst honing his passion for sport. 180 The school's philosophy entailed 'active minds generally accompanied healthy, vigorous bodies' whereby people excelling in physical activity became 'a leader in life', providing they performed adequately academically. 181 Naismith epitomised this belief and later advocated it in his teaching, believing 'clean athletics could be used to set a high standard of living for a young person' whilst instilling confidence, respect and preparing them for adulthood. 182 While outdoor games and sport received attention, education remained the priority. 183 Having spent three years in an educational environment that recognised and manifested the value of sport, this mentality helped Naismith create basketball. It arguably informed the rationale behind the desire for a clean form of sport, one which instilled non-sporting outcomes such as characteristics, life lessons and transferable skills in the process.

Alongside his family, friends, local ministers and fellow Scottish settlers, McGregor helped Naismith realise his life's purpose was to join the ministry and to 'help my fellow beings'. 184 Being at a small school of forty-two pupils, Naismith received significant one-to-one time with McGregor. 185 In one conversation, McGregor told him to 'Go out and serve your fellow man' with the pulpit offering an opportunity to become a positive societal role model and messenger of goodwill. While multiple people informed this decision, it can be attributed to his family background alongside the devout Presbyterian environment of his upbringing. 187 Naismith testifies the lessons learned during his youth such as initiative and perspicacity 'proved great training for us boys, and prepared us to meet our future problems'. 188 Considering the success of his fellow Almonte Scots who had migrated, Naismith left Almonte to live in Montreal and enrol at McGill University. 189 Providing he worked the farm every summer and upheld his Scottish-Presbyterian devotion, a promise Naismith later fulfilled by becoming a minster, his uncle Peter paid for his tuition. 190 Without his family paying for his fees and providing the necessary means of support, the opportunity to leave Almonte would not have been afforded to Naismith. Subsequently, Naismith may have never attended McGill and missed key moments, which led to Springfield and the creation of basketball.

## **Montreal and McGill University**

In the fall of 1883, I left Almonte to attend McGill University, in Montreal. I had been working on the farm for years, and my physical condition was excellent. It was with a firm determination and a great sense of confidence that I was to enter the study for the ministry. 191

In Montreal, Naismith was surrounded by Scottish influences. Currently divided by language and religion, Scots in Montreal, by virtue of their wealth, were an authoritative group. 192 By the 1880s, Montreal was Canada's business and intellectual centre with half the leaders of Scottish origins. 193 As the Montreal Gazette article, 'The Scot in Canada', highlighted in 1884, Scottish character and culture were noticeable in Montreal. 194 Aspects of society deemed Canadian like the Church of Canada had Scottish associations and roots. 195 Furthermore, Scottish regalia including bagpipes, claymore swords and kilts among other traditions existed whilst clanship and Highlandism were regularly celebrated at events and parades. 196 These Scottish symbols were societal elites' claim to status. Through the shared Scottish heritage, they were also migrants like Naismith's opportunity to integrate within society. By using their Scottishness to connect with more established members of society, this could help acquire opportunities for personal and professional development whilst elevating their social standing.

The Scots' dominance within sport was apparent, especially in curling, golf, Highland Games, shinty and shot put, which originated from Scotland and were played by Caledonia Rules. 197 Fraternal societies, several of which Naismith joined, such as the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal were integral for sustaining the fiscal, socio-economic and social security of Scottish-Canadian newcomers. 198 They also supported Montreal's, broader community alongside civil society's development through fundraisers and investment. 199

Such societal influence reflects the founding of Scottish-based educational institutions like McGill University by James McGill in 1813. Naismith enrolled here in 1883 before joining the McGill-affiliated Presbyterian College in 1887. 200 Despite contemporary socio-economic-political pressures enforcing conformity to English models, the Scottish approach to higher education surrounding broad, philosophical interpretations separated these institutions.<sup>201</sup> With McGill labelled as the centre of Anglo culture and prominence, Naismith discusses how his mindset was shaped by British academics at McGill such as his favourite professor who guided him to the YMCA. 202 Had Naismith not followed this advice, he may have not joined Springfield. Whilst at McGill, Naismith integrated and socialised with other Scots through the church, choirs and literature societies, continuing the social aspects of his life in Almonte whilst upholding his Scottish Presbyterian values. 203 This showcases how maintaining his Scottish identity and heritage was important to Naismith. During the 1880s, birthplaces, family backgrounds, education, ethnic and religious traditions alongside political and social activities determined the changing composition of progressive Scots in Montreal from mediocrity to societal changemakers.<sup>204</sup> Binding Montreal, McGill and Naismith to this proposition is the Scottish connection, meaning his Scottish identity underpinned his personal and professional development, growth and success in Montreal as he used it to help successfully navigate the ecosystem.

Whilst at McGill, Naismith and McKenzie enlisted with The Fifth Regiment: Royal Scots of Canada Highlanders who were formed in 1862 and where from 1883-1890, he became a Captain. 205 Known as the 'kilted laddies', the regiment wore red coats and tartan kilts alongside 'plaids, trews, tunics' and hats and had a marching band with bagpipers playing traditional music.<sup>206</sup> The unit comprised around three hundred members and were societally active, holding campfires, smokers, banquets, balls and benefit concerts for social causes while volunteering with the poor.<sup>207</sup> Membership was encouraged for 'Scotchmen', particularly Presbyterians, as the company celebrated Scottish culture, often hosting military nights and Scottish music festivals with members required to know traditional Scottish dances.<sup>208</sup> The regiment also established themselves in sport, competing in the MacDougall Challenge Cup in shooting; bowling and curling; alongside Caledonia and Highland Games where they excelled in the caber

toss and tug-of-war. 209 Within physical training, officers established new drills alongside exercises with the ideology reflecting Almonte High School's, which utilised sport for prosocial outcomes. <sup>210</sup> Through upholding Scottishness, McKenzie believes the regiment heightened their Scottish identity and patriotism. 211 Furthermore, with the regiment's senior officers constituting prominent public figures, honourary members with knighthoods who formed Montreal's business elite and retired officers, they became valuable connections and mentors for Naismith to learn from and develop.<sup>212</sup> Upon arriving in Montreal, Naismith detailed his struggles to adapt to urban life alongside his university work, contemplating returning to Almonte where Scottish networks helped assimilation. <sup>213</sup> This unit provided migrants a surrogate family, helping bridge the home and host environments.<sup>214</sup> Had Naismith not joined the regiment, he might have missed a key life experience and pursued a different path away from his journey to creating basketball.

Sport was central to Naismith at university. Ever since Scots created the Montreal Curling Club in 1807, sport was engrained in the city's social life, which Scots used as an instrument for contact and reflected their origins in Scotland.<sup>215</sup> Establishing educational institutions like McGill provided the basis for Canadian collegiate and intercollegiate sport. 216 From 1884 to 1890, Naismith enjoyed multiple activities, excelling at athletics, boxing, football, gymnastics, lacrosse, rugby, soccer and tumbling.<sup>217</sup> Alongside winning accolades including the Wickstead Medal (1885/1887) for Best Sophomore and Senior Athlete, Naismith also devised the first American football helmet, a byproduct of the ingenuity he developed in his youth.<sup>218</sup> However, one key rugby game changed Naismith's entire outlook. Following a teammate swearing in frustration, but upon acknowledging Naismith, a theology and senior student, this inspired a sincere apology. 219 This made Naismith realise that combining his ministerial training with sport could help transform people's lives. 220 Yet, had it not been for two second-generation Scots, Donald Dewar and Jim McFarland, who convinced him to partake, Naismith may have never had the experience which sparked the idea of merging religion with sport.<sup>221</sup> Having also experienced stern opposition from his fellow theologians who encouraged him to forgo sport, Naismith may have dedicated his life to religion rather than deviating from societal norms and pressures to continue with physical activity.<sup>222</sup> Naismith left McGill in 1890 with degrees in physical education and theology, seeking an opportunity to pursue both. 223

## Springfield and the creation of basketball

Having lost his own parents, my grandad was very sensitive about how kids were instructed, how they were loved and cared for, and I am quite



confident that his view of the world and people came from very deep in his heritage out of Scotland.<sup>224</sup>

Following a conversation with Dr Luther Halsey Gulick, a missionary and social Darwinite, Naismith joined the YMCA International Training School based at Springfield College, Massachusetts, in 1890.<sup>225</sup> Upon arrival, Naismith became a part of a noticeable Scottish community, the 'Springfield Scots', who engaged in team sporting affairs. 226 This coterie began with David Naismith, a missionary from Glasgow who initially formed multiple 'Young Men's Societies' in Britain.<sup>227</sup> In 1830, he emigrated to America and started further Society's 'with a view to their moral and intellectual improvement'. 228 The Societies were the YMCA's forerunner alongside the Springfield training school and derived some of the original philosophies and intent from Scotland.<sup>229</sup> These organisations alongside their personnel also embraced and further developed the combination of religion with sport for goodwill.<sup>230</sup> This background provided some preliminary foundations behind basketball's ethos and rationale, which Naismith later embedded when devising and further developing the game. Likewise, Naismith's arrival in 1890 was well timed as it represented the period of seismic changes in attitudes towards physical education and games in North America. Naismith soon became an essential part of the debate around the future direction of physical culture where he drew upon his previous experiences.

Employed to teach physical education in 1891, Naismith was tasked with developing a new indoor game to help pacify and occupy disinterested and rowdy trainee YMCA secretaries who had rebelled against winter gymnastics/calisthenics.<sup>231</sup> With two weeks to devise an original sport, this proved challenging. Reflecting upon basketball's creation, Naismith accredited his Scottish roots for influencing and inspiring its engineering, stating 'All the stubbornness of my Scotch ancestry was aroused, all my pride of achievement urged me on'. 232 Naismith further commented: 'I would not go back and admit that I had failed'. 233 The stubbornness Naismith mentions links to the sentiment underpinning the Scottish, Almonte Scots and Naismith's identity. It epitomises how his Scottish upbringing instilled lasting life lessons from resilience to perseverance, which connect to his childhood labours and difficult upbringing. It is also attributable to his commitment to completing his university education despite hostilities from fellow students with his actions deviating from the contemporary status quo.<sup>234</sup> Given the contemporary social landscape, this stubbornness and drive to persevere can also be attributed to his Scottish heritage and family background. The Almonte Gazette believed such stereotypical Scottish characteristics of diligence and stubbornness were distinctive traits of 'Scotchmen', found upon those in the Almonte community.<sup>235</sup> Novak subsequently went as far to argue that the Scottish influence made basketball whilst Eunson has classified it as a game of Scottish expression.<sup>236</sup>

Basketball was first played on 21 December 1891 at the Springfield College gymnasium.<sup>237</sup> In publishing thirteen preliminary rules in the College newspaper, The Triangle, on 15 January 1892, the sport was born. 238 Helping formulate basketball, Naismith studied 'games from the philosophical side', considering the meaning behind them and their non-sporting outcomes. 239 The philosophical side connected his personal morals and Presbyterian values to the Muscular Christianity Movement, which currently entwined physical fitness and religion.<sup>240</sup> They collectively typify Naismith's desire to join the ministry to help people alongside the input of his close influencers' who shaped his outlook and guided him to Springfield. Believing sport enhanced spiritual development and instilling lessons of dedication, diligence and discipline, Naismith intended the game to help build Christian character and inculcate muscular Christian values.<sup>241</sup> Naismith arguably created basketball more broadly to generate an improved life for young people. 242 This altruistic onus underpinning basketball conceivably stems from the challenges, difficulties and roughness of his childhood experiences.<sup>243</sup> Thus, at its inception, basketball was to an extent influenced by Scotland and has some Presbyterian inspiration. Owing to Naismith's role in creating basketball, some original observers and players proposed calling it 'Naismithball'. 244 Given the life of Naismith to date, this cements that Scotland played a valuable and key role in helping create basketball.

## Life after creating basketball

'We have a copy of a little book that is titled, "How the Scots invented the world" ... and grandad's name should be in it.'245

Until his passing, Naismith maintained his Scottish beliefs, mindset, traits and values. Despite becoming removed from Scottish environments in later life, he held onto his Scottishness, retaining 'some of the tough spots of his early life' while 'the Scottish burr never quite disappeared from his speech'. <sup>246</sup> His Scottish affinity catalysed multiple pilgrimages to Scotland. <sup>247</sup> Beginning in 1893, Naismith visited relatives and locations his grandmother mentioned in Glasgow before returning to purchase his wedding attire in 1894. 248 Prior to basketball entering the 1936 Olympic Games, Naismith revisited his 'spiritual home' one last time, connecting to where his and the journey of basketball began. 249 These instances alongside the preceding content represent what Naismith authors, family and friends agree upon, that he was 'very proud of his Scottish heritage'. 250 His maintenance of Scottishness throughout life reveals it was not practiced through force or influence from the surrounding ecosystem, but he lived it day-to-day



through choice because Scotland was embedded in and represented Naismith. In the Naismith family's words, Scotland was 'a country that he called "home" and cared deeply about'. 251

## Evaluating the creation of basketball and the Scottish connection

Naismith's Scottishness was a key component in the process of creating basketball alongside other active factors. In terms of his professional development, the influence of muscular Christianity combined with his profession as a physical educationalist cannot be underestimated. The North American YMCA movement pioneered proceedings prior to the First Industrial Revolution. They linked physical activity to work undertaken within YMCA branches to promote the notion of muscular Christianity and the Protestant work ethic Naismith's life embodied. Naismith's professional training as a teacher of games and physical education were of great influence alongside his Scottish upbringing and experiences, which set foundations for and contributed to the overall factors leading to basketball's creation.

Similarly, the settler colonial dimensions, which were steeped in proselytisation alongside social Darwinism and were linked to the YMCA cannot be overstated. These factors seeped into Naismith's thinking with lacrosse, which influenced his vision of basketball, serving as an example of how the contemporary context around Naismith's life was part of the much larger process involving the removal of indigenous populations who were replaced by European settlers. Yet, the pre-existing environment and cultures when combined with notions of modernity helped guide his approach towards developing basketball. The range of interconnected influences upon Naismith represents the holistic pathway that led to the creation of basketball whereby a multidimensional complex is responsible for its devisal and inception.

If basketball's inspiration was considered through the ancestral, communal, cultural, educational, ethnic, family-peer influenced, personal, religious, social, societal, and sporting lens of Naismith, then a Scottish influence is evident. Traditional notions of Scottish character through traits such as diligence, logic, pragmatism, resilience, self-dependency and stubbornness alongside a democratic and theological ethos helped Naismith be successful in creating and shaping the Western experience through basketball. The Scottish emphasis on communitarianism, labouring, religion, schooling and sport provided Naismith with the necessary tools to succeed and develop basketball. Furthermore, the rugged landscape of his upbringing, which spurned his individualism and innovativeness, was reflective of the emigrants' needs to and process of establishing a new life in North America.

Until 1891, Naismith resided in a replanted Scottish community and Scot-dominated areas, living a lifestyle similar to those contemporarily in Scotland. In these environments, multiple Scots guided him to Springfield College and basketball. In day-to-day life, Naismith spoke in Scottish mannerisms, had a Scottish accent, used the broad Scots dialect, engaged with Scottish activities, organisations alongside traditions and spread his Scottish values that underpinned the actions of his life. Scottish culture, heritage, Presbyterianism, and nationalism formed his identity, representing who he was as a person, how he carried himself and how he saw the world around him. It also determined who he wanted to be and what he wanted to do in life. Scotland influenced the creation of basketball because Scotland influenced the creator of basketball who instilled elements of Scottishness into the sport.

As a product of his cultural heritage, Naismith was influenced by Scotland in life and his perceived community concerns. Naismith's upbringing amongst Scottish settlers alongside the sports played shows that his development in an area populated by Scottish settlers certainly influenced his career choices and ability to design sports of the future. His life experiences highlight the extent to which his Scottishness promoted his values throughout his life. The question proposed is that perhaps the challenge laid before him in creating a new indoor game would never have come to fruition without his life experiences and personal beliefs. Naismith arguably used his Scottishness and Scottish heritage to negotiate and navigate his life through Scottish settler communities until joining Springfield and being able to develop basketball.

As Naismith's life showcases, Scottishness did not always equal positivity. He endured periods of difficulty and hardship from laboursome farmwork to animosity at university for going against societal norms. Some negative experiences such as the lack of nurturing from his uncle and his family's inability to notice and manifest his creative potential arguably hindered his personal development. Similarly, the dominant and overbearing attitudes of how life should be contemporarily lived from certain Scottish kin in Almonte and peers at McGill represent the countless challenges he overcame with minimal support. However, these moments alongside positive aspects such as communitarianism and kinship helped him become the man who created the 'game with no name' and contribute to physical education and games in equal measure.

This research hopes to spark a rethink around the history of basketball. The errors surrounding Naismith and basketball's creation have generated a flywheel effect which has and continues to further perpetuate inaccuracies. In the future, basketball entities alongside scholarship must encourage and support greater exploration around the sport's background, foundations, and heritage to develop more accurate histories. The existing



inaccuracies that have spread worldwide and to each generation of new fans constrain and obfuscate the true meaning and purpose of basketball Naismith wanted. This process has disconnected the game from its beginnings. For now, Scotland should support the relinking, connecting to other actors and nations associated with Naismith alongside the global basketball community because similarly to America and Canada, Scotland warrants recognition for its role in helping create basketball.

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#### **Notes on contributor**

Dr Ross Walker is a Lecturer in Sport Management at the University of Stirling, formerly a Lecturer in Sport Development at the University of the West of Scotland and a Global Fellow at the Academy of Sport, The University of Edinburgh.