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Basketball Returns Home: The Diffusion and Translocation of Basketball to Scotland

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ABSTRACT

The early history of basketball and its diffusion to Scotland is yet to be fully acknowledged and recorded. Two themes are addressed in this article: the spread of basketball worldwide and the process of its translocation to a new country; and whether it was voluntarily accepted or culturally imposed or both upon its new host. Some of the preliminary contributions to knowledge about the global diffusion of basketball during its infancy are added to and reimagined, with a specific focus regarding the arrival and infancy of basketball in Scotland. Based on a body of empirical evidence from the British Newspaper Archive alongside the Archive and Special Collection at Springfield College in conjunction with secondary sources which document the inception of basketball in Britain and Scotland, four potential entry points and groups who were responsible for translocating basketball to Scotland are examined. The four: Hampstead College graduates; Scottish-based Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) workers; Scottish sojourners; and Mormon Missionaries. In the process, other possibilities including Springfield graduates and James Naismith are disregarded. To start, the origins of basketball in the United States and its Scottish connections are outlined, before denoting the inception of basketball in the United Kingdom and Scotland.

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Scotland cannot be fully understood without recognizing the significance of its sporting history.¹ Within this context, Jarvie and Burnett emphasize how sport moulds and represents culture and society, serving as a popular manifestation of Scottishness and the meaning of being Scottish.² They further denote how sports such as bowls, curling, football, golf, Highland Games, rugby, and shinty are prominent features of the Scottish sporting culture and landscape.³ In Scotland, sport reflects the identities of individuals and groups alongside the nation and imagined community of Scotland.⁴ This research is not the first to state that sport has contributed to the making of Scottish society, but also that Scotland has helped to develop sport.⁵ While I have contended in previous research that Scotland influenced the creation of basketball, a lacuna exists around the history of basketball in Scotland.⁶ Our knowledge of basketball in Scotland when compared to sports such as football, golf and rugby is

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minimal.⁷ In the article, some contributions to knowledge about the global diffusion of basketball are added to and reimagined, through documenting the translocation of basketball to Scotland.

The only empirical materials denoting the history of basketball in Scotland are reflective accounts produced by former basketball personnel; a self-published book, *Basketball in the West of Scotland 1940-1970* by O'Hara, and two online blogs from Johnston with the *History of Scottish Basketball* alongside *How it all Started? The History of Basketball in the East of Scotland* by Kaye.⁸ To date, narratives exist which outline the history of basketball in relation to and within Scotland.⁹ Similarly, Howell and Leeworthy mention the arrival of basketball in Scotland but fail to fully document the diffusion of basketball to Scotland.¹⁰ This means the origins of the game in Scotland must be gleaned from contemporary newspapers alongside publications from the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA) International Training School at Springfield College. Such a lack of scholarly attention leverages the purpose of the article, which outlines how basketball arrived in Scotland through channels that oppose the traditional diffusion of the sport worldwide. Rather than spreading via Springfield graduates and missionaries who inculcated basketball into different societies, basketball arrived in Scotland through different means. Basketball was brought by the collective efforts of Hampstead College graduates, Mormon missionaries, Scottish sojourners working in America, and Scottish-based YMCA workers. It was introduced based on its sporting merit alongside the lessons, messages, popularity, and values attached to it.

To evidence arguments made in this manuscript, multiple empirical documents from the British Newspaper Archive alongside the Archives and Special Collections at Springfield College are drawn upon. These materials comprise newspaper articles from local and national print media such as the *Dundee Courier*, *Edinburgh Evening News* and *The Scotsman*. The sources are the only contemporarily available documents which provide historiographical insight into the translocation of basketball to Scotland. The remainder consist of secondary sources which either denote the history of basketball such as Cox and Physick alongside Guttman and Myerscough or the contemporary Scottish landscape with Anderson, Skillen, and Tranter.¹¹ Collectively, they provide contextualization of the ecosystem around basketball in Scotland and allow for more in-depth levels of analysis. They further help conceptualize the empirical materials which lacked key information, particularly the origins of and background to published information. As archival data becomes more readily available in the future, an improved narrative might manifest, but for now, the following argument stems from the information that currently exists.

In closing some historical gaps about basketball in Scotland, the following themes are investigated in the article: the spread of basketball worldwide and the process of its translocation to a new country; and whether basketball was voluntarily accepted or culturally imposed or both upon its new host. Through covering the inception and infancy of basketball in Britain and Scotland, four entry points accredited with translocating basketball to Scotland are discussed. The role of these actors are contextualized through outlining their relationship with basketball and motivations for introducing it to Scotland. In the process, other possibilities from returning Scottish Springfield graduates to James Naismith and other British YMCA branches are

disregarded. What commences is a discussion around the origins of basketball in the US and its Scottish connections, before denoting the inception of basketball in Britain and Scotland alongside the period between its arrival in 1895 and the first public display in 1897.

The Origins of Basketball and the Scottish Connection

The origins of basketball are traceable to a specific day, location, and person. The game was created by Dr James Naismith at the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA) International Training School at Springfield College, Massachusetts, in 1891.¹² While Scotland in conjunction with the US and Canada helped contribute to the development of basketball, it is not leveraged as a quasi-Scottish game.¹³ Rather, at inception, some of the ideas and rationale underpinning basketball were influenced by the Scottish heritage of Naismith.¹⁴ His Scottish heritage ultimately reflected and shaped his upbringing and personal development in Scottish settler communities and environments such as his home of Almonte, where at the behest of his mother, Naismith 'was raised as a wee Scot'.¹⁵ Naismith attests that 'the stubbornness of my Scotch ancestry' was crucial in devising basketball.¹⁶ Arguably, if the creation of basketball considered his life experiences from birth until the first game of basketball, then the inspiration behind it along with alternative external influences, can be linked to the Scottishness of Naismith.¹⁷ These external factors among others include his professional training as a physical educationist alongside the advances of muscular Christianity within the YMCA.¹⁸ The affinity Naismith had with Scotland alongside the Scottish ecosystem which he immersed himself in until his arrival at Springfield from his education to Presbyterianism faith and sporting involvement helped shape his morals and thinking, alongside his ability and creativity to develop new games including basketball.¹⁹ Scotland influenced the creation of basketball because Scotland influenced the creator of basketball.²⁰

Most sport historians accept the first game of basketball was played on December 21, 1891.²¹ The match featured 18 people from places including the US, Canada, England, France, and Japan.²² In publishing thirteen preliminary rules in the school newspaper, *The Triangle*, on January 15, 1892, the sport was born.²³ As Myerscough and Swalgin highlight, the foundations of the game help explain the global diffusion of basketball: *The Triangle* was the main publication of the YMCA, dispersing knowledge to different communities, cities and countries worldwide albeit not everywhere; the internationalization of Springfield led to foreign countries encountering basketball upon pupils returning home; the missionary zeal of Springfield springboarded the international diffusion of basketball; and the YMCA was universally established, later using basketball to help achieve outcomes ranging from colonialism to evangelism and youth development which expedited its spread.²⁴ Yet, while Naismith travelled to Glasgow in 1893 and 1894 to connect with family, no evidence indicates that he introduced basketball to Scotland.²⁵ Given that the earliest acknowledgement of basketball in the West of Scotland appeared in the *Androssan and Saltcoats Herald* in 1898 and made no mention of Naismith or the sports origins, Naismith did not bring basketball to Scotland.²⁶ Although, the opportunity existed.

By 1891, the *Seventh Catalogue* of the International YMCA Training School at Springfield revealed two Scottish incorporators; Mr R.H. Smith (Edinburgh) and Mr. W.M Oatts (Glasgow).²⁷ Although affiliated, no knowledge of basketball was knowingly shared with these Scottish institutions.²⁸ However, documents from Springfield College do inform us that while the YMCA had an identifiable presence in Scotland during the 1890s, it was not until 1915 that G.H. Mummert was appointed as the first National Director of Physical Education for Scotland and later introduced a sporting programme incorporating basketball.²⁹ Therefore, basketball did not arrive directly through YMCA channels from Springfield. Although, similarly to other YMCA institutions worldwide, Putney noted how some branches encouraged and cost dependent, sent members to Springfield to train.³⁰ As Baker mentioned, they hoped these people would return better equipped to spread the most modern and innovative lessons from an institution currently pioneering new approaches and methodologies for different practices.³¹ While an official position for physical education had not been established in Scotland, McLeod reiterates how an identifiable relationship between religion and sport within the YMCA existed, featuring as a visible aspect of the day-to-day activities to prompt more young men to join and retain their affinity to the church.³²

Scots had their first basketball experiences at Springfield. *The International Association Training School* document from 1892, 'This Year's Students', showcased that two of the 101 attendee, of which 27 were international, were Scots.³³ The Springfield class roll and yearbook revealed that the first was Mark Ritchie, a Presbyterian born on February 25, 1870, in Leith, Edinburgh.³⁴ His registration documentation revealed a background in carpentry and joinery before emigrating to the US in 1890 where he enrolled at Springfield College in the secretarial department and graduated in 1894.³⁵ According to *The Triangle*, Ritchie joined the secretarial department basketball team as a 'right center', featuring in and winning the first game 3-2 in one of the first ever basketball leagues worldwide, which was launched at Springfield in December 1892.³⁶ Post-graduation, Ritchie stayed in North America, accepting a job in Calgary as the General Secretary of the local YMCA branch.³⁷ He later settled in Massachusetts before having a family and retiring in Cranston, Rhode Island.³⁸ While the *Springfield Republican* affirms Naismith as the first person of Scottish heritage to play basketball, having been a member of the first officially formed basketball team at Springfield in 1892, Ritchie was the first born in Scotland.³⁹

Another student was fellow Presbyterian Thomas Carbars Clarkson from Coatbridge, North Lanarkshire, who as the *Springfield Class of 94'* yearbook detailed, enrolled in 1891 and played basketball within the Physical Department.⁴⁰ As outlined on his registration and post-graduation forms, Clarkson originally trained in iron moulding in Scotland before moving to Merrick, Massachusetts, as an adult, later becoming a doctor and settling in Pawtucket, Rhode Island.⁴¹ As a student, an article by *The Triangle* highlighted that he received direct instruction from Naismith and excelled at sport, achieving multiple accolades in athletics among other activities.⁴² Like Ritchie, upon graduation, Clarkson accepted the role of Physical Director of the YMCA Pittsfield, Massachusetts, branch.⁴³ As maintained by Winter, opportunities such as these in the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century were becoming increasingly available for YMCA graduates who were sought after candidates due to their

affiliations, connections, education, and training from YMCA institutions.⁴⁴ For Clarkson and Ritchie who hailed from working backgrounds, Winter added how the YMCA helped shape and transform people from these demographics into professionals, elevating their social standing and therefore, were subsequently content to enter employment and remain associated with the organization.⁴⁵

Unlike other personnel who translocated basketball upon leaving Springfield, the game delayed reaching Scotland because the Scots who attended chose to stay in North America post-graduation. According to the *International YMCA Training School*, they sought a better quality of life.⁴⁶ Part of the decision to serve the YMCA post-graduation as Alleman and Finnegan pinpointed, links to the developmental concepts and mantra of Springfield where staff encouraged students to believe that they had a mission in life and were to steadily pursue it.⁴⁷ As highlighted by the decision of Clarkson to accept posts in Massachusetts and Ritchie in Calgary, Myerscough denotes how given the religious emphasis at Springfield, many graduates sought to further spread and re-enforce the messages of the YMCA to new and existing areas.⁴⁸ Myerscough additionally pointed out that another influential reason graduates stayed in North America and why many quickly gained employment stemmed from the YMCA contemporarily lacking physical directors who could give physical instruction for sports such as basketball.⁴⁹ During this period, employment opportunities within the YMCA were more readily available to graduates to help diffuse the modern ethos and practices of the organization.

These individual narratives highlight that basketball was not brought to Scotland by Springfield graduates, but externals with alternative motives. It opposes the proposition from Carlson and Johnson that basketball spread by means of YMCA literature, Springfield-trained personnel alongside its historical reputation as the game of missionaries, travelling only as far as YMCA students transported it.⁵⁰ Basketball did not arrive in Scotland from the common dispersal process that it was introduced to other countries. Gems research which documents the history of basketball in the Philippines discusses this premise.⁵¹ Rather, it was directly or indirectly from another country or means. As Myerscough explains, with limited editions of the printed rules and basketball predominantly spreading across branches in America initially, most early introductions were connected to the YMCA and its graduates as having played the sport, the means of instruction was through physical demonstrations.⁵² Without YMCA graduates or personnel returning to Scotland from Springfield, basketball would not arrive until either: rules or knowledge of basketball was translocated to Scotland to inform the general public; or somebody who had played or witnessed basketball taught it to a Scot who then translocated it to Scotland.

The Arrival and Infancy of Basketball in the British Isles and Scotland

Basketball arrived in the British Isles in 1892.⁵³ Charles J. Proctor, President of the Birkenhead YMCA, witnessed an exhibition in Canada during a business venture and brought it to Liverpool.⁵⁴ From there, Cox and Physick state that the game dispersed to nearby YMCA institutions around Merseyside and sparked the first localized leagues in Britain.⁵⁵ Among these early protagonists, Kohe, Smith and Hughson noted that because of the simplistic nature, reduced cost compared to other sports, dramatic

appeal and American associations, basketball resonated amongst youth whilst offering opportunities for informal learning, identity formation, and socialization.⁵⁶ However, despite signs of initial interest in the sport, Cox and Physick discuss how the Birkenhead basketball movement remained a regional initiative until 1911 when representatives from the YMCA in the US wanted to expand the sport beyond northwest England and introduce American rules.⁵⁷ While basketball spread into other YMCA branches throughout Britain during the 1890s, the Merseyside basketball community had no influence.⁵⁸ Basketball therefore arrived in Scotland through an alternative means.

Basketball penetrated Scotland on January 1, 1895. It first featured in the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* column, 'A New Girl's Game', which before outlining the basic set of rules states that although played by males, basketball was predominantly a game for girls.⁵⁹ After arriving in Dundee, the same article was reprinted by the *Dundee Advertiser*, *Forfar Herald* and *Linlithgowshire Gazette* on succeeding days whilst another by the *Inverness Courier* modified the original but publicized a similar message, spreading basketball to the Scottish central belt and highlands.⁶⁰ While these sources highlight the early internal diffusion of basketball, none provide insights into the context around who transferred basketball to Scotland and why. This will be investigated in the following sections. The first outlines the early history of basketball in Scotland to unearth information which could provide direction, whereas the second section evaluates four theories which arose from different sources. These articles highlight how from the offset, as Falcous previously discovered about the game in England, basketball existed in pockets of demand nationwide.⁶¹ There was also no direct process of diffusion because it travelled only to places people with an interest in basketball took it whilst the success of its uptake reflected its introduction.⁶² These occurrences reinforce a point made by Myerscough around how it is difficult to establish roots of a flourishing sport in its country of origin within a 'foreign' place.⁶³

With basketball arriving in and diffusing from Dundee, the city became the internal diffusion point and initial hub for basketball in Scotland. In May 1895, the *Dundee Courier* documented how Dundee School Board directors voted to unanimously add basketball to the school physical education system.⁶⁴ During the 1890s, Anderson observed that with the leaving age of school pupils rising, Scottish institutions started taking an interest in recreation.⁶⁵ A reason for adopting basketball could be as Anderson mentions about how team sports became a social microcosm which created strong internal bonds amongst students and new loyalties to institutions whilst developing distinct personalities and traditions for schools.⁶⁶ As the contemporary industrial society in Scottish cities like Dundee became more complex, schools assumed more significant roles in the lives of youth.⁶⁷ This necessitated a greater need for impersonal and fluid mechanisms which promoted social solidarity whilst restraining the disruptive urges of youth by defining social barriers and establishing the social hierarchy.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Anderson adds how Scottish schools shared educational mechanisms with England whereby institutions sought to break away and establish their own identities.⁶⁹ As reflected by the introduction of basketball which did not contemporarily exist in any other school in Scotland, ensuing practices acquired an individualistic and innovative form.⁷⁰ Overall, the evidence aligns with

the findings of Kohe, Smith and Hughson that in its infancy, basketball progressed through and spread out from the school system.⁷¹

Basketball was first implemented in Scotland through the school system. An article from the *Dundee Courier* in May 1895 outlines how Sergeant Seymour, a former army officer, planned visits to private institutions around Dundee.⁷² Local instructors also trained teachers from public schools in matters of physical education and basketball so they could undertake these sports in their respective institutions.⁷³ Conducting sessions sparked the slow spread and uptake of basketball within Dundee before spreading to other cities such as Edinburgh where an article by *The Scotsman* in 1899 denotes students at St George's High School for Girls undertaking an exhibition for spectators to see the value of physical training for girls first-hand.⁷⁴ Introducing basketball to the school system as Anderson discusses, gave authority to the experts who led them and provided a degree of control whilst the ingenuity underlined social distinctions alongside their reputations as leading physical educationists.⁷⁵ However, Anderson further comments how the problem was that not all sports were compulsory, meaning the inclusion and organization was left to teachers with an interest alongside enthusiastic pupils.⁷⁶ According to Anderson, institutions generally chose to maintain more established sports in football and rugby which emblemized social status or prioritized education and ignored sport altogether.⁷⁷ The incorporation of a sport was school dependent; a means of voluntary acceptance or rejection based on it lacking scholarly merit and threatening educational attainment.⁷⁸ Basketball was not concurrently formalized within schools.

Two years after arriving, the *Dundee Courier* recorded the first public display of basketball in Scotland which was undertaken on February 6, 1897, at Ward Road Gymnasium in Dundee by two teams from the Broughty Ferry YMCA.⁷⁹ From the limited evidence, while knowledge had spread to other areas, basketball from arrival to the first exhibition was primarily concealed to Dundee. In Dundee, the sport transcended not just the city and school boundaries but into the YMCA alongside other social and youth groups.⁸⁰ According to Howell and Leeworthy, secular and reform-minded motivations supported the development of basketball within youth organizations, unemployment clubs and other participatory groups.⁸¹ Since arrival, multiple scholars stated that the YMCA taught basketball to the Boys' Brigade and Boy Scouts for use as a positive life changing tool.⁸² A *Fife Free Press* article, 'The Boy Scouts and the Y.M.C.A.', reinforces this point. Through documenting their long-standing relationship which predates the arrival of basketball in Scotland, it discusses how physical activity was historically used to provide character building and leadership training for boys from 5 to 18 with the aim of preventing prevailing juvenile unemployment rates from worsening.⁸³ As in the US, the *Montrose Standard and Angus and Mearns Register* discussed how social and youth organizations also utilized basketball to deter young males from anti-social behaviour, crime and gangsterism with sport being the driver and enticement.⁸⁴ In its infancy, basketball in Scotland was employed as a tool to generate non-sporting outcomes.

Despite males playing the first exhibition, basketball upon arrival was introduced as a 'girl's game' by the *Dundee Courier*, leading to females becoming the main participants.⁸⁵ Whilst serving as a chaplain in World War I in France, Naismith reinforced this point, discovering that men in Britain did not play basketball due to its

introduction as a game for girls.⁸⁶ After inception, basketball was played by girls in schools alongside social organizations such as the Girls Brigade, Girls' Guildry and Girl Scouts.⁸⁷ According to the *Androssan and Saltcoats Herald* article which discussed an all-girls college in England, basketball had the perceived ability to restore and maintain females' all-round wellbeing whilst mediating the sporting gender inequalities.⁸⁸ Skillen alongside Grundy and Shackelford added how sport provided opportunities for bonding and making friends whilst producing cultural, physical and social capital to help prepare pupils for post-school life whether in the workplace or as housewives and mothers.⁸⁹ Regarded by contemporary male sport practitioners as being 'ideal for girls' due to its adaptations from Senda Berenson who created 'women's basketball' in 1892, the *Androssan and Saltcoats Herald* labelled basketball a mechanism to help develop 'proper ladies' through enabling personal growth.⁹⁰ As Melnick, Robinson and Ying relayed, the individual and adapted rules for females allied to its non-contact nature meant that basketball coincided with societies Victorian perceptions of femininity and fit the sporting standards necessary to enable women to play sport.⁹¹ Basketball subsequently became an acceptable option for females.

In Scotland, there was no clear preference between private or public institutions for basketball. This can be said for social and youth organizations who during the sports infancy, did not make it a core sport. Based on the available data, a mix of both private and public schools alongside social-youth organizations included basketball within the opportunities for physical education on an arbitrary basis depending on the physical educators themselves and the interests of their cohorts. Evidence from *The Scotsman* shows private schools for girls were more in favour of introducing basketball.⁹² No sources currently exist which record any male private schools adopting it. As Nauright and Parrish discuss, with boys and girls concurrently playing different sports alongside female-only schools in England contemporarily embracing basketball, this could explain why no male-only schools in Scotland played basketball.⁹³ Furthermore, male private schools, as stressed by Anderson, favoured sports such as rugby.⁹⁴ They typically ignored basketball. Therefore, the small number of people who played basketball were among the female and male lower-working classes in social-youth organizations, some select public schools, and females in private institutions. This would correspond with findings from England where males participated in the YMCA and females in the all-girl schools.

The concurrent debate surrounding the global spread of basketball questions whether the game was voluntarily embraced or culturally imposed upon new societies. In the Dominican Republic, Philippines, and Puerto Rico, research by Gems, Guttman and Sotomayor has revealed that the YMCA used basketball as an agent of American cultural imperialism and means of social control.⁹⁵ As Guttman explained, basketball subtly instilled desirable commercial, moral, and racial virtues in colonial subjects alongside beliefs in the systemized principles and values of the US.⁹⁶ This did not happen in Scotland. With the diffusion of basketball catalyzed by Scots, the available evidence suggests that the game was voluntarily embraced based on its own merit, popularity, principles alongside its general appeal as a sport and capabilities to generate broader non-sporting outcomes. Scotland rejected any notion of American cultural imperialism. However, Scots did opt to maintain the prioritization of traditional sports over foreign exports and as further research into basketball in Scotland discovered, basketball existed on the periphery of the Scottish sporting landscape.⁹⁷

While the game was voluntarily embraced by participating Scots, through documenting the infancy of basketball in Scotland, it remains unclear who translocated basketball to Scotland. The subsequent section investigates this further.

The Diffusion and Translocation of Basketball to Scotland

Based on limited sources, four potential avenues regarding the diffusion of basketball to Scotland exist: Hampstead College graduates; Scotland-based YMCA workers; sojourners; and Mormon missionaries. Through documenting their relationship with basketball, the forthcoming discussion outlines how and why these four different groups brought basketball to Scotland. It ascertains the likelihood of them introducing basketball to Scotland, determines the processes and means that they translocated basketball and deciphers the scale for potential impact.

Hampstead College Graduates

The first theory leverages graduates of Hampstead College for girls. Having attended the World Congress on Education in Chicago before touring the eastern seaboard in August 1893, Swedish physical educationalist, Madame Martina Österberg, introduced basketball to her all-girls physical training college in Hampstead, London.⁹⁸ As the *Falkirk Herald* revealed, basketball was incorporated within the school agenda which sought to produce physically perfect women.⁹⁹ Following its inception, Claydon noted that the sport spread to other newly established female-only physical education institutions in England in Anstey, Bedford, Chelsea, Dartford, and Liverpool, where basketball was primarily undertaken during its infancy in Britain.¹⁰⁰ According to Daly, women in Britain were among the first who trialled the new sport, catalyzing the unanimous belief that basketball was a female exclusive sport.¹⁰¹ With word spreading to Scotland through newspaper articles such as ‘The Athletic College for Women’ by the *Linlithgowshire Gazette and Lothian Chronicle* which documented life at Hampstead, these engagements according to Park confirmed the misconception amongst society, consequently informing public perceptions before the game fully penetrated the nations sporting landscape.¹⁰²

Contemporary Scottish newspapers including the *Falkirk Herald* and *John o’Groat Journal* acknowledge an awareness of basketball being played at Hampstead, but none distinguish whether these encounters later translocated basketball to Scotland.¹⁰³ Although, research from Steel revealed that Scots were taking classes at Österberg’s college, whereby through a cascade teaching method, students were introduced to basketball before they transferred these lessons back to Scotland.¹⁰⁴ To what extent basketball was incorporated amongst these returning students’ practices alongside the places that they introduced the game is unknown. However, one example of Scottish students who translocated lessons from Österberg’s college to Scotland was Ethel Adair, who in 1906 became the first Lady Principle of Dunfermline College of Hygiene and Physical Training which opened in 1905.¹⁰⁵ In December 1904, the Carnegie Gymnasium which was soon used by Dunfermline College also became the home to the first organized basketball league in Scotland.¹⁰⁶ Yet, no evidence exists to determine whether there is a connection between the two locations.

Upon returning to Scotland, graduates from these female-only institutions faced difficulty in incepting basketball. As Tranter detailed, this was because Scotland had a male-dominated society and sporting environment which dictated and restricted the participation of females in sport, believing that woman should prioritize domestication and motherhood.¹⁰⁷ While Tranter highlights how the number of women playing sport was growing during the 1890s, the male-controlled landscape limited the ability of females to have an impact on sport and were forced to either: organize their own albeit restricted in their capacity, provisions and resources; or settle into the ecosystem predominantly devised by males on behalf of women and girls.¹⁰⁸ Without an opportunity to establish or play basketball, knowledge of the game was kept amongst a small group of females without the capabilities to inculcate it on mass. Overall, Scots at these all-girls colleges were among the first to play basketball and, through their education, diffuse basketball in the UK, firstly between themselves and then further afield. However, the extent of this, and when basketball was spread, is unknown.

Young Men's Christian Association Workers

The second proposition accredits Scottish-based YMCA workers. The first official basketball match in Europe was undertaken at the Rue de Tréville YMCA, Paris, on December 27, 1893.¹⁰⁹ It was introduced that year by former Springfield College employee, Melvin Rideout, who later served as the YMCA Paris French delegate at the Great YMCA Jubilee Convention in London in June 1894.¹¹⁰ Following the event, Myerscough informs us that Rideout was requested by his fellow envoys from England and Scotland, most of which were young footballers, to teach them basketball.¹¹¹ Amongst themselves, Myerscough states that the game Rideout led was played 'as if a championship was at stake'.¹¹² Without evidence, Myerscough presumes that from this one encounter, these Scots returned to their respective YMCA branches and conducted basketball practices.¹¹³ However, Myerscough acknowledges that they lacked some resources, a proper understanding of basketball, and sufficient training in physical education.¹¹⁴ As previously mentioned, the YMCA in Scotland also had no national directors to help implement and administer the sport *en masse*, meaning that if introduced, it would remain refined to the individual locality.

The main obstacle these YMCA representatives faced in introducing basketball was competition from football, which was currently the dominant sport in Scottish society and the preferred activity of YMCA branches.¹¹⁵ Having influenced the creation of the first Scottish association football team, Queen's Park Football Club, in 1867, by the 1890s, the organization actively helped develop the sporting landscape of Scotland which football now spearheaded.¹¹⁶ However, at the 1890 YMCA and Fellowship Unions of Scotland conference, three speakers raised concerns of the effect of football upon young men, fearing that it led to an association with non-Christians and betting, indicating that the national YMCA was becoming sceptical about the sport.¹¹⁷ This scepticism continued throughout the 1890s, with ministers publicly condemning football culture in the *Edinburgh Evening News* and *Falkirk Herald*, believing that it caused people to break the Sabbath and commit ungodly behaviours.¹¹⁸ There is potential that some contemporary YMCA branches sought alternatives to football.

Given that basketball was a new sport devoid of these affiliations, it might have been a possibility.

In the sports infancy, although played by other institutions and organizations, basketball was nurtured by the YMCA.¹¹⁹ The YMCA had gymnasiums enabling participation and in time, access to literature, which provided a conceptual understanding of the game alongside connections to other branches playing basketball.¹²⁰ With the addition of new rules, the YMCA also continually modified basketball to enhance the sports attractiveness whilst it was integrated within their mission to promote athletic competition for their membership and branches nationwide.¹²¹ An article by the *Aberdeen Evening Express* in 1899 reinforced the latter point, denoting how the YMCA formed junior and senior basketball teams for men.¹²² Through establishing themselves as a social base for basketball, once the sport was introduced within a branch, it slowly dispersed to other nearby sections.¹²³ This was through sharing facilities or, in seeking competition, word of mouth. It is highlighted by the first public display when two local branches played at a joint location.¹²⁴ Whether Scottish envoys at the 1894 Jubilee translocated basketball back to Scotland or not, the YMCA played a key role in diffusing and developing basketball in Scotland.

Sojourners

The third possibility entails that basketball was transported by returning Scottish sojourners from the US. Throughout the 1890s, the international jute industry of Dundee, where knowledge of basketball was first founded, as Tomlinson highlighted, was shifting to India, forcing millworkers working for low wages to seek improved opportunities overseas.¹²⁵ Through agricultural purchases of jute and having established themselves in the industry, Tomlinson documents how Dundee created commercial relationships with the US whilst the skillsets of Dundonian millworkers were highly sought after in the American market.¹²⁶ Previous research has denoted how some workers relocated to the outskirts of Springfield in Ludlow, Massachusetts, where millworkers were required and basketball was popular.¹²⁷ In a survey from 1928, the Ludlow Jute Manufacturing Associates acknowledged how Dundee were once world leaders in the industry.¹²⁸ Ludlow contemporarily obtained the largest jute company in New England and given the expense of local labour, from the 1870s onwards, started hiring Scottish workers who were cheaper.¹²⁹ By the mid to late-nineteenth century, after the industrial transformation of the US following the Civil War, temporary migration from Scotland became a frequent occurrence for people of desirable industries such as millworkers.¹³⁰

As the *Dundee Evening Post* article, 'Dundee Might do the Same', outlined, Dundonians transported aspects of their old and new life to and from Scotland whilst managers of Dundee mills replicated some American strategies.¹³¹ Through Boy's and Girl's Institutes which the Scots new American employers started, Dundonians, particularly females, were introduced to basketball within the daily exercise programme to help the body and minds of millworkers.¹³² Whilst some males engaged, more masculine sporting opportunities were offered to fulfil the contemporary masculine temperament.¹³³ Whereas, females partook in basketball matches with county teams, gaining a reputation for cultural deportment alongside their playing prowess.¹³⁴ If these

sojourners did translocate basketball to Scotland, such a direct connection to the origins of basketball alongside the level of involvement from Dundonians is a key factor which helped Dundee establish itself as the centre of basketball in Scotland.¹³⁵

The first possibility about how knowledge of basketball arrived in Scotland from these emigrees was through correspondence from Dundonians who wrote home. From accounts of Scottish emigrants during the late-nineteenth century, Devine and Wormald discuss how the common themes in letters entailed listing the positives of their new residency and workplace information.¹³⁶ One key aspect for these Dundonians was basketball. An alternative option is people who came home translocated basketball, such as the manager of a local mill who upon return provided the content for the *Dundee Evening Post* article.¹³⁷ Both are plausible because as Howell and Leeworthy outlined, similarly to the rest of Britain, basketball during its infancy expanded in blighted industrial areas, providing a sense of hope in communities otherwise stifled by mass outmigration that was prompted by economic torment due to failing industries.¹³⁸ This was not only highlighted by the jute trade in Dundee but also as the city in its foundational years was the hub of basketball in Scotland. From the limited evidence, it can be stated that whether these sojourners were the first to introduce basketball or not, they did transfer knowledge of basketball at some point around its arrival either through their correspondence with family and friends or upon returning from the US.

Mormon Missionaries

The final theory contends that Mormon missionaries translocating basketball from the US to Scotland. The *Edinburgh Evening News* article, 'Basketball Comes to Stay', states that basketball was brought to Scotland by members of the Church of Latter-Day Saints from Salt Lake City.¹³⁹ Amongst progressive-era Mormon adolescent males, basketball was a popular sport whereby during the 1890s, church elders pushed to equip church gymnasiums to make it available for males and females.¹⁴⁰ According to Embry, basketball appealed to the Mormon community as it embodied the church's advocacy for healthy bodies and minds.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, it was one of the few sports Mormons were able to play due to its respectability and non-contact nature.¹⁴² Accounts from Kimball went as far as saying that basketball was considered as the ideal mechanism for their coterie because a religious link was believed to exist between basketball and Mormonism.¹⁴³ According to several authors, in many instances where a Mormon presence and grounding was established, particularly in industrialized communities, this led to local YMCA institutions adopting the sport.¹⁴⁴ This may explain how the early documentation revealed a relationship between basketball and the YMCA in Scotland, which were arguably better positioned to develop the sport.

In what became muscular Mormonism around 1900, as was found also in Australia, Mormon missionaries not only helped develop basketball but translocated it with a view to using it as a vehicle to help Mormonism escape obscurity by reaching secular society.¹⁴⁵ As the nineteenth century progressed, Scottish conversions to Mormonism were declining, despite having footholds in Dundee, Edinburgh, and Glasgow.¹⁴⁶ In response, Buchanan mentioned that during the 1890s, twenty-four emissaries were

sent to Scotland; the most since Mormons first arrived there in 1839.¹⁴⁷ Of these young Mormon missionaries, as the *Edinburgh Evening News* column further mentions, some were Scots or first-generation Scottish converts from industrial areas who following recruitment had immigrated to Salt Lake City before returning.¹⁴⁸ Appealing to the Scots' sporting appetites, basketball offered an opening to entice people and alter societies perspectives to re-energize the Mormon community and cement themselves as an acceptable mainstream religious sect having proselytized members of society.¹⁴⁹ The team nature of basketball, as per Kimball, appealed to Mormons because it encouraged socialization and what was deemed 'proper civilization', but also commitment to one another.¹⁵⁰ This prompted greater group cohesiveness whilst contributing to the overarching goal of solidifying Mormonism amongst new converts.¹⁵¹

With motivation to do so and a pre-established base in Dundee where basketball was first discovered, it is possible that Mormons translocated basketball to Scotland. As Buchanan and Kimball state, cultural exchanges through sport and other means were regular occurrences in some Mormon communities.¹⁵² For example, Scots who were recruited and relocated to Salt Lake City, introduced football to the local Mormon communities.¹⁵³ As previously mentioned, other religious groups such as the church and YMCA were already using sport in Scotland for similar reasons.¹⁵⁴ Although failing to resurrect Scottish Mormonism, whether missionaries were the first to establish basketball in Scotland or not, they helped maintain its existence and further develop the sport throughout the sport's infancy in Scotland.¹⁵⁵ Across the succeeding decades, the Church of the Latter-Day Saints entered teams in local competitions and engaged in friendly matches with other clubs.¹⁵⁶ As a group often forgotten in aiding the global spread of basketball, if Mormons did translocate basketball to Scotland, based on the available evidence, it was for two reasons: to help resurrect Mormonism; or for the enjoyment of Mormon missionaries currently residing in Scotland.

Determining the Diffusion and Translocation of Basketball to Scotland

Overall, there was no single process of diffusion to and in Scotland from central metropolitan location outward to peripheral areas.¹⁵⁷ Rather it was several near simultaneous efforts which brought and spread the game to and within Scotland. Basketball travelled across cities, nations, and continents within a multidirectional process of cultural exchange, creating pockets of demand and participation within communities, towns, and localities.¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, basketball did not disperse unidirectionally, but through a procedure involving a globally active complex of adaptation, interpretation, modification, mutation, and translation.¹⁵⁹ The translocation to and dispersal of basketball within Scotland is best described as ludic diffusion, which refers to the process of a game spreading across geographical areas; it is how basketball initially diffused worldwide from Springfield.¹⁶⁰

For Scotland, the procedure behind the internationalization of basketball was not one where metropolitan or imperialistic influences dictated peripheral life.¹⁶¹ Rather, it was in a 'glocalised' world where dominant powers were refined to suffice the needs of local experiences.¹⁶² Here, society maintained its ability to mediate the

process of cultural exchange by choosing to adopt basketball freely.¹⁶³ Recognizing that the arrival of basketball in Scotland was part of the broader process of ludic diffusion helps provide an understanding as to why basketball delayed reaching Scotland. It also explains why upon entering Scotland, like Birkenhead, basketball remained predominantly and indefinitely confined to Dundee. Lastly, through the process of ludic diffusion, it underpins the plausibility of multiple actors and organizations being responsible for translocating basketball to Scotland.

Given the challenges that women faced during the nineteenth century for access to and participation in sport, it is unlikely that the Hampstead graduates introduced basketball. However, while no concrete information exists to support the proposition that Hampstead graduates did incept basketball, they cannot be removed from the conversation because it is known that Scottish women were among the first to play basketball. Furthermore, through a cascade method, they introduced it to each other which is, in essence, a form of diffusion. Still, the extent to which this manifested basketball and sparked traction in Scotland is unknown. Therefore, from the limited evidence, these graduates warrant recognition for their role, but cannot be firmly stated to be dominant actors in the translocation of basketball.

This line of argument can also be attributed to Mormon missionaries. From the lack of information and relative weight about Mormons and basketball, it is doubtful that they translocated basketball to Scotland. While a presence in Dundee existed at inception and they had every reason to employ it for personal gain, it is more likely that Mormon missionaries helped internally diffuse and as existing evidence highlights, support and maintain basketball after arrival. However, given the lack of information about Mormons and basketball in Scotland, the potential for incepting the sport is marginal.

With knowledge of basketball first shared in Scotland through a Dundee newspaper and insights into local industry, emigrees, and sport also publicized in print media, it is plausible that basketball arrived because of Scottish sojourners. Similarly to how basketball arrived in Britain, with people relocating to and from Massachusetts who engaged with basketball, it is believable that they sought opportunities to play in Scotland and translocated the sport. Furthermore, the available data highlighted how knowledge and practices ranging from specific sector-related skills to sport between the two countries was concurrently being implemented in the respective landscapes. Basketball could arguably have been one aspect of these cultural exchanges.

Based on the evidence and broader narrative, it is likely that the YMCA representatives who played basketball at the convention in England introduced the sport to their Scottish-based branches for three reasons. Given their involvement in the first public exhibition, this insinuates that the sport was played in the YMCA prior to the display taking place. Secondly, they were among some of the few organizations that had the facilities and resources to offer a form of basketball for members. Lastly, with only a handful of Scots participating in the match led by Rideout, this may explain why it was played sporadically in different hot spots nationwide. However, this does not mean that they were the first to introduce the sport to Scotland, but they can be accredited with nurturing the development of basketball in Scotland throughout its infancy.

An alternative possibility explaining the translocation of basketball stems from how it diffused internally within Scotland. The evidence showcased that following the arrival of knowledge of basketball in Dundee, information about the game spread to local areas on succeeding days through local newspapers before moving nationwide. Each newspaper replicated or paraphrased the original article by the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* and subsequently diffused basketball domestically through print media. Given that knowledge of basketball being played in the all-girls training schools in England featured broadly in Scottish newspapers, it is plausible that this same approach led to knowledge of basketball spreading to Scotland. Afterwards, the sport was adopted by local Dundonians with an interest in sport such as the former army officers who incepted it within the school system.

While the first person to have translocated basketball to Scotland is unknown, it can be conceived that whilst one introduced it, many others including the journalists in print media helped transfer knowledge of the sport to new areas. With time, this impacted the broader diffusion of basketball which contributed towards its uptake and survival. Compared to countries where Springfield graduates and missionaries transferred basketball into their new host country, the early experiences and knowledge of basketball in Scotland can be linked to the Hampstead graduates, Mormon missionaries, Scottish sojourners, and Scotland-based YMCA workers. These personnel alongside social and youth organizations in conjunction with the education system helped spread and establish foundations nationwide. It can therefore be stated that basketball was voluntarily embraced within the broader array of sports available in Scotland as a means of choice rather than through methods of force, accepted due to its intrinsic nature.

Through this research, it cannot be determined which entry point was first. Nor can any one group be pinpointed, as per other approaches to writing about the history of basketball that have assumed that one group or person should be accredited when from the Scottish context, a multi-dimensional complex comprising multiple individuals and groups were involved. Rather, all the existing information has been set forth to start piecing together a history of Scottish basketball, one which is holistic and inclusive in its outlook and scope. When further information becomes available in the future, or indeed if at all, the foundations for more in-depth research that will provide more definitive answers to the arrival of basketball in Scotland will have been established through this article. For now, the diffusion and translocation of basketball to Scotland can be considered a collective effort from several institutions and organizations.

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