Curling in Canada¹

Stephen G. Wieting and Danny Lamoureux

North American fans of sport long have recognized the prominence of Canadians in ice hockey. Ever since cable television services expanded in the 1980's to offer both US and Canadian viewers programs with live coverage of the other countries' sporting events (and as this television industry capital allowed Canadian Football League franchises to bid for United States college stars), US football fans have admired the wide-open style of the Canadian Football League. These presumed dominant Canadian sports aside, the rink of Sandra Schmirler, the four-member team she led to the 1998 Gold Medal in Nagano, was named 'Canada's Team' in 1998 instead of the Grey Cup champion Calgary Stampeders of the Canadian Football League.²

World championships have been contested for men in curling since 1957 and women since 1979, and there are few sports of any kind that have witnessed so commanding a dominance by a nation of a sport as Canada in curling. The long and venerable tradition of curling in Canada is relatively unknown to fans and sport scholars outside that country. This general gap in international attention to the sport and its very uniqueness suggest its potent value as a resilient example of sport and cultural memory – that is, how portions of Canada's cultural legacy are remembered in sports writing, idealized athletic images, and national celebrations of a sporting endeavor. The very recent emergence of the sport onto an international viewing stage provides in sharp detail as well a record of how the history of a national sport and the special features of its performers negotiate the necessary but often treacherous channels leading to global attention. In this chapter,

possible reasons for the popularity in and success by Canada in curling are explored, details of the selection of curling as an Olympic sport are noted, and the special atmosphere surrounding the sport and its participants are reviewed. Within central driving themes of this volume, a conclusion notes the tension that persists between assuring the purity of the sport's history and integrity in Canada (and other countries where it is a durable sport) and making it a popular and marketable sport to other countries.

Canada and Curling³

Curling, a sport possibly invented as early as the first part of the 16th century in Scotland, appeared in a first literary reference in a poem in 1638. Curling is known to have been played by a Scottish regiment stationed in Canada in 1789. Due to the immigrant flow of Scots supported by the Canada Land Company, curling clubs were established by the settlers in North America in Kingston (1820), Fergus (1834), West Flamborough (1835), Toronto and Milton (1836), Galt and Guelph (1838), and Scarborough (1839). Curling interest and participation expanded along lines of western movement of the railroad in the later part of the 19th century. The sport is documented to have first appeared in the United States in 1832 in the Orchard Lake Curling Club. A national championship was established in Canada, the Brier, in 1927, with winners coming mainly from the Western provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan. Curling has been played for a considerable time within Europe in Denmark, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, France, Finland, Norway, and Sweden; and England and Wales in the UK; now 34 countries are members of the World Curling Federation. Despite this geographical spread of participation, the notion of a world championship has always been restricted to Canada

with a gradually expanding group of national competitors. Such a championship was first instituted between Scotland and Canada as the Scotch Cup (eventually including the US). This was replaced as the Air Canada Silver Broom in 1968 with teams from 10 countries. It now is the Ford Cup and includes ten countries (Canada, United States, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Germany. Scotland, and Denmark). The International Curling Federation (now the World Curling Federation) was founded in 1966, a continuing international effort led to full inclusion of curling into the winter Olympic Games held in Nagano, Japan in 1998. Canada won the men's silver medal and the women's gold women's medal in the sport at Nagano, further establishing that country's world prominence.

While a tantalizing question persists over why the Scots should have invented curling, a somewhat more accessible project and one of greater interest to students of 21st century sport patterns concerns reasons for the astonishing curling popularity and success within Canada.

With a population of 29,200,000 and an area of nearly 10 million square kilometers (2.9 persons per square km), Canada is relatively small (slightly over one-tenth the population of the United States) and possess a relatively large body of natural resources for sport and recreation. Canada is 16th in medals won in the Summer Olympics and tenth in the number won in the winter Olympics. Only Sweden, Hungary, Finland, Australia, and Romania, being smaller in size, have higher medal totals in the Summer Olympics. But five of the nine countries above Canada in winter Olympic medal totals (Norway, Austria, Finland, Sweden, and Switzerland) are smaller. So by virtue of possibility of support from a population that can provide a talent pool Canada is not exceptional. By

standard of living, only the United States has a higher GNP per capita than Canada of the 15 countries ahead in number of medals won in the Summer Olympics. Canada, with \$24,400 per capita, is just below Norway (\$24,500) and some \$4,000 below the US per capita income, making its individual wealth greater than seven of the nine countries that rank higher in the yield of Winter Olympic medals. World class sport requires some mechanism for a select populace to train exclusively; too, a country must invest in development programs. All of this is a national expense that favors more affluent and developed national sponsors. The success of other countries with considerably lower standard of living than Canada suggests these monetary resources cannot account clearly for the standing in world sport competition.

One cannot argue, then, on the basis of relative population resources or standard of living that Canada is an especially productive site for producing successful competitors in summer or winter Olympic events. But the success of Canada in curling does raise the question of why over such a long period of time Canada has sustained such a level of excellence and competitive advantage in that sport in particular. In the 41 world championship held since 1959, the Canadian men have won 25 championship; others with multiple wins are far in the distance, with the US having won four and Scotland, Switzerland, Sweden, and Norway three each. Women's world championships began in 1979, and through 1999, Canada has won 10 of the 21, and the next highest, Sweden, only five.

Four main factors are associated with the dominance of curling in Canada. First, because for centuries of development the sport required a solid sheet of ice over lakes and rivers, weather has been a necessary though not a sufficient condition. Secondly,

while there is debate about the absolute origin of the sport - in its fundamental activity ice blocks or stones could be thrown across the ice for a variety of reasons - Scotland shows the strongest claim, based on both literary and archaeological evidence. And because of the long period of Scotch settlement in Canada, the transportation of their curling heritage seems to have been an important contribution to Canada's own culture and national identity. Thirdly, the very nature of available land and the emergence of the railroad allowed expansion of the sport from east to west in the territories that became the provinces of Canada. Fourthly, there is a long history of benefaction coming from the W.L. Mackenzie Company who were the representatives for Macdonald Tobacco in western Canada. George L. Cameron, president of Mackenzie early in the 20th century, was himself a curler and sought to advance the sport. When the founder of Macdonald Tobacco, Sir William Macdonald, died, he left the company to Walter M. Stewart. Stewart as part of his personal and company's agenda invested heavily in projects that would promote the future of Canada. He believed sport was a potent vehicle for such promotion, and through Cameron's prompting gave curling especially strong support. He saw curling as a force to unite the provinces of Canada.

Curling Becomes an Olympic Sport

One of the earliest inventories of sport, in the *Illiad* of Homer, included a chariot race, boxing, wrestling, a footrace, javelin throw, discuss, archery, and a type of sword fight. Fifteen men's events have remained continuously in the modern Summer Olympic Games since 1896, 12 of which were track and field, two fencing, and a 1500 swimming competition (there being no women's events in the first Olympics). Rowing, with two events of single sculls and eight-oared with cox, were scheduled but cancelled due to inclement weather. The first separate production of the Winter Olympic games in 1924 included six sports and fourteen events, with bobsled, ice hockey, figure skating (men, women, and pairs), speed skating (four men's events), and Nordic skiing (four men's events), and, notably, curling as a demonstration sport. In this first competition, in Chamonix, France, Great Britain, with Scots comprising the winning rink, defeating France 42-4 and Sweden 38-7. Canada and the US did not attend, and Switzerland withdrew late.

Many other sports events have been added to the Olympics, and separate divisions within these sport types have been included. In the 1996 summer Olympics there were listed 33 distinct sports, with 165 events for men, 97 events for women, and seven which were mixed gender. In the 2000 Sydney Olympics, to show the degree of fluidity of the Games roster to reflect gender balance, commercial potential, and interest group pressures, both new sports and new events were added. Taekwando was added as a new sport with four classifications for men and women as was the triathlon for men and women. In the interest of gender balance, several new events within existing sports were added for women, including trap and skeet shooting, water polo, the 500m cycling sprint, seven divisions of weight lifting, the pole vault, the 20,000m walk, and the modern pentathlon. Trampoline for men and women as a gymnastics event and synchronized diving (platform and spring) were added to the diving agenda. In the 1998 winter Olympics, there were 11 distinct sports with 38 events for men and 35 events for women.

The vagaries of event and sport selection show that commercial factors, sport tastes, and regional preferences are variables that must be managed to get one's sport in and to keep sports from being discontinued. Seven entire sports have been discontinued

(including golf and cricket). Within sports a quite remarkable distribution of events shows the highly variable if not capricious bases for election and discontinuance. In shooting for men, 20 events once in play have been discontinued; in men's cycling there have been 17 events contested at one time and then discontinued.

Curling was a demonstration sport in 1924, 1932, 1988 and 1992. Several key steps in the process for full Olympic sanction included formation of the International Curling Federation in 1966 (later the World Curling Federation), and substantial increases in the number of countries promising international membership and investment in team development. A key strategic factor as well lay with the vigorous lobbying by Gunther Hummelt, past president of the WCF from 1990-2000.⁴ The sport is on the Olympic schedule for the 2002 Games in Salt Lake City and for the 2006 Games. The factors that led to the entrance of the sport in 1998, such as world-wide participation will continue to be crucial, there now being 34 national members of the World Curling Federation. Both the Canadian Curling Association and the United States Curling Association are candid in acknowledging the necessity to show commercial interest in the 2002 Games in order to insure inclusion beyond 2006. A major concern in the aftermath of the 1998 games was that there was no network coverage by US stations. Plans are solidified now that International Sports Broadcasting will produce coverage in Salt Lake, with NBC having contracted for coverage and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation subcontracting from NBC.

Image and Style of the Curling Athlete

There has been a vast amount of difference in the bodily definition and comportment of athletes within sports over the last 100 years. There, have, as well, been different norms

of embodiment of the athletic performance between sports. This variability has challenged students of sport over the last ten years especially, as discussed in the introduction to the volume and the closing chapter. Curling in the bodily shapes, comportment, and training styles of athletes brings a special new exemplar to this variability. John Hoberman as well as others have documented the often contradictory forces that drive perfection in sport, all part of the Enlightenment impulse not only to improve but also to bring human performance more systematically under the control of scientific products and tutelage.⁵

Despite the general patterns Hoberman describes, the long cultural histories of separate sports continue to display unique and at times mystical features of sport conduct, preparation, and success. Within swimming, for example, there has long been a belief in the inestimable value of the long buildup and then the 'taper'. While the taper includes a rest period with smaller volume of training, there are also associated with the taper ritualized aspects of removing bodily hair and dead skin (shaving), body spray to reduce drag, and now in 2000 the elimination of the vagaries of the body entirely through the employment of the body suit (which has been authorized by the International Olympic Committee for 2000).

With the incredible dominance of Kenyans from the early 1960's (first men and more recently women) in middle distance and distance events in track, many speculations about the 'secret' have been floated by journalists, scholars, and athletes, such as altitude effects, diet (some of the tribes from which groups of elite Kenyan riders originate are pastoralists), and being required to run daily to school.⁶ Wrestlers have an elaborate mythology about losing weight. Cyclists almost beyond comprehension in the Tour de

France find it all but impossible to escape the oppressive force of the *peloton*, or major grouping of riders in each stage of the race, which seems to wield an invisible force sufficient to keep a single rider from 'escaping' into a solitary lead.⁷ Curling has its own cultural heritage that adds new illustrative material to what might be called these extra-kinesthetic aspects of bodily style, comportment, and training. There is a long history of sociability associated with bonspiels, or matches, wherein each one is associated with liberal hospitality by the host rink or club. This has by repute often involved considerable alcohol consumption.⁸ Historical reviews of major events of the sport in Canada such as the Brier (named originally for a brand of tobacco produced by the Macdonald Company), the men's national curling championship, recount heavy partying and alcoholic consumption associated with the performers.⁹

There are differences in the modern tournament opportunities for women, not being part of the Brier, and starting their international championship latter. But there is a national championship now, and international championships began in 1979. Pictures of women indicate participation in early bonspiels. The earliest record of an all-female contest is in 1823. The image of men depicted in Canadian national events such as the Brier is of a hard-partying group of male athletes. There is no such image presented of women. Nor is their evidence of the eroticized images of women described for a number of modern sports such as gymnastics and figure skating.¹⁰ If there is any regularized portrayal of a non-sporting image of the female athlete in curling, it is in terms of customary gender roles of wife and mother (Schmirler and her rink) and as professionals attempting to juggle work and the demands of training and competition. Such is *Sweep*'s

(a Canadian curling magazine) characterization of Elisabet Gustafson, a surgeon from Sweden who has skipped four world championship teams.¹¹

Curling is a very old sport in Europe and in North America. But attendant with growing world competition and prospects for commercial success in cash bonspiels, government training monies, and a professional tour, the stakes for higher performance levels potentially drive participants to improve. This occurs at the levels of recruitment where training of young is being refined, and it occurs at the levels of junior championship competition where contenders for the men's Brier, the women's Tournament of Hearts, and the World Ford Championships receive early exposure to national and international competition. The pre-season training program within Canadian Curling includes considerable flexibility training, aerobic conditioning, and some anaerobic conditioning suitable for bursts of work, such as the 26 seconds needed of hard sweeping to support a shot. Personal attributes that can be refined with training that are important include pacing and concentration which are required, as single matches may last six hours and even up to eight-nine hours in a championship. The duration of national championships is nine days; professional events and some bonspiels can continue for four days. Within the elite performance training programs, priorities stressed include resiliency, visual acuity, and knowledge of force vectors and friction – skills analogous to those of golf. There is a premium on skills of logistics and strategy, not unlike playing poker. All of these factors are crucial even before getting to the mechanics and skill of shot making, sweeping, and calling shots. Considerable attention at the elite performance training levels is devoted to mental aspects of emotion management and intensity. Because the factors that make the social dynamics of a four-member rink are so crucial

but delicate in balance, there is considerable interest in understanding successful units and refining aspects of collective strategy.

Local Integrity vs. Global Marketing

Estimates place the number of curlers in Canada at 1.3 million. Attendance at the yearly national championships has grown steadily as has volume of television coverage and viewership in Canada. These grass-roots participation figures and consumption patterns suggest continued popularity of the sport. Certainly as a complement to the international success they suggest Canada's likely continued dominance of the sport. Maintaining the sport within current circumstances, though, is a matter of considerable concern of curling federations and players. Factors such as increasingly compelling alternatives for children other than curling, growing expenses associated with participation for all curlers, and vastly heightened competition for the consumer dollar of the sport spectator are regularly noted by commentators on curling. Addressing the current and anticipated contexts appears to depend on three interlocked organizational efforts: grass roots recruitment, professionalization at the elite levels, and aggressively and imaginatively competing for national and international television airtime and sponsorships.

The depth of history in Scotland, Canada, and the northern regions of the US is now encountering choices of growth within a global cultural and economic marketplace. This decision arena provides a fruitful example of alternative choices posed to organizers in many sports in the US and Canada, as treated in other chapters of the volume. Does a country preserve sport traditions only, resisting prospects for modification for purposes of export? Does the allegiance to the sport ultimately drive supporters to increase sources of support for development and to compete internationally for spectator and sponsor

attention? Then, to add to the difficulty of choices, at what cost does the engagement internationally hold for the integrity of the centuries old sport?

The following is from a considerably earlier point in curling's global spread, but with some of the same factors to balance as presently.

It is gratifying to observe the success of the efforts which have been made in this country, during the last few years, to promote and encourage the Game. It is now becoming, and must become, a favorite in Canada. It is admirably adapted to this climate, where the winter is generally cold enough to ensure good ice, and seldom so severe as to render the exercise unpleasant. Being played in the open air, during a season when few out-of -door recreations can be enjoyed, it is well calculated to counteract the enfeebling influence of confinement to our close and heated winter houses. Many objections which may be brought against other sports, are not applicable to this. It calls up none of the low and degrading passions of our nature. Notwithstanding the intense interest which Curlers may feel in a well contested match, no betting ever takes place among them; the excitement arising from contested match, no betting ever takes place among them; the excitement arising from gambling, therefore, is altogether removed from the rink. Intoxication on the ice is also unknown among good players. The nice equilibrium of body and the firmness of nerve, essential to scientific curling, would disappear on the first symptom of such a state. But the Game is sufficiently interesting without any extraneous stimulant.

--The Canadian Curler's Manual, 1840¹²

Grass Roots Development

Sweep is a recent curling magazine that covers national, provincial, and world news on curling and also provides information to meet general player interest in the form of

instructional tips and 'state of the sport' news. Regularly in their issues the matter of maintaining player and club memberships in the sport occurs. A major institutionalized recruitment system within the schools includes two instructional protocols called the 'Premier Sports Program'' and 'Getting Started in Curling'. These both originated in British Columbia, the first in 1981 by Harry Jerome, the famous sprint champion; the second was produced in association with the Coaching Association of Canada. At the national level for support of club participation, 'The Little Rock Program' is available in the form of an instructional kit and club participation for children six-nine. Estimates of participation levels vary, but 50,000 is a conservative estimate reported in 1999.¹³ The concept began in the early 1980's with curling stones weighing half as much as the 20 kg customary curling stone.

There are an estimated 15,000 curlers in the US. Aggressive efforts at every level of development are underway there. *United States Curling News*, established in 1945, provides extensive coverage of events and promotional suggestions. The USCA Strategic Plan intends an annual rate of growth of seven percent. An important catalyst for the growth comes from a general donation program, 'Keep the Rocks Roarin'! campaign. This supports Club Membership Marketing Seminars costing \$1200 per club, with two sessions, of which the club pays only \$300.

Grass roots sporting participation occurs in the United States primarily through parent/athlete private financing until early adolescence. Training devices similar to those evident in Canada are used to teach the sport, along with formats that use non-ice venues. Through adolescence considerable sport participation occurs in public schools. There is a possibility for physical education and competition at the high school level. There have in

the past been interscholastic high school programs in Minnesota and Wisconsin, though the numbers of institutions involved and participants have waned in recent years. This area of expansion has potential within development plans. Elite levels of sport in the US commonly draw performers from within athletic programs in the universities of the country. This link of sports and higher education is unusual by comparison with Canada, the UK, and Europe. Many factions within universities and outside decry this apparent compromise of educational and research pursuits. But college sports have been inextricably intertwined with college and university education at least since the late 19th century. Hence, within the US it is seen as prudent to nurture university and college student interest in the sport. This is being done at the United States Curling facility and by the Executive Director of the Illinois State Curling Foundation. There were during the 1999-2000 season three separate state events along with a National Tournament, drawing in a total of 33 collegiate teams.

Professionalization

Every sport that becomes part of the summer or winter Olympic program has gone through a series of professionalization steps. These have included increasingly refined codification of rules, standardization of playing venues, generating capital for sustaining events, and eventually providing prizes, salaries, and expense money for the elite players. Curling has experienced these relatively recently, and certainly, as has been the case with other sports, not without considerable controversy.

Local and Global Marketing

In Warren Hansen's conclusion to his recent, expansive book on curling, he estimates curling is unlikely to grow in Europe. Additionally, though there was impressive interest in Japan during the Nagano Olympics, there is a fundamental problem of space for participation and eventually expense at the grass roots level in that country. The growth prospects, in his view, are to the south.

Canada's top competitive curlers have a dream of a professional circuit that would resemble golf's PGA Tour. It's an interesting idea but has one serious flaw – it won't fly unless Americans [USA] are involved in a big way. It's this simple: Canada's 30-million population cannot produce the television revenue or the sponsorship dollars required to make it work.¹⁴

Ed Lukowich of Calgary, who is now USA Curling Athletic Development Director, worked to develop a World Curling Tour for a number of years. In Canada, this involved identifying special cash bonspiels as tournament sites. In 1997, the International Management Group took over the tour and provided sponsorship dollars. Cash prices for the bonspiels, which occurred over the early part of the curling season, from October to December, were \$10,000 for the winning rink. The IMG sponsored professional tour was complemented by a women's tour running over the early part of the season as well, but with less sponsorship money available. After two years of sponsorship in Canada, IMG support has come to an end. Hence, some of the expansion plans for the World Curling Tour are on hold. Hansen, a former national curling champion, who is centrally involved in the Canadian Curling Association, considers there are formidable barriers to world development, certainly without access to space, populations with potential players, and revenue. Curling in Europe is an upper-class pursuit with modest opening for broad viewer-ship and widespread participation. Japan's cultural affinity for the sport, displayed at Nagano, would allow optimism for growth of participation and viewers

there. However, the enormous premium for space there unavoidably limits prospects for providing curling venues. Canadian land area allows 2.9 citizens per square km and US area allows 30 per square km. But Japan must fit 334 citizens within a square km. Only the US has the requisite space at a reasonable cost, the demographic prospects for growth among new curlers, and the potential revenue from sponsors and television coverage. Similar dilemmas have existed within efforts to grow commercially by the Canadian Football League and the Canadian Professional Golf Tour. Both are limited by the Canadian population, one-tenth that of the US, which offers a potential set of spectators and television viewers which is commensurately smaller than in the US. And with the geographic reach of television coverage of Professional Golf Association and National Football League events in the US, both Canadian professional products must compete with heavy existing financing of the PGA events and National Football League games.¹⁵ **Conclusion**

Sport is physical, rule governed, intrinsic, and consummative in its intensity and import. From the warm understatement of enthusiasm of the excerpt from the early curling manual to participation today at all levels these ingredients seem fulfilled in near purity. Given the demand not only for strength and stamina, but also for patience, resiliency, and perceptual and cognitive precision in making shots, the sport is extraordinarily demanding of body and mind. The elaborate written rules of the game include cherished tacit conventions of respect for rink members and opponents. Much of the rule configuration, like in golf, is self-policed. Demands of national and international growth of the sport have required considering more prize money at bonspiels, money for training, and the prospects for network coverage and a professional tour. But for the most part this

will only provide supplemental expense money for elite athletes who traditionally have spent considerable sums to support themselves at bonspiels and at national and international tournaments. Elite men and women athletes compete outside of their basic occupations; curling is a fun and compelling endeavor at all levels, but it will never provide athletes with lucrative employment and monetary return remotely like competitors in the NBA and NFL in the US or NHL in Canada.

Does curling participation and winning matter? Is the sport driven by the high emotion remembered by Bill Bradley, that being a US Senator is not at all like being a New York Knick and winning a NBA Championship in Madison Square Garden (*'That* is a thrill!')? W.O. Mitchel in *The Black Bonspiel of Willie MacCrimmon* gives a fictional answer. Willie's reputation as a curler has reached the ear of the Devil. The evil one, sensing an easy mark, coaxes Willie and his rink into a Faustian deal. If the Devil will help the rink win the Brier (the men's Canadian Championship) Willie will have to skip the Devil's team in hell when Willie dies. Willie improves the bargain, maneuvering on the Devil's own athletic conceits. They finally agree that a victory in a match between the Devil's rink and Willie's in Shelby, Alberta would give the Shelby team the Brier championship *and* Willie's escape from perdition.

The Shelby match is played and won by Willie and his rink, as is the Brier. 'It is hard to say which match is more important to Scottish-born MacCrimmon. When asked how he felt about his rink's performance in winning the Canadian Brier, MacCrimmon, in an accent that owes more to Auchtermuchty than to Shelby, said, "Aye. It seems we did curl one devil of a match to win it".' One of us, a curler for much of his life, can provide a substantial list of Canadian curlers who would make the same deal as did Willie – in an eye-blink.¹⁶

Notes

¹ David Garber, Warren Hansen, Anne Merklinger, Rick Patzke, Gerry Peckham, and Mike Thompson provided information and advice in the preparation of this chapter. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

² Sandra Schmirler skipped her rink (lead, Marcia Guderit, second, Joan McCusker, and third, Jan Betker) to the first-ever official Olympic championship in the 1998 Nagano Olympics. She died at 36 years of age on 2 March 2000 after unsuccessful treatment to reduce a cancerous tumor behind her heart. Her funeral was nationally televised in Canada.

³ As befitting a sport with so long and powerful a history as curling within Canada, there is a venerable line of historical scholarship. The standard history of the sport is J. Kerr, *History of Curling: Scotland's Ain Game and Fifty Years of the Royal Caledonian Curling Club* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1890). The first publication on curling is *An Account of the Game of Curling*, by a Member of the Duddington Curling Society, Edinburgh, 1811. According to David B Smith's history, the first Canadian treatment of curling is *The Canadian Curler's Manual* (Toronto, 1840). Smith's own carefully prepared history links these ancient sources to be bases of the modern development of the game until the late 1970's: D. Smith, *Curling: an Illustrated History* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981). Corresponding with the very recent international exposure of Canadian curling to a general public through the Nagano Olympics are books that capture both the broad appeal of the sport in Canada, while providing central technical knowledge to this

audience with the intent both to educate the viewing public and educate potential and future players. Illustrative of this very recent genre are R. Bolton and A. Douglas, *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Curling* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall, 1998); and a more traditional historical overview in W. Hansen, *Curling: the History, the Players, the Game* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1999). Earlier books that illustrate the range of genres devoted to the sport in Canada include a careful history of the reputed center of curling in Canada (the world center of modern curling) such as M. Mott and J.Allardyce, *Curling Capital: Winnipeg and the Roarin' Game, 1876-1988* (Winnipeg: the University of Manitoba Press, 1989); a popular journalistic history of the Canadian Championship established in 1927, B. Weeks, *The Brier: the History of Canada's Most Celebrated Curling Championship* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1995). The mythology of the almost inbread compulsion of curling participation is found in W. O. Mitchell's Faustian account of a curling rink's match with the devil, *The Black Bonspiel of Willie MacCrimmon* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

⁴ Correspondence from Mike Thomson, and internal document: 'A Short History of the Federation' (Perth: World Curling Federation, nd.).

⁵ J. Hoberman, *Mortal Engines* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

⁶ J. Bale and J. Sang, *Kenyan Running* (London: Cass, 1996).

⁷ S. Wieting, 'The Twilight of the Hero in the Tour de France', *International Review of the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 35 (2000), pp. 369-384.

⁸ Smith, *Curling*.

⁹ Weeks, *The Brier*.

¹⁰ E.g., J. Ryan, *Little Girls in Pretty Boxes: the Making and Breaking of Elite Gymnasts and Figure Skaters* (New York: Warner, 1995); A. Guttmann, *The Erotic in Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); B. Fabos, this volume.

¹¹ H. Sundstron, 'A Team for the Ages', *Sweep*, October 1999, pp. 16-19.

¹² In Preface to *The Canadian Curler's Manual* (Toronto: Office of the British Colonist, for the Toronto Curling Club, 1840). Reprinted in D. B. Smith, *Curling: an Illustrated History* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1981), p. 219.

¹³ D. Lamoureux quoted in G. Cabana-Coldwell, 'Little Rockers – the Future is Now', *Sweep*, December 1999, p. 17.

¹⁴ Hansen, p. 158.

¹⁶⁵ W. Hansen, Interview, 18 October 2000. See, also, Hansen, *Curling*. (Hansen is
Director of Event Management & Media Relations of the Canadian Curling Association.)
¹⁶ Mitchell, *The Black Bonspiel*, p. 135.