

shaking up their mom-and-pop-league image. Siren calls were heard in the CFL's Toronto offices. The decision was made: expansion into US cities without NFL teams would make the CFL a truly major league. The international aspect of the new CFL would give Canadian fans long accustomed to grumbling about – and paying attention to – American influences a new angle of appreciation for an old, stale product.

This paper examines Baltimore's position within the CFL, not just as host of a winning team – the franchise led the league in attendance and played for the championship during both years of its existence – but as a political entity with heavily parochial impulses. Baltimore played in the "Maple Leaf Bowl" every time the team traveled north. Egged on by marketing experts and local media, Canadian fans treated games against Baltimore as matches against the US. They waved the Maple Leaf, booed the Stars & Stripes, and complained about overbearing Americans.

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**“The City of Champions” to the “Mistake by the Lake”:  
Sport During Cleveland’s Rustbelt Transformation**

Sport historians have recognized the importance of studying the developing city to further the understanding of the development of sport. Various scholarly studies on nineteenth and early twentieth century American cities have argued this link and shown the relationship in vivid detail. While studies of New York City, Boston, New Orleans, and Chicago have focused on sport in the emerging metropolis, this paper concentrates on the position of sport within the declining city. The larger, traditional centers of culture and commerce have been ideal stages for showcasing sport as a means of dealing with urban tensions and vices, and as a byproduct of the emerging leisure/consumer class. These studies do not, however, ask the questions pertaining to the demise of the twentieth century city. What happens within the relationship between the city and sport once a city has completed its development or begun a decline? Furthermore, when a city is in decline, what physical and social impacts can be traced within its sports culture? What meaning is created in this context?

Cleveland, during the second half of the twentieth century, provides an ideal scenario for studying the plight of the declining city in the latter half of the twentieth century. This paper will look at Cleveland to examine sport within the declining city and how the performances of sports teams have contributed to the city's self-image and outside perception. Post-World War II Cleveland distinguished itself through a failure to adequately prepare or adapt for the future. The flight of population and industry into the city's growing suburbs and to the Sun Belt was not sufficiently dealt with by politicians, which in turn opened a Pandora's Box of subsequent problems. The decline Cleveland felt was shared by fellow midwestern cities, both large and small, but the magnitude of Cleveland's decline separates the city from its peers during this period. A brief overview of this decline will be provided, but specifics will be omitted from the paper in the interest of length.

The turmoil and transition of this period also affected sports in Cleveland. Stephan Hardy argued that the city possesses three qualities: structure, community, and state of mind. The decline in respectability among Cleveland's professional teams during this time, adding to the already dismal condition of the city, challenged the city's state of mind most of all. In 1948 the city's three professional teams; baseball's Indians, football's Browns, and hockey's Barons, each captured their respective league championship. These teams enjoyed varying levels of success in the following decades, but their overall performance did not project Cleveland as a "city of champions." The shift from success to decline and the connection between performance and perception will be examined by briefly looking at the Indians and Browns.

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### **The Intersection of Racial Equity and Unionism in the Construction of Three Rivers Stadium**

Construction of Pittsburgh's Three Rivers Stadium in the late 1960s took place at a time when the civil rights movement was unfolding on a national scale. Because of this, the civil rights movement was integrated into the construction process of Three Rivers Stadium, even though city leaders and construction officials may not have anticipated this as initial construction plans were made. Before groundbreaking took place, these leaders responded