

Beyond the Playing Field:
The Rise of College Football and the Educated Elite
in the Progressive Era United States

by

Matthew William Blanton

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(American Culture)
in the University of Michigan
2014

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Philip J. Deloria, Chair
Associate Professor Matthew J. Countryman
Associate Professor Vicente M. Diaz
Associate Professor Kristin A. Hass
Professor Mary C. Kelley

*Dedicated to Prince Moody,
who made the most of his student-athlete status.*

Acknowledgements

I hesitate to lean on too many sports metaphors, but I cannot help but invoke the notion of team when considering all those who deserve recognition as I complete this dissertation. My name is on the front of this study, but it is the product, at the every least, of many others' efforts, contributions, and even anxieties on behalf of the author. "Beyond the Playing Field" is the product of input, brainstorming, critique, manipulation, reorganization, and hope of many many others. What follows is a likely insufficient list of those who helped, inspired, and were patient with me along a journey that extends back many years.

This road has been long enough; I might as well start from the beginning. With a Psychology degree and a pre-med concentration under my belt, I graduated from college and began what I thought would be a short stint teaching math at a Connecticut boarding school. Ultimately, my long-term plan was to become a pediatrician. One year at Taft stretched into six. I moved the notion of becoming a physician to the backburner and eventually off of the stove entirely. In its place, the idea of becoming a Doctor...of Philosophy began to gain greater appeal. With few credits in the Humanities to my name, Taft generously funded a portion of my summer tuition at Middlebury College's Bread Loaf School of English. There, I took two courses in African-American Studies under the wisdom of Valerie Babb and Robert Stepto. Professor Stepto, a longtime family friend, welcomed me into the world of literature, provided me with the model of the type of teacher I hoped to become, and further kindled my interest in graduate

school. I attribute the start of my graduate school adventure to Professor Babb and, in particular, Stepto who I owe a great debt of gratitude for getting me off on the right foot.

After one more year at Taft, I entered a Masters program in Afro-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW). This is where my project began. I just did not know it at the time. In order to supplement my graduate student stipend, I worked with the Athletic Department as an academic tutor for the university's football team. It was there that I gained a front-row seat into some of the rigors, challenges, and contradictions of high-revenue intercollegiate sport. In order to be privy to this insider knowledge, the athletes had to let me in to their world. It is to many of the football players in UW's Class of 2009 and 2010 and to a handful of other football players and men's and women's basketball players that I owe thanks. In particular, Prince Moody, Aubrey Pleasant, and John Moffitt deserve special recognition for their time tutoring their tutor. I hope I have done justice to the sport that has given and taken so much. Also, thanks go to Douglas Tiedt and Dan Ott, learning specialists in UW's athletic/academic program who showed me the academic/athletic ropes within their Fetzer Center sphere.

At the University of Michigan (UM), I enjoyed a similar connection to student-athletes—albeit much briefer—as I did back in Madison. Thank you to the athletes I worked with as well as the staff that helped me aboard and brought me up to speed on the inner workings of Schembechler Hall. Special thanks to Steve Connelly, Claiborne Green, and Steve Carson. Who knew that field maintenance used a specific vacuum to suck up the ashes of loved ones spread on the fifty-yard line of the Big House?

The first people for whom I became acquainted at UM were not, in fact, affiliated with the athletic department. Before I even arrived on campus, I communicated with the Program in American Culture's (AC) Graduate Program Coordinator, Marlene Moore. From the summer of

2007 to the afternoon of my defense, Marlene was indispensable. She has been a kind, patient, but firm set of train tracks—explaining AC’s institutional idiosyncrasies, identifying key course requirements, guiding me to health care, funding opportunities, leftovers in the kitchen, and ultimately to the degree. Marlene has played a major factor in my success here. Though I hesitate to speak for others, I know that many of my classmates feel much the same. She was part of AC’s administrative staff for which I am also grateful. Thanks to Judy Gray, Mary Freiman, Tabitha Rohn, and Brooklyn Posner.

Some of the first research steps I took began in the archives. Thank you to all of the archivists that I interacted with at Yale University and Harvard University’s libraries. I owe a special thanks to George Rugg who oversees the Joyce Sports Research Collection in the Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame. He was enthusiastic about this project, and always eager to assist. The same is true of Karen Jania in the Bentley Library at the University of Michigan. Her knowledge of the library’s materials was impressive, and she guided me to sources I never would have found on my own. Thank you also to Sarah Hartwell at Dartmouth College’s Rauner Library and to Paige Roberts and Edouard L. Desrochers at Phillips Andover Academy and Phillips Exeter Academy, respectively. Every one of these archivists, and their support staffs, were invaluable to the nitty gritty aspects of this project: finding old letters, dusting off rare manuscripts, identifying overlooked primary sources, and helping with the reproduction of text and images. Of course, to travel to each of these sites, I was fortunate to receive generous funding throughout my time at the University of Michigan. Thank you to the Rackham Graduate School, the Program in American Culture, the Bentley Library, and the Institute for Research on Women and Gender for their generous and continuous support of my scholarship.

Funding is, no doubt, important to a historian. But one's intellectual community is even more indispensable. Thanks to professors Michael Awkward, Matthew Briones, Maria Cotera, Greg Dowd, June Howard, Larry La Fountain-Stokes, Hannah Rosen, Andrea Smith, and Magdalena Zaborowska. Also, I owe specific recognition to John U. Bacon. He served as mentor and enthusiast as I embarked on my own sport study. Special thanks to my impressive classmates in American Culture: Jesse Carr, Joe Ciadella, Tyler Cornelius, Brian Chung, Chris Finley, Margot Finn, Sarah Gothie, Afia Ofori-Mensa, Alex Olson, Rachel Quinn, Matthew Stiffler, Lani Teves, Kiara Vigil, and Lee Ann Wang. In graduate school, a student can control some things; one's cohort is not one of them. I was extraordinarily fortunate to have the best classmates with whom I took classes, completed joint projects, served as graduate instructors, and laughed, talked, and grew as young intellectuals. To Robert Bell, Paul Farber, Annah MacKenzie, and Isabel Millan, I am indebted to your intelligence and your kindness.

I have looked forward to writing the following tribute of gratitude for many years now. The Incredibles, as we called ourselves, was the writing group for which I was a part. The four-member team came together in 2010. We read, wrote, coached, edited, supported, cheered, and celebrated each of our victories, big or small: the completion of a draft, the discovery of an archival gem, a well-written conference paper, a triumphant dissertation defense, a well-earned fellowship, an even more well-earned faculty position. Equally important to our collective concerted effort to improve our scholarship was the enduring encouragement and support that we provided one another. I drew deeply from this well. Profound thanks and love to Paul Farber, Tayana Hardin, and Grace Sanders.

The dissertation that I have written resembles but is appropriately distanced from the prospectus that I submitted several years ago. The direction it finally took and the destination to

which it arrived was influenced by the oversight and abiding care of my dissertation committee: Philip Deloria, Matthew Countryman, Vicente Diaz, Kristin Hass, and Mary Kelley. They read closely, provided insight, raised questions, challenged, and supported me throughout the process. To Phil, specifically, thank you for your dedication to my writing and my ideas. You delivered critique constructively and effectively, and the culmination of this study is, in part, a result of your commitment to use both carrot and stick from start to finish. I thank you for reading and re-reading chapter draft after chapter draft never hesitating to provide comment on top of comment. Your efforts are forever appreciated, and the benefits of your diligence and care reside in all the best passages of this dissertation.

I would be remiss if I failed to give tribute to my newest intellectual neighborhood: Wellesley College. Thank you, specifically, to the American Studies and History Departments for providing me with a space in your academic community.

Another group integral to my success was friends and family outside of PhD land. I have a host of dear friends who cheered me on, not always sure of what I was working on, but devoted to the notion that I be successful. They often provided food, wine, and good cheer as they encouraged me toward the finish line. Thank you to Athena, Lia and Trumbull, Tim and Erin, Tim and Melissa, Kelley and Bogie, Sheff and Des, Griff and Emily, and Karen and Mike. And thank you to my family. Always interested but rarely prodding, I genuinely valued the constant interest but lack of pressure that they extended to me as I marched forward and sometimes back in these last few years. Living in Ann Arbor and South Bend gave us the benefit to be near my “Midwest family.” My grandmother in Cincinnati does not seem to realize that Massachusetts is not as close as Michigan. But she never failed to replenish us when we paid her a visit. And my Wisconsin/Illinois/Minnesota family has always done the same. My other mother, Mary, always

seems as happy to see me as anyone else I know. Her warmth is infectious and invigorating. William and Peggy, too, give us the rejuvenation that is needed when we visit over the summer or during the precious moments between terms. And to my other siblings, Nathan, Sarah, and Hesper, thank you for so graciously letting me expand my family to include you guys. Somehow we talk about academics when we need to and mercifully talk about *anything* else most of the time. The Blanton family welcomed us back to the East Coast and delivered the type of TLC necessary in the last stages of a doctoral trip. Warm, delicious meals, kayak opportunities, buckets of Cosmopolitans, and love were just the touch to provide that final “oomph.” Dad and Beth, thank you giving us a landing spot at any and all times, no questions asked. And thank you to my sister Sarah and her hubby Eamon for being sibling and devoted fan club, and for always asking follow-up questions to, “What is your dissertation about?” That little extra indicates that you’re actually intrigued (or, exceedingly polite). “Interesting,” is the typical response I receive to that query, which means that one is decidedly *not* interested. You guys never made me feel that way.

I attended to all facets of this dissertation in a host of weird places. Some of the very first ideas germinated in Espresso Coffee on Carpenter St. in Ann Arbor. I dove into some of my first sources on the 13th floor of Hesburgh Library while overlooking Notre Dame football games (yes, I could see inside the stadium from my perch). I wrote in an assortment of spaces in Wellesley, MA where I completed the dissertation. At each step of the way, one person was always along for the journey. Besides myself, naturally, the other person of the aforementioned “we” in all of this is my wife Brenna Greer. All those who I gave thanks contributed to my work or my well-being and sometimes both. Brenna was instrumental in caring for all sides of me. What do you say to someone who has been there since before the start and will be there after the

finish? No one has had a more front-row seat to witness the grueling PhD experience than she. Regardless of what we were going through, academic or not, she always validated how special and how challenging the doctoral journey is. Advice is useful, workshopping chapters is even more helpful, but very little was more important to me than her assurances that what I do is important, valuable, and extremely admirable on its own merit. And, of course, when it became the 11th hour of dissertation construction, and—in football parlance—I had to turn to my hurry-up offense, my own two-minute drill, she was right there with me, copying, editing, reading, revising, and formatting. She did not always tell me what I wanted to hear, but she always told me what I needed to hear. The debate and the critique were not always welcome. It was all, however, consistent. By that I mean we remained true to the contract we made with one another to always strive to be the best versions of ourselves, as academics and as much much more. I thank Brenna Greer who is more than an academic, more than the sum of our parts. Thank you for being one half of “us,” our own thing becoming.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Dedication	ii
	Acknowledgements	iii
	List of Figures	xi
Introduction	Construction of a Cultural Phenomenon	1
Chapter I	Making Men: College Football and the Science of American Bourgeois Masculinity	34
Chapter II	Fair Play: Constructing College Football's Character	89
Chapter III	Privatizing the Game: College Football, University Stadiums, and the Construction of Exclusive Publics	144
Chapter IV	The Intercollegiate Football Consumer: The Development of Football Game Programs, the Business of Higher Education, and Spectator Privilege	189
Chapter V	The In Crowd: Real and Imagined Football Communities and the Experience of Belonging	245
Conclusion	The Price and Power of Play	310
	Appendix	321
	Bibliography	323

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Dartmouth College undergraduates playing football on the Hanover, NH green in 1874. The round ball is in the lower right corner of the photograph	41
1.2	Two athletes demonstrate “right” and “wrong” way to defend	57
1.3	Illustration of David Butler’s “Health Lift”	64
1.4	Interior view of Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University	66
1.5	Physical measurements of Harvard Students in 1880 and 1881 classes	67
1.6	“Average” height and weight for members of Princeton, Yale, Harvard and Pennsylvania teams that competed in 1897	70
3.1	University of Michigan football team at Regents Field	155
4.1	Yale vs. Columbia Football Game Program Souvenir, November 1872	196
4.2	Yale vs. Harvard Football Game Program Souvenir, November 1879	197
4.3	1894 Amherst Football Team	203
4.4	Yale Captain, S. B. Thorne, ’96	205
4.5	General Custer with comrades	206
4.6	General Rutherford B. Hayes in studio portrait	206
4.7	Players from Occidental College	212
4.8	Players from Ohio State University	212
4.9	Cambridge University’s Bridge of Sighs juxtaposed with a Cass Realty advertisement	214
4.10	Cover of 1895 Yale-Princeton Official Souvenir Programme	218
4.11	Interior page of 1895 Yale-Princeton Official Souvenir Programme	218

4.12	American Tobacco Company advertisement	220
4.13	Photograph of Yale vs. Princeton Thanksgiving Day game	222
4.14	Boston Fruit Company Boston to Jamaica cruise line advertisement	226
5.1	University Michigan students after game of Pushball	246
5.2	Columbia University undergraduates competing in Pushball	247
5.3	John “The Orange-man” Lovett with Harvard student Carroll Swan	253
5.4	Crowd at University of Michigan Ferry Field Stadium	269
5.5	Norman Rockwell painting, “Football Hero”	289
5.6	Photo from scrapbook of Julia Magruder Phillips	294
5.7	Photo from scrapbook of Audrey Wright	298

INTRODUCTION

Construction of a Cultural Phenomenon

Frank Merriwell was athletic. He was smart and he showed compassion for others. A graduate of Fardale Academy and Yale University, Merriwell was morally grounded, handsome, and self-confident. A star on the football gridiron, he broke many a tackle and scored touchdowns with astounding regularity. His sturdy physicality and sterling charm endeared him to others. He did not drink or smoke—traits that classmates initially scorned but eventually admired for his demonstration of self-discipline. Merriwell was fearless in the face of danger and conducted himself with modesty, though he “overflowed with good spirits, and could thoroughly enjoy a joke or anything of a humourous [*sic*] nature.”¹ In addition to accomplishing outstanding athletic feats, comporting himself ethically, living frugally, and carrying himself coolly, Merriwell evolved into a crime-fighter and a world traveler all of which led to his larger-than-life mystique. In the words of his father, Gilbert Patten, Merriwell was “too perfect to have been a boy of flesh and blood.”² Which was true, because Merriwell was not mortal. He was a fictitious invention of Patten, an author who wrote hundreds of dime novels in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century under the pseudonym, Burt L. Standish.³

In creating and developing Frank Merriwell, Patten (or Standish) fashioned a multifaceted protagonist consistent with other dime novel heroes of the period. At times athlete, cowboy, or international gentleman, Merriwell was the type of rugged individual that rescued damsels or underdogs in distress, disarmed masked men, and foiled evil swindlers. Patten gifted his literary creation with all the traits of character and personality that he himself claimed to lack.

According to Patten's own account, Frank Merriwell was everything he was not: "manly, honest, kind, brave, self-reliant, determined, forceful, loyal, liberal-minded, and patriotic."⁴ What personal void Merriwell filled for his author resonated with an audience that gravitated toward Patten's tales. At the height of the Merriwell series, Patten was churning out 20,000 words per week to complete his dime novels with a regularity that met a circulation demand of 200,000 copies per week.⁵ These numbers likely underestimate the range of a dime novel's overall consumption. Between the factory worker who read stories to colleagues during lunch breaks to the (typically) boys who traded novels with one another, it is conceivable that the scope of Patten's audience was far greater than indicated by official circulation numbers.⁶

Though Patten wrote tales in which Frank defused bombs and saved others from oncoming trains, it is curious that he established Merriwell's bona fides as a college football phenom. Numerous stories highlight how the Yale star tormented opponents with dashing, elusive runs against the wanna-be football heroes of competing Ivy League schools, most notably Harvard.⁷ His skills inspired his mates to consider him "one of the most popular youths that ever graduated Yale," and it was many of these details that endeared him to fans.⁸ Within this imaginary collegiate context, Merriwell shaped beliefs for some readers that impacted their real-life perceptions of higher education. Mid-twentieth century sports editor for the *New York Mirror*, Dan Parker reflected: "[Merriwell] certainly couldn't have helped but give people the idea it was good to have clean sports. I got the idea Yale wouldn't be caught doing anything not true blue, but I couldn't say the same for Harvard."⁹ For some, fiction drove perceptions of reality. In Parker's brief revelation, he draws several elements from Patten's pages to inform his opinions about educational institutions. As a reader, Parker serves as one of many examples of fans of the dime novels that identified the influence of Merriwell and transposed literary

observations to conclusions in reality in regards to quality of character and moral play in intercollegiate sport. Part of the allure that Patten created around his main character addressed this very balance. He defined Merriwell's star power, in part, by threading together his moral fortitude with his physical talent. To his fans, some of Merriwell's most attractive elements centered not only on his strength or skill but his upstanding values as well. Honorable sensibilities—such as honesty, chivalry, and trustworthiness—drove Merriwell's decisions, which assured that he landed on the side of virtue every time.

In his protagonist, Patten formulated some type of ideal that Merriwell closely embodied—the result of clean sportsmanship and physical prowess performed through football—which garnered the esteem of many laymen and luminaries alike. Among his more notable admirers were turn-of-the-century boxers Stanley Ketchel, Jess Willard, and Jack Dempsey, as well as writers Franklin P. Adams and Floyd Gibbons, and even President Woodrow Wilson.¹⁰ It was not celebrities, however, but the anonymous masses that popularized Patten's literary creation, earning Merriwell the acclaim among some dime novel scholars as: “perhaps the most famous individual in all of dime novel literature.”¹¹ But why did Patten and his editor create a hero who was an Ivy League football star, and what exactly attracted readers to Merriwell? The potential answers, while complex, largely derive from the production and distribution of these stories within a particular moment in U.S. history.

Prior to the Merriwell series, Patten gained a name for himself crafting detective stories. In 1895, his publisher, O.G. Smith of the *Street & Smith* publishing house, requested that he design a series around “one prominent character surrounded by suitable satellites.” His editor offered guidelines that the lead be a boarding school student, a hero, and eventual Yale graduate.¹² Several months later, in April 1896, *Street & Smith* distributed the first of many

Frank Merriwell stories.¹³ Their appearance on newsstands, then, coincided with, but also reflected the rising popularity of college football. By the time Patten created Frank Merriwell in the 1890s, college football had a strong foothold in the Ivy League colleges of the northeast United States. The first official intercollegiate football game took place on November 6, 1869 in New Brunswick, NJ between players from Rutgers University and Princeton University. From this unassuming origin point, as should become clear, college football developed haphazardly but steadily until it gained significant prominence in the 1890s.¹⁴ Thus, at a time when thousands were beginning to flock to sites of intercollegiate football games especially in Northeastern cities, Patten's fictitious yarns about Merriwell sat next to sports writers' front-page accounts of Yale and Princeton's exploits. Reportage and fiction joined together with spectatorship and fandom to create a powerful cultural formation.

Even the rising popularity of college football does not sufficiently explain Merriwell's widespread allure. What other forces might help explain the volume of Merriwell's (via Patten) followers? For one, young men at this time, particularly among those more privileged, were reassessing their roles as private, public, and political figures. As intellectuals and academics have scrupulously documented, the historical turmoil and demographic shifts of the nineteenth century turned possibilities—adventure, danger, respect, prosperity—into longings more distant or even unattainable. Complicating these matters was the fact that geographic, political, social, and economic changes were not just domestic affairs. Starvation, poverty, and political and religious persecution abroad conspired in fortunate, weird, and challenging ways with, among other factors, the growth of cities in the U.S., the rise of industrial capitalism, and the corresponding expansion of wage work. This led to an explosion of immigration in the post-Civil War United States. These fluctuations provoked nativist anxieties, altered gender roles, and

promised wealth to no one even as the Gilded Age placed affluence on display and held it up as an object of aspiration. Moreover, the steady de-emphasis on craft apprenticeships, the rise in mechanization, and the proliferation of factories—a development politician and economist, Henry George, condemned as “absolutely injurious” for laborers—devalued the importance of individual skills, which prompted crises of identity and worth among many.¹⁵ In short, as many scholars have long argued, turn-of-the century America was a place rife with struggle, change, contradiction, and anxiety.¹⁶

This linkage of historical context to dime novel consumption is not meant to imply that Merriwell offered an unassailable salve to individual and institutional anxieties of the period. Nor is it meant to suggest that burdened Americans did not seek solace in countless other ways. But the Merriwell series does provide insight into one type of avenue for escape, even if knowingly temporary, that some Americans pursued in this time and place. The question remains, why? Did Merriwell, as a character, affirm for readers the value of hard work and republican ideals of independent proficiency at a time when corporations and bureaucracy threatened autonomous individualism and self-reliance? To young men (and women) who may have questioned the existence of meritocratic processes, were Merriwell’s triumphs based on his own worth against tilted odds especially seductive? Probably. At the same time, Merriwell’s excellence must have contrasted sharply with the daily complexities of his readers and their own fallibilities. This, too, may have been an attraction.

But could Merriwell have been too good? Possibly. Nonetheless, Patten made Merriwell commendably humble. To highlight the exclusiveness of American aristocracy and to provide a populist appeal, Patten made sure that the old-boy network of the Ivy League did not willingly invite Merriwell—he of unassuming origins—into bourgeois circles upon his initial arrival at

Yale. He was forced to contend not only with upperclassmen's social hierarchies, but the favoritism accorded the graduates of Phillips Andover Academy and other boarding school alumni.¹⁷ In this pool of upper-class elitism, Merriwell acquitted himself well by outperforming his schoolmates on the gridiron, the baseball diamond, and other sport spaces on the New Haven university campus. Everything Frank gained, he earned. By virtue of Merriwell's acceptance within these new communities, his champions learned that athletic prowess coupled with ethical living was socially and culturally powerful. Could one use sport, then, football specifically, for the purposes of social ascent?

While these are real questions that readers may have likely pondered, the power of the Merriwell stories—like all popular texts—was that they were ideological in nature. They materialized the contradictions that swirled in any society, offering what theorist Louis Althusser called the “imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence.”¹⁸ As much as they seemed to provide answers, they also represented complex possibilities: moral advice mixed with subterranean realities, well-patrolled social boundaries colliding with crossers and double-crossers. In regard to sport, young men fashioned ideas about themselves and then went outside and tried to make those ideas real as they competed with and against, cheered for, and watched one another play. As such, what does Merriwell's popularity tell us about both the socio-cultural world in which readers reveled and the world of football, both real and imagined? At the very least, the Merriwell series offered “thinking tools” for young men who doubted their position, regardless of their privilege, in a swiftly changing society. It prompted questions about the role of higher education and the efficacy of collegiate sport—especially football—as a vehicle to navigate that changing society, especially in relation to emerging gender expectations and anxieties. In particular, the series highlights the chief strains of concern and sites of promise

for the educated elite—those most committed to and rewarded by the efficacy of higher education.

To gain even greater insight into this confluence of stress, uncertainty, and hope that marked this period, one could do worse than to turn from Frank Merriwell to his half-brother, Dick. Patten introduced the younger sibling into the picture approximately four years into the series.¹⁹ Readers learned that unbeknownst to Frank, his father Charles Merriwell had remarried after his mother passed away (years earlier) and fathered a son, Richard, who lived out West. Nearing death, the elder Merriwell penned a letter to Frank charging him with the responsibility of caring for his younger brother. Dick's childhood had differed sharply from that of Frank's. Charles wrote that Dick was like Frank in some ways, but he was also "wild, impulsive, passionate, and hard to govern."²⁰ Further, Dick was born to a "Spanish lady," who had, like Frank's mother, also passed. Juan, Dick's uncle, assumed caretaking duties for the young boy. Unfortunately, Juan's enemies, keen on seeing his ruin, forced the family to flee deeper into the Rocky Mountains. There, Dick was taken under the care of an elderly Indian, Shangowah (also known as Old Joe Crowfoot), who, in Patten's words, was "a dirty, evil-eyed, treacherous, bloodthirsty old redskin, a liar and a thief who hated all palefaces except Dick."²¹

It is through Dick's character, his mixed heritage, and seemingly unconventional upbringing that Patten most explicitly entertained contemporary concerns regarding the state of white masculinity. Dick evoked everything that underpinned Frank. If Frank's whiteness was unseen, Dick's Spanish blood made it visible.²² Frank gained his education at a prestigious boarding school and university; Dick received his in the wild under the tutelage of a notably un-noble "savage." If Frank earned his accolades through talent and industriousness, Dick raised questions of essential natures to which we are born. If Frank was stoic and self-possessed, what

did it mean that Dick was “hot-headed?”²³ Frank was modern in that he harnessed primitive urges to a code of modern masculinity and morality. Dick was a primitive, coexisting out of time in the modern world. The younger brother was a threat, a stark counterexample, an agent of disorder and uncertainty. At the same time, however, the two were brothers, linked inextricably together, born out of the same origins. Frank’s honorable, healthy masculinity was, in this sense, of a piece with Dick’s less laudable qualities.

Patten’s stories also left clues to popular conceptions about the relationship of women to men and masculinity during the *fin de siècle* era. In his tales, women were necessary and occasionally present, but largely invisible. Even in their invisibility their influence was scrutinized. For instance, the mothers of Frank and Dick have no narrative presence beyond the fact that they gave birth to the two boys. But, with Frank signifying normative masculinity and Dick representing undisciplined manliness seemingly gone awry, the genetic explanation traced back to the mothers.²⁴ This mirrors two popular discourses of the time. First, racial mixing was feared and condemned by the same people who engaged in it. Second, since Charles Merriwell fathered both boys, their differing personalities intimate the biological ways that women could corrupt masculinity. Women’s effects on their male progeny became a significant concern for bourgeois Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.²⁵ Dick’s mother’s background made him not entirely American—not entirely white. This raised the types of questions about racial formation that vexed and disquieted white middle-class Americans, even as it played into the fear that over-mothering could reproduce, within the family, the same dangerously effeminating dynamics of the post-frontier urban United States.²⁶

As a character and a cultural symbol in his own right, Dick Merriwell also interrogated the sources of Frank’s revered masculinity. This is most salient in Patten’s accentuation of the

brothers' debate over schooling, in which Dick articulated some of the reservations that higher education provoked among white Americans of nearly all socioeconomic classes. In an effort to fulfill his obligation to raise his younger brother, Frank championed his education. Next to health, Frank declared, education was "the most valuable possession in the world." But the more tempestuous Merriwell expressed explicit concerns about the deleterious effects of becoming scholarly. Still emotionally if not physically close to "Old Joe Crowfoot," Dick exclaimed in response to Frank's exhortation: "Old Joe says white folks in the big towns make their boys and girls go to school till they get weak and sickly and lose their health... He says the white boys in towns study till their chests are flat, and they cough, and their eyes are weak, and they have to wear glasses, and they have no muscles, and they never become men at all."²⁷ The trepidation that Dick expressed to Frank regarding Western education echoed the words of an *Atlantic Monthly* author uttered four decades earlier. In a time of Indian wars, asserted the writer, school was not the answer. It perpetuated "physical weakness" in its students. Boys of "ill-health joined with intellectual precocity,—stamina wanting." Surrounded by "equations," these "boys" became, as the journalist put it, men who carried few "athletic habits into manhood!"²⁸ During this period, young men whose fathers profited from the industrial and technological advances of the Gilded Age were most able to seek higher education.²⁹ Fears of over-civilization and accusations of insufficient manliness—which perceptions of academia only exacerbated—had haunted the wealthier classes since at least mid-century. As such, Dick's stinging rebuke of education, which parroted actual bourgeois concerns, raised questions that preoccupied many white Americans about the relationship between education, civil society, and a healthy masculinity.

Concerns about the masculinity of those who pursued higher education was complicated all the more as members of the middle and upper class began to also worry about (and admire) the physical capacity of laborers and nonwhite men. Despite their lower societal status, these men had what philosopher William James famously called “the sterner stuff of manly virtue.”³⁰ Regardless of truth and accuracy, a common belief was that blacks, as well as Irish, Italians and other non-Anglo Saxon immigrants were more in tune with the physicality of their bodies. The circumstances of industrialization that forced certain artisans and craftsmen into factories and positions of manual labor only furthered these beliefs. The unskilled professions that required the use of body more than mind equipped members of the working-class with a virility and physicality that the elite in their affluence felt like they could not acquire.³¹ By comparison, those who sat at desks learning Greek and Latin as part of their liberal arts classical curriculum hardly exemplified the robust masculinity of their laboring counterparts. Worse, their life choices might have actually imperiled them. Popular thinking and even scientific theory of the time claimed that a lack of exertion would result not only in weakness but more invasive physical maladies, including dyspepsia, internal pains, and especially neurasthenia—a loss of energy and nerve that most commonly afflicted those who benefited from modernity’s gains.³²

The physical deficiencies of college men came into sharper relief in the wake of the Civil War. As historian Gail Bederman has outlined, by the late nineteenth century, conceptions of the ideal male body of the late nineteenth century valued muscles and bulk over the wiry build of a previous era.³³ Along with soldiers and veterans, well-conditioned athletes furnished the corporeal model of maleness popularly admired at this time. This particular physical form and health was, in turn, considered central to healthy American masculinity. Such health required

particular activity. Future president Theodore Roosevelt articulated this formulation precisely in his famous 1899 speech “The Strenuous Life.” According to Roosevelt, the future of American masculinity required that American boys seek a “strenuous life” of “toil and effort, of labor and strife” and did not “shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil....”³⁴

In such statements could be found the cultural impetus that lay behind Dick Merriwell’s denunciation of schooling. College men who lacked the military role their fathers and grandfathers may have experienced were left to fulfill a “strenuous life” without being tested by strenuous challenges. The narrative of the collegian lacked ruggedness. He was dependent on others, stationary, and spent significant time indoors. Given these circumstances, for some, the solution for this perceived—or real—weakness among college men was obvious. Rather than steer away from an education that would most certainly serve undergraduates well in the rapidly industrializing United States, higher education should include opportunities for strenuous physical, as well as intellectual work. But colleges and universities already supported boxing, weight work, crew gymnastics, baseball, and other sports. What did undergraduates figure college football could provide that the other activities lacked?

Even before the Civil War, commentators saw football as a superlative marriage of mind and body. In 1857, for example, a writer for *Harper’s Weekly* declared, in regards to the deficiency of physical training in U.S. universities: “Football ought to be a matter of as much concern as the Greek or mathematical prize. Indeed of the two it is the more useful exercise.”³⁵ At the time, football was a game collegians played only in an informal, spontaneous manner and sporadically at that. By the late 1890s, Ivy League institutions and dozens of other schools had institutionalized college football with dedicated support from people no less prominent than Theodore Roosevelt. To Roosevelt, American men’s fitness was a matter of national security.

“The preservation of national vigor,” he once stated, “should be a matter of patriotism.”³⁶ An outspoken proponent of outdoor activities, he was also keen on contact sports like boxing and wrestling. Each activity supported physically robust lifestyles and were, as he characterized, “true sports for a manly race.”³⁷ Among “true sports,” Roosevelt counted football. Long before he led the volunteer “Rough Riders” regiment in the Spanish-American War or became president of the United States, Roosevelt had endorsed college football. Writing in the *Harvard Advocate* in 1879, Roosevelt, then an undergraduate, submitted an essay that suggested several ways in which the university could make their football team more competitive. Once he entered politics and eventually became president, his enthusiasm for football did not wane.³⁸ In fact, as discussed later in this work, during his presidency (1901–1909), he intervened to rescue the sport at a time of self-inflicted crisis, ultimately affecting the course of the institution. For Roosevelt, college football’s “strenuous” physical requirements coupled with the sport’s moral expectations regarding fair play and sportsman-like conduct presented the ideal collegiate extracurricular for fortifying young men’s body and character, for turning them, as it were, into Frank Merriwells.³⁹

Frank Merriwell and his exchanges with his brother Dick underscore the inherent contradictions in Western education, the messiness of manliness, and American perceptions about civilization. These were the paradoxes with which college football was forced to contend. This dissertation, then, is not an exploration of individual gridiron heroics or the most triumphant collegiate sides. Rather it is a history that traces how members of the educated elite used college football as a platform from which to instantiate certain ideologies, political strategies, and social stratifications. To interrogate these issues more deeply, this project is driven primarily by three central research questions. First, what does the evolution of college football tell us about the class of educated elite, the mutability of race, and the instability of gender? Second, how did

such a violent sport become so deeply engrained in the culture of higher education? In this study, the actors that I have chosen to investigate are primarily white, affluent, educated men who were by and large the greatest beneficiaries of this new athletic phenomenon. With this in mind, the third and final question asks: what mechanisms and apparatuses enabled this constituency to remain the primary power brokers of college football? Remaining mindful of these inquiries helps us analyze some of college football's most lasting contradictions: investment in the whiteness of the sport while simultaneously deriving meaning from the occasional participation of non-whites; its commercial viability as an amateur sport; and, the construction of masculinity that depended, in part, on the exclusion, denigration, and celebration of white womanhood. These tensions, and many more, serve as the connective tissue of this project. Keeping an eye on them allows for a deep interrogation of the sport's development as a signifier of a linked series of social and cultural identities and ideological imaginaries that help explain how college football contributed to the shape of class and culture in the United States from the Gilded Age through the twentieth century.

Historiography

In 1930, American educator Abraham Flexner wrote, "A university is not outside, but inside the general fabric of a given era." It is, he continued, "an expression of the age, as well as an influence operating upon both present and future."⁴⁰ "Beyond the Playing Field" extends this formulation. A university is not exactly a crude "expression of the age" to which it belongs; it is clearly a motive force, responsive to social dynamics and powerful enough, at the same time, to shape those very same dynamics. As a central emergent development within the university system, college football had powerful consequences for the shape of the institutions, for the broader world of higher education, and for an American society that moved quickly from local

fan loyalty to mass mediated national engagement. In other words, it is not enough to detail how college football (as a sport and institution) manifested: we should strive to understand the wider societal implications of its history.

To grapple with these questions, this dissertation wrestles with notions of culture and engages historiographies of sport, higher education, and masculinity. College football was (and is) a cultural practice and a cultural site. This is true whether we abide by nineteenth century definitions of culture or more recent ones advanced by cultural studies scholars. During the period under study, when individuals evoked the notion of culture, they did so in reference to art, literature, and performances found in rarified spaces—such as museums and opera houses, as opposed to newsstands or taverns. Culture was deemed to operate independent of—or in spite of—market trends. This form—captured in shorthand by reference to the writings of the early theorist of culture Matthew Arnold—was all about “sweetness and light.” Indeed, in the United States, many, especially those in the upper classes, saw culture (at least “high” culture) as the antidote to the corrupting forces of capitalism—even if its collections, opera houses, and art was produced out of elite patronage. The key impulse behind such high culture was the improvement and refinement of one’s self. Curiously—though the forms are radically different—one might argue that these goals were similar to those that individuals and institutions held for college football in the later nineteenth century.⁴¹

In this work, I take culture as a site of meaning making and contest. In this sense, I take my cues from cultural studies, which, as an examination of power, interrogates culture and its meaning in an effort to expose unarticulated norms and conflictual understandings.⁴² As Stuart Hall and other cultural studies theorists have argued, culture is a space where members of the dominant class and subordinate classes contend with one another for authority over the ways and

meanings of being. Culture is, Hall posits, “one of the sites where the struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged: it is also the stake to be won or lost in that struggle.”⁴³ Those on the margins of this realm (what cultural studies scholars sometimes characterize as “popular” culture) challenge imposed discourses that do not work in their favor. They create counterexamples that resist what the dominant class would universalize as “common sense” rules of everyday living that sustain social hierarchies and husband power to the already powerful. They are Dick Merriwells to the elite Frank Merriwell.

One of the goals of this project is to intellectually bridge cultural studies with the gradually increasing field of sport studies. According to sports historian Amy Bass, they are two academic domains that fail to effectively overlap. Put more bluntly, states Bass, “cultural studies scholars ignore sport.”⁴⁴ In her essay, “State of the Field: Sports History and the ‘Cultural Turn,’” Bass identifies the twists and turns of sport history, its influences, its utility, and where it may go in the future. In the twenty-plus page essay that cites dozens of sources, she identifies only one manuscript-length study of college football. This is not to criticize her for neglect. Rather, it demonstrates that college football remains an understudied historical site. Much of the existing literature is largely non-scholarly and generally celebrates powerhouse programs, storied rivalries, and remarkable athletes and coaches that leave unchallenged claims about the sport’s inherent meritocracy.⁴⁵ Michael Oriard’s *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (1993) is a notable exception. By the 1890s, city and town newspapers covered college football enthusiastically. Oriard uses this source base to read college football as a cultural text and advances the argument that it was, in fact, the popular press of this period that was responsible for the proliferation and popularity of the game. My own research supports this argument. I want to understand more completely, however, how and why this happened. Even if

sportswriters spread the tale of the sport, why were readers so interested in a game that most of them knew only through words? This dissertation seeks to explain why college football enjoyed widespread adulation in a manner unparalleled by other contemporary college sports like tennis, or soccer, crew or even boxing.

Like Oriard, my work also approaches college football as a text to be read. But since football is a cultural practice, one cannot simply stop there. To tackle someone, to watch someone tackle someone, to be seen doing both (participating and spectating), to be among thousands watching the game—football is as much as anything a performance to be both played and witnessed. These two experiences, albeit different ones entirely, are both capable of inculcating large and shared pools of meaning among audiences and performers. In this sense, I have been cast back to some of the classic methods and theories introduced by historian C. L. R. James and anthropologist Clifford Geertz display in *Beyond a Boundary* (1963) and “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight” (1973), respectively.⁴⁶ In their studies of West Indian cricket and cockfighting in Bali, these scholars trace the relationship between participation in sport and the formations of shared national identity. Building on these studies, my research analyzes the importance of unmediated material and emotional experiences of “being there”—on campus, in the stadium, and on the field—coupled with the creation and maintenance of shared social identities for college football is a cultural site as well.

Although some contemporary commentary might argue that it has outgrown its host, college football still functions within the realm of higher education. Literature on the history of colleges and universities traffics in multiple directions. Paul Fussell once contended that because the structures of the United States did not confer its citizens with titles and rank based on heredity, the “college and university hierarchy” provided Americans with our “mechanism of

snobbery.”⁴⁷ This pillar of elitism, as some historians have shown, was founded and erected on Native American expulsion (Dartmouth, most famously), African American slavery (Brown, for example), and Jewish exclusion (Harvard, among many others). This project does not linger long in higher education’s histories of institutional exclusion. But these foundations of oppression and injustice from which some of our most hallowed colleges and universities grew is worth reiteration such that there is little surprise that these structural inequities manifested themselves through college football in the Progressive Era.⁴⁸ Historian Brian Ingrassia is one of the few current scholars who give college football and intercollegiate sports, in general, more than short shrift relative to other pedagogical, philosophical, and economic considerations. Until the twentieth century, a disproportionately small percentage of college-aged young men attended colleges and universities. The perpetually precarious status that these schools sustained for much of the colonial and antebellum periods meant that they competed ferociously with one another over students, state funds and private philanthropy, and other resources that were in short supply. For many, college football not only bolstered the reputations of stable schools and put struggling institutions on the map; the sport played a significant role to energize a spirit, conversation, and national pursuit for higher education that was wholly missing in the pre-Industrial era.⁴⁹

For perhaps obvious reasons, this dissertation is firmly rooted in the study of masculinity. Understanding why bourgeois culture and men in positions of power like Theodore Roosevelt internalized the importance of virile masculinity requires tracing a history of common conceptions of white male gender performance from the eighteenth through the nineteenth century. Many gender scholars classify the modern history of masculinity in the United States as a trajectory that has undergone three basic iterations: men’s identity in the eighteenth century was communal; toward the end of the century, the concept of the self-made man emerged; and,

by the nineteenth century, men celebrated a “passionate manhood” that valued, according to gender theorist E. Anthony Rotundo, “forceful action, militarism, competitive athletics, and animal instinct.” Sociologist Michael Kimmel’s paradigms of manhood follow the above chronology, which he characterizes as the *Genteel Patriarch*, the *Heroic Artisan*, and the *Self-Made Man*.⁵⁰ These categories provide an ample heuristic from which to begin analysis even though they are broadly painted and sweep across time and space. Thus, it is important to keep in mind the local and temporal variations existing within these generalizations.

Where did college football players and their supporters land on this spectrum of gender? Clearly, these categories beg to be complicated. Did a kid from Connecticut and his teammate from Michigan follow similar rules? By virtue of his individualistic predilections, could a Self-Made Man be a gentleman? As a start, these phases indicate that manliness is never stable. This ever-changing dynamic meant that characterizations of manhood are slippery because they are constantly fluctuating concepts. Gender, more broadly, is what historian Gail Bederman articulates as a “*historical, ideological process* [emphasis original].”⁵¹ What, then, does college football tell us about gender as it matured in conjunction with, among many things, temporal distance from England, industrialism, changing market structures, the Civil War, the emancipation of enslaved men and women, and the rise of feminism and the New Woman?

Gender scholars and historians have rightly identified the ways that gender trouble was not necessarily a local issue, but rather a broadly national one.⁵² Scholars have persuasively suggested that middle- and upper class men’s impulse to revive perceptions of their masculinity motivated jingoistic political decision makers to enter or intensify expansionist and imperialist wars against indigenous populations especially in “The West” during the post-Civil War era and against other countries at the turn of the century.⁵³ The Spanish-American War, for example,

became what Amy Kaplan has called a continuation of the Civil War as an imperial national discourse and, “the antidote to Reconstruction” because it brought together the white men of the North and the South, the Union and the Confederacy.⁵⁴ Furthermore, empire-building required forceful masculinity, and the body of the white male soldier became the conduit of U.S. national recuperation. By the turn of the century, American bourgeois culture turned away from notions of male gentility and embraced aggressive physicality in an effort to rebuild white manliness that regarded social authority and physical might in a nation or an individual as equivalent. As Kaplan contends, the U.S. wars abroad “restored health and vigor to the male body,” which Victorian gender constructs and the war between the states had depleted.⁵⁵ Of course, farmers and artisans and a vast majority of men had used their bodies in the preindustrial era. Then, however, most people saw the body as a tool rather than a site of identity. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, as personal wealth became more attainable and men (particularly prosperous ones) placed greater emphasis on individual achievement, the body attracted greater focus. This period witnessed a transition toward validating bodies that were perceived as physically powerful and not just physically productive. It was not that men had not used their bodies in the past. It was that now, as men, it mattered.⁵⁶

College football came into being in the middle of these broad discursive shifts. As a team sport that also glorifies the triumphs of individual players, the institution attends to both discursive sides of the masculinity coin. Players and their supporters engaged the remnants of earlier iterations of manliness—humility, community, and service to a greater good—when they honored their Alma Mater and dedicated their achievements to team and college. At the same time, the principles of self-made achievement celebrated the long run, brave tackle, or long kick. College football’s theater of masculinity did not, however, strictly entertain the performances of

the athletes. Among classmates, fans, journalists, elder alumni, and younger spectators, there was evidence of two other elements of masculinity. *Aspirational masculinity* was a type of manliness that men hoped to achieve. It was the onlooker who identified in the football player the archetype of male gender display. It was the classmate who venerated the traits of the athlete as something he did not have but hoped to acquire. A second type, *nostalgic masculinity*, existed at the other end of the chronological spectrum of manliness. Men who looked back at their younger years, who believed that they were once—but no longer—in possession of what R.W. Connell calls “hegemonic masculinity,” see in youth a physical, vibrant, dynamic display of male gender they lost with age. If manliness was ever fragile and fluid, perpetually contingent on a historical time and place, did college football’s proponents hope the sport might solidify useful definitions of masculinity?

Methods & Sources

“Beyond the Playing Field” is a cultural history. As my use of the Merriwell series and characters indicates, my methods for approaching this history of how and why college football developed as it did, when it did, are interdisciplinary, drawing on literary reading, historical context, and theoretical insights. Cultural studies methods and concepts, in particular, have proven essential to my ability to explicate the power dynamics and relationships central to the development of college football as cultural phenomenon.

To employ these methods effectively, I draw on a vast and varied set of sources. To trace the changing position of football within higher education and U.S. culture, I read broadly from a host of primary sources, located principally in university archives. I conducted archival research at the University of Michigan, the University of Notre Dame, Harvard University, Yale University—all of which have storied football pasts—as well as Dartmouth College and Amherst

College. To understand how young American boys became college men, I also examined the documents of New England boarding schools principally at Phillips Andover Academy and Phillips Exeter Academy, which fed the Ivy League schools. Across all of these archives, I examined letters, essays, and policy memos of presidents; the records and orders of trustees, regents, faculty, and meeting minutes, which were useful to determine how members of the academy thought of sport and football and what contemporary ideas or concerns shaped that thought. The papers of athletic departments were especially valuable to understand the role of football within various institutions. Letters between team managers, rulebooks, guidelines, budgets, construction reports, stadium blueprints, and fundraising letters were the most helpful. As the primary focus of Chapter Four, college football game programs offered a treasure trove of insight into how the game was seen, made, and marketed. In fact, the evolution of the game itself is evident in the development of game programs. Begun as two or four-page student-produced flyers, school's publicity offices assumed the duties of production by the twentieth century and generated programs that worked as publicity for not just the football teams but the universities themselves—to say nothing of local advertisers. Within these programs were photos of players, teams, stadiums, and campuses. There were team rosters of varying detail. Essays from college presidents, team captains, coaches, and other assorted figures offered their perspectives on football. I relied heavily on advertisements for insight as to the football audience. Finally, some of the most valuable archive materials to this project were those that students generated. Yearbooks, student scrapbooks, student newspapers, students' personal papers, and the records of various student organizations provided a sense of the meaning of college football to students beyond the football players.

This study reflects an East Coast—and even a Yale and Harvard—bias because intercollegiate football first formed and flourished in the Northeast United States and, especially, at the aforementioned two schools. Testimonies to the importance and precedent-setting trends of this region are legion.⁵⁷ And representatives of colleges that existed and competed beyond New England frequently extend recognition to the standards that the Ivy League schools, in particular, established. For example, when competitive football developed in West Coast institutions some thirty years after their East Coast counterparts, a member of the University of California’s publicity office wrote, in recognition of the university’s team, “Until a comparatively recent date, Eastern colleges were regarded as having the only first class American teams.” Michigan considered themselves “Champions of the West” in comparison to their East Coast counterparts. Even nearby Dartmouth College in New Hampshire compared itself to its New Haven and Cambridge counterparts.⁵⁸ The primary actors during this period in achievement, legacy, or trendsetting were the Ivy League universities and East Coast peer institutions. A notable absence in this project is that of Southern schools. Colleges and universities below the Mason-Dixon line certainly fielded intercollegiate football teams prior to the twentieth century. Despite their prowess today, the South was widely considered an inferior football region until the mid-1920s. Widespread poverty, small school enrollments, and substandard coaching—all relative to Northeast, Midwest, and even West Coast teams—stymied their development for decades. Many Southerners and football historians mark the 1926 season as a turning point in the narrative of Southern college football. In that year, the University of Alabama upset the University of Washington in the Rose Bowl, which marked the first ever victory of this magnitude for a Southern squad.⁵⁹ This is all to say that studies of college football that focus primarily on the South, Midwest, or West Coast would be welcomed additions to the history of the sport, indeed.

But they will be different stories. For example, the development and significance of college football within historically black universities and colleges is, perhaps not surprisingly, a very different history than that told here.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation generally proceeds chronologically, although each chapter is also organized topically around two or three themes. The first two chapters identify how, in their efforts to solidify the game's position within higher education, college football participants and proponents crafted a narrative for college football that conveyed it as a gentlemanly sport that traversed the line between savage and civilized. In Chapter One, "Making Men," I detail how proponents of college football marshaled a clever campaign to combat accusations of football's brutality by underscoring the cerebral elements of the game. In this chapter, I contextualize such campaigns within an era that saw the growth of statistics, the rise of eugenics, and the reiteration of rigid categories of human classification. Football's champions frequently referred to the game as "scientific" in order to emphasize its sophistication. Because architects of early college football stressed the intelligence required to play the sport, they rationalized it as an institution that enhanced the college experience because it revealed the manliness of the undergraduates. As fans imagined a real-life Frank Merriwell, the college football player became the American archetype of hyper-ability.

Chapter Two, "Fair Play," extends the analysis of the first chapter. Whereas "Making Men" examines how proponents of college football promoted the physical benefits of college football, this chapter explores how this same group theorized about the game's significance to the moral development of college men. As intercollegiate football proliferated, the sport's managers and benefactors repeatedly asserted that young men's character on the gridiron was no

less important—particularly to definitions of manhood—than strength or skill. Coaches, alumni, administrators, and fans all spoke of sportsmanship—its value and necessity—to promote the game and, by association, to promote their perspective. Attendant to the importance of honorable play and on-field disposition was the construction of amateurism. Intercollegiate football’s most vocal supporters positioned competitive gentlemanliness as oppositional to professionalism—football played for pay outside academia. Concerns abounded regarding how professionalism would corrupt the spirit of the game and, by extension, the souls of young men playing it. These anxieties further revealed fears that the pro game might have attenuating effects on their newfound sports enterprise.

Chapters One and Two show the lengths to which college officials implemented rules, policies, and invented discourses meant to define the boundaries of who belonged to the sport. What isolation and exclusion college football’s managers did not achieve culturally they revisited and reinforced spatially. Chapter Three “Privatizing the Game” considers the space of college football. In its early years, the only venues that could host games were public spaces, which meant that anyone who could afford a ticket could share in the spectacle. In 1895, the University of Pennsylvania built the first dedicated space to football on their Philadelphia campus. College football stadium construction began in earnest soon thereafter. Chapter Three investigates how these stadiums generated exclusive publics even though paradoxically many colleges were offering greater access to the game due to the construction of ever-larger coliseums. Prior to the assembly of university-owned football stands and then stadiums, players competed in open fields, town parks, or public baseball stadiums. On-campus stadiums were not just a financial boon but also a politically advantageous means by which schools could increase institutional loyalty, strengthen tradition’s theater, and homogenize the viewing population.

Since power existed in being present, the spectators within the stadium enjoyed a privilege unavailable to all. This prized space, then, created an event that became even more privileged.

Chapter Four “The Intercollegiate Football Consumer,” takes seriously an understudied element of college football’s development—the game program. College football game programs not only told a story, they were a part of it. As a site of analysis, programs triangulate leisure activities, big business, and higher education, which make them useful to this chapter’s exploration of connections between college football and consumerism during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Increasingly, creators of programs capitalized on a national trend in advertising where they were not just catering to but also creating a want. In so doing, the meaning of programs rose far beyond their mere financial benefits for the proprietors who sold them. Their written and photographic histories document the sport’s haphazard development. They evidence the role college football played for universities as the relationship between capitalism and higher education tightened between the 1890s and the 1930s. Riding on the crest of football’s rising popularity, businesses wielded increasing influence on colleges and universities. Game programs serve as record of this evolution as well as tool for transforming the football fan into a consumer. This chapter argues that the production and purchase of game programs was mediated by and simultaneously produced class distinctions that created and maintained affluent whiteness and heteronormative discourses that proved central to the performance of college football as a cultural phenomenon.

Chapter Five, “The In Crowd,” interrogates the behaviors and performances of spectators who gained access to the football event by examining how these fans invented and experienced community through college football. Although this chapter focuses largely on the experience within the stadium, I consider the physical effect that football and its enthusiasts had on the host

city as well. The spectacle of a game changed train schedules, closed roads to traffic, flooded hotels and restaurants with patrons, and often resulted in disturbances in excess of what the host town or city was accustomed. Within the football arena, I argue that the shared spectator experience encouraged crowd members to invest in “insider” identities that transcended other rivalries. The discipline and surveillance of the stadium experience created a power structure of spectators’ own design that differentiated those who were able to participate in the football event from those who could not. Through an examination of songs, chants, clothing, and reported behaviors drawn from a variety of sources, the experience of being at the game allowed audience members to see and be seen in manners that contributed to a consolidation of college football’s cultural power among themselves. This privilege constituted dynamics of belonging and unbelonging that mutually reflected and produced discourses central to defining the outsiders to this insider class. While there may have existed asymmetries of power among football fans at a particular football event, they created a space of relative equality by rarefying the “being there experience,” by alternately opening and restricting access to college football games. This chapter demonstrates that by limiting access and, thus, experience of the game, those who could partake in the institution of college football gained cultural capital not available to all.

In 1889, to venerate the most valiant and triumphant footballers, *Harper’s Weekly* writer Caspar Whitney began a list of players who he considered to be the best in the country. Each of the first chosen hailed from one of three schools: Harvard, Yale, or Princeton. Published in the New York periodical *The Week’s Sport*, these all-stars were “All-Americans.”⁶⁰ The designation pointed to cultural connections being forged between notions of American character and the class of men and type of masculinity associated with college football. By the turn to the

twentieth century, in no small part due to the example and popularity of figures such as Frank Merriwell, the college football player had become the archetype for U.S. society's most commonly valorized type of masculinity and revived perceptions of bourgeois manhood and the image of the college man. Engaging the complicated tensions, opportunities, and anxieties of their moment, Americans lionized the college athlete to be as heroic and "authentically" American as the Western frontiersman or the U.S. soldier. The college football player, in other words, became a dominant representation of American masculinity. Thus, the college football player and the systems of meanings and structures of feeling to which he belonged is of historical significance for understanding intersections between cultural constructs such as race, gender, class, and nationality and cultural activities such as college football and football fandom. Moreover, as almost exclusively the domain of wealthy, white males, the manliness generated through college football's early decades was constantly opposed to and mutually constituted with ideals of femininity and nonwhite masculinity.

This is why the Merriwell Series is a useful portal from which to begin an analysis of college football. Patten introduced his readers to the sport, but he gave his audience so much more. He revealed a class of college students who contended with fears of neurasthenia and uncertainty about their embodiment and performance of manliness. He raised questions about the mutability of whiteness, the position in the U.S. of non-whiteness, and the imperative and invisibility of the female. Patten's writing was also suggestive of the ways in which physical characteristics and emotional temperaments harbor moral connotation. These issues mingled with discourses of savagery and civility and the alleged geographic contingencies of these categories. Nearly all of these topics were couched within the context of higher education, its advantages, and its shortcomings. As we will see, this is the larger story of college football's

origin and development. It is a nuanced tale about how male members of the educated elite evaluated themselves, surveilled the valued traits of men of other classes, marshaled the resources available, exercised their cultural capital, and capitalized on their ability to establish a new athletic phenomenon within an ostensibly academic setting. As football became increasingly important to prestigious institutions of higher learning, the center continually shifted in response to the power and pressure of the margins. The most ardent supporters of college football built and sustained the power of the institution by constantly assessing, tweaking, articulating, and re-articulating its value in the face of constant challenge often from other elites. The most involved enthusiasts of this class worked very hard, using practical and discursive methods, to protect their position. The narrative of college football's Progressive Era evolution, then, is a story of how the educated elite claimed an essential block of cultural terrain by skillfully exercising soft power—power that does not necessarily look like power—which functions ideologically to build consensus and agreement among those who might otherwise protest.

¹ Burt L. Standish, "Frank Merriwell in Japan, or, The Sign of the Avenger," *Tip Top Library*, Vol. 1, No. 36, December 19, 1896, (New York: Street & Smith), 1.

² Burt L. Standish, *Frank Merriwell's "Father;" An Autobiography by Gilbert Patten*, eds. Harriet Hinsdale and Tony London, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1964), 178.

³ See, among others: Burt Standish, "Frank Merriwell's Death Shot, or, Roughing It in Australia," *Tip Top Library*, Vol. 1, No. 37, December 26, 1896, (New York: Street & Smith); Burt Standish, "Frank Merriwell in London, or, The Grip of Doom," *Tip Top Library*, Vol. 1, No. 32, November 21, 1896, (New York: Street & Smith); Burt Standish, *Frank Merriwell's Victories*, (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1900).

⁴ "Creator of 'Frank Merriwell': The Career of Gilbert Patten, Camden Author, as he told it Himself Over the Radio" n.d., Clippings File, [JLCP] quoted in Ryan K. Anderson, "'What Would Frank Merriwell Do?': Middle-Class Readers and the Progressive Era Roots of All-American Boyhood," (Ph. D. diss., Purdue University, 2006), 123.

⁵ Standish, *Frank Merriwell's "Father,"* 175.

⁶ Girls and young women were also fans of Frank Merriwell. Historian Ryan Anderson notes, for instance, an all-girls "Merriwell Social Club" in Waterbury, CT. Admiration clubs of the Merriwell saga did not limit themselves to reviewing Patten's books. The Merriwell Blue Caps was a Wilmington, N.C.-based baseball team that competed against other local clubs from 1901-02. See Anderson, "'What Would Frank Merriwell Do?'" 134-40, 163.

⁷ Alluding to Merriwell as an "Ivy League football player" is, in fact, an ahistorical reference. "Ivy League" is a mid-twentieth century appellation. It is a collegiate athletic conference that includes: Brown University, Columbia University, Cornell University, Dartmouth College, Harvard University, Princeton University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale University that the eight respective university presidents established in 1954. Sportswriters, journalists, and common parlance gestured to this name in reference to the eventual member schools before it was an actual governing body of intercollegiate sports. With seven of the eight schools founded prior to the American

Revolution, the concept of the Ivy League was popularly used and frequently associated with academic excellence and social elitism. Periodically, I will use “Ivy League” to discuss any of the schools individually or collectively listed above. See Daniel Capello, *The Ivy League* (New York: Assouline, 2012).

⁸ Burt Standish, *Frank Merriwell's Courage*, (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1903), 11.

⁹ Quoted in Anderson, “‘What Would Frank Merriwell Do?’” 1. Though Frank Merriwell was literally too good to be true, he was sufficiently rough around the edges. In *Frank Merriwell's Courage*, Standish writes: “It was apparent to everybody that Merriwell’s popularity did not depend on his ability to absorb beer or his generosity in opening fizz. It came from his sterling qualities, his ability as an athlete, his natural magnetism, and his genial, sunny nature. Although he was refined and gentlemanly, there was not the least suggestion of anything soft or effeminate about him.” Merriwell got in enough fights and had enough female admirers, some of which he pursued, that he was culturally legible as heterosexual and manly enough. See Standish, *Frank Merriwell's Courage*, 262.

¹⁰ Robert H. Boyle, “Frank Merriwell’s Triumph,” *Sports Illustrated*, December 24, 1962. p. 22.

¹¹ J. Randolph Cox, *The Dime Novel Companion: A Source Book* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2000), 170.

¹² Standish, *Frank Merriwell's “Father,”* 175-6.

¹³ Ibid, 180. Long before and after Michael Denning’s pioneering scholarship on dime novels, *Mechanic Accents*, literary experts have debated the demographics of dime novel audiences. Regardless of who composed the readerships, particularly of Patten’s Merriwell tales, I find one detail (or lack thereof) telling. In my research, I did not read one note of commentary that intimated any influence of the changing racial climate in the United States on Gilbert Patten’s literary creations. Though the idea for creating a series that revolved around an all-American boy came at the behest of his publishers, *Street & Smith*, in 1895, it is hard to ignore that the first Frank Merriwell dime novel to leave the presses on April 16, 1896 came at precisely the same time that the Supreme Court rendered its “Separate but Equal” decision in the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson case. This is not to suggest that Patten, born in Corinna, ME wielded either progressive or reactionary racial attitudes. Rather, the writing and reception of these novels must be considered in light of this historical period. This suggests to me that those who consumed these books may have gravitated toward Frank Merriwell and the overwhelmingly white cast of characters precisely because he offered a narrative of heroism and determination at a time when the country’s socio-political grounds were especially unsteady. This confluence of historical moments, to me, offers the most compelling argument that Patten’s audience was decidedly white men. See Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working Class Culture in America*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Verso, 1998).

¹⁴ See Ronald Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), Chapters VI and VII.

¹⁵ Henry George, *Social Problems*, (New York: R. Schalkenbach Foundation, 1953), 139-40 quoted in Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 43. See also Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1994 [1899]).

¹⁶ Examples of the boom/bust tumult include the 1877 railroad strike that followed the 1876 Centennial Exposition or the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 preceding the 1894 Pullman strike. While the Expositions are not explicit examples of a booming economy, they are fairs to modernity, productivity, and industrialism that were meant to usher in new phases of prosperity. During that same period, from 1873 to 1896, a global depression afflicted the U.S. and other industrial nations such that Wall Street crashed in 1873, thousands of businesses in 1874 closed, overproduction became common, credit tightened, and a pattern of inflation and deflation continued for the next twenty years. See Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 39-43. For the rise of the “New Woman,” see Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Roberta Frankfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1991); Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women’s Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984); Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America’s Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

¹⁷ Burt Standish, *Frank Merriwell's School Days*, (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1901), 12. Standish, *Frank Merriwell's Courage*, 257.

¹⁸ Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays*, translated from the French by Ben Brewster (London: New Left Books, 1971), 165.

¹⁹ Standish, *Frank Merriwell's "Father,"* 238.

²⁰ Burt Standish, "Frank Merriwell's Surprise; or, The Contents of the Oil Skin Envelope," *Tip Top Weekly*, July 13, 1901, 25.

²¹ Standish, *Frank Merriwell's "Father,"* 238-240.

²² Dick's emergence as a character in the Merriwell Series developed at a time when the United States and Spain were fighting imperial wars over Cuba, and American papers repeatedly classified the Spanish, and particularly Spanish men, as immoral, weak, and predatory. See Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), Chapters 1 – 2.

²³ Standish, *Frank Merriwell's "Father,"* 240.

²⁴ I am adopting Judith Butler's definition of normative from her 1999 preface of *Gender Trouble*. In it she states that her use of "normative" describes: "the mundane violence performed by certain kinds of gender ideals." In Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), xxi.

²⁵ This concern manifested in multiple ways. One site for the expression of these concerns was literature. In Henry James's satirical novel of the nineteenth century feminist movement, *The Bostonians*, for instance, one of his protagonists, Basil Ransom, blames outspoken women for seemingly all of society's ills. He rants: "[T]he masculine tone is passing out of the world; it's a feminine, a nervous, hysterical, chattering, canting age, an age of hollow phrases and false delicacy and exaggerated solicitudes and coddled sensibilities, which, if we don't soon look out, will usher in the reign of mediocrity, of the feeblest and flattest and the most pretentious that has ever been. The masculine character, the ability to dare and endure, to know and yet not fear reality, to look the world in the face and take it for what it is – a very queer and partly very base mixture – that is what I want to preserve, or rather, as I may say, to recover." See Henry James, *The Bostonians* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 185. See also Anthony Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle-Class Manhood, 1770-1920," *Journal of Social History*, 16:4 (Summer 1983), 28-32.

²⁶ The post-frontier follows the lament of a "loss of the frontier," an argument that historian Frederick Jackson Turner advanced in his famous "Frontier Thesis" in 1893. Turner argued that American democracy was uniquely forged at the site of the frontier, a line that advanced East to West across the country, which marked the point where Euro-American pioneers clashed with nature in an effort to settle the land—"the meeting point between savagery and civilization." The 1890 U.S. Census, however, declared that the frontier had reached the Pacific Ocean, all land was claimed, and there was no longer a frontier. See Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894).

²⁷ Burt Standish, *Frank Merriwell's Brother; or, Training a Wild Spirit*, (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1901), 5.

²⁸ Thomas W. Higginson, "Saints and their Bodies," *Atlantic Monthly*, ed. James Russell Lowell, Vol. 1, March 1858, (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company), 586-591.

²⁹ Throughout the nineteenth century and by the dawn of the twentieth, colleges and universities served no more than five percent of college-aged males in the U.S. W. Vance Grant, *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, ed. Thomas Snyder, National Center for Education Statistics, January 1993, Chapter 3. See also John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education, 2nd Ed.*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

³⁰ William James, *On Some of Life's Ideals: On A Certain Blindness in Human Beings, What Makes Life Significant* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1912), 85.

³¹ As these cases suggest, manliness and its rehabilitation was as much an idea as it was a process or achievable identity. The threat of urbanism that members of the wealthier classes feared was juxtaposed with the perceived rough-and-tumble environs of the working-class, both through their occupations and choice of recreation. Thus, prizefighting, for example, a popular affair since the eighteenth century gained greater notoriety in the nineteenth century despite its illegality in some states. Prizefighters, however, largely competed because they had to. Famous nineteenth and early twentieth century boxers like John Sullivan, Paddy Ryan, Jake Kilrain, and Jack Johnson, and particularly those far less popular and, more importantly, talented, put body and health at risk to gain potential—but barely lucrative—earnings that might supplement their day job's meager income. Most pugilists were commonly saloonkeepers, mill workers, shipyard laborers, or men working the factory line. For poor prizefighters (all boxers, for that matter), the allure of social recognition and approval that boxing offered had its appeal. My point though is that many prizefighters climbed into the ring because, socioeconomically, they had to. Perhaps, more instructively, wealthy men, even fans of the sport, failed to actually participate because, socioeconomically, they did not have to. To understand how the middle- and upper-classes attempted to avail themselves of working-class community

culture, see: Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). For more on boxing culture and the nineteenth century era of prizefighting, see: Elliot Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986). Also, see: Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), Chapter Five.

³² George Miller Beard, *American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences: A Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881), 3. Despite his heralded physical superiority, even Frank Merriwell worried about the potentially over-taxing effect of intellectual exercise. In one tale, he cried, "Perhaps I am studying too hard." With the declaration: "I am killing my superfluous energy, instead of working it off," he resolved to rededicate himself to exercise. See Burt Standish, "Frank Merriwell's Revenge; or, Aroused at Last," (New York: Street & Smith, December 11, 1897), Vol. 87, 3.

³³ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 8-15.

³⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," in *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1970), 3. This equation between soldiers and athletes, individual strength and national fitness is referenced in a lot of nineteenth and early twentieth century literature regarding physical education in post-secondary schooling. Dr. Edward Mussey Hartwell of Johns Hopkins University composed a nearly 200-page report that evaluated the physical education programs of many of the nation's colleges and universities. In a passage that described the history of physical training's benefits on the human body, he hearkened back to ancient Greek civilization. Sparta, he claimed, needed "no walls of defense save the bodies of her sons," because they were so physically fit. It was in Athens, "since the days of Phidias," he continued, where one finds the best models of "manly vigor and beauty." See Edward Mussey Hartwell, "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities," in Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education, No. 5 1885, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), 11.

³⁵ "College Life in New England," *Harper's Weekly*, I (Aug. 1857), 488-89. Critics were not merely concerned for college students' physical health. Fears for the younger generation also abounded. Thomas W. Higginson, a Cambridge, Massachusetts-born Unitarian minister, exclaimed in an essay for the *Atlantic Monthly*, "The one drawback to satisfaction in our Public-School System is the physical weakness which it reveals and helps to perpetuate. One seldom notices a ruddy face in the school-room, without tracing it back to a Transatlantic origin." Higginson added to his judgment the review of another teacher who noted among American school children, "the invariable appearance of ill-health joined with intellectual precocity,—stamina wanting, and the place filled with equations." Mental tasks existed but at what expense? See Higginson, "Saints, and Their Bodies," 586.

³⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, Letter, May 1907, in *Van Norden Magazine*, July 1908, p. 63 in Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter HL-HU).

³⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, "From 8th annual message to Congress," December 8, 1908, HL-HU; Theodore Roosevelt, "Value of an Athletic Training," *Harper's Weekly*, Volume 37, p. 1236.

³⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, "Letter to the Editor," *Harvard Advocate*, October 17, 1879, Vol. 28, 33 in Theodore Roosevelt Papers, HL-HU.

³⁹ The Roosevelt Papers at Harvard University house countless letters that Roosevelt penned to friends, family, and associates that championed the importance of sound mental, moral, and physical fitness. To achieve these outcomes, Roosevelt was a hearty proponent of sport and football, in particular. See Theodore Roosevelt letter #3698 to George Gray, October 6, 1905, #3743 to Walter Chauncey Camp, November 24, 1905, #3842 to Edward Deshon Brandegee, March 7, 1906 all letters in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 5, eds Elting E. Morison et al (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 46, 93-4, 172; Theodore Roosevelt letter to his children, undated, in Theodore Roosevelt Collection, HL-HU; Theodore Roosevelt letter to F.J. Stimson, November 25, 1905 in Theodore Roosevelt Collection, HL-HU; Theodore Roosevelt address at Harvard Union, February 23, 1907 in Theodore Roosevelt Collection, HL-HU.

⁴⁰ Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994 [1930]), 3.

⁴¹ Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay In Political and Social Criticism*, ed. Samuel Lipman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994 [1869]). For a thorough detailing of the meanings of "high" and "low" culture, see Nan Enstad, "Popular Culture," in *A Companion to American Cultural History*, Ed. Karen Haltunnen (New York: Wiley & Blackwell, 2014), 356-362. For a foundational text on culture, see: Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1958). See also George Lipsitz, *Time Passages:*

Collective Memory and American Popular Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

⁴² John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Routledge, 1998), xvi; Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology: Marxism Without Guarantees," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (New York: Routledge, 1996), 27, 43.

⁴³ Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the 'Popular,'" *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader 2nd Edition* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 453. See also Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley, (New York: Routledge, 1996). Lipsitz, *Time Passages*.

⁴⁴ Amy Bass, "State of the Field: Sports History and the 'Cultural Turn,'" *The Journal of American History* 101, No. 1 (June 2014), 157.

⁴⁵ As a big business, scholars most often study college football through the lens of economics. Most of these studies, however, engage historical periods after the middle of the twentieth century. Also, recent attention to the short and long-term consequences of concussions suffered by athletes as a result of collisions on the football field have also piloted deeper and more concerted analysis of college football into the medical field. Both of these branches of investigation are worthy endeavors. But they contain literature that I am infrequently in conversation with. Nonetheless, the following texts have proven useful to this dissertation: Murray Sperber, *Beer and Circus: How Big-Time College Sports is Crippling Undergraduate Education* (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 2001); Andrew Zimbalist, *Unpaid Professionals: Commercialism and Conflict in Big-Time College Sports* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Charles Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Jeff Benedict and Armen Keteyian, *The System: The Glory and Scandal of Big-Time College Football* (New York: Doubleday, 2013).

⁴⁶ C.L.R. James, *Beyond A Boundary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," in *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 412-454. See also Philip Deloria, "'I Am of the Body': My Grandfather, Culture, and Sports," in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004); Vicente M. Diaz, "'Fight Boys, 'til the Last...': Football and the Remasculinization of Indigeneity in Guam," in *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and the Pacific*, Paul Spickard, Joanne Rondilla and Deborah Hippolite-Wright, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 167-194.

⁴⁷ Paul Fussell, "Schools for Snobbery," *The New Republic*, October 4, 1982, 25. Academics frequently substantiated their own arrogance and elitism. A Harvard College commencement orator in the 1670s emphasized the virtue of the school's class bias when he thanked the founders of the college: "The ruling class would have been subjected to mechanics, cobblers, and tailors; . . . the laws would not have been made by senatus consulta, nor would we have rights, honors, or magisterial ordinance worthy of preservation, but plebiscites, appeals to base passions, and revolutionary rumblings, if these our fathers had not founded the University. . ." See Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, Vol II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 45.

⁴⁸ Historian Craig Wilder makes the most compelling case. Next to the Church and State, Wilder sees colleges and universities as the "third pillar of a civilization built on bondage" (11). See Craig Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled Histories of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013). See also James Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education, 2nd Ed.*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1990); David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Christopher Loss, *Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admissions and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (New York: Mariner Books, 2005).

⁴⁹ Brian Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012). See also Elliot J. Gorn and Michael Oriard, "Taking Sports Seriously," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 24, 1995, p. A52; Steven A. Reiss, "The New Sport History," *Reviews in American History*, 18 (Sept. 1990), 311-25; Melvin L. Adelman, "Academicians and American Sports: A Decade of Progress," *Journal of Sport History*, 10 (Spring 1983), 80-106; Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919-1930* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007).

⁵⁰ See E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*, (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 6; Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 2nd

Ed., (New York: Oxford Press, 2006), 13-14. See also R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). *The Self-Made Man* or passionate manhood became the prevailing archetype of manhood of the late nineteenth and twentieth century and central to the imagining of the collegiate football player. Connell describes it as an example of hegemonic masculinity. This is a term that is not racially, temporally, or class-specific. It is, as she defines, “whatever type is dominant at a given time (67).” Hegemonic masculinity, she elaborates, “can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (77).” Connell also adds: “To recognize diversity in masculinity is not enough. We must also recognize the relations between the different kinds of masculinity: relations of alliance, dominance and subordination. These relationships are constructed through practices that exclude and include, that intimidate and exploit, and so on. There is a gender politics within masculinity (37).” See also John Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001).

⁵¹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7. See also Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987).

⁵² Butler, *Gender Trouble*.

⁵³ See Amy Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Ann Little’s study *Abraham in Arms* studies the colonial period, which precedes this dissertation’s principal era of study. Nonetheless, her investigation of New England colonists, their notions of manhood, their relations to Native Americans, and their understanding and use of gender as a principle upon which to organize community, understand their relation to others, and, ultimately, take up arms is extremely fruitful. See Ann Little, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). See also Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*. Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁵⁴ Amy Kaplan, “Black and Blue on San Juan Hill,” in *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 141.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵⁶ An assortment of helpful studies on men and male bodies include George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Susan Bordo, *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in Public and Private* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999); Kevin J. Mumford, “‘Lost Manhood’ Found: Male Impotence and Victorian Culture in the United States,” in *American Sexual Politics: Sex, Gender, and Race since the Civil War*, ed. John C. Fout and Maura Shaw Tantilillo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 75-99; Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890-1920* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2007).

⁵⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 95. See also Lyman Hotchkiss Bagg, *Four Years at Yale, By A Graduate of '69* (New Haven: C.C. Chatfield & Co., 1871).

⁵⁸ “The Development of Western Football,” in *Official Souvenir Program Thirty-First Annual Stanford California Football Game*, published by A.S.U.C. Publicity Bureau, November 22, 1924, Joyce Sports Research Collection, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN (hereafter JSRC-ND); Louis Elbel, *The Victors: March* (South Bend: Elbel Bros, 1899); Forrest J. Hall, “Nightshirt ‘Peerade’,” 1903, Folder: 001133, Rauner Manuscripts, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H. (hereafter RSCL-DC).

⁵⁹ See Wes Borucki, “‘You’re Dixie’s Football Pride’: American College Football and the Resurgence of Southern Identity,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Vol. 10, Iss. 4 (2003), 477-94; Andrew Doyle, “Turning The Tide: College Football and Southern Progressivism,” *Southern Cultures*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1997), 28-51; Andrew Doyle, ‘Causes Won, Not Lost’: College Football and the Modernization of the American South,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Aug, 1994), 231-251; Hal S. Stern et al, “Statistics and the College Football Championship [with Discussions, with Reply],” *The American Statistician*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (August 2004), 179-195.

⁶⁰ Richard Whittingham, *Rites of Autumn: The Story of College Football* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 32-34.

Chapter I

Making Men: College Football and the Science of American Bourgeois Masculinity

Henry Bancroft Twombly loved football. It shaped much of his childhood and many of his years as a young man. As a boy growing up in Boston in the 1860s and 1870s, he and his pals played on the Boston Common and wherever they could find space in the residential and commercial district of what is now known as the Back Bay. Beginning in the late-1850s, the city began a significant project of urban expansion that engineers eventually completed in 1894. Starting at the base of Beacon Hill near the city center and moving westward, they layered gravel and soil that turned wetlands into habitable land.¹ Until construction workers erected homes and buildings on defined lots, young boys put the new, unoccupied space to use by playing football and other ball games. Twombly gained much of his football knowledge through practice and ingenuity. He and buddy Ed Bayley practiced their kicks by aiming at the brick wall of a house at the corner of Hereford and Beacon Street. To move more easily, many of the boys cut their pants off below the knee and threaded them tightly to their leg. They supplemented the outfit with woolen socks and occasionally added nails to the soles of their shoes for better traction. Adding to the excitement of their play was the adventure of dodging cops. Police officers especially discouraged Twombly and his friends from frequenting their two favorite lots, which sat, respectively, at the corners of what are now Dartmouth Street and Marlborough Street and two blocks south at Dartmouth and Newberry Street. For the boys, scurrying from the law and running from a football opponent were equally enjoyable.²

Most likely, Twombly's older brothers or their father introduced Henry to the game. Alexander Stevenson Twombly, the boys' father, was born in Boston in 1832 and received his bachelor's degree from Yale University in 1854 before returning to his hometown to become a respected clergyman. Yale proved central to their personal and familial stories. Four of Alexander's five sons—Edward, Clifford, Henry, and Howland—followed in his footsteps, receiving their degrees, respectively, between 1880 and 1896.³ The eldest Twombly grew up playing football on the Boston Common in the 1840s with friends that included Charles Eliot, future president of Harvard University. Back then, the elder Twombly recalled, football was a sport where you “[k]ick the ball when you can and kick the other fellows' shins when you can't kick the ball.”⁴ The father added that shirts were regularly torn from backs, blood flowed from noses, and, when injured, boys often needed assistance as they stumbled off the field of play. In those days, football was more melee than controlled activity. Rules were few; referees—let alone coaches—were nowhere to be found. The game was rough. But it was fun.

If football in the hands of these youths was relatively chaotic, it was also instructive. Through a modicum of rules, celebrations, congratulatory practices, and derisive scorn—even without the structure and standardization that characterized the sport's maturation—young men were busy absorbing multiple lessons, beyond how to play the game. As anthropologist Clifford Geertz reminded us long ago, sporting rituals (in his case, the famous Balinese cockfight) offer focused distillations of a range of cultural meanings, advancing both the visible event and the deep play of a culture's structuring anxieties and contradictions. Football functioned in similar ways. Twombly and his friends learned the rough rules of the game. But in those rules—in bodily comportment, emotional expression, communal bonding—they also found the occasion to learn something about how to be a man. By learning these rules, the players also learned their

inverse, the behaviors and expressions that were simply not manly. And, as we shall see, football had other deep lessons to offer as well.⁵

Even in its disorderly form, Henry Twombly and his father described features of the game and qualities of the players that proved fundamental to the budding sport and the values that it inculcated on both participants and spectators. It was fast-paced, and physical, and it required refined ability and well-calculated risk-taking. At the same time, the sport rewarded those who were creative and resourceful, disciplined, and, ironically—considering the relative bedlam of action—organized. Twombly’s recollections of football reveal the larger schooling he received through his athletic education.

From the vacant lots of Boston’s Back Bay, Twombly continued his pursuit of football through high school and college. His reminiscences include detailed descriptions of competition and injury, rewards and admiration. As an adolescent, he attended Boston’s Roxbury Latin School and eventually followed in the footsteps of both his father and older brothers when he enrolled at Yale. With each step in his schooling, his football education revealed a trajectory of meaning: gradually rougher play; more advanced positioning and sophisticated tactics; higher stakes; larger crowds and reward; and, an ever-increasing complexity of interdependent discourses and meanings. Twombly’s accounts reveal that, even in the game’s earliest and most formative years, football served as a site of deep cultural tension, inconsistency, and contradiction.

To approach these inquiries, this chapter includes three parts. I begin with a brief description of how intercollegiate sport and college football developed in the nineteenth century. This explanation includes a consideration of circumstances that compelled some of America’s most privileged men to gravitate toward displays of virile physicality, which (they hoped) shifted

and influenced understandings of manhood. Within this discussion, I periodically mine Henry Twombly's recollections, which provide insight about the context and construction of how he imagined and fabricated conceptions of masculinity. Returning to Geertz, if the sporting ritual of football is the site of symbolic representation on which cultural and social structures are dramatized, then what kinds of meanings did it circulate, and to whom? A sport so violent, so team-based, so physical, and so clearly segregated as male—with absolutely no female counterpart—demands that we consider the formations of masculinity. Twombly, for example, offers multiple examples of masculine self-definition. It is worth remembering, however, that gender—with no essential nature—is performed and, in that performance constituted and observed. When Twombly's football play shifted from Boston construction lots to the fields and stadiums of Yale, it became a performance of gender to be sure, but also of class, and of race, and almost certainly many other things besides.

The second portion of this chapter moves from performance to examine discourse, looking at some of the arguments that football's champions proposed in response to critiques that condemned football for its brutality. Supporters argued that this new sporting phenomenon was as much a mental exercise as it was a physical endeavor. Many invoked science to justify the combative elegance of the game, and to complicate the gender and class performance visible on the field. This chapter, then, explores how proponents marshaled scientific discourse and inquiry as a two-prong commentary on both football tactics and evolutionary superiority. This nod toward the intellectual side of the sport dovetailed in timely fashion with the claims of numerous eugenicists, many of whom conducted their research at the very same universities that most fervently supported the new phenomenon of football. At Twombly's Yale, and other early

powerhouses, football was a performance of masculinity, of refinement and violence, of class position, of racial inheritance, and physical skill.

This chapter's last section focuses on the relationship between college football and contemporary notions about physical ability that emerged within a burgeoning movement of physical culture. Here, I examine how football enthusiasts crafted aspects of the sport (including field dimensions, uniforms, rules) in accordance with an increasingly valued and normative (but largely unspoken) discourse of ablebodiedness. In this analysis, I draw inspiration from the work of scholars in the field of Disability Studies like Lennard Davis, Tobin Siebers, and Petra Kuppers. Examining the cultural role of college football at the turn of the century allows for consideration of how contemporary perceptions of the able and hyper-able body intersected with definitions of race and class to inform definitions of masculinity. This chapter considers to what degree they were, in fact, inseparable and mutually reinforcing of one another.

This three-part analysis allows a story to come into focus. What emerges is a troubled and ever-shifting set of dynamics about manliness among students, graduates, and affiliates of higher education and their efforts to legitimate a new form of leisure as the proving ground—one that they guarded and policed—for establishing what it meant to be a man.

The Seeds of a Spectacle

In 1756, the College of New Jersey relocated to Princeton, New Jersey from nearby Newark and opened its doors to seventy students and a handful of tutors. Situated on five acres of land, the school's primary building, Nassau Hall, served as dormitory, classroom, library and all other college needs. Two decades later on this very same ground—after students and faculty fled the premises—General George Washington defeated General Sir William Howe and members of his 40th and 55th regiment of British troops on January 3, 1777. A turning point for

the colonists in the American Revolution, possession of Nassau Hall changed hands three times before the British Redcoats finally waved a white flag from the windows of the stone edifice and conceded defeat.⁶ Left behind by British General Charles Cornwallis and his troops' hasty retreat was a cannon that lay dormant on the College of New Jersey's campus for more than thirty years until military companies moved it to New Brunswick, NJ to serve as weaponry against the British in the War of 1812. Ultimately, it went unused and remained on the town's Commons until 1836, when members of the Princeton Blues, a military company composed of Princeton residents (not students) went to New Brunswick to retrieve what they believed to be rightfully theirs. When their transport wagon shattered just outside Princeton beneath the weight of its cargo, however, they abandoned their mission. A few years later, students of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) dragged the weapon to their campus. Over the next several decades, students from Princeton and Rutgers University engaged in a game of ruses and strategies as they each captured and recaptured the cannon, lugging it back and forth between the Princeton and New Brunswick campuses.

Princeton and Rutgers' ongoing shenanigans were only one type of feud in which undergraduates participated to interrupt the solemnity of antebellum higher education and to entertain themselves while away at college. It was an aspect of college life—albeit a sophomoric one—marked by competition long before the arrival of formal athletics. More in keeping with the gentility of higher education, students commonly organized and participated in literary contests and debates—what professors and pupils called “the presentation and discussion of papers,” which often formalized into literary societies.⁷ On campuses with multiple such societies, rivalries emerged. Freshmen fought to get into the most revered societies. Competition for office within the societies was steep. The members of these societies most deft and

persuasive in their arguments typically won campus-wide approval. As an undergraduate at Jefferson College in Pennsylvania explained in 1859: “the greatest excitement” prevailed during these displays of verbal dexterity. And to the winners, added the student, “an honor thus conferred [was] preferable to any given in the institution.”⁸

Literary societies frequently devolved into fraternities or, as historian Nicholas Syrett assiduously documents, offered the model for them. By virtue of their design, membership, and, in some cases, secrecy, fraternities became “increasingly more popular than the literary societies.”⁹ In turn, contests between literary societies became rivalries between fraternities, with debates giving way to other types of competition, including physical challenges. The rise of this new social institution created fissures between fraternity men and non-fraternity men and introduced (as well as emphasized) a form of competition that was as much about status and affiliation as it was about any skill or club membership, which became something to desire. As time went on, matches among these sets became a defining ideology of college life, with groups differentiating themselves from one another, but also from people that did not belong to any social alliance. The various consortiums reflected the social class of families and relatives outside the college walls and across college campuses. Gradually, fraternity men laid claim to elite status. This type of competition, antagonism, and exclusivity primed the terrain of higher education to be an ideal host for intercollegiate football. The sport became a focused expression of these characteristics that defined college culture in the mid-nineteenth century. Through their participation in football, groups of young men established hierarchical social identities through intense acts of competition that were often performed, if not for their fellow students then for each other.

Football, as an American game, began taking shape at the same time literary societies and fraternities began appearing on Northeast college campuses during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The first iterations of football in the United States—what we would classify as soccer today—varied in form and rules depending on who played the game. In 1797, Yale undergraduate Charles Goodrich wrote: “Foot-ball was our common sport.” In 1820, Princeton boys were playing “ballown,” their own boisterous interpretation of the game. At the same time, Columbia University seniors and sophomores squared off against juniors and freshmen in a “mild type” of football that served as a “campus diversion.”¹⁰ This campus diversion eventually migrated north where the men of Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire played “Old Division Football,” a soccer-like exercise that permitted the batting of the ball with the hand but prohibited carrying it.¹¹ In a memoir of his alma mater, Professor Edwin J. Bartlett, class of 1872, offered a tribute to the game and its ability to combine fitness and fun:

Football was simplicity itself. You ran all over the campus, and when, and if you got a chance you kicked a round rubber ball to the east or to the west. You might run all the afternoon and not get your toe upon the ball, but you could not deny that you had had a fair chance, and the exercise was yours and could be valued by the number of hot rolls consumed at the evening meal.¹²

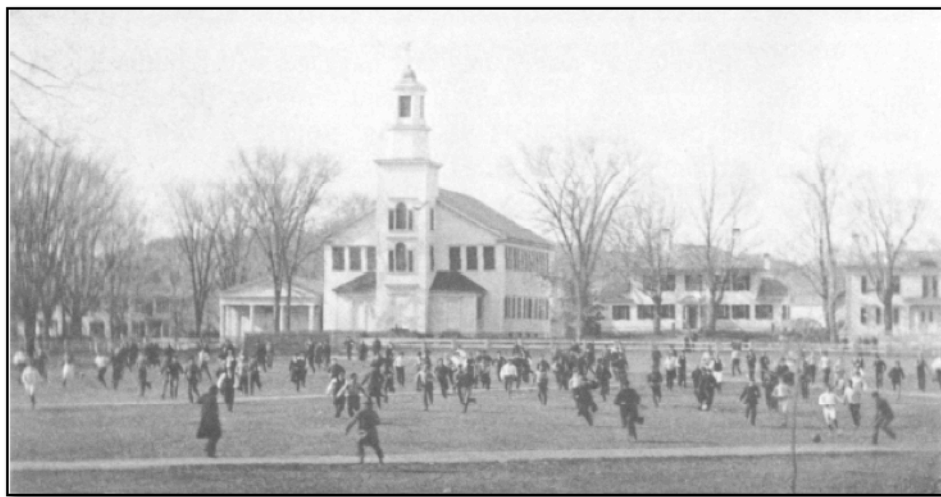


Fig. 1.1 Dartmouth College undergraduates playing football on the Hanover, NH green in 1874. The round ball is in the lower right corner of the photograph.¹³

Contemporary photographs show this game could include over one hundred participants and was more of a free-for-all than two-sided, competitive affair (Fig. 1.1). What Bartlett called “simplicity” another undergraduate dubbed “an exhibition of manly skill, strength, and activity.”¹⁴

Exhibitions of manly skill were popular in Boston and New Haven, CT too. As early as 1800, Harvard University records reveal freshmen and sophomores playing a precursor to modern-day football on a triangle-shaped area bounded by Kirkland, Cambridge, and Quincy Street known as the Delta in Cambridge.¹⁵ Unlike at Columbia, upperclassmen looked on and occasionally supplied one of their own to referee the contests. At Yale, undergraduates played on the town Green, which was adjacent to the college’s main quadrangle. Like Harvard, freshmen battled sophomores for underclassmen supremacy while juniors and seniors served as spectators. Lively games disintegrated into what one collegian described as a “rush,” a conglomerated mass of humanity in a near-constant state of collision or, by other accounts, a widespread fight between classes. Despite its seeming viciousness, these events attracted onlookers and supplied entertainment—macabre as it may have been.¹⁶ This sport increasingly became a place for the competition of skill (physical and mental) and status (societal and within the college) to define the masculine culture of college.

When the cannon-haul contest between Princeton and Rutgers ended, students perhaps began looking for new forms of competition. Writing in 1869, a Princeton student journalist recounted how the two institutions came together for a “nice, friendly baseball game,” three years earlier. One struggle had begotten another. On May 25, 1866, the Princeton team lashed Rutgers 40 – 2 on the baseball diamond.¹⁷ Three years later Rutgers invited Princeton to participate in another game: football. Answering the challenge, two-dozen Princetonians traveled

approximately thirty miles northeast to the home of their opponent. Perched on fences or gathered on the ground, Princeton and Rutgers partisans clustered around a field wedged between College Avenue and Sicard Street in the heart of New Brunswick to witness the first intercollegiate football game on November 6, 1869. In this first slate of three scheduled games, Rutgers defeated Princeton by a score of six to four in the inaugural competition. One week later, players and fans of the two colleges swarmed a cow pasture in the shadow of the massive Slidell Mansion, the eventual home of President Grover Cleveland. Playing on their home turf with their rules—the host team determined the game’s guidelines—Princeton regained the upper hand by blanking their foe eight goals to none. The third game did not take place as planned due to the objections of faculty on both campuses who deemed the extracurricular too distracting—a criticism that, we shall see, football proponents would have to handle going forward.¹⁸

Despite its variation in form, the game the boys of Rutgers and Princeton played had its roots in Great Britain, having arrived on U.S. shores in the mid-1800s. In England, the sport gained attention and popularity when the most notable public schools adopted it as a favorite pastime. What we know as American college football has roots firmly planted in the British public school fields of Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Harrow, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury and Rugby and the storied campuses of Oxford and Cambridge University.¹⁹ In its pre-nineteenth century English form, football resembled soccer, as we know it now. Players kicked and dribbled the ball with their feet, rather than carrying it and passing it with their hands. All models of football emphasized this style until 1823 when William Webb Ellis, a student of the Rugby School in Rugby, England changed the game. As the origin story goes, during a match where time was winding down and his side trailed, Ellis, “with a fine disregard of the rules,” fielded a punt with his hands and tore through the opposing defense as his schoolmates attempted to tackle

him. Initially perceived as a loathsome strategy, Ellis's indiscretion became a revolutionary innovation and gave birth to the modern game of Rugby.²⁰ This advance spread to neighboring schools, and the prevalence of the game coupled with the rise in attendance of boys at public schools in Britain necessitated the first written code of rules, which Rugby School established in 1845. Eton footballers drafted their own code two years later.²¹

It is upon this foundation of soccer and rugby that the Americanization of these two strains of sport combined into the hybrid that is American football. Similar to their British brethren, schools that adopted the game after the Princeton/Rutgers contest manufactured rules specific to the vagaries of their campus life. In 1871, Princeton undergraduates desired uniformity for the fledgling game and established the first intercollegiate football association, the Princeton Football Association. This governing body established several primary rules stipulating the dimensions of the field, the number of players per side, and the basic patterns of how to handle the football and stop the ballcarrier. Yale followed their Ivy League brethren and founded a football association of their own the following year. They modified the rules of their counterparts and shrank the field of play; goal posts were eight paces apart; each team played twenty players at a time; no player could throw or carry the ball; no holding, pushing, or tripping was allowed.²² Soon thereafter, other schools founded their own football associations and crafted rules resembling that of Princeton and Yale's first efforts. When Harvard legalized some forms of carrying, running, and passing of the ball in their version of the game, rules that differed from that of its peer schools, it became the institution whose play most closely simulated British rugby.

The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the game take shape. Crowds in the thousands began attending games between the most popular sides like Harvard and Yale in

accessible public locales like New York City.²³ Distinctions between American football and its British predecessors began to solidify, as undergraduate playmakers took ownership of the game and advanced rules unique to American-style football. These developments, however, did not negate the sport's air of informality that would be hardly recognizable today. This was partly due to the fact that football and nearly all collegiate sports developed before the advent of university athletic departments. Sporting events were primarily student-run—something like a highly physical version of the competitive literary society or the fraternity face-offs. The levels of financial support and campus commitment, the patterns of preparation, the styles of execution, and post-game festivities differed from one school to another. It was not atypical, however, for teams to break bread with their opponent following the conclusion of the game. Previous foes would bond over dinner prepared by the host team or at a restaurant of their choice. Gradually, schedules gained consistency from year to year as teams assembled a slate of ten games or more. Yet, opponents were not always exclusively college teams. For many years, Yale's eleven would face off against a cohort of boys from Phillips Andover Academy. In the Midwest, the University of Michigan's squad would line up opposite a team of competitors from the Detroit Athletic Club.²⁴ Moreover, the very nature of scheduling was rudimentary—a task that took weeks. Team managers, students themselves, would exchange a series of letters in an effort to agree on a time and place for the two teams to meet. Occasionally competing responsibilities forced delays in communication. John Ellis, team manager for the Oberlin College football team apologized to an opposing manager for his failure to respond promptly to his counterpart because he was, “busy graduating.”²⁵

It was during this period, the 1880s that Henry Twombly arrived at Yale. The perseverance of dedicated students had complicated the first layers of football but the sport had

not yet flowered into the larger phenomenon that it was soon to become. Even then, Twombly's memories reflected an understanding of the correlation between his success on the gridiron—especially at his quarterback position—and the admiration he experienced beyond it.²⁶ His observations about his participation articulated him firmly within the discursive structures of what were becoming, in the late nineteenth century, normative behaviors of manhood. His “Personal Reminiscences,” are representative of the commitment of more and more college men competing through football and the growing number of spectators drawn to intercollegiate football games that paralleled and prompted the interest of college administrators, faculty members, alumni and social scientists. Twombly understood and experienced playing football at Yale as contributing to his respect and respectability as a man. Others, however, debated football's capacity to enhance or corrupt the young men of America's elite class and its position within higher education.

Scientific Justifications

Despite its popularity, college football was not without its critics. Before universities even institutionalized it, some constituencies were hardly enthused by the prospects of young men rendering their classmates bruised and battered to move an inflated pig bladder around a field. In 1860, Harvard faculty and administrators put a stop to football, ruling it overly pugnacious.²⁷ Physical competition was fine when it resembled fraternity roughhousing, but not professional prizefighting. In April 1872, members of Harvard's class of 1874 resurrected some measure of the game when they challenged members of the class of 1875 to meet them on the Boston Common to play. Regular games ensued that Spring and the subsequent Fall. Yet, players and spectators created such a racket that city residents, who dwelled on or near the Common,

presented city officials a petition to quell the “‘intolerable noise’.” Soon thereafter municipal authorities passed ordinances prohibiting the undergraduates from playing on the town square.²⁸

Concerns about football’s impact on campus life or surrounding communities paled in comparison to social critics’ larger concerns about the character and well-being of participants. The most common and fervent critique was that college football was too brutal, too physical, too cutthroat and besides potential injury, its violent nature was deleterious to the morality of those who partook. “To win *at any cost*,” lamented journalist Henry Beach Needham, “that is the source of the present deplorable condition of intercollegiate athletics [emphasis original].”²⁹ Many echoed Needham’s distress. For example, Harvard President Charles Eliot, boyhood playmate of Alexander Twombly, was one of intercollegiate football’s staunchest critics. He, also, opposed the sport’s ruthless quality as disruptive to the mission of higher education. In no uncertain terms, he wrote: “The game of football has become seriously injurious to the rational academic life in American schools and colleges, and it is time the public, especially the educated public, should understand and take into earnest consideration the objections to this game.”³⁰ For Eliot, football was a game fit for the irrational and uneducated: therefore, its incorporation into college culture seemed both contradictory and counterproductive. Eliot was not alone in his opinion, which constituted one side of an academic, scientific, and public debate about football’s place within higher education that took place in scholarly journals and national periodicals.³¹ Eliot was on the losing side of this contest. At the time, however, he was a powerful voice that articulated contemporary anxieties, particularly among whites and the white elite, about the relationship between physicality and civility. Those in Eliot’s camp suggested that, as a brutal sport, football would produce brutes; and, as an activity that interfered with academic pursuits, it would produce dumb brutes, at that. In the face of such denouncements, football enthusiasts (a

growing lot throughout the latter nineteenth century) developed a discourse of football that stressed the intellectual rigor the game required and emphasized its cerebral and rational elements. Far from a merely a physical contest, they suggested, football actually represented a science.

One way in which football's advocates summoned the discourse of science in defense of football was to identify its tactical importance and efficacy. University of Michigan coach Fielding Yost cried "Winning require[d] brains." His declaration to coaches: "You must get your men to do a lot of thinking," reiterated the oft-repeated claim that football was an intellectual endeavor.³² Victory was a result of knowledge exacted through controlled execution. Comparing football to a rational set of ideas and productions of knowledge associated the sport's participants with similar traits. Not surprisingly, the discourse of masculinity toward the end of the nineteenth century valued control, discipline, balance, and consistency. These characteristics were precisely the qualities that many men felt modernity robbed from them. Yet they were also the traits that a more industrialized society demanded in a more regimented and less individualized world. Moreover, following Eliot's thinking these definitions of manliness that celebrated self-possession outlined what football must not be if it was to find a permanent place within academia. It could not be emotional, irrational, chaotic and ungoverned and it certainly could not produce men possessing any of these qualities. These were attributes that dominant race and gender ideologies attached to women and non-whites, groups considered naturally and socially inferior to white men. If football was indeed brutish, men who played it ran the risk of devolving toward a primitiveness that signified non-whiteness and threatened normative white masculinity.³³

When discourses gendered rationality as masculine converged with an accentuation on scientific progress in public and scholarly thought, football's champions deliberately melded their opinions of the game to this body of knowledge. In 1889, a student at the University of Notre Dame applauded new rule modifications that would, "proportionately favor scientific work."³⁴ Contemporary newspaper reports of college games attest to this combination of faculties and even identified brain over brawn to be the difference-maker in some cases. The conclusions of a *Boston Globe* writer regarding a Yale/Harvard clash were typical of this era of sports reportage. In reference to the Harvard Crimson, the journalist wrote, "They are all of better physique and better fitted by nature to play football than those who wore the blue [Yale's colors]." But it was the team from New Haven that emerged victorious: "The Yale eleven today won because individually and collectively its men knew more football than did their opponents."³⁵

Efforts to link football and science often rested on a progressive narrative focused on the increase of knowledge, the development of strategy, and in some cases, the changes driven by various reforms. An undergraduate at Princeton observed that football was a game of continuous refinement. "By a gradual process of alteration and improvement made through years of experimenting," he explained, "football has become the most scientific of all sports."³⁶ Even the rhetoric describing football's development resembles scientific method: create a hypothesis; develop and implement a plan; alter if necessary; and, make conclusions that can be reproduced. Through careful calculus, football's engineers designed rules that minimized chaos, maximized players' skills sets, and enabled them to productively blend the performance of the physical and mental. After many adjustments, for example, to the size and shape of the ball and of the field, the game came to have a perfect—scientific—match between its playing space and the things

that could be done on that space: scoring was neither easy nor difficult; the movement downfield was appropriate to human capabilities and audience needs.

No figure was more instrumental in affecting change than Twombly's Yale teammate Walter Camp whose name has become synonymous with football order, reform, and regulation. Raised in New Haven the son of a middle-class schoolteacher, Camp attended Yale from 1876-1882, first as an undergraduate, then a medical student (although his medical studies were interrupted and ultimately terminated by illness). After playing for Yale, he became the team's advisor (coaching was not yet a professional endeavor), and by the early 1880s, Camp had established himself as a considerable trendsetter of the game, instituting rules that shifted the sport away from its rugby roots and toward its own athletic identity. In 1880, Camp invented the line of scrimmage. Rules created other rules. In 1882, he designated that each team had three opportunities to move the ball at least five yards forward in order to retain possession. He proposed that teams play with eleven rather than fifteen players in 1883, and he modified the rules to expand the tactics of tackling in 1888. Adding a host of other changes to the game, his eventual role as official coach of Yale and Stanford University's teams, and his prolific writing led contemporaries and historians of the game to deem Camp the "Father of Football."³⁷

Football's patriarch was convinced that what Americans wanted from their game was structure. He viewed rugby as mayhem; football provided an increasingly more hierarchically organized American work force with a sport that was becoming more systematized, rationalized, and specialized. "The American loves to plan," wrote Camp. "As soon as the American took up Rugby foot-ball," he continued, "he was dissatisfied because the ball would pop out of the scrimmage at random." Wittingly or no, Camp's comment reflected the increasing reliance of Americans and American industry on scientific management. He went on to disparage the British

export as one that swiveled too often on luck; it was too random and unpredictable. This is why, Camp was certain, popular interest in the game was minimal before the 1880s. But it was at this juncture that the game “took on organized methods,” many of which he had a hand in instituting. Simultaneously, coaching had a more significant impact, and the sport’s following steadily grew.³⁸

When coaches, managers, and players treated football as sober and methodical, when they insisted that it required great discipline and associated it with science, they authenticated claims that it was more than a physical activity. Its connection to the cerebral served to counter interpretations of football as nothing more than thoughtless savagery, a trope that advocates had contested from its outset. Since football was a game of strength and territorial supremacy, where reward and praise were often bestowed on the most physically dominant squad regardless of score, minding the boundary between civil roughness and brutality was a constant challenge for its supporters. Early advocates of the game celebrated civil roughness, but not brutality. Injuring one’s opponent was not a goal; yet it was often an unfortunate byproduct of the game’s design. But as long as football players combined a healthy dose of sportsmanship in their play (a topic to be discussed in greater length in Chapter Two), they were free, within the rules, to clobber their opponent. In an era when new definitions of manliness were under construction, conducting oneself honorably while outdoing one’s opponent physically (and presumably mentally) was a delicate balancing act. Tempers often flared and self-control—in concert with scientific execution of play—gained increased importance as another antidote to brutality. A man could fling himself at his opponent as long as his technique fell within the guidelines of the rulebook. To collide with an opponent above the waist was legal, to slug a man in the face was not. The first instance was an example of self-control governing physical expression; the latter example

was an exhibition of a lack of self-control. And, according to the thinking of the day, self-control—particularly when severely tested—was evidence of higher civilization.

Linking scientific application to college football through its tactical utility and intellectual significance allowed the sport's managers to use scientific discourse to make an additional leap. Science was a discipline; it was a way of thought. To intellectuals, science was also proof of evolutionary advance. Therefore, when college football advocates summoned science in defense and service to the game, they invoked the ways in which college football was civilized. Football players did not just perform civility in practice; their ability to compete simultaneously with physical vigor, mental fortitude, and emotional restraint paradoxically demonstrated a capacity that science confirmed of their evolutionary sophistication. This powerful conjuncture—built around social evolution—suggests that college football players, coaches, and fans' allusions to science before and after the turn of the century must also be understood within the context of scientific racism.

In 1859, Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* first argued that humans were all one species. But, within that species, he distinguished between savage and civilized races of people. As indicated by the title, this work also put forth the concept of natural selection to describe the process of evolution in which organisms better adapted to an environment reproduced more readily and survived longer—often simply summarized as “the survival of the fittest.” These concepts of different races and natural selection propelled a host of theories across multiple scientific fields (i.e. anthropology, criminology, sexology) that furthered the idea that some races were inherently better than others. Although not Darwin's intention, such theories became central to the rise of scientific racism and the stock-in-trade explanations for proponents of white

superiority, if not supremacy. After all, Darwin's ladder of human races hierarchically placed Anglo-Saxons at the top as most civilized and Africans at the bottom as least civilized. Specious conclusions driven by these theories led scientists to declare nonwhites "inherently deficient in self-control, will power, ethical and aesthetic insight, and reason."³⁹ Traits scientists assigned most emphatically to black males, in particular, were the antonym of scientific and popularly understood qualities of manliness. It was, thus, white men that epitomized the rational, thinking man, which football enthusiasts would argue rendered them perfectly adapted for success on the gridiron. By comparison, black men were thought to be ruled by emotion rather than objective reason, which made them lesser men. Segregation on the gridiron, then, was not only the manifestation of societal practices; it also overlapped quite neatly with the constellation of meanings being formed around the performances taking place on the football field.

In addition to race, scientists bonded intelligence to gender as well. When scientists reasoned that women's skulls and brains were respectively smaller than their male counterparts, they made deductions that paralleled those of their racial comparisons. Women's smaller craniums corroborated the belief that females, relative to males of the same race, were mentally deficient. Historian Nancy Stepan summarizes these findings: "lower races presented the 'female' type of the human species, and females the 'lower race' of gender."⁴⁰ Moreover, if men were to have larger heads but the skulls of nonwhite males were no larger than the skulls of white females, craniologists reasoned that superior societies revealed greater disparities in head size between men and women. The accompanying converse of this theory was that minor differences between the skull sizes of males and females signaled an atavistic society, underdeveloped in their evolution. To this end, European male scientists inferred from their studies that European males were justified in their standing at the top of the racial and gender

hierarchy. Moreover, these findings indicated that at the other end of the spectrum, black males were most racially inferior and feminized, rendering their equivalence to white males a virtual impossibility.

This scientific activity took place alongside and in response to historical circumstances that were affecting the definitions and experiences of white middle-class manhood in the United States. During the latter nineteenth century, as Bederman argues, the ideal of self-restraint, independence, and financial success that defined antebellum white middle-class masculinity “seemed to falter.” In addition to challenges posed by politicized women, shifting racial orders, and new immigrant groups, changing economic factors especially rendered “earlier ideologies of middle-class manhood less plausible.” The rise of corporations weakened the position of small business owners and financial panics bankrupted many of that class. In other words, social status at birth guaranteed nothing. The generations of sons borne to middle-class families after the Civil War “faced the real possibility that traditional sources of male power and status would remain closed to them forever—that they would become failures instead of self-made men.”⁴¹ These conditions required new theories maintaining white men’s position atop the human ladder and new routes to realizing the self-restraint and mastery that remained central to white middle-class male identity. These circumstances also provided a foundation for promoting football’s significance as an activity through which young white men could gain and exhibit “manliness.”

Football’s proponents used science to justify their investment and intercollegiate ownership of the sport because there was nothing inherent to the game, nothing that it demanded, that was intrinsic to white, affluent, male bodies. Physically able women and nonwhite men possessed all the traits that would enable them to effectively perform the sport. Yet, women’s and nonwhite males’ participation would diminish the institution’s efficacy to promote white

masculinity. To consolidate power and privilege in the context of college football, access to the game had to be limited. Exclusion was not a formal policy, however. In my research, I did not find a single rulebook or source that indicated who could and could not play the game.⁴² Rather, through discourse, custom, and occasionally force the architects of the sport barred many nonwhite males from playing in most officially sanctioned games and women entirely. If sport and the culture of football was meant to, in part, rehabilitate the perception of flagging white manhood, it was critical that white women be a part of the discourse, but not a part of the sport. This was particularly true since the social position and activities of primarily middle-class or affluent white women were an increasing source of angst for their male counterparts.

In the nineteenth century, the rise in all-women's colleges coupled with the emergence of female writers, moralists, reformers, and additional contingents of inspired women who delayed marriage and became financially autonomous created a class that questioned the grip of social, sexual, and political control that white men had historically enjoyed—based largely on the role of women as “weaker vessels” or dependents. According to historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, the “New Woman”, at the very least, “challenged existing gender relations and the distribution of power.”⁴³ At the same time, ever-changing market paradigms affected women in the home as well. Entrepreneurial men spent longer hours away from their household, some had to chase work further from home, others no longer had the option to mentor their sons in their chosen craft, and the younger generation did not sustain familial enterprises with the same regularity as years past. For many middle- and upper-class families this resulted in a more absent father and a more present mother. Consequentially, the latter became more involved in the lives of their children.

These shifting familial dynamics both coincided with and were determining factors in some boys' sense of self. In his study of northern middle-class men of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century and their conceptions of manhood, historian Anthony Rotundo uncovered the adolescent diaries of numerous young men of this period who worried about the appearance and performance of their bodies.⁴⁴ Lack of height, strength, or vigor were common concerns. At the same time, their mothers wrote of an intensifying investment in the health and well-being of their sons in their own letters and journals. They counseled their progeny on their nutrition, hygiene, exercise, and even arranged for their treatment at "health spas."⁴⁵ As such, women's ambitions intruded upon male spaces, giving way to the perception among the upper class that the weakness and effeminacy of male youth was the fault of excessively maternal mothers that raised their boys in overly feminized environments. By Western constructs, then, women were damned regardless of what options they chose. Prominent voices like Harvard's Charles Eliot frequently proclaimed that a woman's place was in the home as mother and wife.⁴⁶ Satisfying Victorian discourses of femininity, tending the home and creating and raising a family, it was believed, fulfilled the highest order of civilization. But then they were accused of feminizing their sons.

Whether the result of over-mothering or modernity, the fear was not that the deleterious effects of over-civilization on men, neurasthenia and other forms of weakness or emasculation, would fix a man as a child. The rising disquiet in the bourgeois class rose from the concern that certain aspects of modernity would lead to the manifestation of feminine qualities not child-like ones. Unmanliness would lead to womanliness, even as women were more actively contesting the very nature of the definition.⁴⁷

Moreover, if, like men, women exercised and attended to their own fitness, they betrayed their responsibilities to home and family. Active physicality was antithetical to notions of

civilized womanhood. Pursuit of an overly active lifestyle could result in social punishment. To pair female athletes and femininity was a dissonant coupling for many members of the bourgeois class. At its extreme, women—middle- and upper class women, especially—who demonstrated any evidence of exercise risked labels of mannishness, prostitute, or lesbianism.⁴⁸ Yet, some women, particularly those enrolled in all-women’s colleges, partook in some form of physical training without drawing condemnation for failing to uphold standards of true womanhood.⁴⁹ In fact, women who exercised in moderation, who tended to the needs of their female constitutions, served as perfect comparison against which to identify the more demanding, vigorous activities ostensibly reserved for men. Rather than total exclusion, women had a sport sphere all to their own, a gendered opposite to men’s athletics. For example, when Senda Berenson, Director of the Gymnasium and Instructor of Physical Culture at Smith College introduced basketball to her pupils in the late 1890s, she modified the rules of the men’s game. Young women could not tackle, push, or hit an opponent. They could not touch or “snatch” the ball from another player while it was in her possession. In the attached photographs, two female Smith student-athletes—dressed in the appropriate uniform for physical education: blouse, scarf, stockings, bloomers,



Fig. 1.2 Two athletes demonstrate the “right” and “wrong” way to defend.⁵⁰

and appropriate footwear, hair in French braid, restrained by ribbon or bonnet—reveal that improper defending included not just touching but crowding one's foe. Encroaching in another competitor's space was inelegant. Victorian notions of womanhood discouraged any signs of contact or competitiveness. Getting too close was a violation of feminine sport. To do so, it was commonly feared, would risk women's development of aggression and roughness. A woman who played assertively might develop masculine traits or harm their inherent frailty. In other words, unwomanliness might lead to manliness.

Juxtaposed against men's sports and especially football, collegiate women who practiced various forms of physical education under the conditions described fortified rather than challenged gender ideals of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. As long as their play did not provoke them to, as Berenson feared, "do sad unwomanly things"—imitate men's athletics—a modicum of sport could, in fact, enhance their complexion, beauty, maternal health, reproductive ability, and posture.⁵¹ For men of the educated class, women's participation in sport at all-women's institutions and a handful of coeducational schools signified not a threat but a reaffirmation of spaces divided not by bigotry but by scientifically and medically confirmed authorization.

Scientific justifications piggybacked onto and reinforced unwritten laws that had already built boundaries around football that dictated who could and could not play in most public spaces and certainly in more official settings. A brief return to the Twombly narrative corroborates women's position in relation to football. In his stories he mentions dozens of individuals. Most of them he introduces as teammates or opponents with whom he played football as a boy in Boston, a high schooler at Boston Latin, or a collegian at Yale. Conspicuously, there is virtually no mention of females in any capacity. His stories of friends and family at various points in his

life yield no comment on his mother, neighbors, peers, or significant partners. The only oblique reference to women is when he recounts the crowds gathered at some of the biggest university games. Here, he cites the anonymous “girls” who cheered the teams and decorated their outfits with flowers of the color of the school they favored.⁵² In Twombly’s descriptions, women occupied the dual and non-competing roles of being both visible and invisible. They watched. And from the field, they could be seen as only a blur of color to the players running by. Within the patriarchal setting of college football, women were to be seen as companions to the men who were invested in the activity at hand.

This chronicle of early college football provides glimpses of how the sport was the exclusive purview of men. Men owned the football space. But Twombly’s accounts also reflect that not all men had equal access to college football, both in terms of watching and playing. It was predominately occupied by affluent, white men. Of those who Twombly does name and admire, some boys of his childhood went on to represent Harvard on the football field. Others became champion tennis players or rowers. Still more became presidents of banks, athletic clubs, and insurance companies.⁵³ No mention was made of playmates that went into the local industries of the city. Not a single comment was proffered for friend or foe that eventually found himself an ironworker, rigger, mason, carpenter, granite cutter, or other form of manual laborer. In other words, when talking about football, he only named peers that were successful—according to contemporary standards—athletically and professionally and of high social standing. Either Twombly had no peers of laborer status or he felt some compunction to memorialize them. Regardless, his recollections reveal a narrow stratum of (privileged) young men that he encountered through the game.

Boston was, of course, not without its poor or working-class men. By the middle of the nineteenth century, poor immigrants, many of them Irish and Catholic, flooded the city's North End. When Boston suffered a cholera outbreak in 1849, Irish residents both suffered the most and shouldered the blame for the epidemic. When Native Bostonians and city fathers initiated efforts to redefine the Back Bay soon thereafter, their energies expanded the city physically and psychically away from what they perceived to be an alien and diseased population. The most redeveloped sites, which became some of Boston's most expensive real estate, stood to the south of the city. Standing distant from some of the more decrepit parts of Boston disproportionately situated on the Northern end, architects designed luxurious properties at the precise spots of Twombly's favorite haunts.⁵⁴ Whether he interacted with youth with backgrounds different from his own ultimately remains unknown. In all likelihood, as the son of a Presbyterian minister frequenting the geographical locales described, Twombly played within an enclave less inclusive than his cheerful tales might suggest.

We can infer with near certainty that he and his playmates were white and conclude with unwavering confidence that they were not black. As Toni Morrison—looking at race and literature—might argue, Twombly's failure to identify any of the characters (in his reminiscences) as white suggests that they were all, in fact, white.⁵⁵ This omission was not unusual. In countless diaries, journal entries, letters, and newspaper articles about football, football players, and the institution as a whole, whiteness was rarely mentioned. On the other hand, sports journalists, independent writers, or correspondence between two people always referenced the race, color, or appearance (not to mention behavior, comportment, and a host of other observations) of nonwhite males. The occasional black player on the team of a traditionally white university or members of a Native American boarding school that competed against these

institutions never escaped recognition of their racial difference from that of whites. Within his own memoir, Twombly's failure to provide any physical description or information regarding the racial background of his friends and other associates exposes the degree to which he held whiteness as the normative quality within the purview of what was his reality.

Absence of black playmates corresponded to other circumstances segregating the likes of Twombly from African Americans, and other people of color. Black Americans during the period of Twombly's childhood were neither free nor entirely safe to enjoy all corners of Boston. In his 1868 memoirs, Boston theatre manager Sol Smith, recounts chasing blacks off of "Boston Common" when he was a kid in 1814. It was only on "nigger 'lection", he recalled, that "the colored people were permitted to remain unmolested on Boston Common".⁵⁶ Here, Smith was referring to annual elections staged over several days in the spring, known as "Election Day," where governmental bodies in addition to other organizations like churches and social societies chose new representatives. Barred from participating in an official capacity, this event was a period, since "time immemorial," when blacks enjoyed a holiday, and were allowed entrance to the Boston Common "with an equality of rights and privileges with white people."⁵⁷ Save Election Day, however, de facto recognition of the city's racial map policed African Americans and enforced their movement in the city and their exclusion from the Green through mutual understanding and threat of violence. By comparison, Twombly and his sons enjoyed opportunities to romp in the Common and other city places, and in their play, they became football players. And football became theirs.

Physical Culture and Able Bodies

Twombly's tales and Merriwell's adventures portray a version of the origins and excitement that surrounded early, organized football. What they do not quite reveal is that

college football was part of a larger campaign of physical culture that emanated from the Northeast and moved quickly across the nation. Both religion and science served as inspirations for this movement. Muscular Christianity, which spread throughout the nineteenth century, was a doctrine that encouraged devoted piety in combination with vigorous exercise. The physical body strengthened the spiritual one and vice versa.⁵⁸ Sciences—rather pseudosciences—like phrenology and mesmerism grew concomitantly with their religious counterpart and purported ideas about the health of a body and its reliance on energies. More specifically, with practice and commitment, an individual could productively alter, improve, or redirect energies that coursed through his body.⁵⁹ To facilitate this process, and contrary to a historical narrative that positioned man against machine, many began to rely more frequently on mechanized contraptions to cultivate and move healthy energies.

In the mid-nineteenth century, an age of increased rationality, efficiency, and modernity, groups across classes began to regard the human body as a machine in concordance with the examples of Industrialism that were becoming more prevalent. Popular wisdom saw food as fuel and considered the body like a vessel that registered inputs and outputs much like a steam engine or coal-burning train. As such, in order to combat deleterious diseases like neurasthenia, many men, particularly those of the middle- and upper-class, began relying on machines to replenish depleted energy and gain strength. Demand for improved physical fitness made a space for muscle-building entrepreneurs who designed apparatuses meant to enhance internal vitalities and external appearance. As early as 1831, James Chiosso, a professor of gymnastics at London's University College created the Polymachinon, a wooden series of weights and pulleys that worked the muscles of the upper body.⁶⁰ This was the first of many devices that ushered in a sustained period where machines served as instruments of physical enrichment. In addition to the

Polymachinon, electric belts, vibration gadgets, magnetized collars and other technologies meant to unlock, transfer, and create energy sold to individuals and gymnasiums, which began to sprout in numerous cities from 1870 to 1930.⁶¹ Unfortunately, affordability constrained access to health-improving machines. For the working-class, these assorted innovations were expensive. Thus, the mere use of these machines—in addition to the benefits—was a symbol of wealth.

Interest in fitness and the appeal of these inventions, however, was not class-specific. Thousands saw the latest technologies for conditioning at Chicago's 1893 World's Fair, German strongman Eugen Sandow gained widespread appeal as he crisscrossed the nation as a vaudeville performer, and spas carried many of the machines that inventors like Swede Gustav Zander created.⁶² But three significant factors tilted physical culture to favor the affluent. First, members of agrarian communities—still a significant portion of the U.S. population by the start of the twentieth century—did not need fitness.⁶³ Secondly, despite the public access that spas and gymnasiums offered, the cost of membership was still out of reach for many working-class individuals. Lastly, the discourse around physical culture had a decidedly middle- and upper-class tinge. In fact, some fitness experts used laborers as a benchmark for their own conditioning. George Windship, a Harvard student and self-professed weakling, created and eventually marketed a type of lift that simultaneously strengthened upper and lower body muscles. Gymnastics, he found, could not generate the strength of “the truckman and the porter.” A body was strong, he claimed, only after it surpassed the might of a “labourer's body.”⁶⁴ Windship was not alone. David Butler, another innovator, designed the “Health Lift,” which became popular toward the end of the nineteenth century. The structure required the practitioner to stand on a platform several feet off the ground. By gripping wooden handles attached to a set of springs that hung below the apparatus, one would perform a movement that roughly approximated today's

version of a deadlift. Even if members of the laboring classes could financially and pragmatically access these machines, most of the contraptions' designers clearly defined who was and was not the target consumer. Butler's advertisements, for instance, explicitly targeted the professional classes and sedentary people "whose avocations severely tax the brain".⁶⁵ The physical culture movement, then, reveals another angle through which bodies were classed. In addition to the

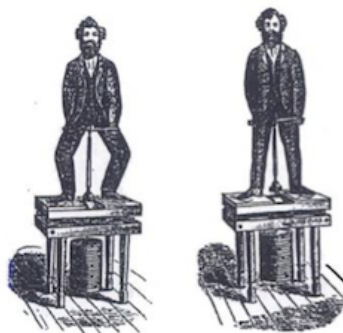


Fig 1.3 Illustration of David Butler's "Health Lift"⁶⁶

economic divisions, historians have well-documented the socio-cultural antagonisms between nineteenth century groups. The novel interest in musculature and physical fitness for non-laboring purposes introduced a new fissure based on bodily aesthetics.

Higher education exacerbated these classed distinctions. At the forefront of muscle development and conditioning was Dudley Allen Sargent. Sargent entered the institutional world of fitness at age nineteen when the Bowdoin College president hired him to be their gymnasium director in 1869. Thus, began a four-decade career of shaping and strengthening undergraduate bodies. The last three decades culminated at Harvard where Sargent directed their physical education program. In addition to the exercises he invented and the machines he designed, Sargent advanced additional technologies that allegedly quantified and qualified the measure of a man, which, not surprisingly, were particularly appealing to football coaches and athletic department administrators. He invented the dynameter, spirometer, and, manometer to test the strength of "lungs, chests, triceps, backs, [and] legs."⁶⁷ These apparatuses could overcome, as

theorist Robyn Wiegman states, “the limited specificity of the ‘naked’ eye.” Merely “eyeballing” the physical stature of a man was no longer enough. Doctors administered tests and relied on instruments to ostensibly access information about the body that was beyond what the eye, alone, could evaluate.⁶⁸ As physical culture advanced, practitioners gradually combined with the medical profession in an attempt to further refine both the interior and exterior of bodies in order to make them as able as possible.⁶⁹

Within higher education, colleges’ and universities’ increased focus on the overall health of their charges was becoming a national conversation. In 1885, John Eaton, the Commissioner of the Bureau of Education employed Dr. Edward Mussey Hartwell of Johns Hopkins University to compile a full report of the status of physical education at dozens of schools primarily in the Northeast and Midwest. Hartwell’s study included a review of institutions’ commitment to physical education as well as the individual health of its charges. For instance, he outlines how from 1860-1881 schools as varied as Beloit, Bowdoin, Brown, California, Cornell, Dartmouth, Hamilton, Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Oberlin, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Union, Vanderbilt, Wabash, Wesleyan, and Williams in addition to Phillips Andover Academy, St. Paul’s School, Williston Seminary, and Cushing Academy as well as Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, and Mt. Holyoke built or refurbished gymnasias for their students. Football players were among the most visible college athletes, but they were hardly the only students who exercised or were expected to attend to their overall condition.⁷⁰

When Harvard completed construction of the Hemenway Gymnasium in 1879, of which Sargent was its steward, it established the model with which all other schools had to contend. The \$110,000 contribution from graduate Augustus Hemenway of Boston initiated the construction of the red and yellow brick, two-story edifice that sat on Holmes Field and faced

Kirkland Street in Cambridge. It housed hundreds of lockers, dressing rooms, and appliances that offered “a lateral, vertical, and descending shower.”⁷¹ There was a running track, a space reserved for baseball, lacrosse, and tennis as well as other spaces to spar, fence, and bowl. The largest room was outfitted with numerous apparatuses that allowed as many as 250 students to work out simultaneously. The colonial architecture, sandstone trimming, North river bluestone, hard pine woodwork, and the school’s coat of arms that adorned the front entrance suggest Harvard’s interest in preserving gentility even as they sought to improve their students aerobic and anaerobic conditioning. Elegance and sweat could coexist.⁷²



Fig. 1.4 Interior View of Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University⁷³

Impressive facilities enhanced a school’s status. But, like Hartwell, institutions were most interested in augmenting the physicality of their pupils. There was great fear among educators that training the mind and not the body could provoke disease. In other words, training the mind could make the body less able. “Our best scholars,” Hartwell warned, “fail for want of body, not for want of brain.” Like Sargent, he gathered extensive internal and external measurements from individual students at multiple schools in order to ascertain “the data or constants, of the typical man, and especially the college man.”⁷⁴ The evaluations included thorough assessments of students’ physical dimensions, physical capacity, and physical performativity. Hartwell’s

Name and class.	Age.	Weight.	Height.	Heal.*	Natural chest.*	Inflated chest.*	Waist.*	Right thigh.*	Left thigh.*	Strength.													
										Right arm.*	Left arm.*	*Average of—		Development.			Strength.			Forearm.	Total strength.	Condition.	
1880.																							
1 F. D. Jordan, 1880	23	73	175.7	57	95	105	78	54	54	30.5	30	27.5	27	531	40	145	230	175.2	$\frac{12}{12}$	85	675.2	144.2	1
2 Walter Trimble, L. S.	23	70	176.4	56	89	100	76	54	54	35	35	27.5	27	528.5	25	155	200	224	$\frac{11}{15}$	70	674	147.5	2
3 Richard Trimble, 1880	21	74.6	182.3	57.3	92	99	78	56	55.5	33	32.5	27.8	27	531.1	20	150	185.5	223.8	$\frac{11}{11}$	75	683.3	132.2	3
4 N. J. Stephens, 1881	22	72	177.2	53.5	93	101	76	54	53	34	32	29	28	525.5	22	170	190	194.4	$\frac{12}{15}$	86	662.4	136.9	4
5 R. W. G. Welling, 1881	21	80.2	188.1	57	92	99	73	56	56	32	33	28	29	526	25	175	220	160.4	$\frac{10}{10}$	80	600.4	134.4	5
6 C. H. W. Foster, 1881	20	60.9	175.9	55	91	98	70	55	54	31.5	31	28	27	513.5	22	162	197	182.7	$\frac{11}{12}$	90	653.7	140.2	6
7 James Otis, 1881	21	84	182.3	58	100	108	85	60	60	36	36.5	30.8	30.8	574.3	30	170	178	210	$\frac{15}{10}$	59	647	72.7	7
8 F. B. Keene, 1880	24	66.7	172.4	57	90	100	74	51	51.5	33	31.5	28	27.5	516	25	131	180	233.4	$\frac{20}{15}$	68	643.4	127.4	8
9 S. W. Skinner, 1880	22	72	169.5	56.5	90	100	78	59	59	35	35	28.5	27	541	23	160	167	223.2	$\frac{18}{12}$	67	640.2	99.2	9
10 G. B. Morison, 1883	19	68.3	179.4	54.5	90	95	70	52	51	32	31	27	26	502.5	20	160	165	232.2	$\frac{20}{14}$	55	632.2	129.7	10
Average	21.6	72.2	177.9	56.2	92.2	100.5	75.8	55.1	54.8	33.2	32.7	28.2	27.6	528.7	25.2	158.7	191.8	205.9	$\frac{16.3}{12.2}$	73.5	655.2	126.4	

Fig. 1.5 Physical measurements of ten Harvard students in 1880 and 1881 classes⁷⁵

review established that nearly all undergraduates lacked symmetry and harbored other ailments when they arrived at college. He concluded that one of colleges' primary objectives was to help students "attain a perfect structure, harmony in development," what Hartwell called, "a well-balanced organism."⁷⁶ The study identifies how government officials, physiologists, alumni, certain college presidents and administrators, some faculty, and many students were keen to improve the physical condition of student bodies. The number of actors involved and the amount of energy (and money, as in the case of the Hemenway Gymnasium) expended in this campaign for greater undergraduate health underscore the significance of the physical education mandate that colleges and universities required of themselves. University officials' hand wringing and attention to individual and communal health of their schools reflected concerns generated by discourses of masculinity and science converging, of which college football and college football players became beneficiaries.

Even for non-athletes, new facilities offered students the opportunity to refine their individual bodies and the overall student body as well. Gymnasiums and curricula that provided classes in physical fitness enabled all manner of young men the chance to refine and enhance their physique—to make their bodies presumably more able—and many students appreciated the opportunity. For example, William F. Garcelon, Harvard's Graduate Manager under the

Committee on the Regulation of Athletic Sports, received countless letters from undergraduates thanking him for the opportunity to take sport-centered courses. One student wrote, “I cannot tell you of the inestimable benefit I have obtained from attendance at the Freshman Athletic Class.” Echoing these sentiments, another lad supported Garcelon’s efforts for “enlarging the scope [...] of the prescribed gymnasium work for Freshmen.” In what was, perhaps, the lengthiest and most explicit expression of gratitude to Garcelon, a first-year student wrote: “Since October I have broadened out, my muscles have hardened, and I have gained about ten pounds. But best of all, I have learned to handle myself in a fair way. The big fellows do not look bad to me any longer.”⁷⁷ Size conveyed strength. Strength, alone, served as a protective form of self-defense. Each of these students and many others who enjoyed the benefits of these classes harbored their own motivations for their participation. Nonetheless, the will to exercise for these young men occurred in the context of increased access to exercise machines, bourgeois worries about over-civilization, and fluctuating dynamics regarding manliness and civilization. It was to these anxieties that “white folks in the big towns,” as the fictional dime novel character Dick Merriwell phrased it, felt compelled to respond.⁷⁸

And respond they did. In addition to architectural and pedagogical commitments, scientists and mathematicians—most of them university professors—turned to statistics, in tandem with phrenology, eugenics, and pseudo-scientific theories, to empower conclusions about genetics that were more reflective of social bias. Hartwell’s research, which poked, prodded, and measured its subjects, dovetailed with emerging doctrines of scientific racism and biological determinism that incentivized doctors to standardize ideal body proportions. From Hartwell’s work to Sargent’s systems, it was only a short step onto the football field to apply these advances into football-specific situations. The gridiron provided one of the best laboratories for evaluating

the individual and collective gains earned through concerted, focused training. By the turn of the century, it was not enough to practice proper technique or be well-schooled in the tactics of the game, football players had to be conditioned, even their bodies could be improved.

From its onset, football put unique demands on its participants. In the game's less organized form, young men played football across considerable areas. With natural obstacles like trees often included within the field of play and stonewalls and building facades that marked edges, games could stretch and weave around an entire town square. In the recollections of Edwin Bartlett, he described the game of football as one that required its participants to run "all over campus." Boundaries, if any, were mere suggestions.⁷⁹ As colleges and universities began to treat the game with greater purpose and involvement, players and managers established more formal borders and universal field measurements. When Yale founded its Foot Ball Association in 1872, administrators shrank the dimensions of the field of play to 400 feet in length and 250 feet in width.⁸⁰ Still, college football players competed on a field almost twice as large as today's gridiron. And athletes engaged in (and endured) something resembling hand-to-hand combat far more than might today's football player. Tackling, of course, was a formal technique. Striking a foe with one's hand, kneeling, slapping, scratching, or kicking him in the shins was also common. All of this was done while players wore sparse, if any, padding. Further, with games played indefinitely, to a certain score or until it got dark, contests could last for hours. In its minimalist state—few rules, few confines—those with the best combination of speed and endurance to defend their territory, advance on an opponent, and score most capably—those most able—were most likely to come out on top.

Before football players even began to refine their sport-specific skills, they needed to possess a body that would withstand the stress of football and was capable of performing the

tasks required of the sport (in all its forms).⁸¹ These requirements diminished the variation in body types that might be found on a college football roster. In game programs from the 1890s to the 1920s that listed players' height and weight, regardless of university, footballers were rarely shorter than 5'8" or taller than 6'1", rarely lighter than 150 pounds or more than 210, a veritable heavyweight at the time.⁸² By the turn of the century, the veneration of the college football player, his size, and all of his attributes contributed to new definitions of normal.



Fig. 1.6 “Average” height and weight for members of the Princeton, Yale, Harvard, and Pennsylvania teams that competed in 1897.⁸³

Typically, “normal” statistical results resided in one’s proximity to the mean. In the first half of the nineteenth century, French statistician Adolphe Quetelet contributed significantly to the idea of norms in relation to human bodies. His notion of the average man was a combination of “l’homme moyen physique and l’homme moyen morale,” a conflation of physicality and moral capacity being mutually constitutive of one another.⁸⁴ Statisticians translated “average” to mean the guiding standard. Typically deviations from the mean in either direction within the

standard distribution of a population were considered equally non-normative. Nonetheless, in the nineteenth century, statisticians and eugenicists like Francis Galton began applying social ideology to certain data sets. For example, height above the mean became better regarded than measurements below it. Points within a bell curve were now graded. To be “above average,” to deviate from the norm under certain circumstances, was to be respected—a new norm, above the mean, was now the respected archetype. Scientific knowledge about bodies working in concert with the rise of physical culture transitioned from an era of classification to an era of ranking different taxonomies.⁸⁵ College football developed in this period when scientifically calculated norms gave birth to not only normal and deviant but also *ideal* bodies. And football players’ bodies were evaluated as such. An illustration that appeared in one of William Hearst’s newspapers in 1897 provided representations of a football norm (Fig. 1.5). While the dimensions noted are smaller than today’s gridiron gladiator, they were far taller and heavier than the average male of that period.⁸⁶ It is significant that Hearst published teams’ averages rather than the height and weight of the schools’ respective star or most imposing athlete, pointing instead to the superior able-bodiedness of the collective. Likewise, the pictorial image embellishes the numeric reference. The anonymous embodiment of a football player in his pads and faceguard identifies not just size but purpose. Football players are bigger and braver; the picture proves it. These football averages are aspirational. They are framed as averages for the teams, the players and thus a “norm” of a type—a football type. But in relation to the spectators, readers, and average students, they are above the norm and thus desirable as the ideal able body.

Disability scholar Lennard Davis writes that normal, “‘constituting, conforming to, not deviating or different from, the common type or standard, regular, usual’ only enters the English language around 1840.” “[T]he word ‘norm,’ in the modern sense,” he continues, “has only been

in use since around 1855, and ‘normality’ and ‘normalcy’ appeared in 1849 and 1857, respectively.”⁸⁷ These definitions encouraged citizens—not just scientists—to measure one another according to formulations in which different physiques now had a moral and not just physical value. As such, it is not my contention that undergraduates who did not make their school’s football squad were perceived to be un-manly. Rather, those who made the roster had the opportunity, unlike their less physically gifted peers, to utilize football’s space to practice a more invigorated design of manliness and to be revered for it. The players, in turn, became the most conspicuous representatives of their schools in the project to enact powerful bourgeois manliness.⁸⁸ It was these practices that French theorist Michel Foucault identified as “general formulas of domination.” During the Classical Age, he contended, bodies became the “object and target of power.”⁸⁹ It was no longer only military or carceral institutions, the sovereign, or the state that controlled bodies. Technologies of power were no longer uniquely vertical. Power was infinitesimal but constant, which meant that the body was always already subjected to manipulation and discipline. The notion of “average” authorized individuals, independent of any form of state power, to determine who did and did not measure up. And when the point of measurement moved from the average to the ideal, then whole populations were cast in an aspirational position: they were “average,” but “average” was simply not good enough. They were encouraged to dream about, or work toward, the ideal.

In this respect, college football, by virtue of its popularity—even in the nineteenth century—had (and continues to have) the potential to wield a wide-ranging and pervasive influence on U.S. culture. The increasing numbers of individuals attending colleges and universities, the growing coverage that the media provided sport, and the sophistication of systems of transportation (rail and roads) that Americans of nearly all classes and geographic

regions were gradually enjoying meant that college football had reached far beyond the ivy covered walls of academia. As a spectator sport, college football became a wildly consumed representation of the type of ideal and aspirational manliness associated to America's elite males. Consequently, it not only displayed, but also shaped ideals of American male physicality, ideas that narrowed who could inhabit or claim normative physical or moral masculinity. In this sense, college football presented contradictions (the complex range of bodies and identities) that masqueraded as natural truths (ideals and averages that offered models for player, audiences, and the commentators who sought to explain the games). As an increasingly popular and powerful institution, college football—fortified by statistical and scientific theory—promoted ideologies of manliness, able-bodiedness, and intelligence that served primarily members of the dominant class.⁹⁰

That football players were an exemplar did not free them from scrutiny. In fact, teammates, opponents, coaches, fans, among many, many others inspected the players most carefully and perpetually. The new technologies that allegedly quantified and qualified the measure of a man were particularly appealing to coaches and athletic department administrators. By the 1900s, most team managers capitalized on trends of corporal surveillance to understand how body type and able-bodiedness could animate success in assorted physical situations on the football field. It was at this point that coaches seized those who were the biggest, fastest, and strongest and began to mold able-bodiedness into football skill—translating ableness into ability.

By the turn of the century, nearly every school that fielded a team hosted a pre-season try-out in order to equip the roster with the most promising talent. In addition to gathering information about young men's heights, weights, metrics of flexibility, strength, and endurance, managers put the athletes through a series of exercises to determine their aptitude in a series of

physical settings. These tests typically examined prospects' agility, coordination, speed and mental acuity. Drills required young men to punt balls, catch punts, and to run most effectively in possession of the ball. It was through this ten day to two-week process that coaching staffs eventually chose players. Harvard's 1904 coach Edgar Wrightington's journal reveals that nearly all of his decisions regarding an athlete's inclusion—or exclusion—on the team were based on the supposed physical ability—distinct from actual football talent—of that individual. Only after Wrightington identified the most able-bodied, or even hyper-able, athletes did he assemble his team. Those who were physically gifted and had prior experience as footballers wielded even greater advantage. Nonetheless, Wrightington's notes indicate that one of his top priorities when assessing football candidates was their raw physical potential. To him, and likely to many other coaches, superior able-bodiedness was the vessel through which to cultivate football-specific ability and acquired skills.⁹¹ It was the precondition for all else.

Paradoxically, the advantages of able-bodiedness were often most apparent when they were threatened or taken away. And able-ness, one of the most defining characteristics of identity, is also one of the most mutable. It is destined to change, if not through injury or ailment, then most certainly through age. How, then, did the potential loss or diminishment of a player's ability to compete affect perceptions of that football player? This analysis requires a return to Henry Twombly's narrative.

His "Personal Reminiscences" offers stories of football violence, adoring fans, and the positive outcomes of platonic but intimate, positive male bonding. What a reader may overlook, however, was his mention and treatment of two relatively innocuous and minor anecdotes. They involve injury and pride and invite a revisiting of football violence in a way that placed able-bodiedness at the center. First, in a match against Roxbury Latin School an opponent struck

Twombly with a closed fist that resulted in a significant cut below his eyebrow. As described by the young player, he grabbed a piece of beef and held it over his eye until he was able to see a doctor later that afternoon. Twombly boasted that, to his relief, the doctor performed such a fine job sewing up the wound, “nobody at home at dinner the same day noticed it at all.”⁹² Similarly, M.C. Kennedy, a Princeton player from whom Twombly solicited comment to add to his “Reminiscences” offered a tale of injury and courage when he witnessed Yale footballer Louis Hall play an entire game with a broken finger wedged between splints. The finger was so mangled that blood allegedly trickled through the makeshift support for the duration of the game. “This,” recalled Kennedy, “impressed me as an act of stoicism.”⁹³ Kennedy’s respect of his opponent’s willingness to continue in spite of apparent discomfort and Twombly’s self-gratification for bearing injury without complaint provide insight into the type of attributes and behaviors that late nineteenth century bourgeois men valued. They prized impassive reactions to pain and associated them, at the very least, with grit and personal mettle. These were tamed versions of “soldiering on,” in which the need to persevere on the battlefield often held mortal consequences. In football, to persist while injured—usually (but not always) without the impending threat of death—became a marker of valiant and courageous character. Was competing while hurt even more manly and virtuous than competing while healthy? Football players certainly earned respect by upholding their competitive responsibilities even when less able. In other words, football players could actually emphasize and enhance perceptions of their manliness by performing able-bodiedness in the presence of impairment. But this was true only when that disability was perceived to be, and actually was, temporary.

A Harvard competitor and responses to his seemingly fearless verve illustrate these dynamics. During a 1923 game against Princeton, defensive back Philip Coburn may have had

his bell rung from enduring multiple collisions. His roommate, “Ken” a spectator in the stands noticed the pummeling that Coburn dished and endured. In a letter Ken wrote to his football-playing roommate, he celebrated Coburn’s “hard, fierce, clean tackles.” But, was he hurt? “What difference [did] it make,” Ken asked, “as long as there [was] no permanent injury.”⁹⁴ Another Coburn admirer articulated in a separate missive that the way Coburn put everything into his play was “the spirit that makes players into men.”⁹⁵ As both letters describe, Coburn’s style was daring but skilled, intense but adept. He traipsed the thread between injury and success on each play. Taking these risks was the “spirit” to which his devotees referred. To substitute himself on account of injury would prevent Coburn from seizing the opportunity to enact the performances of ability—now clearly visible as a particular form of manliness—so cherished by himself and loyal observers. And as long as injury was short-lived, Coburn could continue to utilize the football field and its discursive space to embody dominant performances of masculinity.

The extent to which fans were enamored of Coburn was in direct correlation with the degree to which he imperiled himself on the field. And football was treacherous. At the time, injury and even death of football players was widespread. In 1911, Dr. Morris Joseph Clurman commissioned a study to evaluate the positive and negative impact of football on U.S. society. In it he documented the number of athletes who suffered severe or fatal injuries between 1905 and 1910. According to his results, more than 100 players died and 900 players were injured while playing football.⁹⁶ For some spectators, this level of violence was an attraction. Blustery rhetoric of war and comparisons between football and the military was a common refrain in the nineteenth century (as it still is today). In a *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* article, an author declared football as, “man to man, team to team; there is danger, pluck, strategy, all the things that make nations war and humanity delight in slaying its kind. Foot-ball is war in miniature, and

war is the greatest game in the world.”⁹⁷ It was, most definitely, the danger and the physical performances of the athletes that intrigued many football followers. In more eloquent terms than the Philadelphia journalist, a Notre Dame undergraduate confirmed this analysis. He explained that the sport’s growing popularity was due to its “splendid fierceness.” Moreover, he remarked, “[it was] the element of personal combat, which delights the savage instinct lingering in the breasts even of the most civilized among us.”⁹⁸ In order to play football, players had to display power and coordination. During moments of vulnerability, they had to exhibit courage. As members of a team, they needed to be selfless and committed to being part of a whole. This collective effort that required individual talent combined with the heroism of self-sacrifice drew fans to the playing field and was the alchemy of savage and civilized to which Turner’s “Frontier Thesis” referred.

Nonetheless, spectators were not solely drawn to the game to watch athletic men bound skillfully about a field. Equal to their talents, players’ inclination to jeopardize their wellbeing by virtue of playing the game endeared them to their fans. Since the sport was insistently rugged, the threat of injury was constant and its ramifications ever-present. Due to tackling’s fundamental role in the developing game, skulls collided, arms tore at waists, and shoulders twisted with regularity. Within the context of risk-taking it was, in many ways, their constant susceptibility to bodily harm that created the myth of invulnerability and enabled these athletes to serve as exemplars of hyper-ablebodiedness. In the face of perpetual danger, then, Walter Camp’s “coolness personified” encompasses additional significance. In contrast to injury or even death, their running, dodging, tackling, passing, and catching epitomized to enthusiasts the physical and mental capacity of the human body. To this end, injury was not necessarily a guaranteed impediment. To play through pain, highlighted, rightly or not, that player’s nerve. In

fact, a physical ailment that did not impair play, that was not disabling, only underscored the potential sacrifice players invited, which led to further lionizing from their supporters. Injury enhanced the perception of a man's masculinity.

What happened, then, to a player's manliness if he was no longer capable of performing the feats that enabled him to demonstrate his manliness in the first place? At its extreme, what if Coburn did sustain permanent, incapacitating injury? I pose this inquiry not to consider the loss of Coburn's playing career. Rather, I raise this question to explore the discursive changes Coburn might experience if he crossed permanently from abled to disabled. The truth is that I found virtually no journalistic accounts nor records in student writings that identified what happened to players when they suffered debilitating injury, which, given that, as Clurman's study showed, many died, is curious. The dearth of information on this subject suggests that players lost to injury were abandoned by the football space. In that, all of the discursive empowerment earned from performing ably on the gridiron moved on to the next big thing. The next star was heralded, the next winning team celebrated, the dead and wounded quickly forgotten.

Consider, for example, the case of Harold Rye. In 1919, senior Harold Rye played right end for the University of Michigan Wolverines. In the third game of the season, a home game at Ferry Field in Ann Arbor, Rye ended up at the bottom of a pile, his leg broken. One month later, in the game program for Michigan's last match of the season against the University of Minnesota, there was a half-page photo of Rye in team uniform and an accompanying letter signed from "His Nurse" addressed to Rye's teammates, "the Michigan Eleven." It is unknown whether Rye's nurse actually penned the letter, but it hardly matters for my purposes here. By addressing Rye's teammates in a public forum, Rye's "nurse" increased the audience for her message greatly, bringing in the fan public. "While the crowd cheers wildly," the letter implored,

“don’t forget your teammate.” In this sense, the letter writer made a direct appeal to that audience, speaking on Rye’s behalf while simultaneously underscoring his worst fear—the absent player was the forgotten player. With her letter, Rye’s “nurse” reminded Rye’s teammates and fans of their obligation to the fallen athlete. He had sacrificed himself on their behalf. Moreover, even though he was still recuperating in a hospital bed, his leg suspended by a series of levers and pulleys, he was a “game lad,” was not “complaining,” and nothing would make him happier than a victory.⁹⁹ In so doing, she upheld his manliness by highlighting his stoicism and continual dedication to the team. Nonetheless, Rye remained unable to compete. He was absent from the field of play and the stadium itself. He was no longer able to fulfill his player duties; he was removed from a collegian’s primary site of manhood-making. A part of the game program, Rye’s nurse’s letter re-inserted the injured football player into the football experience, if only indirectly and abstractly, betraying a fear that absence along with silence would certainly lead to Rye’s football death.

The overt glorification of able-bodiedness and abandonment of those dis-abled reinforced the rigid polarities of the spectrum where society situated ableness at the center, and pushed anything less to the periphery. The cultural investment in able-bodiedness becomes evident in efforts—such as those by Rye’s nurse—to cast football players’ injuries as temporary, not fatal blows to their able-bodiedness. In this sense, overcoming the injury became proof of just how able that body was.

High Stakes

When W. Cameron Forbes, Harvard’s football coach in 1898 and 1899 announced that football was “the expression of strength of the Anglo-Saxon,” he declared a superiority that pivoted on gender, able-bodiedness, and upon race.¹⁰⁰ He arrived at this revelation in confidence.

Authorities told him that it was so. College presidents publicly referred to Native Americans as “men of the Stone Age,” and scientists worked hard to confirm the idea.¹⁰¹ According to historian Thomas Gossett, scientific discovery and personal opinion at the turn of the century and even after were mutually reinforcing one another such that “the idea that the Negroes might be a separate species...came near dominating the thinking of scientific men on the subject.” This type of perception was part of a philosophy, divorced from the period of Enlightenment, where the worldview among those formally educated transitioned from believing that mankind was fundamentally the same with perceptible differences to men from different states of society being inherently different with perceptible similarities.¹⁰²

It was upon this undemocratic terrain—with hierarchies based upon race, masculinity, able-bodiedness, ability, and class status—that students built college football’s foundation. Collegiate men relied on the sport to rebuff perceptions of overcivilized effeminacy suffered as a result of modernity’s advances. But they had to be cautious not to overcompensate such that football gained a reputation for its barbarity and not for its demonstration of gallant, gentlemanly masculinity that combined both strength and wit. With gender acting as a process or a “social relation,” new forms of manliness did not stand in isolation.¹⁰³ They always operated relative to other standards. Rejuvenated physical manliness that lacked an equal dose of willpower and restraint threatened bourgeois conceptions of their superior civility, which posed a danger that they might be suspended in an anachronistic violent space home to primitive nonwhites.¹⁰⁴

It was imperative, then, for those who were invested in intercollegiate football for its social and cultural capital to continually articulate how it was a product of modernity. It was civilized competition not a boorish, ferocious affair. The bourgeois class’s reliance on science in service to their efforts was in keeping with tenets of higher education. They relied on knowledge

to validate their claims. They attributed success on the football field to scientific preparation and execution. But their redefinition of masculinity also had to differentiate the gender performativity of white men from nonwhite men—to separate themselves from those not as civilized, not as advanced. This is why football advocates depicted the players as strong but disciplined, physical but also intelligent. This is why men portrayed women as fragile and in need of protection. This is why some spectators arrived to games in four-horse drawn carriages. Paradoxically, the architects and advocates, competitors and spectators of college football configured the discursive armature of civilization—science, ability, masculine ideals, class privilege, and racial respectability—so powerfully that it was reasonable to keep the idea of primitive brutality in play. These ideological contradictions enriched college football. Could educated gentlemen really be that rough? Could they be both brute and non-brute at the same time? College football’s constant negotiation with the primitive and occasionally excessive violence was not without its critics. Regardless of whether a sport relied on intelligence, it did matter to some that players perished. Could college football be a sport of gentlemen if spectators cheered the breaking of bones and the concussion of brains? The physical risk was but one concern. Additional anxieties arose around, for instance, a potential over-emphasis on winning. Could one applaud those who tried to win at all costs? As we will see in Chapter Two, football advocates had to not only justify the physical and intellectual exercise of college football, they had to assuage the sport’s moral threats as well.

¹ Stephen Puleo, *City So Grand: The Rise of an American Metropolis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), 93-97.

² Henry Bancroft Twombly, “Personal Reminiscences of A Yale Football Player of the Early Eighties,” Folder 761, Box 19, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University (hereafter SML-YU).

³ Alexander Stevenson Twombly Papers, Folder 2, Box 1, Scrapbook Vol. 2, SML-YU. The fifth son graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

⁴ Twombly, “Personal Reminiscences.” 1.

⁵ Geertz, “Deep Play,” in *Interpretation of Cultures*, 412-454. Geertz Geertz read leisure activities and what he termed “deep play” as a kind of cultural text.

⁶ Richard M. Ketchum, *The Winter Soldiers: The Battle for Trenton and Princeton* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1999) Chapter VI.

⁷ *American Universities and Colleges*, ed. David Allan Robertson, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), 52. Literary and debate clubs played a central role in the academic and cultural life of many colonial colleges and their successors through much of the antebellum period. Accounts of these societies are often found in histories of college life at assorted universities. See Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636 – 1936* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936); John King Lord, *A History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover New Hampshire, Vol 2* (Concord, N. H.: The Rumford Press, 1913); David Potter, *Debating in the Colonial Chartered Colleges: An Historical Survey 1642 – 1900* (New York: Teacher's College Columbia University, 1944).

⁸ Student recollection included in Benjamin Homer Hall, *A Collection of College Words and Customs* (New York: M. Doolady, 1859), 296. The racial climate of the nineteenth century—as well as the twentieth or twenty-first—was too fraught to make simple comparisons or parallels of student experience without critical analysis. However, it is notable that African-American author James Weldon Johnson made similar observations about literary societies while at all-black Atlanta University in the 1890s as the presumably white Jefferson College student (what is now Washington & Jefferson College) did thirty years prior. Both undergraduates emphasized the importance of non-athletic competition within higher education, and that any differences in this regard pertained more in degree than form. Specifically, Johnson enviously recalls in his autobiography the courage and skill that some of his classmates displayed in front of a lectern. Like traditionally white universities, literary societies at Johnson's Atlanta University bridged the gap between academics and competition by providing students with a stage to demonstrate rhetorical flair and linguistic flexibility. The most outstanding, Johnson recalled, “thrilled large audiences that filled the chapel on special occasions; and the applause they received was without question a higher approbation than the cheers given to players on the baseball field.” See James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (New York: The Viking Press, 1933), 79-80.

⁹ Nicholas Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2011), 16-26.

¹⁰ Football was not the only sport that undergraduates played. Moreover, healthy activity that institutions nurture in their charges today they widely discouraged in the colonial and antebellum era. Minutes from a November 1787 Princeton faculty meeting, for instance, warn of student antics with “balls and sticks,” which were “low and unbecoming of gentlemen.” Honoring *in loco parentis* philosophy, the report issued a mandate: “we are accountable to their parents and liable to be severely blamed by them, therefore the faculty think it incumbent upon them to prohibit the students from playing this wicked game.” Quoted in Parke M. Davis, *Football: The American Intercollegiate Game* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1911), 41. See also *A History of Columbia University, 1754-1904* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1904), 172; Louis Henry Baker, “History of Yale Football,” Yale Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection (MS 1258), Series II, Box 29, (SML-YU), 10-23.

¹¹ Anson Phelps Stokes, *Memorials of Eminent Yale Men: A Biographical Study of Student Life and University Influences during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1914), 1: 51-52.; The Professional Football Researchers Association, “No Christian End! The Beginnings of Football in America,” 1.; Scott Meacham, “Old Division Football: The Indigenous Mob Soccer of Dartmouth College,” 1.

¹² Edwin J. Bartlett, *A Dartmouth Book of Remembrance: Pen and Camera Sketches of Hanover and the College Before the Centennial and After* (Hanover, N. H.: The Webster Press, 1922), 22.

¹³ Edwin J. Bartlett, “Mere Football,” *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* 19, No. 1 (November 1926), 17.

¹⁴ Fernando, “Athletics in College,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, November 25, 1893, Vol. XXVII, No. 11, p. 185.

¹⁵ The 1907 version of *An Historic Guide to Cambridge*, succinctly states: “Here football games took place.” See *An Historic Guide to Cambridge*, compiled by Members of the Hannah Winthrop Chapter National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution (Cambridge, 1907), 163.

¹⁶ Walter Camp, *Book of Foot-Ball*, (New York: The Century Co., 1910), 62-6. There are even records of Civil War soldiers playing football during their free time. Daniel B. Hutchins was raised in Wayne County, N.Y., and worked as a school teacher prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1864, Hutchins was a sergeant in the 111th New York Infantry and served in eastern Virginia. In two pocket diaries, covering the years 1864 and 1866, Hutchins recorded his awful experiences as he was transported through a succession of Confederate prison camps, including Libby, Andersonville, Charleston, S.C., and Florence. In one entry, he wrote: “Pleasant but cold. I have not done a great deal today. I have read a little and then went to see the 39th drill to see the 1st Brigade boys kick the

football.” Daniel B. Hutchins journals, Monday, March 21, 1864, William L. Clements Library, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

¹⁷ Bill Paul, “A Cannon Rivalry Began it All, not in ’69 but during the Revolution,” *The Daily Princetonian*, Vol. 93, September 27, 1869, 8.

¹⁸ Michael J. Pellowski, *Rutgers Football: A Gridiron Tradition in Scarlet* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 6.

¹⁹ Timothy Chandler, “The Structuring of Manliness and the Development of Rugby Football at the Public Schools and Oxbridge, 1830-1880,” in John Nauright and Timothy J. L. Chandler (eds) *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1996), 15-20.

²⁰ This quote is inscribed on a plaque on the exterior wall of a building at the Rugby School that details Ellis’s athletic exploits. See also David M. Nelson, *Anatomy of a Game: Football, the Rules, and the Men Who Made the Game* (Newark: University of Delaware, 1994), 24. In their sociological study of rugby, Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard question the plausibility of one individual permanently altering the trajectory of a sport. Instead, they argue, rugby football, like most sports, evolved through constantly shared invention. See Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen, and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 52-53.

²¹ It was among these public school communities that the Football Association was founded in 1863 and the Rugby Union in 1871, two governing bodies of the game that were designed to oversee all amateur and professional competition that exist to this day. Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 4.

²² “Yale Foot Ball Association, Presidents Book,” (SML-YU), 1.

²³ Ronald Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 104.

²⁴ “All Michigan Football Scores—1878 to 1919” in University of Michigan Athletic Program, Minnesota-Michigan, Official Publication of the University of Michigan Controlled by the Board in Control of Student Publications, November 22, 1919, page 9 in Alfred Wilson Scrapbook, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI (hereafter BHL-UM).

²⁵ John Ellis letter to Charles Baird, July 7, 1894, in Charles Baird Papers, Box 1, Folder June 1894-July 1894, BHL-UM. While rivalries between squads and loyalty to a team were not exceptional, fans and players expressed a type of sportsmanship that exuded warmth for the opposition. Following Princeton’s defeat of Rutgers in their second inaugural football game, a journalist for the *Targum*, Rutgers’s school newspaper, wrote: “If we must be beaten we are glad to have such conquerors.”

²⁶ Twombly, “Personal Reminiscences,” 9.

²⁷ In a show, perhaps, of youthful melodrama, Harvard undergraduates “buried” football. In a theatrical display of faux emotion, students gave elegies, mourned their loss, and put to rest their lost sport in a small coffin. See W.A.H. and H.B.G. “The Ancient History of Football at Harvard,” in *The Harvard Illustrated Magazine*, Vol. XIII, No. 2. (Newton, MA: Stratton Press, November 1911), 51.

²⁸ Harvard footballers moved their games back to the Delta, what became Jarvis Field, in the Spring of 1873 for their interclass rowdiness and eventual intercollegiate games before the university moved football over the Charles River and into Harvard Stadium just after the turn of the century. Davis, *Football*, 35-37, 59.

²⁹ Henry Beach Needham, “The College Athlete, *McClure’s Magazine*, June 1905, 3.

³⁰ Charles Eliot, “The Evils of Football,” *Harvard Graduate Magazine*, January 11, 1905, p. 383 in Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles W. Eliot, Box 220, Folder 164: “The Evils of Football, 1905,” Harvard University Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (hereafter HUA-HU).

³¹ Some proponents flatly denied Eliot’s contentions. Others suggested that college football was directly responsible for providing student-athletes with the attributes that the president believed the sport deprived or impeded. Noteworthy is the language that football’s champions relied on in their refutations. Supporters grounded their opinions in gendered expressions or rhetoric directed at the development or importance of making men. Brown University coach Edward Robinson’s response was typical. Among many claims, Robinson stated that football was “not brutal,” it was an ideal sport, and prepared its players for success in the business and social world. “Football,” Robinson asserted, “tends to brace men up, to make them leaders, and it does not interfere to any extent with their studies.” Phillips Andover Academy principal Alfred E. Stearns’ comments were more direct. That football was a brutal sport, according to Eliot, Stearns considered “absurd.” Perhaps, most interestingly, Malcolm Donald, the chair of Harvard’s football committee, claimed that football provided its men many of the things that Eliot criticized the game for neglecting or training against: “self control, fairness and high principle.” Yale’s four-time All-American

Frank Hinkey frankly denied aspects of Eliot's account: "Every man who plays football knows that no such brutality exists." He ended by boasting, "The game will be played as long as the American boy has red blood in his veins." See "Experts Cannot See it that Way," *The Boston Globe*, February 3, 1905; "Harvard's Idea of Football," *The Sun*, February 3, 1905. All newspaper articles in Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles W. Eliot, Box 220, Folder 164: "The Evils of Football, 1905," HUA-HU.

³² Fielding Yost, "A Series of Lectures Delivered to the Classes in Football at the University of Michigan," 1924, 3 in Joyce Sports Collection, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN (hereafter HL-ND). Scribbled at the very top of the page of Henry Twombly's sixty-page comments on his life as a football player was a quote attributed to Walter Camp: "Football is two-thirds above the neck." See Twombly, "Personal Reminiscences," 1.

³³ Gail Bederman provides a very clear and full discussion of the dynamics between race, gender, and notions of civility in her discussion of Ida B. Well's use of civilization and manliness discourses as part of her anti-lynching efforts. See Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), Chapter Two.

³⁴ "On the Football Field," *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, Vol. XXIII, No. 10, November 9, 1889.

³⁵ "Hogan's View: Says Yale Men Knew More Football," *Boston Sunday Globe*, November 20, 1904.

³⁶ *The Daily Princetonian*, Vol. XXIII Extra, Saturday November 12, 1898. p. 2.

³⁷ Camp, *The Book of Foot-Ball*.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 333-34.

³⁹ See Thomas Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 74-79. See also Ann Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science and America's Unburied Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

⁴⁰ Nancy Stepan, "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science," in *The Anatomy of Racism*, eds. David Theo Goldberg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 40.

⁴¹ Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 12.

⁴² While I have not stated it explicitly, most colleges and universities in the United States were predominantly white through at least half of the twentieth century. The gridiron reflected this demographic even more unequivocally. Exceptions to the football homogeneity most notably include Native American squads fielded at Indian boarding schools like the Carlisle Indian Industrial School located in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. They competed against Ivy League universities and other institutions for approximately the first two decades of the twentieth century. Traditionally white schools did not, however, compete against historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), but HBCUs did begin intercollegiate competition within their own ranks in 1892. Additionally, from the start of organized intercollegiate football to the end of World War I, approximately fifty African-Americans had played football for traditionally white universities. Fielding Yost, one of the forefathers of football, coach of the University of Michigan team from 1901 to 1926 notoriously did not carry one black player on his roster for the entirety of his tenure. Furthermore, a handful of select colleges did not suit up black players until after World War II. Levi Jackson, Yale's first black player became their captain in 1949. Princeton University did not matriculate a single African-American undergraduate until 1947. See John Behee, *Hail to the Victors!* (Ann Arbor, MI: distributed by Ulrich's Books, 1974); Oceania Chalk, *Black College Sport* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1976), 29. John McCallum, *Ivy League Football Since 1872* (New York: Stein and Day, 1977), 158. Patrick B. Miller, "Slouching Toward a New Expediency: College Football and the Color Line During the Depression Decade," *American Studies*, 40:3 (Fall 1999): 28.

⁴³ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1985), 245.

⁴⁴ Anthony Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle-Class Manhood, 1770-1920," *Journal of Social History*, 16:4 (Summer 1983), 28.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁶ See Charles Eliot, "The Normal American Woman, 1908," Folder 223, Box 221, Records of the President of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. (p. 6); Charles Eliot, "The Effects of the Education of Women on the Family and Society, 1913" Folder 401, Box 225, Records of the President of Harvard University, HUA-HU.

⁴⁷ The records of President Theodore Roosevelt, in relation to college football, are pockmarked with fears of effeminacy. When Charles Eliot threatened to abolish football at Harvard in 1905, Roosevelt wrote a letter to Harvard law professor Fredric J. Stimson imploring Stimson to try to prevent Eliot from taking such action. Though Roosevelt admitted to the sport's risk, he wrote, "there must be some danger in all rough sports and we don't want to

carry on things on too ladylike a basis.” See Theodore Roosevelt letter to F. J. Stimson, November 25, 1905, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, TRC-HL.

⁴⁸ Susan Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century American Sport* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 7-12.

⁴⁹ For some, true womanhood decidedly prohibited collegiate education altogether. “The results of female education,” Dr. Edward Clarke, Harvard professor, explained, “are monstrous brains and puny bodies; abnormally weak digestion; flowing thought and constipated bowels.” Quoted in Patricia A. Vertinsky, “Women, Sport and Exercise in the 19th Century, 1890-1985,” in *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, D. Margaret Costa and Sharon R. Guthrie, eds. (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994), 74. See also Patricia Palmieri, “From Republican Motherhood to Race Suicide: Arguments on the Higher Education of Women in the United States,” in *ASHE Reader Series: The History of Higher Education, 2nd Ed.* Lester F. Goodchild & Harold S. Wechsler, eds. (Boston: Pearson Custom Publishing, 1997), 175-77. See also Robin Bachin, “Courage, Endurance and Quickness of Decision: Gender and Athletics at the University of Chicago, 1880-1920,” *Rethinking History* 5 (2001), 97.

⁵⁰ Senda Berenson, *Spalding's Official Basketball Guide for Women*, pgs. 20, 18, 46. Senda Berenson Papers, Series 5: Publications, 1903-1915, <http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/smith/berenson/5pubs/spaldings/> Retrieved February 27, 2014.

⁵¹ Ying Wushanley, “The Background of Women’s Intercollegiate Athletics,” in *Playing Nice and Losing: The Struggle for Control of Women’s Intercollegiate Athletics* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 11. Similar to the scientific theories that validated white men’s fitness for college football, medical professionals corroborated widespread opinions regarding the maladies suffered and few advantages enjoyed when women participated in sport. See Susan Bordo, “The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity,” in *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 311; Joan S. Hult, “The Story of Women’s Athletics: Manipulating a Dream, 1890-1985,” in *Woman and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, D. Margaret Costa and Sharon R. Guthrie, eds. (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994), 58.

⁵² Twombly, “Personal Reminiscences,” 17.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 8-18.

⁵⁴ Puleo, *City So Grand*, 70-77, 93. In his study of working-class leisure practices, historian Jon Kingsdale notes that most city parks were so distant from poorer neighborhoods that residents of these areas could not enjoy them without great investment of time and energy. Of parks in Boston, specifically, Kingsdale writes that the nearest parks to working-class communities were “far beyond walking distance.” See Jon Kingsdale, “The ‘Poor Man’s Club’: Social Functions of the Urban Working-Class Saloon,” *American Quarterly* 25 (October 1973), 478.

⁵⁵ Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 72. In her critique of Ernest Hemingway and his marginalization but use of black characters while centering his white actors, Morrison writes: “Eddy is white, and we know he is because nobody says so.”

⁵⁶ Quoted in Shane White, “‘It Was A Proud Day’: African Americans, Festivals, and Parades in the North, 1741-1834,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 81, No. 1, June 1994), 17. For more on black celebrations and festivals in public northern locales like Negro Election Day, see also Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ‘Remarks on Negro Election Day,’ Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XIII (1873-1875), 45; Ira Berlin, “Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America,” *American Historical Review* 85, No. 1 (February, 1980), 53.

⁵⁷ Shurtleff, ‘Remarks on Negro Election Day,’ 45.

⁵⁸ Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Donald E. Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁵⁹ Carolyn Thomas de la Peña, *The Body Electric: How Strange Machines Built the Modern American* (New York: New York University, 2003), 4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 7-16.

⁶² John Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001), Chapter One. See also Kenneth R. Dutton, *The Perfectible Body: The Western Ideal of Male Physical Development* (New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1995).

⁶³ “Historical Timeline – Farmers and the Land,” *Growing a Nation: The Story of American Agriculture*, www.agclassroom.org, Retrieved July 28, 2014.

⁶⁴ de la Peña, *The Body Electric*, 36-7.

⁶⁵ de la Peña, *The Body Electric*, 37, 48.

⁶⁶ Jan Todd, *Physical Culture and Body Beautiful* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 189-191. An 1871 promotional for the Health Lift prefaced the type of rhetoric that college football enthusiasts would soon attach to their favorite sport: “We believe that the Lift produces physical perfection; that physical perfection begets mental vigor, which, in turn, by appropriate tuitions begets moral power; that this combination makes the perfect man.” Dr. J.C. Zachos, “The Butler Health Lift: Its Reasons and Its Facts,” quoted in de la Peña, *The Body Electric*, 15.

⁶⁷ D. A. Sargent, “The Physical Proportions of the Typical Man,” *Scribner’s Magazine*, Vol. 2, Issue 1 (July, 1887), 18.

⁶⁸ Robyn Wiegman, *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 32.

⁶⁹ Admiration of able bodies was not a new phenomenon. Twombly, for instance, remembered his teammate Walter Camp as “tall, strong, and very muscular.” Further, because his internal organs functioned appropriately; he had full faculty of his limbs, they all worked well in coordination with one another; and, he put them to good use on the football field, Camp epitomized what we would now regularly identify as “able-bodied.” This is not, in fact, a new term. On May 8, 1792, the United States Congress passed the second of two Federal Militia Acts, which conscripted “each and every free able-bodied white male citizen of the respective States” who was between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to enroll in the militia. I add this not to suggest that the Federal Militia Act somehow influenced the evolution of college football. Rather, members of the federal government legislated into being a type of body that best served the country’s martial needs. To prioritize these bodies to perform acts of bravery, daring, and even danger suggests that able-bodiedness, recognized in law and rhetoric as useful and valuable, was part of a national discourse long before Princeton and Rutgers faced one another. Indeed, we have seen the metaphoric connections between football (as a contest over territory) and war (as a physical battle with opposing sides), and ability was a precondition for both. See Twombly, “Personal Reminiscences,” 29. See also Petra Kuppers, *Disability and Contemporary Performance: Bodies on Edge* (New York, Routledge, 2003), 1-12; Militia Act of 1792, 2 U.S. Statutes at Large 262 Sec. 1 (1792). Similar to race, nationality, and other forms of identity, the federal government began recording the incidence of physical and mental disability in the 1850 U.S. Census. See Barbara Welke, *Law and the Borders of Belonging in the Long Nineteenth Century United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 118.

⁷⁰ Edward Mussey Hartwell, “Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities,” in *Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education*, No. 5 1885, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), 39.

⁷¹ Hartwell, “Physical Training,” 43.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 40-44.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 46, 33.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷⁷ See Ellis L. Levenson to W. F. Garcelon, Letter, May 8, 1911; Merritt Pritchard to W. F. Garcelon, April 29, 1911; A. Heath Onthank to W. F. Garcelon, Letter, May 8, 1911, all letters found in Folder 85 (Athletics – Garcelon W. F.), Box 3 (Series 1909-14), President Lowell’s Papers, 1925 – 1928 in HUA-HU.

⁷⁸ Burt Standish, *Frank Merriwell’s Brother; or, Training a Wild Spirit* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1901), 5.

⁷⁹ On May 30, 1879, the University of Michigan played their first official intercollegiate football game against Racine College on the grounds of the Chicago White Stockings (Chicago Cubs) baseball team in Lakefront Park, Chicago. According to Irving Pond’s own account, he scored the game’s only touchdown for Michigan when he mounted “the bleachers and [ran] eastward along them,” until he was confronted by would-be tacklers from Racine. “Fearing that a touchdown in the bleachers would not count,” Pond leapt “over the heads of [his] pursuers to the ground,” where he managed to reach the end zone. See Irving Pond, *The Autobiography of Irving Pond: The Sons of Mary and Elihu*, David Swan and Terry Tatum, eds. (Oak Park, IL: Hooogen Press, 2009), 74. See also, “Racine vs. University,” *The Chronicle*, University of Michigan, May 31, 1879, 248.

⁸⁰ “Yale Foot Ball Association President’s Book,” Box 3, Folder 3-21, SML-YU, 1-2. Davis, *Football*, 52.

⁸¹ The rules of institutionalized college football underwent (as it still does) constant modification from year to year. Until 1910, the endurance of the student-athletes was even more of a premium because of the rules of substitution. Prior to 1910, a player was not allowed to re-enter the game after he had been initially substituted. This meant that unless a player was physically unable to compete, he rarely left the field. As a result, an even greater premium was placed on player stamina, strength, and courage. See “Changes in the Football Rules for 1910,” Folder 88, Box 3, President Lowell’s Papers, 1909-1914, HUA-HU.

⁸² “Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game,” Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895); “The Official Souvenir Program of the Pennsylvania-Harvard Foot-Ball Game, ed. F.S. Elliot, (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son Printers, November 5, 1898); “University of Pennsylvania vs. Lafayette College,” October 30, 1915 (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company); “University of Detroit vs. Washington and Jefferson Football Souvenir,” Controlled by U of D Athletic Association, November 19, 1921; “University of Michigan Official Athletic Program,” Controlled by the Board in Control of Student Publications, Ann Arbor, MI, October 20, 1923; “Official Souvenir Program, Stanford/California Football Game,” published by A. S. U. C. Publicity Bureau, November 22, 1924. All programs accessed in JSRC-ND.

⁸³ *New York Journal and Advertiser* in Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 84.

⁸⁴ Lennard Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body* (London: Verso, 1995), 26.

⁸⁵ According to disability scholar Lennard Davis, Gottfried Achen-wall was the first to use the word “statistik” in 1749, as he compiled data about the state. This term and its empirical power migrated to public health when Dr. Francis Bisset Hawkins applied statistics to the study of disease. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a vast majority of statisticians were also eugenicists. As such, the “norming” of populations—a germinal contribution of statistics—gave rise to systematic attempts to eliminate defects and “improve” populations. Without the devastating impact that occurred when supremacist ideals influenced biological engineering, the process by which the most talented football players were filtered from a broader population share a similar applied and discursive resemblance. See Lennard J. Davis, *The Disability Studies Reader*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Routledge, 1997), 4-6.

⁸⁶ Margaret A. McDowell, Cheryl D. Fryer et al, “Anthropometric Reference Data for Children and Adults: United States, 2003-2006, *National Health Statistics Reports*, No. 10, October 22, 2008, (Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics, 2008).

⁸⁷ Lennard Davis, “Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Disability Studies Reader*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Routledge, 1997), 3.

⁸⁸ I address the notion of hero worship most directly in Chapter Five. Suffice it to say, the examples of peoples from numerous corners celebrating football players for their achievements at games, in letters, newspaper articles, scrapbooks, yearbooks, and other ephemera are abundant. Most telling, however, might be when Yale president Arthur Twining Hadley referred to the Class of 1905 as “Hogan’s class,” in reference to the football team’s star player. See Tim Cohane, *The Yale Football Story* (New York: Putnam, 1951), 130.

⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 135-138.

⁹⁰ Here I am drawing on French philosopher Louis Althusser’s concept of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), which exerts societal control by way of managing the relationship, real or imagined, that individuals have with the conditions of their material existence. See Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971), 142-52.

⁹¹ See Edgar Wrightington Notebook, FBC905-1-1: (1904 – Harvard), Box 1 in Reggie Brown Collection, JSRC-ND. Davis, *Football*, 47. By 1894, Walter Camp published *American Football* a primer for those less knowledgeable about the game. In it, he devoted one chapter each to the six most important positions on the team: End Rusher, Tackle, Guard, Center, Quarter-Back, and Half-Back. These positions still exist today. See: Walter Camp, *American Football* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1894).

⁹² Twombly, “Personal Reminiscences,” 4.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁹⁴ Letter from “Ken” to Philip Coburn, November 12, 1923, Folder: Letters and Telegrams, Box: “Harvard Memorabilia of Philip Coburn (AB 1923), HUA-HU.

⁹⁵ Letter from “p2” to Philip Coburn, undated, Folder: Letters and Telegrams, Box: “Harvard Memorabilia of Philip Coburn (AB 1923), HUA-HU.

⁹⁶ See Dr. Morris Joseph Clurman, “The American Game of Football: Is It a Factor for Good or for Evil?” (New York: William, Wood & Company, January 7, 1911) in Folder 88: (Athletics – Football Rules), Box 3: (Series 1909-1914), President Abbott Lawrence Lowell Papers, 1925-1928, HUA-HU.

⁹⁷ See “Mass of Humanity Cheered Players On,” *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph*, November 11, 1905.

⁹⁸ *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, Vol. XXIV, December 6, 1890, No. 14, Notre Dame, IN, 219.

⁹⁹ “University of Michigan Athletic Program, Minnesota-Michigan,” Official Publication of the University of Michigan Controlled by the Board in Control of Student Publications, November 22, 1919, p. 20 in JSRC-ND.

¹⁰⁰ W. Cameron Forbes: “The Football Coach’s Relation to the Players,” *Outing*, Vol. XXXVII, October, 1900 - March, 1901, ed. Caspar Whitney, 339.

¹⁰¹ Charles Eliot, “Five American Contributions to Civilization, 1896,” August 19, 1896, Box 218, Folder 71, HUA-HU, 5. In this speech, Eliot also emphasized that Indians were “Thousands of years behind that of the Europeans.”

¹⁰² Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, 58. Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982), 4.

¹⁰³ Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 5.

¹⁰⁴ Anne McClintock calls anachronistic space a site “inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity.” She writes that within this trope, “the agency of women, the colonized and the industrial working class are disavowed and projected onto anachronistic space: prehistoric, atavistic, and irrational.” See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 40.

Chapter II

Fair Play: Constructing College Football's Character

“A gentleman never competes for money, directly or indirectly. Make no mistake about this. No matter how winding the road may be that eventually brings a sovereign to your pocket, it is the price of what should be dearer to you than anything else, --your honor.”¹

— *Walter Camp, Yale football coach, 1888-1892*

“The main objection lies against its moral quality.”²

— *Charles Eliot, Harvard President, 1869-1909*

On October 7, 1905, the Wesleyan University and Columbia University football elevens met at the American League Park in New York City. Before the rough but scoreless game ended in a draw, it descended into a field-wide brawl when Columbia players took offense to a Wesleyan player's egregiously nasty play. Toward the end of the second half, a Columbia running back (identified by the press simply as “Armstrong”) ran to his left and followed the blocks of his teammates up the sideline before an opponent pushed him to the ground and out of bounds around midfield. After the initial collision another Wesleyan player (identified only as “Bailey”) leapt into the air and landed on Armstrong's back with both knees. According to witnesses, Bailey compounded the assault “by giving [Armstrong] a boot in the face in rolling off.” Immediately, the benches on both sides of the field emptied, as teammates came to the defense of both parties. Adding to the chaos, student spectators climbed the fences to join the fray; Columbia's head coach Bill Morley even landed a punch squarely on the face of Bailey as a riot ensued. Police eventually quelled the unrest with “liberal use of their sticks” and the game ended shortly thereafter.³

Most commentators agreed that the disturbance was unfortunate and Bailey's belligerence excessive. At the time, the distinctions between strong play and that which was violent or brutal were blurry; even the rules reflected this ambiguity. Lack of institutional oversight of college football contributed to uncertainty and inconsistencies. Before the prevalence of official governing bodies, the young men who played the game were often the same ones who determined the rules. To this end, certain football associations established rules that sanctioned the slugging of one's opponent—up to a point. For example, in the early 1880s, Harvard and Yale skirmishes allowed players to hit their foe two times without penalty, regardless of the nature of the assault. The third infraction, however, led to ejection.⁴ At this point in college football's development, at least as far as these two teams were concerned, arbitrary delineations were common. Participants deemed two hits to be not only legal but also necessary as a useful strategy. Three strikes, nonetheless, somehow signaled the crossing of a frequently redrawn line of civility that college football's players and proponents were trying to maintain—even under circumstances that commonly yielded minor and even major injury. Three strikes evidenced a lack of self-control or represented a player's straying into the arena of unsportsmanlike behavior and thus of questionable manliness, which stood in conflict with the type that the sport's overseers were trying to promote.

Tolerance of a certain degree of overt violence was part and parcel of nineteenth and early twentieth century college football. Paradoxically, these elements of brutality threatened the game's very existence. Debates about how and why to curtail the barbarous aspects of football often prioritized the need to preserve player integrity more than player safety. As Charles Eliot indicates in the epigraph, his chief concerns regarding football pertained to the sport's principles and not its inherent danger to life and limb. Despite the educated elite's need to enact a

physicality of strength on the gridiron, most felt an equal if not greater compulsion to conform to particular Victorian values of noble gentility. This contradiction was only one of the many ideological puzzles football tried to address. By bourgeois standards, fulfilling notions of manliness through strictly corporal means was insufficient. An athlete had to be physically skilled while mindful of a proper code of conduct—central to an equally if not more important *code of honor*—to embody a respected gentlemanliness that combined strength of mind, body, and character. In other words, an expectation of a particular sportsmanship—defined by an adherence to fair play and pure motives—policed college football and its players.

This expectation of sportsmanship grew in tandem, however, with other expectations that inspired un-sportsmanship-like behaviors such as unfair play (in the form of tactics that pushed against the boundaries set by the rules of the game, as well as the rules of bourgeois manliness) and even cheating. These were temptations that grew in relation to the increased importance placed on winning. As intercollegiate football spread toward the end of the nineteenth century, the importance and influence of winning intensified, largely because the standing of an institution's football team became more and more associated with the quality of that institution—and the men it turned out—and football programs increasingly generated revenue coveted by institutions of higher education. In this context, the game's ethics became a deep concern for many football players, coaches, and fans as well as university faculty, administrators, presidents and other advocates of the sport. Where Chapter One focused on the relationship between the origins of college football and concerns about male masculinity and physicality, this chapter considers questions of fair play, which figured just as prominently in the institution's evolution and definitions of manliness of this period. Because, as the stakes intensified so, too, did acts of trickery and deception that might secure victories. Precisely because the sport was evolving,

many practitioners were able to get ahead through conniving means that did not necessarily fall within the domain of fairness, as defined in relation to moral and ethical standards of gentlemanliness. And, as the investment in winning increased, cheating—the use of dishonest and underhanded tactics to gain an advantage—increasingly became an issue. This was yet another contradiction generated by, but also addressed through, college football: the premium placed on fair play as the route to manliness and high regard, along with the rise in advantages to not playing fair.

From nearly the onset of intercollegiate football a strain arose between those who used any and all maneuvers to win versus those who believed that the sport's greatest attribute was its ability to refine and fortify players' inner value. The latter group claimed that moral growth, not winning, was the game's most precious lesson. For instance, even after the University of Michigan football team enjoyed unparalleled success over the first two decades of the twentieth century, Ralph Aigler, a University of Michigan law professor and the school's faculty representative to the Big Ten Conference articulated a common refrain: "It is not our record of winning that counts most. Would anyone be willing to exchange Michigan's record and reputation for clean, sportsmanship playing for an unbroken string of wins?"⁵ Admittedly, this is a question more easily asked or even pondered when successful. However, Aigler's query points to contemporary conceptions about the relationship between winning and success.

Of course, college football did not introduce questionable or blatantly unethical practices to the world of sport. In the United States, where there was competition there was corruption. Baseball, for example, struggled with its own spread of fraud and bribery. Dishonest players and influential speculators in the 1860s deeply infected and crippled the professional ranks' first efforts to promote an ethical nationwide pastime.⁶ Prizefighting, one of the other major sports at

the turn of the century—periodically illegal in some states—was mired in perceptions of its own depravity. President Theodore Roosevelt, who once precluded two journalists from interviewing him at the White House because he was so keen on wrestling and boxing them, nonetheless, considered men who followed prizefighting to be on “the borderlines of criminality” and compared them to those that frequent the “rat-pit and cock-pit.”⁷ Contemporary scholars have not overlooked these aspects of American sport.

As corruption is not novel within competition, considerations of the significance of sportsmanship and fair play are not novel in sport scholarship. Sport historians have rightly uncovered college football’s uncomfortable and unstable stance regarding the ambiguity that bridges the world of cheating from that of innovative, rule-pushing tactical innovation. Football historians like Murray Sperber, Michael Oriard and Raymond Schmidt, for example, unearthed enough instances of improper play or practice during college football’s earliest days that cheating seemed to be more nearly rule than exception. Sperber’s study reveals Princeton’s well-financed efforts to poach Fighting Irish players from the 1909 squad; West Point’s practice of enrolling student-athletes who had already graduated from other colleges; and, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School’s tendency to change its students’ names so that they could suit up for more than four years.⁸ None of the aforementioned tactics involved paying players, but each of them violated what many considered to be the spirit of amateurism. While the defining characteristic of amateurism lay in its opposition to professionalism’s primary trait of playing for financial recompense, conceptions of both amateurism and professionalism encompassed interpretations and significance far beyond the letter of the law.

College football traditionalists had little tolerance for improprieties. And they regarded as most toxic, those tactics that threatened the amateur ideal—of playing for the love of the game

and for the reward of building character.⁹ Their ability to articulate the loftier mission of college football was constantly tested by incidents of cheating on the field (either through tactical tomfoolery or overly-vicious technique), individuals who attended college merely to play for the school's football team often leaving the institution at the conclusion of the season, and the practice of proselyting—poaching a player from one college team in order to play for another.¹⁰ Guardians of college football considered practices of cheating and tactically pushing the envelope of fair play to be byproducts of, or the road to, professionalism. They marred visions of the amateur ideal that many deemed fundamental to intercollegiate sport and its purposes of producing principled, capable, and virile men.

In debates concerning amateurism and professionalism, notions of impropriety involved more than just contesting the ramifications of whether one drew from extrinsic rather than intrinsic incentive. Supporters of amateurism believed that professionals were of a different constitution; they were ill tempered, profane, and vulgar. Accusations of professionalism were often couched in terms of the evils of other sports. “Imagine the curses that would fill the air,” cried one college football enthusiast who equated the commodification of college football performance to the outlandishness and inevitable degradation of prizefighters competing on the gridiron.¹¹ Veiled within these comparisons were bourgeois anxieties about race, ethnicity, and class. Since poor men, Irish, and other non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants predominated nineteenth century boxing, professional baseball, and the modest but growing ranks of professional football, discourses of fairness and amateurism served to further sequester college football for those who already had ready access to higher education.¹²

College football's success and its perils, which accelerated in the 1890s, forced the architects, participants, and advocates of the sport to reckon with ways to maintain control of a

sport whose rising popularity, proliferation, and financial gains each autumn were altering its shape and national significance. Playing football engaged some of the anxieties that undergraduates harbored regarding the disproportionate emphasis college work placed on their brains and not their bodies. In the 1870s and 1880s, college football was a ripe source of manhood-making for university men. Ten years later, the sport garnered greater media attention, crowds expanded, and game revenue swelled. Participation did not hold the primacy that it once did; merely playing was insufficient. Students no longer just kicked around on the town Green or the campus quadrangle. There were varsity squads and junior varsity teams even. If students who failed or chose not to compete on these teams still desired organized football, there was likely intramural ball. But these additional layers of the game were inferior forms and less visible than the top team with the best athletes that garnered the most accolades. Hierarchies emerged within participation.

By the turn of the century, college football became a national phenomenon where victory gained a currency among the upper classes never before experienced through sport. This chapter shows how those most involved and supportive of college football emphasized the significance of fairness in concert with the game's growing prestige. This discourse in theory and practice became instrumental in supplementing models of manliness as discussed in Chapter One. As seen in this chapter, however, the very practitioners and champions of fair play were often as guilty as the parties they accused of duplicity. This chapter explains how a history of fairness and corruption coexisted on the same field, in the same locker room, and even from the mouths of the same person.

This chapter proceeds through two sections. I begin with an evaluation of what was at stake and why fair play as part of manly sportsmanship became a point of emphasis in college

football. Central to the discourse of fair play was the importance of amateurism. Maintaining distance from professionalism, its athletic opposite, advocates of the amateur ideal leaned on this premise to not only differentiate it from professionalism but to distinguish amateurism as superior. They mapped bourgeois perceptions of deviance—which were often associated with the poor and nonwhites—onto professionalism to further demonize it and the cheating they claimed it encouraged. In these terms, a cheater was not merely someone who tried to bend the rules to his benefit; the very definition of “cheater” was in the process of formation, and it relied upon transfers of cultural meaning surrounding social rules and social deviance. The college football arbiters of right and wrong found it easy to read the cheater’s actions as fulfillment of stereotypical characteristics that the educated elite harbored toward those less privileged than themselves. To draw attention to a player’s “dirty” tactics not only invited castigation of the employed strategies, it forged associations between the accused and the classes deemed to be literally dirtier at the time: people of color, the working class, and immigrants—the educated elites’ decided “Others.”

Dirty play was evidence of one’s unworthiness to the same type of racial and class privilege that membership among the educated aristocracy offered. Nonetheless, the ever-present bedfellow of fairness was cheating, and the second and shorter part of this chapter identifies how corruption of many shades operated concurrently with efforts to maintain college football’s upstanding image as a site of fair play. This contradiction grew in relation to the extent to which colleges and universities began to value winning, which is central to this discussion. When institutions that supported college football reaped the profits of recognition and revenue, they began to invest deeply in the possibility and tradition of winning. This message trickled down to players, coaches, and alumni who became equally committed to victory. Ultimately, the

discourse of fairness contributed to the construction of college football's civility. It also elevated the amateur game above the professional version by playing on fears of cheating and corruption, which perpetuated and justified understandings of a type of manliness that privileged the elite. This discourse of fairness protected young white men, colleges and universities, and the institution of college football from being targets of the same characterizations leveled against boxing, baseball, and professional football. The existence of professional football, especially, motivated colleges to emphasize fair play and amateurism as fundamental to college football in an effort to maintain the rigid separation between the two sports, one unsavory and corruptive and the other upstanding and character building.

The Conditions for Fair Play

To understand the origins of college football's emphasis on fair play, it serves to remember that intercollegiate competition began in the Northeast soon after the Civil War. This is neither geographic nor historical coincidence. When Rutgers and Princeton faced off in 1869, the East Coast's urban spaces (along with Chicago) buzzed with progress: electricity was abundant; manufacturing was constant, examples of capitalism at work abounded. Cities were becoming bound to the country by forest and farm and crisscrossed by railroad. These same technological advances, however, provoked other conflicts—some of them practical, others ideological. Despite the ever-expanding push of modernity across the American landscape, grand differences between the nation's urban and rural spaces remained. The West in reality and perception, for example, remained for many, especially for those who resided in and around New England, an anachronistic place, one of wild mystery. Moreover, though the Industrial Revolution built cities from soil, the movement clashed with a robust nineteenth century philosophy that the work of the yeoman farmer was necessary, productive, and epitomized the

independent, rigorous spirit that defined the young United States. This belief, connecting the land, God's creation, with the land that the farmer tilled, deliberately swirled with religious undertones and overtones. The farmer was virtuous. He led a civic, unblemished life because his symbiotic—nearly sacred—relationship to the land obliged him to lead an industrious and practical lifestyle. It was, therefore, untainted by materialism and luxury, which confounded more metropolitan citizens.

This righteous simplicity—and regional differences—was not lost on college students. In Notre Dame's yearbook *The Dome*, students articulated the opposition between country and city. They wrote admiringly of mid-nineteenth-century northern Indiana as "good timber land." They seemingly took comfort in knowing that there were "wildcats in the woods," and the faces of what Indians remained were "hardly clean of the war-paint." Of civilization in the Midwest region, they wrote, "there was very little, education less." In comparison, the authors of this sentimental passage distinguished their surroundings not with nearby Chicago or bustling New York. They looked to the Old World—Paris. It was a "gay, glittering capital of a country whose civilization was old almost to the point of being *effete* [emphasis original]."¹³ At the dawning of the twentieth century, it was students like these and other members of the middle and upper class more than the farmers themselves that favored an agricultural livelihood. This romanticizing, birthed more through literature than reality, gave rise to the agrarian myth, which historian Richard Hofstadter claims, "came to be believed more widely and tenaciously as it became more fictional."¹⁴

Working in conjunction with the agrarian myth was the influence of Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis." Turner, a University of Wisconsin history professor, first unveiled his idea in a talk "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," at a special meeting of

the American Historical Association held in conjunction with Chicago's World's Fair. Delivered on July 12, 1893, Turner's paper both celebrated and lamented the progress symbolized by the fair's tributes to recent industrial achievements. In an attempt to locate American identity, Turner dispelled the notion that the country revolved around a North/South divide, a Union versus Confederate axis, or a European versus American colonial polarity. The United States was, he argued, the story of continual advance through and colonizing of the West. This evolution epitomized what was uniquely American—his "frontier thesis." The frontier, he imagined and argued, was the "meeting point between savagery and civilization."¹⁵ And to study the political, economic, and social outcomes of this progression was to understand a process that was uniquely American.¹⁶ The 1890 census recorded American pioneers on the Pacific shore, the point that signaled to Turner that the frontier was closed. His assertion fell on sympathetic ears, as much of Turner's argument—the movement west, the struggle with savagery, the vanishing of Indians—had long been part of American folk culture.

Turner's nostalgic imagining of American history was not only devoid of people of color, women, and indigenous communities, it implicitly—if not explicitly—stood in opposition to proponents of education. Despite the World's Fair's celebration of American achievement, the future stood on unsteady ground. The economic panic of 1873, the labor unrest of the 1880s, and the rise of steel, oil, and manufacturing—the triumph of big business—of the 1890s fortified the agrarian myth as many sons and grandsons of antebellum pioneers were forced to find employment that depended on others.¹⁷ Within Turner's frontier thesis was a celebration of the pioneer who was rugged; he used his hands; he fought with Indians; and, he was subject to control only his own. His story was one of constant movement and conquest where the outdoors was his classroom. Turner's assertions that a man's development was not rooted in university

enrollment were not lost on many nineteenth century undergraduates. If education did not make men, and college students were dependent on others and spent significant time indoors, then they had to cultivate alternatives for developing their manliness.

Longing for a pastoral past did not negate the fact that most undergraduates, particularly those in Northeastern colleges and universities, were not training to become farmers or to work daily in soil.¹⁸ In the post-Industrial era, modernity served to redefine conceptions of civilization. The natural state became its antithesis. Yet, threats of overcivilization compelled many within the educated class to reclaim, under controlled conditions, certain aspects of nature that revisited the alleged hardiness, courage, and pious spirit of their forbearers. Football returned young men to nature. They tackled one another in fields; they rolled around in grass. Covered in mud, they became a literal part of it. It was, in an attenuated but still meaningful sense, “the meeting point of savagery and civilization.” Nonetheless, in gymnasium locker rooms and showers that were advanced in their luxury relative to the amenities that most Americans could enjoy, they washed off all remnants of nature after a game. College players had it both ways—in the football uniform, they fed their “animal spirits,” then they cleaned up and sustained their gentlemanliness in more conventional fashion by adorning the more customary threads of gentility.¹⁹ This ability to transport between discursive spaces of ostensibly pre-modern and post-Industrial sites represented a new form of masculinity. The soldier or the frontiersman does not shower; they remain in trying physical circumstances, sweat caking up layer upon layer, clothes grower dirtier and more threadbare. The post-shower football player—often in evening dress—laid claim to a mobility that crossed time, space, and class and in his calm encounter with jarring change reflected a distinctly modern form of virile masculinity.²⁰ The football player enjoyed the hearty and robust manliness that being sweaty and dirty conferred on men while knowing—unlike the

soldier—that that state was temporary and that, post-game, he would enjoy another form of elite American manliness signified by his access to the shower. This ever-changing dynamic demonstrates the slipperiness of characterizations of manhood and reflects the contingent constructedness of the type of manliness that the college class was trying to achieve and project.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, upper class fathers could no longer bequeath the status of their manliness to their sons and expect it to carry the same influence for their offspring that they enjoyed. The significance of manhood was no longer something a boy gained through inevitable aging and inherited class position. Although manliness drew on the potential privilege (or lack thereof) of one's bloodlines, it also relied upon individual actions. In other words, manliness was something a male had to embody; he had to perform it. With the efficacy of Victorian-inspired manliness no longer as potent, models of more vigorous manliness held greater appeal. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a changing narrative of male gender had rhetorical effects. As cultural changes began to undermine conventional definitions of manliness, people became more attracted to the term "masculinity" to connote a type of male power that was virile, aggressive, even physically imposing.²¹ What had previously been a path toward respectability and a key toward perpetuating hegemonic control of civilization—affluent, white manliness—had lost value not just among non-whites and working-class peoples; the bourgeois class itself was questioning its own performance of gender. As both products but also producers of their circumstances, undergraduate males began rewriting their gender script mid-century. The rise of athleticism put a premium on the physical attributes of the body. No longer was the male body only a functional instrument for agrarian work; it was also a performative tool most admired in non-laboring settings. Men of this period were learning how to manipulate a new (body) language through mimesis and the gradual command of public and cultural idioms of

power. Through the constant process of trial and error, men were trying out costumes of masculinity—keeping the ones that gained admiration and putting back in the closet those that lacked response or, worse, garnered disapproval. College football was the heartiest and most enduring revision of this new, young, bourgeois manliness. It was not just an outlet to carouse and compete. It became the primary opportunity by which undergraduate men could rebrand their manliness in a manner that was respected to those within and beyond the educated class.

Before college football garnered intense public scrutiny, young university men often competed cordially and resolved conflict in a manner that the conditions dictated. Written record of what occurred in these unceremonious games is scant. Under these circumstances and even less formal conditions, boys and young men likely insisted on decent behavior from themselves and friends when squaring off against one another, and they policed themselves. With the emphasis on having a good time versus necessarily winning, students probably exercised a healthy respect for sportsmanship for their own sake. On a fall day in 1876, for instance, dozens of University of Notre Dame students squared off against one another in a lengthy game of football. To the victors was promised a bucket of apples. With few spectators watching save the players themselves, both squads tussled with one another for hours. Four “innings,” as they called the individual time periods, elapsed with Ben Heeb of Dubuque, Iowa and Jim Hagerty of St. Louis, captaining their respective teams. A student journalist present for the game noted that the boys competed with a healthy regard for one another’s safety and eventually called the game on account of darkness with the game locked in a 2-2 draw. With the winners undetermined, the boys split the barrel of apples and retired to their dormitories.²²

At Notre Dame, embrace of football on the Indiana campus of Notre Dame began with some trepidation, even though the late-nineteenth century Muscular Christianity movement

influenced Catholics and non-Catholics alike to partake in sporting activities.²³ Exuberance among Notre Dame undergraduates to exercise was grounded in a foundation focused less on competition than on discipline. Like the original missions of many of the country's first colleges and universities, the emphasis on self-regulation was meant to train young men to avoid temptation—especially those that allegedly lurked in large cities—and withstand other ills of society. An 1877 school catalog trumpeted the value of the university's isolated location to combat the disorder of urban life where “morals [were] so lightly watched over.” Under religious and geographic circumstances that differed from their Protestant peers in the Northeast, administrators established the curriculum accordingly. Along with providing a setting for students' “profound application to studies” undisturbed beneath the observation of competent professors, the school instituted “healthy and regular recreation” as an additional tactic for curbing students' appetite for trouble.²⁴ At this time, the most notable Irish in the nation were prizefighters like notorious Boston strongman John L. Sullivan. Though the Irish working-class embraced this popular figure, middle-class Irish who were more successfully assimilating into dominant Protestant America deplored the Irish boxing champion and other fellows of his ilk. According to historian John Nagy, Sullivan and other unseemly professional athletes only offered Irish youth contemptible “models of how not to be.”²⁵ As such, students and faculty on the Notre Dame campus exercised prudently, mindful of both the positive and negative ramifications of this physical enterprise.

In the nineteenth century, then, football and Notre Dame had an uneasy marriage. Testimony from collegians substantiates this ambivalence. Students imbibed the academic mission of the institution, and many felt that a disproportionate emphasis of sport could derail the mental development of students and cause deleterious effects to the student body. As one

undergraduate commented, should students “overstep moderation” in their pursuit of sport, graduates would be known more for their physical attributes “than the high attainments of their mental and moral faculties.”²⁶ Played properly, then, college football’s potential to invigorate gentlemanly manliness for primarily upper class white college students was enormous. College football, in other words, allowed this class of men to claim character over other men and then to naturalize that claim. But it was an entitlement that required players avoid a demeanor unbecoming of a gentleman: it required proper play.

As intercollegiate football intensified, the importance of proper conduct did as well. If a player combined aggression, courage and strength with Victorian abstemiousness and competed by the code that sports historian J. A. Mangan characterized as “victory within rules, courtesy in triumph, and compassion for the defeated,” then he exemplified not just manliness but gentlemanliness.²⁷ This code was, not surprisingly, a near-perfect distillation of the virtues exemplified by Frank Merriwell and praised by Henry Twombly and many others. The spirit to play fairly, honor one’s competition, and resist the temptation to gain advantage through cunning maneuvers was held in such high esteem that it was invoked even in times of death. On October 30, 1909, the football squads of Harvard and Army squared off on the West Point campus. During the game, a cadet was badly hurt and ultimately succumbed to his injuries the next morning. Soon thereafter, Harvard president Arthur Lowell wrote a letter of condolence to his contemporary. In an effort to rationalize the loss, Lowell penned: “It is a consolation to learn that the game on last Saturday was played throughout in the fair and manly way that one should wish.”²⁸ In many ways, Lowell’s tribute to the fallen football soldier was a mere continuation of the same practices of dignifying decency that athletes had maintained in more informal settings. Curiously, however, the individual human agent—a player or players—that caused the actual

death seems to disappear. There is no murderer, no manslayer. The agent of death is the game itself, which—because played nobly and fairly—can be exonerated, both in the interests of the game and in the equally formidable interests of masculine character itself. As with disabled or wounded players, even the dead could anticipate a rapid disappearance from collective discussion and even collective memory.

With the game's greater institutionalization and rising popularity, the powerful emphasis on these all-consuming notions of sportsmanship attracted more comprehensive surveillance. As the University of Michigan's Ralph Aigler suggested, respectful sportsmanship was so important that some prioritized player comportment over team victories. One of the first official administrators of intercollegiate sports at Harvard was William F. Garcelon. Some observers assailed his training techniques. But Garcelon had his supporters. Jerome Greene, Harvard graduate and secretary to the university president at the time, was one such advocate. In a letter to Reverend John McGinnis, one of Garcelon's detractors, Greene addressed the critic's concerns. Getting a boy onto the field that was deficient in morals, physique or both who became hardy and principled resulted in the "greatest satisfaction," wrote Greene. It was an outcome, he continued, for which "the production of winning teams [was] of small consequence."²⁹

By the late nineteenth century, college football's supporters began to enthusiastically market the nobility of the game. Their public relations were competing with the very real issue of player injury and death, which was providing even the most fervent partisans sober reminders of the game's inherent violence. Journalists at periodicals like *Life*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, *Harper's Weekly*, and the *National Police Gazette* penned stories of gridiron chaos often supplementing articles with graphic and even gruesome illustrations. For football players to be regarded as paragons of manliness and for institutions of higher learning to claim credit for

producing morally upstanding graduates, the game's supporters needed to seize certain discursive elements of the game and reproduce them in self-serving ways. To combat the less savory elements of the sport, sympathetic journalists, as well as coaches, players, and even college faculty wrote articles and editorials for dailies that frequently highlighted examples of outstanding character. Indeed, as the case of the deceased Army player reveals, football generated a faceoff between death and character, one that echoed Turner's larger American themes of savagery and civilization, and the more mundane football concerns surrounding cheating and fairness.

For greatest efficacy, some actors served dual roles in the proliferation of what we can now see as a linked discursive form. Murray Sperber documents how team managers and sports writers often cultivated relationships that were mutually beneficial to both parties. Journalists served as umpires. They received a front-row seat from which to gather information. In return, they composed flattering accounts of the host team. This symbiosis provided schools with extra promotion while writers padded their resumes and occasionally even their pockets for wielding their pen with extra charity.³⁰ Further, stories were not always about violent play. Soon after their 1895 game against Army in West Point, NY, Harvard learned that it was their opponent's policy not to charge admission for their home games. As such, Harvard returned their \$250 expense guarantee as the visiting team, which Army subsequently invested in a trophy that they presented to Harvard's team. The principles these squads exercised were not lost on dailies that published accounts of these events across the country, and the staging of such moments of multiple exchange of excessive gentlemanly comportment became a journalistic staple as powerful as the account of yet another football fatality.³¹

Stories of sportsmanship and goodwill did occur. They were not uncommon. Yet, the increasing vigor with which colleges' and universities' pursued college football complicated how these institutions straddled their role of supporting academics concurrently with athletics. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, schools' shared commitment to this new endeavor with that of their larger mission to educate their pupils became more challenging. Advocates regularly stressed the symbiotic relationship between mind, body, and character. For instance, in an 1894 retrospective of Dartmouth College's brief history of athletics, Dean of the college Charles F. Emerson declared. "No institution of learning to-day, even of the medium or lower grade, is considered complete in its equipment without some provision for physical culture." He continued, "College athletics give mental recreation. The college mind is quickly relieved and ventilated by the change from study to a subject of constant and exciting interest." It was around this time in Dartmouth's athletic history that they began concerted investment in extracurricular sports by devoting a department, like the academic disciplines, solely to the support of sport and financial capital to enhance the school's facilities that were, at the time, among the "humblest." Despite the modest resources, Emerson identified how Dartmouth still held its own against their adversaries. And when Dartmouth's athletes were unable to win, "[they] maintained a prominent and honorable place in the contest."³² Emerson's vision, then, was one of triangular function. Athletics enriched intellectual pursuits. At the same time, of equal importance was the preparation of young men's character. Performing with grace and enhancing one's moral fiber was comparable to winning the competition, all of which were part of the training that students were meant to receive in higher education.³³

The Amateur Ideal and the Threat of Professionalism

With colleges and universities devoting more resources to athletics, media dedicating greater coverage to the sport, crowds attending games in ever larger numbers, and schools accruing larger profits from game-day receipts, increased attention to the morality of play dovetailed with the construction of the “amateur ideal” and the rising fervor among intercollegiate supporters of its importance. Like many of the earliest academic and extracurricular strains of college life in the United States, particularly in the Northeast, this standard of demeanor and decorum drew from a British model that Oxford and Cambridge University exemplified.³⁴ In England, higher education drew its students primarily from the economic elite—even more so than in the United States. While some men in England competed in sports for financial reward, undergraduates did not. Because competition that mixed socioeconomic classes was rare, attention to the differences between professionals and non-professionals was relatively unnecessary.

The earliest interscholastic and intercollegiate competitions in England originated on water. In 1813, Eton College was first to enter the fray, rowing against other amateur clubs in ten-oared boats. Students from the Westminster School, Oxford, and Cambridge followed their Windsor counterparts soon thereafter. Within the decade, races on the Thames pitted boats from an assortment of schools against one another. Controversy, however, emerged when watermen—non-students who were professionally skilled and well-practiced racers—competed as teammates with college students. From 1823 onward, watermen were no longer allowed to compete in races involving students. Nonetheless, professional coxswains, trainers, and watermen as coaches continued to work and interact with college rowing teams, which served to ambiguously blend who and what was amateur versus professional. In 1879, Henley Stewards, the oversight

committee for the largest annual race on the Thames, finally articulated clear guidelines as to what constituted an amateur. Among their definitions was a clause that excluded from this status “mechanics, artisans, and laborers,” vocations that involved the use of one’s hands.³⁵ These distinctions and, more importantly, sentiments, transferred to intercollegiate sports in the United States.

The significance of amateurism in the United States crystalized into sharper relief toward the end of the nineteenth century based on the emergence of two other sporting phenomena. Major league baseball came to fruition with the establishment of the National League and the American League in 1876 and 1901, respectively.³⁶ For college football, the more notable inception and evolution of professional football—college football’s constant and foreboding shadow—began to take its own organized shape in the 1890s. The formation of squads in towns far from or lacking in a local college spearheaded the creation of leagues independent of educational institutions. Beginning in 1895, the first of these emerged in the Pennsylvania foothills of Laurel Ridge in Westmoreland County. In a region that built its modest financial base on the back of agriculture, coal, coke production, and other self-contained forms of manufacturing, men residing in one of three towns, Latrobe, Greensburg, and Jeannette all of which were approximately forty miles west of Pittsburg battled one another for local supremacy. These clubs, for which their members competed for minor wages, spread west to Ohio giving birth to what became professional football.³⁷ Because of the six-day workweek, most of these squads played on Sundays, which enabled the working-class to witness the athletic spectacles. This was a privilege not afforded by college games that were scheduled on Saturdays. In this respect, professional football became the game for the masses. Pro football historian Keith McClellan identifies the social ramifications beyond mere witnessing of games. McClellan

writes, “workers could relate better to professional players than to many of the upper-middle-class and well-to-do college players.”³⁸ However, these Sunday games contributed to accusations of professional football as hedonistic or sacrilegious, given that they seemed to fly in the face of church-going culture and the concept of Sunday as “a day of rest.”

Guardians of college football had long concerned themselves with the possibility that players accepted side wagers and chased incentives outside of the purview of amateur competition. They dreaded the possibility of the professional ranks and the potential iniquities that accompanied the commercialization of recreation. The emergence of professional teams further animated these anxieties. Until the 1920s, to accuse a college student-athlete of professionalism was a mighty insinuation. This chasm of status between the two levels of sport entirely denaturalizes what today is an assumed path for college football’s most talented competitors. Among the upper class, the “professional” athlete was tainted. Their conceptualization of professionalism had been historically contentious well before college football’s existence. Prior to the formation of intercollegiate football, baseball, prizefighting (boxing), and horseracing enjoyed the athletic spotlight among the American public. And participants in these sports typically fulfilled the title of professional. Chiefly, they got paid. In comparison to the discourse of amateurism, however, this was only one of many elements that made the bourgeois class cringe. In addition to being paid for one’s services, they frequently conceptualized professionalism in terms of vice, violence, and general depravity. This was not necessarily an inaccurate characterization. Baseball, for example, struggled with fraud and bribery. Sports journalist Henry Chadwick famously described its primary aim as one that sought “to employ professional players to perspire in public for the benefit of gamblers.”³⁹ In the 1860s, dishonest players and influential speculators had deeply infected and crippled the professional

ranks' first efforts to promote an ethical nationwide pastime.⁴⁰ Even for those who did not resort to corrupt practices, nineteenth century professional ball players were not emblems of refinement and good manners. On the field, they argued, fought, and cursed. Off the field, many could be found, "drinking, gambling, and associating with gamblers and prostitutes."⁴¹ Despite the fact that members of the elite frequented professional games, they rarely encouraged their sons to pursue professional careers and collegiate ballplayers eschewed this occupational path due to the stigma attached to the professional leagues. Incidentally, within the professional baseball community, some resented being associated with prizefighting, an even more reviled career path mired in its own depravity.

The existence of professional leagues did not create a football fissure between classes that had not previously existed. It merely revealed in sharper contrast the growing rift between the working-class, the upper class, and the sites in which they were able to enjoy their leisure. The different participants, spaces, and days served to exacerbate the cultural difference emerging within two institutions of the same sport, the amateur and the professional game. Proponents of the amateur version of football argued that the extrinsic incentive of money tainted one's involvement in the sport. Indeed, pay for play seemed to lie at the heart of the differentiation between amateurism and professionalism. But the terms seemed premised on arbitrary and shifting definitions of fairness and player reward. In his mid-twentieth century treatise on college athletics, historian Victor Dauer attempts to contrast the concepts by drawing from the etymology of the words. As he explains, the root of "amateur" stems from the Latin verb "amo"—to love. Conversely, "professional" originates from "professus" the verb "to profess," which connotes a commitment to a vocation. To this end, an amateur was one who played for the

love of the game while a professional viewed his play as work and sought extrinsic payment, usually in the form of money, for his efforts.⁴²

Football fans mapped onto college and professional football this unsophisticated binary typically adhering to a provincial belief that inspirations to play were not more complex or could not overlap. Discounting the enticement of recognition, celebration, fame and worship, advocates of the intercollegiate brand alleged that money invited an element of inauthentic motivation where participants did not solely seek to enhance their body, mind, and morals. On the other hand, like Dartmouth's Dean Emerson, University of Wisconsin president Charles K. Adams pledged his support to amateur athletics because its "education" of the body and character were of "immeasurable importance." Specifically college football, he emphasized, "can accomplish a great thing in the education of the morals of those who participate in it."⁴³ But paying players, in the minds of pro football's opponents, was conflated with a sport subculture that involved gambling, cheating, dishonesty, and a host of other unethical practices that would ruin the purity of the game. Lost in this structure, they argued, was the joy of playing for achievement's sake, solely to uphold the commitment that teammates made to one another to accomplish their objective together. Even though amateur advocates claimed that sport should be pursued for the inherent pleasure it could provide, they were often vague in specifying concrete objections to professionalism or clarifying what exactly they endorsed about amateurism.⁴⁴

Voices that fueled the amateur/professional antagonism often did not articulate the root of their grievances. In an article decrying the scourge of professional athletics, one critic claimed, "Professionalism in football mean[t] ruffianism and brutality." The same writer quoted a football enthusiast who asserted, "The man who sells, talks of selling, or attempts to sell himself to play football for any team is an avowed enemy of the game." The chief doctor for the Columbia

University football team served his post with reservation. He lamented the possibility that professionalism would infect the intercollegiate game, which would, he feared, “demoralize the spirit of college honor.” Amos Alonzo Stagg, a Yale graduate who enjoyed great success during his four-decade tenure as head coach of the University of Chicago’s football team, shared these misgivings. It was not just the participants of professional football that threatened the intercollegiate game. Those who supported the leagues also imperiled amateurism. To be a spectator at a professional game, wrote Stagg, was to “cooperate with forces which [were] destructive of the finest elements of interscholastic and intercollegiate football.”⁴⁵

Amateurists insisted that the detrimental qualities of college football derived from the professionalizing scourge of the idea and motivation presented by material gain. This inducement, they reasoned, encouraged self-serving play, as athletes would be most interested in highlighting individual performance at the expense of the greater good of the team. Professional players commodified their talents, which meant that players did not benefit from the character-building impulses of self-control, sacrifice, and the noble motive of playing for a cause larger than oneself. For amateurists, the intangible gains that stemmed from the intercollegiate game and professionalism were antithetical to one another. The paradox of amateurists was that—as it remains today—their ideal was not disrupted when colleges and universities mined profound revenue from the sweat of their student-athletes. A kind of naïve purity characterized their single-minded focus on athletic virtues and dedication to the team and the school. They did not acknowledge the possibility that—beyond monetary rewards—young men tempted by widespread adulation, or the cultural capital earned by their feats could themselves be as destructive to the institution of football as the curse of receiving a paycheck for one’s play.

Only in hushed tones or by implication did amateurs admit that class bias drove much of their opposition to the professional ranks. The bias that they marshaled against their gridiron adversary stemmed as much from their sense of parochial elitism as it did from their preference for how the game should be played and how athletes should be compensated. Again, those fortunate enough to attend college at the turn of the twentieth century were largely among the elite. In the wake of the Civil War and the benefits of the Industrial Revolution that disproportionately favored the already wealthy, leisure and its pursuit became a symbol of affluence. To recreate was to demonstrate that there were moments of a day or a week where one did not have to work. If wealth and power required not just acquisition but the evidence of these possessions, then recreating became a status symbol in and of itself equal to the accumulation of material things—it was a type of conspicuous recreation.⁴⁶ Thus, one worked for money, one played for fun. According to the champions of amateurism, sport strengthened one's body, quickened one's mind, and disciplined one's character; competing was not meant to bolster one's riches. As such, it was a man's wealth that enabled him to recreate without concern for pecuniary reward. Moreover, the fruits of this recreation were often of the physical kind—strength, coordination, and stamina—that work offered. But, by the turn of the century, as Chapter One indicated, the educated elite relied on recreation in fields and gymnasiums as much as, if not more than, work to gain such gifts.

For those less economically lucky or productive, playing professionally was not necessarily a philosophical choice so much as a financial one. During the first few decades of professional baseball, a majority of the stars born between 1860 and 1879 hailed from blue-collar backgrounds. Only one-third had a middle-class upbringing, and one-fourth came from agricultural families.⁴⁷ Professional football rosters probably had a similar socioeconomic

composition that may have been tilted even more toward the working-class based on the locations of the leagues and the teams. If the origins of professional football players were unknown, the objections that detractors of the professional game voiced associated them with the lower class. They alluded to the professional ranks as a parasitical growth on the college game; one that sponged from the latter's popularity for their own benefit. The notion of such an affliction conjured images of an organism drawing strength from a host body, a dependent freeloader that gained nutrients without proper recompense. The insinuation also invoked perceptions of newly arrived immigrants who strained the social welfare of cities, as imagined by the upper class. That non-Anglo-Saxon white men constituted a considerable portion of the rosters of many professional football and baseball teams only heightened the ethnic animosity that members of the educated elite wielded against the non-amateur ranks.⁴⁸

The rise of professional football was a threat to the intercollegiate game and amateurists interpreted it as such. It was associated with seedier aspects of society, offered an adulterated array of ethical messages, and welcomed a more diverse socioeconomic crowd than did college football. Moreover, there was the distinct possibility that professional football would evolve into a financial competitor. By the turn of the century, football was generating real revenue for colleges and universities. For example, between 1898 and 1904, Yale's football profits grew from approximately \$11,000 to over \$30,000 annually (approximately \$800,000 in 2013 dollars), which dwarfed the profits generated by Yale baseball, track, and crew.⁴⁹ With disposable income yet to be a widespread luxury, however, a football alternative to the college game would potentially dilute the revenue stream that the university system enjoyed, particularly in urban areas where colleges and pro teams were most likely to share spectators. For champions of the intercollegiate game, however, objections to the professional option were rooted in fears much

deeper than lost profits. The intercollegiate game did not germinate from a business plan. It did not emerge from the financial imaginations of a college president. Football was a way for undergraduate men to reinvigorate a flagging masculinity that was more commonly associated with the very class of individuals that were threatening to diminish their purchase on this institution of manhood making. Professional leagues would mitigate the power of the amateur game to produce notions of manliness that young bourgeois men were trying to consolidate for themselves.

Today, there exists the belief and possibility (albeit one often unfulfilled) that young men from poor backgrounds can use sports to gain access to higher education, and then possibly shift their class position through their service to and association with the university. During the Progressive era, however, men who could play football but were not from the elite class rarely were able to gain access to higher education. They were, thus, precluded from acquiring the capital that such a pathway afforded. Still, through their ability to play football or their investment as spectators, those in the laboring classes lay claim to the same mechanism as the elite—football—as a site for defining themselves and others, and for shaping social customs and norms. In other words, the contest between college and professional football and whether competitors should play for money or the love of the game illuminated football as an arena for the social struggle over meaning.⁵⁰ Because popular culture is a site where quotidian experience can take a social and material shape, a space of contestation where consent and resistance to hegemonic narratives occurs, its porousness proved a constant danger to the dominant class's efforts to rule the everyday.⁵¹ As a result, proponents of intercollegiate football certainly worried that professional football could diminish their game. Competing for fans might cause their brand to lose financially, but they also assumed that commercializing sport was detrimental to youth, in

particular and threatened to destabilize the boundaries demarcating superior social standing. The emerging contestation between amateur and professional football was not just a war of money or space; it was an ideological struggle. Regardless of whether an alternative to intercollegiate football existed or not, the bourgeois class was not interested in fraternizing with patrons of the professional game.⁵²

That members of the bourgeois class associated the professional game with unseemly behavior that included deceitful tactics, barbarous play, and debaucherous conduct did not preclude intercollegiate football from containing most forms of vice from which the upper class tried to distance itself. A particularly aggressive game between Princeton and Harvard in the fall of 1889 included all manner of shameless behavior and led to a heated exchange that took place over several months where both athletic committees accused the other of longstanding abuses. A five-year suspension of competition between the two schools was but one outcome of the controversy. In short, both sides suspected the other of endorsing injurious technique; using athletes on their football rosters who were not enrolled in classes for the duration of the school year; inducing young men to attend their universities with promises of free board and tuition; and, providing some players with pecuniary benefits for their play. For instance, when Highland Stickney ultimately decided to attend Harvard University Law School in 1879, he kept the letter that then Princeton captain, Knowlton Ames, had sent him. Besides offering Stickney assurances of various remunerations, Ames wrote, "The athletic men at Princeton get by all odds the best treatment in any of the colleges." Conversely, Princeton men accused Harvard of practicing similarly artful schemes. L.D. Mowry, a Princeton Tiger, alleged that while he was a Phillips Andover Academy student, Harvard representatives visited Andover and promised members of the high school football team an all expenses paid offer should they decide to join the Crimson.

While it is unclear how substantiated these allegations were, a sense of corruption for both schools was deeply felt. Ultimately, this controversy compelled Harvard to withdraw from the Intercollegiate Foot-Ball League—founded in 1876 with inaugural members of Harvard, Princeton, and Columbia, which Yale joined in 1879—because of “objectionable practices in all colleges.”⁵³

In response to the Harvard/Princeton row and by their own volition, countless schools and leagues redoubled their dedication to eliminate “objectionable practices” and standardize definitions of what qualified a young man to be a college student athlete.⁵⁴ Schools, committees on the regulation of sport, and fledgling athletic departments published pamphlets outlining the requirements necessary to compete at the intercollegiate level. College presidents, athletic officials, and administrators began to engage in seemingly more transparent discussions about professionalism. Potential adversaries exchanged contracts before games whereby each respective manager would list his eligible players and verify that they were bona fide students of the university—an absolute prerequisite for competition. School spokesmen constantly reiterated their commitment to fair play.⁵⁵

The foundation of amateur sport dogma was not financial; it was behavioral. A premium of late nineteenth and early twentieth century competition was determined by the quality of treatment one extended to his opponent. In Princeton’s response to Harvard’s accusations lay a lament. The authors wrote that for ten years before the “unfriendly feeling” began in the Spring of 1887, both schools enjoyed “inter-collegiate relations” of “an ideal character.”⁵⁶ The father of football Walter Camp believed and proclaimed that this type of graciousness was essential to the game. “A gentleman is courteous,” wrote Camp. “It is not courtesy upon a ball-field to cheer an error of the opponents,” he continued, “If it is upon your own grounds, it is the worst kind of

boorishness.”⁵⁷ These ideologies curbed what today might seem like harmless behavior. They discouraged fans from cheering at such a volume that a quarter-back could not communicate to his teammates, and they limited the amount of coaching a team manager could provide his athletes once a game began.⁵⁸ Subscribing to a philosophy that valued intrinsic reward and put a premium on developing one’s moral core meant that the players were solely responsible for the quality of their performance. Therefore, coaching players on the field once a game was under way, for instance, was an abuse. Ira Hollis, Harvard professor and chair of the Athletic Committee, considered instruction from the bench as part of a “crop of tricks” that crept into the game every year. He declared “side line coaching” to belong to a “class of shady practices which devalue the game.” Hollis was not alone in his opinion. Rules from the inception of the game beyond the mid-twentieth century prevented coaching from the sideline; forbade substitutes from relaying instruction to the team; and, prohibited all parties from walking back and forth along the sideline. When the offensive huddle became common in the 1920s, a referee joined it to ensure a new substitute to the play remained silent.⁵⁹

Outright Cheating

At the same time that one faction of an institution pledged a willingness to flush out degenerate players and policies another occasionally practiced unfair play. The divide reflected a three-way contest between the discursive and ideological side of it all, which emphasized moral and ethical play, the administration of the game, which established rules and policed participants, and, finally, the practice of cheating, which was not restricted to the playing field. If, at the time, there was widespread sentiment embracing proper player deportment as much as quality of performance, teams kept score and played to win, why cheat? The answer is complicated. Certainly, pragmatic concerns motivated these strategies, as winning increasingly translated into

revenue. In addition, however, the increasing correlation of winning with honor and high standing also motivated deviousness, as players and programs realized cheating—without being caught—was a route to obtaining these rewards.

Players, coaches, teams, schools, and alumni gained much through victory. Many of the spoils of winning are self-evident. As college football gained in popularity, the sheer cheering of the crowd was affirmation of student-athletes participation in the budding sport let alone the thunderous validation when one team came out the victor. Enthusiasts' exuberance was not confined to the football field as crowds feted players in parades to and from the playing grounds. Football programs sold to fans at some of the very first games highlighted certain players, illustrated them with fair coeds, and lionized the achievements of the best players in ways that set them apart from not only teammates but non-football playing classmates. Peers and other devotees sent countless well-wishing letters and congratulatory cards to student-athletes like Chapter One's Philip Coburn. Turn of the century Princeton star John DeWitt received dozens of telegrams from across the country for his gridiron heroics.⁶⁰ In addition to their own school papers, the best players and most successful teams often saw their names on the pages of the *Boston Herald*, the *New York Times*, or the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, scores offset in bold numbers on the front page. The best teams were division or even national champions, and the most talented individuals enjoyed recognition on end-of-season lists of the best players at their respective positions. Of course, beyond the pride and adulation of player and team performances, a useful gauge of success could be measured financially. By the first decade of the twentieth century, the most dominant teams were making tens of thousands of dollars per season through game day gate receipts alone.⁶¹

Ultimately, being undefeated was ideal, but not necessary. But teams had to win enough. By the 1900s, a team could not simply participate; they had to be sufficiently victorious not to be losers. And the costs of being a loser were high. To lose was as if you were not even a player, because it stripped them and teams of the high character and recognition they sought through playing in the first place. In the absence of winning, it mattered little the character or skill players or a team actually possessed. So, they were not just playing. Amid the amusement to fans and the pageantry of the spectacle, the players were doing real work. Theodore Roosevelt, like so many members of America's aristocracy resisted consideration of sport as a job. He called sport a "pastime" and considered it "a great mistake if it is made anything like a profession."⁶² Whether it was their occupation or not, college football players exerted tremendous labor to perform well enough to claim a certain definition of manhood. Their potential success reassured themselves and those who associated with them that they were, in fact, capable of enacting the rough-and-tumble theatrics of their predecessors, of non-white men, and of males of working-class backgrounds.

Members of the bourgeois class kept a watchful eye on the aforementioned groups. By virtue of their vocation, manual laborers were daily engrossed in tasks that typically demanded strength, coordination, dexterity, and other physical endowments. For university undergraduates, football was their opportunity to showcase possession of similarly masculine fortitude. As mentioned, winning confirmed or, at least, supported mastery of such skills. What, then, was lost in losing? For one, losing attracted censure. Perhaps, more deleteriously, losing often resulted in something worse than denigration—silence or withdrawal. Lack of commentary was not always a failure to acknowledge play. It was a willful withholding of critique. Newspaper headlines were not as bright; classmates were not as happy; congratulatory telegrams from unknown

alumni far fewer. When Yale opened their new stadium on November 21, 1914 with a game against archrival Harvard, anticipation was intense. Expectations of record-breaking crowds and excitement drove preparations.⁶³ Railroad stations in New York, Boston, Hartford, and New Haven sent and received special trains from their stations scheduled specifically to move countless fans to and from the afternoon game. Hotels exceeded capacity and 500 New Haven homes served as boarding houses on the weekend of the game. Those in charge of arrangements in and around the stadium allotted space for thousands of cars. Yale's ticket distribution center received tens of thousands more ticket applications than the new coliseum's nearly 71,000 seats could accommodate. Organization of post-game bonanzas was of equal intensity to the pre-game suspense with the expectation that fans would flow back downtown into restaurants, hotels, bars, and New Haven's handful of theaters for a raucous Saturday night. However, soon after the game concluded with the visitors victorious, a city prepared to sustain a festive atmosphere "had gone back to sleep," its streets "deserted."⁶⁴ Losing was costly, and in the sport of proving manliness, it was injurious.

If the prospect of losing wielded such great consequence and the benefits of winning such great gain, then the incentive to cheat was extremely enticing. Devious methods were not generally due to a lack of rules and regulations (although, at times, the rules were uneven across geography and still in flux). As discussed in Chapter One, Walter Camp, among others, was convinced that structuring football to favor ability and minimize luck, randomness, and the pell-mell nature of British rugby appealed to American sensibilities. His resolution, for which his legacy is known, was to incorporate ever more not fewer rules. At the same time, trickery came in many forms, and some practitioners considered circumventing rules to be proof of sound strategy. Notably, such practice mirrored Gilded Age philosophies regarding economic gain. For

some players, chicanery was merely an abundance of passion expressed in destructive ways. As Bailey, the aforementioned Wesleyan athlete revealed, many football-playing undergraduates struggled to harness a combination of manliness that was both physically hardy and ethically upstanding. Yet, coaches—occasionally with the tacit or even explicit support of administrators within their universities—also cheated to gain advantage on the field. This conflict, then, was not just individual; it was institutional. By the turn of the century, the ideological and financial stakes for the most successful teams were extraordinary, and undetected corruption that resulted in winning served both men and the schools for which they competed. With channels through which young men could play increasing and the rewards for winning expanding, evidence of corruption intensified within the college game. Playing the game for the game's sake was far from the only priority.

Some of the coaches guiltiest of cheating were also among the most celebrated. Their achievements on the field and commitment to intercollegiate sport belied their duplicitous dealings. Many of these actions, they committed in the shadows of offices beyond the public spotlight that shone brightest on the gridiron. University of Chicago coach Amos Alonzo Stagg decried professionalism as a “menace” to the college game. In a letter titled, “To All Friends of College Football,” which many major newspapers republished, Stagg leveled severe warnings against professional football, which he claimed threatened the right-minded principles and well-being of amateurism. Under what he called a “guise of fair play,” professional football supported the “insidious forces” of gambling, overzealous fans, and even unscrupulous coaches and managers bent on winning by any means.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, in his autobiography, *Touchdown!*, published only years after his anti-pro bluster, Stagg explained that managers and coaches scoured rulebooks for “loophole[s].” If they found one, they were “entitled not only in law but in

ethics to take advantage of it.”⁶⁶ Ironically, Stagg was one of the chief members of intercollegiate football’s first Rules Committee. Along with Walter Camp, Paul Dashiell of Lehigh, Robert Wren of Harvard, L. M. Dennis of Cornell, and H. B. Fine of Princeton, these men were responsible for establishing the spirit and law of intercollegiate football while minimizing the corruption that was seeping into amateur athletics.⁶⁷ And yet, within football’s inner circles, peers warned one another against Stagg’s conniving ways. As early as 1895, Stagg’s reputation preceded him. In anticipation of Chicago’s Thanksgiving game against the University of Michigan’s football squad, UM manager Charles Baird received a letter from a friend warning him of his opponent’s practices of deception.

Get Stagg’s agreement in writing, as to what rules you shall play under. You can’t trust him. He will try to trick you into disadvantages to get you to practice under our system + then insist at the last moment on a different system. I would also begin on getting good umpires. A great many of these Chicago ex-players are under Stagg’s influence... Furthermore, I wouldn’t let Stagg or any Chicago player inside the ropes at any of your games in any capacity or on any pretext whatever [emphasis original].⁶⁸

Like his contemporary, Charles Baird was a public practitioner of sportsmanship. As football manager and eventually the university’s first athletic director, he was ostensibly tasked with honoring the rules and regulations that the nascent Western Conference (what is now the Big Ten) established. On occasion, he did. When the Board of Control of Athletics’ expelled players from the university based on their “disgraceful language and actions...in practice and in games,” he supported their decision. On the other hand, he exercised significant determination to entice some of the nation’s most promising men to the Ann Arbor campus and the Wolverine playing fields. While assuring opposing managers that his team was clean of professionalism, he was paying some his most potent athletes.⁶⁹ Promises to students were considered and made that covered a gamut of forms of compensation: paid positions in doctor’s offices, financial coverage

for books and lab fees, and hundreds of dollars for general expenses. In his correspondence with students or potential students, Baird was careful to cover his tracks always insisting that they: “Return this letter.”⁷⁰ His disregard for the letter and spirit of the rules was flagrant in its practice, but he was not alone. What is more interesting is that most enthusiasts of amateur sport saw violations of their institution as more than merely paying players. Equally offensive as revelations of behind-the-scene dealings (of which Baird to my knowledge was never charged) was ignominious comportment of participants on or off the field. The intricacies of the amateur ideal were numerous.

Stagg and Baird were cheaters. They did not always engage in fair play, and they were not the only ones engrossed in wayward methods. Nonetheless, this chapter began on the football field and will conclude there because it is this site, the gridiron, which was the target of the greatest surveillance of honor and dishonor, fair and foul play. It was through the bodies of the players that the benefits and detriments of college football were so easily read and lived. Since concepts of individualism were central to notions of American citizenship even in the midst of cooperative achievement, it was ultimately the players that fans celebrated for the creation of college football excitement. Critics, in turn, targeted them as most culpable for the sport’s evils. Most of college football’s managers, allies, and supporters rarely leveled blame against institutions for problems within the sport. It was almost always rogue players and individual actors that were held in greatest contempt. In response to the prevalence of fighting and rough play during the 1905 season, for instance, President Roosevelt responded with ardent support of one element and equally zealous condemnation of another. “The game should not be blamed,” Roosevelt asserted, “for the fact that some of the men who play it are unable to control tempers

under the stress of momentary excitement.”⁷¹ Returning to an earlier query, then, why did players risk the loss of positive perceptions of their manliness by utilizing regrettable means?

Correspondence between two nineteenth century football managers provides a glimpse of how some participants attempted to negotiate these tensions. In 1894, E. D. Smith, the manager of the Detroit Athletic Club’s (DAC) football team wrote to Charles Baird, manager of the University of Michigan’s football team, to try to arrange a game between the two squads. In order to assure his undergraduate counterpart that the members of the Athletic Club were courteous competitors, Smith explained that his squad was “not a slugging team.” He did, however, warn Baird: “in some games last season we had to resort to slugging to keep up with our opponents.”⁷² Should we believe Smith’s categorization of his men as honest, then his words reveal one of the dynamics with which football practitioners wrestled. Most players and teams did not pride themselves on rough tactics, but they adopted them when necessary. Whether Smith’s squad resorted to slugging in order to gain an advantage to win, to defend themselves, or to discourage their opponents from becoming too violent is open to conjecture. Yet, it was a strategy that the DAC football team was not opposed to employing. Further, the importance of playing fairly or being perceived as a team that honored good sportsmanship was so intense that Smith was compelled to proclaim his team not a slugging team even though he admitted that his players occasionally struck their foes. In other words, elite winners would not play dirty, but rather best their opponent at their own game. Paradoxically, in this manner, teams like Smith’s used a degree of violence to fight violence in an effort to uphold a civilized society that, with its rules and regulations, the game represented. Or, at least, that is what Smith would have us believe.

Smith's defense of his team is unsurprising. Failure to exude strength or courage called into question players' masculinity. An insufficient performance might result in doubt of one's virility. On the other hand, resorting to the use of disreputable methods ignited suspicion of a player's or a team's uncouth ways. At the intercollegiate level, winning confirmed the qualities of manliness for which many undergraduates were seeking affirmation. Yet, a player had to accomplish this achievement through noble means. "To win *at any cost*," lamented journalist Henry Beach Needham, "that is the source of the present deplorable condition of intercollegiate athletics [emphasis original]." ⁷³ In spite of the value accorded victory, those who supported amateur athletics were allegedly interested in the intrinsic value of sport—those aspects of the game that elevated one's physical and ethical being. Fulfilling masculinist expectations of strength and bravery at the expense of manly traits of honor and virtue was not ideal. In fact, cheating revealed that a player or a team could not compete on its own merit or win with its own inherent ability. When players resorted to immoral tactics, it was not just their skill and strategy that observers called into question. Their class, inflected by dominant ideas about race became suspect.

Nonetheless, violent play on the football field did occur. It was an elemental ingredient of the sport. Even if a player managed his passions, controlled his impulses, there was no guarantee that he would not suffer injury or that he would not hurt an opponent through legal action. The most favored of hegemonic masculinity was one that emphasized virility, aggression, and strength, useful traits in football. The sport depended on rough play; it demanded that its players strike one another. Injuring one's opponent was not a goal, but it was often an unfortunate byproduct of the game's design. With a growing belief among the bourgeois class that their gentility had cost the men of their class their manhood, college men could not lose the

opportunity that football gave them.⁷⁴ But they could not abuse it by acting inappropriately. Embracing sheer physicality was not enough to endear college student-athletes to critics. Failure to adhere to pre-existing mandates of fair play risked the possibility of surrendering civility for the sake of performed savagery, which was not, in the end, a solution to the problem that collegians and their associates were trying to rectify.

A player's conduct on the field was a measure of how well he honored the letter and spirit of the rules. Brutal play was typically defined as a player who lost control. The man who could not reconcile the physical demands of his sport with the gentlemanly expectations of his pulled hair, gouged eyes, twisted limbs, and otherwise competed in manners that betrayed the discipline considered a foundational gauge of one's manliness. Less objectionable but still foul, a cheater might tackle his opponent below the waist, slug his foe in the face, or "hack" (trip by kicking) the ball carrier. Sports journalists began to include commentary on player decorum in their reports of games; it became a common part of the total evaluation of an average football game. They often indicated that ill behavior on the field diminished the value of an otherwise hard-earned win.⁷⁵ Conversely, when two teams upheld standards of propriety during a game, this, too, was duly noted. For instance, following a game between Dartmouth College and Harvard University, a sports reporter dedicated the second sentence of his article to write: "It was a remarkably clean game of football, entirely free from any objectionable features."⁷⁶

Clean versus Dirty Play

The narrative around sportsmanship or a lack thereof adopted a discourse of hygiene. Regardless of the outcome, football advocates applauded games that were "clean" affairs. While this description could imply the skillful manner in which technique was executed or the quality with which players artfully complied with a coach's pre-game strategy, the account typically

appeared when both teams offered a healthy respect to one another. An individual player's clean play was not just a reflection of his ability; it signified how he conducted himself and who he was morally. Not only was a clean player free from ethical disease, he did not cause in others dis-ease. He was acceptable; he belonged. This rhetoric of salubrity was consistent with Victorian culture's abiding commitment to police social boundaries on account of tidiness or pollution. In this era, dirt was a sign of disorder. This philosophy posed problems for the average football player who, by game's end, was typically soiled. Players attempting to refute their associations with social aristocracy and effete affluence needed the dirt to signify toughness but not mayhem. Like the Harvard students who took boxing classes but didn't have to fight, playing football added an element of the hard-worker but not the working-class to student-athletes' social status. They used their bodies and hands, but they were not performing manual labor. In this respect, under the conditions that they defined, getting dirty in the literal but not moral sense gave undergraduates the opportunity to maintain the types of privileges that racial, gendered, and economic power provided, while adding elements of vigor that had been missing from their upper class profiles.⁷⁷

But there were players at the wrong end of the sanitary spectrum. "Dirty" play was accorded to those who did not respect the spirit or the letter of the rules. The accusation of one who played dirty was an indictment of not just their physical technique but of their moral temperament. The distinction between rough and brutal play, the difference between inevitable violence and "dirty" maneuvers delineated not just technique but a player's (or team's) shortcomings in character. Those who exceeded "hard play" and resorted to "foul play," synonymous with "dirty play," drew strong and immediate rebuke. The Wesleyan player's assault of his opponent epitomized the type of deportment to which both advocates and critics

feared. He was an exemplar of a man unfit for the game. Journalists suggested that Wesleyan faculty take away his uniform, the metonymic symbol of the school itself, since this man “so disgraced [his] university.” Caspar Whitney, a distinguished reporter, considered the Wesleyan player guilty of the types of actions that created “disaster and [brought] the game into disrepute.”⁷⁸

The linguistic signifiers and the possibility that a single player could dishonor an entire institution had infectious connotations. In reference to the Wesleyan player, another journalist considered the broader implications of a player who adopted cheap and brutal strategies to be “a menace to the sport.”⁷⁹ The depiction of the player being such a danger was not solely because he might harm his fellow athletes. This student was not just a discredit to himself and an illegitimate representative of his school; his conduct imperiled the totality of intercollegiate football. Under the circumstances by which a player engaged in reprehensible action, it was not usually the constancy of his behavior that was objectionable. Typically, he was guilty of a few outbursts of shameful deeds. Read in this light, it was the player and not the circumstances of the game that was to blame because he could not contain himself in an emotionally charged moment. He did not possess the self-control that warranted his suitability for further competition. These are clear instances where supporters of the game almost always laid blame on the aberration of indecent individuals rather than on the sport itself. College football advocates rarely turned their gaze inward to consider what aspects of the game might incentivize individuals to bend the rules to their advantage. When an especially high-profile game gained publicity for its brutal play and clamor for reform grew louder, the response professed by Notre Dame students was a common rejoinder from the sport’s proponents: “Football [was] a game for gentleman only.”⁸⁰ Those who committed indecent acts should not have been there in the first place. Rarely did commentators

cast light on the institution of the game. It was the individual guilty parties that were subject to attention and condemnation.

The notion of clean play and hygiene, clean play and order, was consistent with national fin de siècle discourses involving race, class, immigration, and disease, all of which considered and articulated modes of belonging and unbelonging for peoples in the U.S. In this sense, football spoke to another set of broad ideological issues. During the nineteenth century, epidemics of yellow fever, polio, or influenza afflicted and killed thousands of Americans. Without the medical advances to combat what are now regarded as relatively harmless ailments, diseases like these were often racialized. Blame for threats to public health was mapped onto poor and nonwhite bodies. Eugenicists, especially, of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encouraged the clamor to label certain bodies as deviant and unable to be cleansed of their genetic and pathological misfortune. Thurman Rice, for instance, was an early twentieth century eugenicist who fomented racial animosities through pseudoscience that purported the alleged inner infectiousness of nonwhites. Rice granted that a man of suspicion could cleanse his exterior. “But the habits of a lifetime which allowed him to become dirty and lousy,” he continued, “and those traits of a defective germ plasma which permitted him to be contented in remaining so, cannot be changed by soap and water, and disinfecting and delousing agents.”⁸¹ Rice’s accusations mirrored the types of concerns that opponents of inappropriate play harbored. Most importantly, accusing an athlete of being “dirty” was not a superficial charge. Rice echoed football proponents who suggested that those of questionable character gained such traits through both nurture *and* nature and, thus, should be prohibited from competition.

The notion of “dirty” was part of a discourse that communicated ideas about threat that were far more than mere questions of hygiene. By the turn of the century, “dirt” was a primary

focus among scientists and public health officials, and with the rise of the new science of bacteriology, uncleanliness became strongly associated with disease and infection. In this context, dirt and dirty people became threats to not only public, but societal health. Likewise, it was thought that dirty football players could contaminate their teammates, opponents, and the game itself with an affliction of moral “shortcoming” that could stunt and even sabotage the possibilities that many believed the game possessed in manufacturing moral men. What antipathy the educated elite harbored against those who were not members of the white bourgeois class congealed into worries about moral disease. These anxieties were racial, ethnic, and classed in origin but were severe enough that arbiters of the game occasionally deemed members of the bourgeois class who competed beyond the boundaries of fairness and propriety as more than cheaters. If representatives of the educated aristocracy considered a player’s performance to be a physical threat and moral menace to the ideal perceptions of the college game, they might consider him a social ill of the sport and revoke any privileges gained by his access to college football.⁸²

In college football, physical health and moral fitness were conflated. For instance, when President Theodore Roosevelt spearheaded a reform effort to clean up college football’s excessive violence, he invited representatives from Harvard, Yale, and Princeton to, as he said, “come to a gentleman’s agreement not to have mucker play.”⁸³ Roosevelt’s choice of “mucker” is instructive for it implied far more than simply undesirable competition as indicated by the following example. Following a 1920 game between Notre Dame and Valparaiso, a Valpo student wrote a disparaging article in the school’s newspaper the *The Torch* accusing Notre Dame’s skipper, Knute Rockne, of coaching a team of “muckers.” The essay leveled accusations of his players attempting to injure their opponents and conducting themselves in a disreputable

fashion. As opposed to labeling their performance as dirty, however, the “mucker” epithet was, in this case, opponent-specific. At the time, a mucker was considered an anti-Irish epithet that provided the connotation of dirty, violent, unmannered individuals, and the label carried class meanings—muckers did dirty work.⁸⁴ In this context, Notre Dame’s alleged dirty play was a moral and ethnic contamination of the game. Indecent play was an infection of the game, and the disease, as President Roosevelt implied, had to be removed. The counter reasoning being that clean play elevated one to the point of becoming culturally legible as an American.

Despite never having played or coached football, Theodore Roosevelt, was, even as President of the United States, an active figure in the world of intercollegiate football. In fact, he is widely credited for having saved football when it threatened to implode on itself due to a significant number of gridiron deaths and injury in 1905. That very fall, President Roosevelt invited graduates of Harvard, Yale and Princeton to discuss reforms that were meant to ostensibly minimize the level of violence that football had attained. 1905 is a particularly useful year to study the football controversy because it was during this period that eighteen players allegedly died as a result of playing football, naturally elevating the fervor to address such tragedies. Roosevelt and the university representatives agreed upon and instituted several rules, among which the legalizing of the forward pass and the founding of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States, the progenitor to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), were the most groundbreaking.⁸⁵

Though additional reforms were added to the game in 1910 to further increase player safety, Roosevelt and his allies were more interested in reducing immoral play than violent play. It was not corporeal injury but ignoble tactics that worried them most. Victory, these men reasoned, was secondary to the more principled objectives of improved physical fitness and

enhanced moral character.⁸⁶ Roosevelt made this abundantly clear in an 1893 article featured in *Harper's Weekly*. While decrying the brutality upon which critics similarly focused, Roosevelt emphasized the importance of matching the cultivation of schoolboys' intellect with the development of their bodies. This attention was essential for nurturing a boy's manliness. And it was this same manliness that was threatened if the roughness of sports like football was eliminated. Once precaution was exercised, Roosevelt, exclaimed, "then it is mere unmanliness to complain of occasional mishaps." He warned that every effort should be made to minimize the risk of player injury, but, he countered, "[t]he sports especially dear to a vigorous and manly nation are always those in which there is a certain slight element of risk." Then, "it is mere unmanly folly," he concluded, "to try to do away with the sport because the risk exists."⁸⁷ Roosevelt was but one voice, he of the Strenuous Life philosophy. But he was only the loudest among scores of proponents of the game who welcomed the roughness and accepted the fact that broken noses, arms, legs and other bones and injuries were unfortunate byproducts of a manly game as long as young men abided by the letter and spirit of the sport.

The discourse of fairness within college football has been a source of debate since the earliest years of the sport. In an 1894 issue of *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, an editorial included one student's unfailing support of college football. In his estimation, it was an "ideal exercise" that required a player to marshal all of his mental fortitude and fostered "self-control and coolness in sudden emergencies." Further, he expressed gratitude that England shared with the United States its most popular games of which football was one. But he lamented how, outside of the universities, the British played the game. It was, he claimed, "rotten to the core." All who played, he continued, were "professionals, generally common laborers, with whom brute force is everything and head work nothing."⁸⁸ This Notre Dame student contributed to an ongoing

discussion that constructed amateurism, in both its denotational and connotational meaning, as superior to its professional counterpart. In one of the epigraphs at the beginning of this chapter, no less than Walter Camp declares his affinity to the spirit of amateurism when he declares “A gentleman never competes for money.” According to Camp, to earn and maintain “honor” is the greatest reward.⁸⁹ The purported honoring of rules and the evocations of professionalism to mark either financial or behavioral violations to the game erected boundaries around college football that perpetuated discursive equations between amateurism and gentlemanliness. The two became synonymous such that the sport began to fulfill a model of what the educated elite already imagined themselves to be.

Fairness, Amateurism and Morality

Intercollegiate football, the primary amateur sport within the American imagination and the nation’s landscape, created a space for some of the most physically talented athletes to display their skills. The way in which supporters crafted notions of integrity also touted a narrative where the most gifted became the most virtuous. A college football player’s impressive performance on the field became verification of his noble character. The lore of the ethical amateur was a major pillar within the foundation of intercollegiate athletics, for student-athletes—under the auspices of amateurism—simply had to be morally principled. To win at all costs might expose competitors’ basest instincts, the savagery that existed within a performance of modernity, civilization, and manliness. Since one of the primary missions of higher education remains the cultivation of its charges’ character, the latter approach would be a failure of one of its most formative duties. Nonetheless, people cheated and honorable play and deceitful tactics were in constant tension. As college football matured, profits increased, and the stakes became more public, notions of fair play differed depending on whom it pertained to, and winning began

to prop up structures of manliness to such an extent that the end was more and more commonly determining the means.

College football stood on unsteady terrain. Imposed notions of morality and the debate between amateurism and professionalism warred over more than just the status of the athletes in question. At heart was a feud over language, concepts, ways of thought, and representations between people who were trying to make sense of themselves and the purpose of their existence. Intercollegiate football's proponents equated professionalism with the rank elements of society. When examined more closely, however, the fissures separating college football from the professional version—the proximity between corrupt and pure—were likely narrower than the educated elite fashioned them to be.⁹⁰ The struggle to make sense of this gap was ideological. It brought to bear class distinctions that overlapped with and drew energy from other social distinctions, more notably race, gender, and able-bodiedness. But it was a project that was fragile. Every individual exception of impropriety—both on and off the field—imperiled the entire structure. In a team-oriented game, all forms of misdemeanor were made the fault of individuals and their relative failure to protect the integrity of college football as an institution. By the first decades of the twentieth century this formula of policing, protection, victory, and success on the gridiron garnered support from alumni and non-affiliated football fans. This turned into material gains, which enabled schools to raise substantial funds in order to enhance their sport and football facilities.

The next phase of college football's development was structural. Beginning in the 1890s, gaining momentum in the first decade of the twentieth century, and then becoming a full-blown arms race between schools following the conclusion of World War I, colleges and universities declared their allegiance to the game by erecting countless stadiums, first wooden then concrete.

These architectural statements moved college football out of public parks and baseball stadiums and onto the campuses of the student-athletes who competed. This shift declared educational institutions' allegiance to a sport and, more importantly, their dedication to a model of exclusive manliness that was soon to be exhibited behind the closed doors (or walls) of on-campus coliseums. These stadia marked one critical strategy in a war of position that pitted the manliness embodied in college football against the very different constellation of meanings surrounding the men who played the professional game.

¹ Camp, *Book of College Sports*, 3.

² Charles Eliot, "Football Gets Some Hard Raps," Folder 164: The Evils of Football, 1905, Box 220, Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, HUA-HU.

³ "Free-For-All Fight in Columbia Game," *New York Times*, October 8, 1905, 14.

⁴ John Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 24.

⁵ See *Chicago vs. Michigan*, "University of Michigan Athletic Program," Controlled by the Board in Control of Student Publications, Ed. William Stadler, November 12, 1920, page 11 in Alfred Wilson Scrapbook, BHL-UM. The Big Ten is the league of which the University of Michigan is a member. It was originally called the Western Conference.

⁶ Adrian Burgos Jr., *Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 25.

⁷ Roy Rosenweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 196. Robert Johnstone Mooney, "Boxing and Wrestling with Roosevelt in the White House," *The Outlook*, October 24, 1923, 310-12. Quoted in Elliot Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 196.

⁸ Murray Sperber, *Shake Down the Thunder: The Creation of Notre Dame Football* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2002), 32-45.

⁹ See Oriard, *Reading Football*; Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*; See also Allen Sack, *Counterfeit Amateurs: An Athlete's Journey Through the Sixties to the Age of Academic Capitalism* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2008); Allen Sack and Ellen J. Staurowsky, *College Athletes for Hire: The Evolution and Legacy of the NCAA's Amateur Myth* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998); Andrew Zimbalist, *Unpaid Professionals: Commercialism and Conflict in Big-Time College Sports* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Ronald Smith, *Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2011).

¹⁰ This type of vagabond competitor who sometimes played for multiple schools within the same season was known as a "tramp athlete." See Howard L. Nixon, *The Athletic Trap: How College Sports Corrupted the Academy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 4.

¹¹ Untitled, unauthored newspaper article, Folder: October 1895, Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, BHL-UM.

¹² Gorn, *The Manly Art*. Steven Reiss, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), David Finoli and Tom Aikens, *The Birthplace of Professional Football: Southwestern Pennsylvania* (Portsmouth, NH: Arcadia Publishing, 2004).

¹³ "A Glance Backward," *The Dome*, 1906 in University Archives, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN (hereafter UA-ND).

¹⁴ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: from Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), 30.

¹⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Madison, WI: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894), 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

¹⁷ Theorist Michael Kimmel documents economic unrest and uncertainty even more dramatically than me. Before the Civil War, he states, nine out of ten American men were farmers or self-employed businessmen. These numbers dropped precipitously such that only one-third of men were so employed only forty years later. Kimmel writes, “the international economic collapse of 1873 was especially powerful. A series of bankruptcies, bank failures, and foreclosures sharpened political conflict. In 1874 alone, over 6,000 businesses closed, and 900 closed every month during one quarter in 1878. In the South, Southwest, and Midwest, dispossessed farmers fought back against big capital through the Farmers’ Alliance and Populist movement. In the burgeoning cities, a widening class rift and waves of immigrants fueled hostilities that erupted in a wave of strikes and revolts in 1877 that brought the nation to the brink of armed insurrection.” See Michael Kimmel, “Men’s Responses to Feminism at the Turn of the Century,” *Gender & Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1987, 263-4.

¹⁸ In his study of the American bourgeoisie, historian Peter Dobkin Hall identifies how corporations gained prominence in the decades after the Civil War. Training young men to assume the responsibilities to successfully run these corporations became a primary mission for institutions of higher education. Because New England had historically granted the most corporate charters, Hall points out how Harvard and Yale became the primary sites for teaching young men how to most effectively gain access to and eventually manage such enterprises. Though Hall may have downplayed the historical power of racial and class bias, he writes that by 1900, one’s potential to gain civic and corporate positions of leadership “had less to do with nativity and ancestry than with education and occupation. The portability of educational credentials made graduates of national institutions like Harvard and Yale candidates for civic eminence wherever their careers carried them and, as such, constituted the connective tissue of the emergent national governing class: America’s twentieth-century bourgeoisie.” See Peter Dobkin Hall, “Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie,” in *The American Bourgeoisie*, eds. Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 167-78.

¹⁹ “Athletics in College,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, Vol. XXVII, Notre Dame, Indiana, November 25, 1893, No. 11.

²⁰ See Richard White, “Discovering Nature in North America,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 79, No. 3, December 1992, 874-891; Ronald Takaki, *The Tempest in the Wilderness: The Racialization of Savagery*, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 79, No. 3, December 1992, 892-912.

²¹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 18-19.

²² *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, Notre Dame, Indiana, Vol. X (1876-77) p. 75.

²³ See Putney, *Muscular Christianity*.

²⁴ Thirty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Officers, Faculty, and Students of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, for the Academic Year 1877-78 in *Catalogues of Notre Dame University*, Vol. 2, Notre Dame Indiana Scholastic Press, 1878. p. 9, UA-ND.

²⁵ PNDP 3005-Nag “Muscular Catholicism: Sports and Student Discipline at the University of Notre Dame, 1843-1898,” by John C. Nagy, 5/1999, 2. UA-ND.

²⁶ “A Symposium on Athletic Sports,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, Vol. XXII, Notre Dame, Indiana, November 10, 1888, No. 12, 189-191.

²⁷ J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 135.

²⁸ See Abbott Lawrence Lowell letter to Colonel Hugh Lenox Scott, November 1, 1909, Folder 88, Box 3, President Lowell Papers, 1925-28, HUA-HU.

²⁹ Jerome Greene to Rev. John McGinnis, Letter, in President Lowell’s Papers, 1925-28, Box 3 (Series 1909-1914), Folder 83 (Athletics – General Correspondence), September 20, 1909, HUA-HU.

³⁰ Sperber, *Shake Down the Thunder*, 34-44. In addition to overly benevolent journalists, fellow coaches often served as referees for the games of their peers. A modicum of people were familiar with all of the rules of the game so it made sense that those most involved, coaches, also served as judges of their peers’ games. In debates about fair or foul play, they often penned editorials refuting alleged violence in a game where they served as umpire. In response to former Harvard player, W. D. Hubbard’s accusations of Princeton’s “dirty play” during the 1919 and 1920 seasons, F. W. Murphy, W. R. Okeson, and W. G. Crowell coaches or managers at Brown University, Lehigh University, and Swarthmore College, respectively, who served as umpires for Harvard’s games during the period in question wrote letters refuting Hubbard’s claims. F. W. Murphy, for one, wrote: “For the past five years I have umpired [Harvard/Princeton] games, and acted as field judge once or twice before then. The games were fairly and cleanly played by both teams. Such injuries as occurred were incident to the game and were not maliciously inflicted. Violations of the playing rules were comparatively few, and those neither serious nor unusual. The players conducted themselves in a sportsmanlike manner.” See “Dr. Kennedy’s Statement, Quoting Letters of Arbiters,

Answers Sensational Article Effectively and with Finality,” in *The Daily Princetonian*, Volume 51, Number 172, 24 January 1927, page 4.

³¹ Caspar Whitney, “Amateur Sport,” *Harper’s Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, January 11, 1896, Vol. XL, No. 2038, 46.

³² John Henry Bartlett and John Pearl Gifford, *Dartmouth Athletics: A Complete History of All Kinds of Sports at the College* (Concord, N.H.: Republican Press Association, 1894), v-vi.

³³ Even notable opponent of college football, Harvard president Charles Eliot, favored sport “for their effects on the moral fibre of the individual.” Conversely, as the epigraph states, the moral corrosion that he identified in certain aspects of college football was one of the primary reasons why he found it so hard to embrace the sport. See Charles Eliot, “The 1858 Races, Origin of Harvard’s Colors, 1900,” Folder 93.1, Box 218 in Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, HUA-HU. And noted proponent of good health, athletics and college football, in particular, President Theodore Roosevelt declared at the unveiling of a statue honoring Civil War Union General Henry W. Slocum, “A sound body is a first class thing, a sound mind is an even better thing, but the thing that counts for most in the individual as in the Nation is character.” See Theodore Roosevelt, May 30, 1905, Theodore Roosevelt Collection, TRC-HL.

³⁴ John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education, 2nd Ed.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 7-9.

³⁵ Howard J. Savage, *Games and Sports in British Schools and Universities* (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1927), 194.

³⁶ Jules Tygiel, *Baseball’s Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Chapter Two.

³⁷ Historians of professional football cite former Yale star William “Pudge” Heffelfinger to be the first football player paid for his services (\$500) when he competed for the Alleghany Athletic Club against the Pittsburg Athletic Club in 1892. See Finoli and Aikens, *The Birthplace of Professional Football*, 6-12.

³⁸ Keith McClellan, *The Sunday Game: At the Dawn of Professional Football* (Akron, OH: The University of Akron Press, 1998), 18.

³⁹ Ken Burns, *Baseball: First Inning, Our Game, the 1840’s – 1900* [videorecording], (Alexandria, Va.: Turner Home Entertainment, 1994).

⁴⁰ Burgos Jr., *Playing America’s Game*, 25.

⁴¹ Reiss, *Touching Base*, 162-64.

⁴² Victor Dauer, *The Amateur Code in American College Athletics* (PhD. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1950), 39-40.

⁴³ Charles K. Adams, quoted in “The University of Michigan Daily,” Vol. V, No. 72, January 14, 1895, in Charles Baird Papers, Folder: January 1895 – March 1895, Box 1, BHL-UM.

⁴⁴ The perception of professional football serving as, what Michael Oriard calls, “the dark underside” of the college game was not restricted to competition between historically white colleges and universities. In a 1930 commencements address at Howard University, W. E. B. Du Bois bemoaned the “Negro undergraduate” who was more interested in “swarming into semi-professional athletics” than he was in deep study and research that higher education demanded. See Michael Oriard, “Home Teams,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 95 (Spring 1996), 476; W. E. B. Du Bois, “Education and Work,” in *The Seventh Son: The Thoughts and Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois, Julius Lester* (ed.) Vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1971), 563.

⁴⁵ Unauthored, untitled article in Charles Baird Papers, Folder: Correspondence, October 1895, Box 1, BHL-UM; “Move to Oust Camp,” November 27, 1905, in TRC-HL; Amos Alonzo Stagg quoted in Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 70.

⁴⁶ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 42-44. Among the elite, separating work from play was common. In one of many letters that Theodore Roosevelt wrote to his sons, he implored them to “play hard when you play; and I want to see each of you work hard, and not play at all, when you work.” In TRC-HL.

⁴⁷ Reiss, *Touching Base*, 164.

⁴⁸ There are numerous texts that explore the experience of newly arrived immigrants to the United States in the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Of the many that I have found helpful, listed are a few of the most useful: Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880 - 1915* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Thomas Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890 – 1945* (New York: Oxford Press, 2003); Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885 – 1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009);

Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Whiteness of A Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). Coach Stagg saw professional football as a menace that was “destructive of the finest elements of interscholastic and intercollegiate football.” Other coaches did their best to discourage their players from simultaneously playing semi-pro ball—a tempting but illegal practice—or competing with pro teams after they graduated. See Amos Alonzo Stagg, “To All Friends of College Football,” in Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 70.; “Coaches Hostile to Pro Football,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1921. Perhaps John Griffith, Commissioner of the Big Ten communicated the anti-pro sentiment best when he wrote: “the influence of athletic professionalism is detrimental to a college man. It tends to make him dissatisfied to play the game for its own sake and makes of his athletic powers a marketable commodity... The game is robbed of the exhilarating inspiration of achievement merely for achievement’s sake, and many of the very important character building qualities which form a part of collegiate athletics are lost the moment the incentive of personal gain is introduced.” See John Griffith, “Professionalism in Collegiate Athletics,” in Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 70.

⁴⁹ Department of Athletics Records, Folder 7-58, Box 7, University Archives, SML-YU.

⁵⁰ To borrow from theorist Stuart Hall, I see culture as “the actual, grounded terrain of practices, representations, languages, and customs of any specific historical society” as well as “the contradictory forms of common sense which have taken root in and helped to shape popular life.” See Stuart Hall, “Gramsci’s Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity,” in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley (New York: Routledge, 1996), 439.

⁵¹ Stuart Hall, “Notes on Deconstructing ‘the Popular,’” in *Cultural Theory & Popular Culture: A Reader*, 2nd Ed., ed. John Storey, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 453. In *Eight Hours for What We Will*, historian Roy Rosenweig identifies how, through a heavy investment in the neighborhood saloon and boxing, in particular, the working-class communities of industrial Worcester, MA—typically composed recent Southern European immigrants—fashioned counterpublics and counternarratives that created alternative forms of leisure and recreation. See Rosenweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will*. For additional studies on those in positions of power controlling public, social and municipal spaces, see: See Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Shane White, “‘It Was A Proud Day’: African Americans, Festivals, and Parades in the North, 1741-1834,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 81, No. 1, June 1994, 13-50; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ‘Remarks on Negro Election Day,’ *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, XIII (1873-1875), 45-6; Ira Berlin, “Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America,” in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 85, No.1, Feb 1980, 44-78; John Sweet Wood, *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730-1830*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003). Though most upper-class men zealously detached their public selves from activities they perceived as lowbrow and even depraved, Chad Heap’s nineteenth and twentieth century study of the bourgeois class’s interest in illicit lower-class recreation belie this alleged commitment solely to gentlemanly activities. “Organized around access to liquor, gambling, pugilism, and cockfighting,” writes Heap, “sporting-male culture provided a means for white middle- and upper-class men to join their working-class brethren in the rough-and-tumble environs of the Bowery and comparable working-class districts in Chicago.” See *Heap, Slumming*, 5.

⁵² In an editorial to the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, the writer voiced his disappointment that viewing a college game was extremely difficult for members of the public who were not affiliated with one of the two competing universities. More damaging, the author identified that this exclusion was intentional on the part of the schools. These very same individuals who closed the gates to the masses opposed the alternative. “The men who oppose professional football,” he averred, were among the elect “who can see the games, and they don’t care whether any one else gets the same fun.” See “For Professional Football,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 2, 1925, page 8.

⁵³ “To the Faculty-Committee on Outdoor-Sports, Princeton College,” December 18, 1889, Folder: Letter to Princeton, 1889, Box: The Committee on the Regulation of Athletic Sports; “A Reply to the Statement of December 18th of the Committee on the Regulation of Athletic Sports of Harvard University, by the Princeton Advisory Committee and Foot Ball Managers,” February 24, 1890, Folder: Reply of Princeton, 1890, Box: The Committee on the Regulation of Athletic Sports, in HUA-HU.

⁵⁴ In 1894 the Oberlin College faculty attempted to define “amateur.” It is an example of a common effort that most schools or athletic committees, typically composed of both students and professors, exercised in an effort to differentiate their student-athletes from professionals. Oberlin’s Committee on Regulation of Athletic Sports released a statement that read: “An Amateur is one, who, either before or since entering college, has not engaged for money in any athletic competition, whether for a stake, money-prize or share of the entrance fees of admission, and who has not taught or engaged in any athletic exercise or sport as a means of livelihood, and who has not at any

time, received for taking part in any athletic sport or contest any pecuniary gain or emolument whatever, direct or indirect, with the single exception that he may have received from the college athletic organization or from any permanent amateur organization of which he was at the time a member, the amount by which the expenses necessarily incurred by him in representing his organization in an athletic contest shall exceed his ordinary expenses." See "Committee on Regulation of Athletic Sports," January 8, 1894, Folder: June 1894 – July 1894, Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, BHL-UM.

⁵⁵ For an example of rules required for competition at the intercollegiate level, see Appendix A. At the University of Michigan Board of Regents November 1923 meeting, Regent Murfin offered a statement that the Regents accepted as a motion. It stated: "We are in cordial sympathy with any plan that fosters and encourages clean and wholesome inter-collegiate contests. [...] [We] prize highly every agency which develops the spirit of true sportsmanship." They also reiterated their commitment to rid professionalism of the college game: "We should seriously regret any policy that would strengthen the tendency to transform the amateur collegiate contest into a public spectacle with some of the evils which seem inevitably to accompany some events in the world of sportsmanship." See Board of Regents, November Meeting 1923, University Archives, BHL-UM.

⁵⁶ "A Reply to the Statement of December 18th of the Committee on the Regulation of Athletic Sports of Harvard University, by the Princeton Advisory Committee and Foot Ball Managers," page 7, February 24, 1890, Folder: Reply of Princeton, 1890, Box: The Committee on the Regulation of Athletic Sports, in HUA-HU.

⁵⁷ Camp further asserted that a team should not try to distract their opponents through "cheering or talking;" they should hide their disappointment in defeat, and applaud an exceptional play regardless of who committed it. See Camp, *The Book of Foot-ball*, xvi-xvii.

⁵⁸ Gray Morris letter to A. Lawrence Lowell, March 11, 1912, Folder 83, Box 3, President Lowell Papers, 1925-28, HUA.

⁵⁹ Ira Hollis, "Intercollegiate Athletics," *The Atlantic Monthly*, October 1902, 538-9. Michael Oriard reveals that sideline coaching was not officially sanctioned until 1967. See Oriard, *Reading Football*, 39.

⁶⁰ Telegrams in Scrapbook ("Memorabilia from College Days"), Box 1, John R. DeWitt Collection, JSRC-ND.

⁶¹ Chart of Expenses, Folder 7-58, Box 7, Department of Athletics Records, SML-YU.

⁶² Theodore Roosevelt, "The Conditions of Success," Speech at Cambridge Union, May 26, 1910, TRC-HL

⁶³ Even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: "[y]ears of experience have taught New Haven restaurant owners that football crowds are hungry." In both small towns and even large cities, hotels, restaurants, street vendors, and other facets of the service industry looked forward to reaping significant profits on football weekends. See "Yale Outplays Tigers in 3-3 Tie," *New York Times*, November 16, 1913, S1-2.

⁶⁴ "Harvard and Yale Battle on Gridiron," *New York Times*, November 21, 1914, 14; "New Haven Route for Harvard Game," *New York Times*, 11/12/1914, 5; "70,055 Seats in Yale Bowl," *New York Times*, November 18, 1914, 9; "Snow and Rain on Yale's New Bowl," *New York Times*, November 20, 1914, 10; "Defeat Hits Hard in College Town," *New York Times*, November 22, 1914, S1.

⁶⁵ Amos Alonzo Stagg, quoted in "Pro Elevens Hurt Sport," *New York Times*, November 2, 1923, pg. 21.

⁶⁶ Amos Alonzo Stagg, *Touchdown!* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1927), 58.

⁶⁷ "Move to Oust Camp; New Committee Asked," *New York Tribune*, November 27, 1905, p.1, col. A.

⁶⁸ Letter to Baird, Folder: November 1895 – December 1895, Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, BHL-UM.

⁶⁹ Charles Baird letter to J. DeForest Richards, June 15, 1896, Folder: April 1896 – July 1896; See R. K. Moody letter to Charles Baird, June 1, 1894, Folder: June 1894 – July 1894; W. F. Priebe letter to Charles Baird, September 24, 1894, Folder: September 1894; F. M. Comstock, Chairman Athletic Committee Faculty and Charles S. Howe, Secretary of Faculty letter to Baird, October 27, 1894, Folder: October 1894, all folders in Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, BHL-UM.

⁷⁰ J DeForest Richards letter to Charles Baird, July 18, 1896, Folder: April 1896 – July 1896; Charles Baird letter to Bert Carr, September 7, 1896, Folder: August 1896 – September 1896. It was not uncommon for Baird to give students strict instructions as to how to maintain the ruse: do not get drunk and loose-lipped, do not slip when questioned, take precautions and hide any and all evidence of payments. To one student for whom he provided \$400, he commanded: "It is needless for me to tell you that I wish the contents of this letter kept absolutely secret from everyone. All men will be examined this fall and it will be ten times harder than ever to keep this matter quiet. You are suspected and you and I will have to agree on a plan to disarm suspicion if you go back. However I think you and I can fool the best of the misguided friends at Ann Arbor who would ruin our team [emphasis original]." To another student he cried: "For Heaven's sake keep straight so that you won't reveal anything while drunk. That is your only danger. On all occasions deny receiving any aid from anyone." Charles Baird to Gustave Ferbert,

September 14, 1896, Folder August 1896 – September 1896; Charles Baird letter to Bert Carr, September 23, 1896, Folder: August 1896 – September 1896. All letters in all folders in Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, BHL-UM.

⁷¹ See “On the Gridiron: Significance of the Conference Called by President Roosevelt,” October 16, 1905 in TRC-HL.

⁷² See E.D. Smith letter to Charles Baird, September 6, 1894, Folder September 1894, Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, BHL-UM. Similarly, in a letter to Charles Baird, University of Michigan alum Harry M. Bates communicated his discomfort with what he considered dishonest behavior. But, based on the circumstances and the potential of gaining an edge for victory, he was torn: “I have always regarded spying out the signals of opposing teams – as ‘off color’ – but Chicago certainly has been after ours – and has had men watching the Wisconsin-Northwestern work already. It may be a part of the game. If so I stand a fair chance of learning Chicago’s signals. A young friend of mine who is well up on the game – is taking in all of Chicago’s work and has already made some progress on the signals. The youngster is an admirer of Michigan and of his own accord – has offered to give me what he learns during the season. What are the ethics of this matter? Please don’t mention me in connection with this.” Harry M. Bates letter to Charles Baird, Folder: September 1895, Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, BHL-UM.

⁷³ Henry Beach Needham, “The College Athlete, *McClure’s Magazine*, June 1905, 3.

⁷⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, “The Strenuous Life,” in *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (1901; St. Clair Shores, [MI]: Scholarly Press, 1970), 1.

⁷⁵ In a game between the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University, a *Boston Herald* author suggested that the team from Philadelphia could have won “on its merits,” but they resorted to unsportsmanlike tactics that “hurt the Quaker team more than anything they have ever done in their long series of memorable games with the Crimson. Unnamed author, “Harvard’s Work Cut Out for Her,” *Boston Herald*, in Reggie Brown Collection, Box 1, Folder “1904 – Harvard,” HL-ND. Likewise, following a Dartmouth victory, the *Boston Herald* stated, “There was nothing but praise by the Dartmouth men for the clean way their opponents played.” See “Dartmouth Men on the Result,” *Boston Herald*, November 6, 1904. These evaluations were not limited to sports reporters. In a letter to George Gray, President Theodore Roosevelt indicated that he wanted to reform the game and minimize the violence and “try to get the game played on a thoroughly clean basis.” See Roosevelt Letters, 3698 to George Gray, p. 46, Washington, October 5, 1905. In a letter to Benjamin Caswell, Richard Pratt, related his disappointment with the way his team’s opponents from Navy conducted themselves in a game at Annapolis. “The cadets did not play as clean a game this year,” wrote Pratt. To illustrate what that meant, he continued, “they made their gains by slugging and unfair ruling by the umpire.” See Richard Henry Pratt letter to Benjamin Caswell, November 27, 1895, Box 10-29, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT (hereafter BRBM-YU).

⁷⁶ “Harvard-Dartmouth Game Ends in Tie, 0 to 0,” *Boston Herald*, November 6, 1904 in Reggie Brown Collection, Box 1, Folder “1904 – Harvard,” Hesburgh Library.

⁷⁷ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 153-4.

⁷⁸ Caspar Whitney, “The President and Football,” *The Outing Magazine*, December 3, 1905, in Theodore Roosevelt Collection, HL-HU.

⁷⁹ “On the Gridiron: Significance of the Conference Called by President Roosevelt,” October 16, 1905 in TRC-HL.

⁸⁰ See “Athletics in College,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, Vol. XXVII, No. 11, November 25, 1893.

⁸¹ See Thurman Rice, *Racial Hygiene: A Practical Discussion of Eugenics and Race Culture* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1929), 303, 308.

⁸² For assistance with my study of how some perceived cheating to be a disastrous peril to the welfare of college football, I referred to Nayan Shah’s useful examination of how anti-non-white affect of Chinese immigrants led to the demonizing of this community following the city’s smallpox epidemics of the 1880s. See Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco’s Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁸³ Theodore Roosevelt letter to Kermit Roosevelt, October 9, 1905. TRC-HL.

⁸⁴ Letter from Knute Rockne to George Keogan [Coach of Valpo football], December 18, 1920, UPBU, President Burns, 1919-1922, Box 46, in UA-ND.. See also Robert Burns, *Being Catholic, Being American: The Notre Dame Story, 1842-1934* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 176. Similar to the Carlisle School’s Native American students, the predominantly Irish Catholic undergraduates at the University of Notre Dame were aware of the sociocultural stakes of intercollegiate sport before this aforementioned dispute occurred. In 1910, *The Notre Dame Scholastic* featured an article that outlined the moral parameters involved. “The football player, to be successful,” wrote the author, “must be a fine specimen of manhood.” He then continued with a definition of what this meant: “He must have strength and skill; he must be trained to think and act quickly.”

Ultimately, however, the writer focused on the heart of the matter: “It is too often forgotten that the qualities for which we most esteem the man are the qualities underlying his conduct in the game. This is the higher meaning of football, and of college athletics in general.” It was not enough to merely play the game physically well. A “fine specimen of manhood” must be prepared to play honorably, cleanly not dirty—that was the higher objective. See “The Men of 1910,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, Vol. XLIV, No. 12, December 3, 1910, p. 187 in UA-ND.

⁸⁵ See President Theodore Roosevelt letter #3743 to Walter Chauncey Camp, November 24, 1905 in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Elting Morison (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 94. Guy M. Lewis, “Teddy Roosevelt’s Role in the 1905 Football Controversy,” *The Research Quarterly* 40, 1969, 717-724.

⁸⁶ Letters to his children reflect Roosevelt’s commitment to supporting physical and mental development for the cultivation of strong character, a quality Roosevelt often made synonymous with manliness. In one missive, he admits that it would suit him fine if his sons were not dominant athletes. But, he writes, “I do like that you are manly and able to hold your own in rough, hardy sports.” Though he harbored hopes for Theodore Jr. and Kermit’s achievement in sports and studies, he had his preferences: “I could a great deal rather have [you] show true manliness of character than show either intellectual or physical prowess.” See T. R. Letter to His Children, “Football,” in TRC-HL. His ambition to nurture in his offspring, to encourage in college men, and to develop in U.S. citizenry a devotion to his Strenuous Life philosophy—a belief in tackling challenges directly, which, in turn, developed courage, fortitude, and a manly being (he did not intend this worldview for women) that reflected the strength of a nation—was unflagging. Regarding the uproar that college football violence provoked, Roosevelt argued, “We cannot afford to turn out college men who shrink from physical effort or from a little pain.” He then conflated the health of college graduates with the virility of a nation. “In any republic, he claimed, “courage is a prime necessity for the average citizen and he needs physical courage no less than moral courage—athletics are good, especially in their rougher form, because they tend to develop such courage.” Quoted in Griffith Bonner, “Teddy Saved Football,” in TRC-HL.

⁸⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, “The Value of Athletic Training,” *Harper’s Weekly* 37, December 23, 1893, 1236.

⁸⁸ *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, Vol. XXVII, Notre Dame, Indiana, May 19, 1894, No. 34.

⁸⁹ Camp, *Book of College Sports*, 3.

⁹⁰ French theorist Pierre Bourdieu would argue that this is an example of “the illusion of ‘natural distinction’.” It is prefaced on the power of “the dominant to impose, by their very existence, a definition of excellence which, being nothing other than their own way of existing, is bound to appear simultaneously as distinctive and different, and therefore both arbitrary (since it is one among others) and perfectly necessary, absolute, and natural.” See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 255.

Chapter III

Privatizing the Game: College Football, University Stadiums, and the Construction of Exclusive Publics

In June 1899, University of Notre Dame President Andrew Morrissey wrote a private letter to graduate Frank Carney, “We are seriously considering the question of an enclosed field for our athletics.”¹ Such was one of many appeals sent to alumni and potential benefactors in the early summer of 1899. Though Morrissey referenced “athletics,” the college used the eventual space primarily for football.² A popular campus sport when autumn weather became too inclement for baseball, undergraduates played inter-dormitory football as early as the 1860s. The Catholic university became an intercollegiate competitor of the sport in 1887 when they hosted the University of Michigan team that fall.³ A little more than a decade later, the rising popularity of the game nationwide and the maintenance expenses accrued by the varsity squad convinced university officials that they needed a more formal arena for their football team—one that could generate revenue. To this point, the school did not charge a game attendance fee and spectators were free to crowd the sidelines unrestricted by barrier of rope, fence or other obstacles separating players from crowd. The expenses of hosting football games, therefore, fell on the shoulders of students and generous donations of supportive faculty members. Deciding that the current system for funding this growing—and potentially profitable—extracurricular was untenable, university authorities decided to build an enclosed field with modest bleachers where they could begin charging admission.

Their call, however, fell largely on deaf ears until Warren A. Cartier, class of 1887, agreed to finance nearly the entire endeavor. With a measure of expectation, Cartier responded affirmatively to Morrissey's appeal: "I have thought for some time that as Notre Dame was getting so interested in athletics," wrote Cartier, "she should have an enclosed field and have wondered many a time why the question was not taken up."⁴ A partner with Rath and Cartier Lumber Company located in Ludington, MI, Cartier quickly forwarded a check that Notre Dame used to purchase a ten-acre plot on which to construct the field. He also shipped lumber from his own yard to help erect the fence that would line the perimeter and the grandstand that would sit behind it.⁵ With the improvement of his alma mater's athletic facilities well under way, Cartier concluded another letter to President Morrissey saying that he hoped the field would prove a success and "shed light and glory on the star of old Notre Dame."⁶

Cartier Field did more than upgrade Notre Dame's athletic facilities. Its construction signaled a moment when Notre Dame embraced and indulged the cultural significance of college football. This bounded space and the larger stadium that followed, Notre Dame Stadium, were pragmatic responses to financial needs. Football cost money. Players needed a place to play, pads and uniforms to wear, arrangements and accommodations for travel. It was also the case that Notre Dame's games were gradually attracting more spectators. After playing in front of modest crowds in the early 1890s, the team began to draw thousands by the end of the decade. By virtue of its gates and grandstands, Cartier Field, then, provided Notre Dame with a physical structure that enabled the university to more effectively "house" the game, manage the crowds, and collect gate fees.⁷ In their decision to divide gridiron from grandstand and generate profits from what had become more than just an extracurricular activity, Notre Dame administrators took action to capitalize on the potential stream of revenue that could not only sustain this

budding sport but could prove a long-term economic windfall for the school at large. By hosting football games on their own premises in their own arenas, schools took advantage of their opportunity to maximize profits. As the Notre Dame example suggests, monetary concerns and aspirations drove the administration's efforts, and that of numerous colleges and universities across the country, to transition from an informal to formal playing field replete with stark divisions between players and fans, stands from which to view the game, and paid fees required for entry.

While economics drove colleges and universities to corral college football within built structures, this alteration of the physical space of football had consequences regarding the relationship of the game to various groups. Once, entry to the game had required walking onto a field, maybe hopping a fence. What did it mean for the game and its spectators—or would-be spectators—when the very architecture of the stadium meant that access to the football space required getting “inside” a closed structure? How did the stadium, a huge space built for occupancy by large numbers of people, function as a private space? How did colleges handle the paradox that emerged with the rise of massive coliseums and the maintenance of boundaries that separated the educated elite from the rest of the “crowd”?

By drawing games away from public spaces and back to college grounds, universities exerted increased control over the location of the competition, the playing space, the revenue generated, and the people participating as spectators. Prior to the assembly of university-owned college football stands and then stadiums, players competed in open fields, town parks, or public baseball stadiums. At these games, university affiliates mingled with townspeople. As such, the original sites ineffectually segregated the elite and well-to-do from those who did not fulfill these categories of privilege. The advent of stadiums created an outsider class, a class of people

literally kept outside the college football space. By and large, this group included persons not affiliated with the college, a population that overlapped greatly with the working class. Moreover, as *de facto* segregation was alive and well in and beyond the southern land of Jim Crow, non-whites (including particular ethnic immigrant groups) had little place in a private space of higher education. By their very function, stadiums made access contingent on many factors, including the ability to pay, eligibility for tickets, and belonging to or sufficient association with the educated elite who owned the space.

Among studies of college football, a handful of scholars have addressed stadiums particularly toward the end of the Progressive Era when the pace of college football stadium construction reached an apex. Focusing chiefly on details like when stadiums were built; how many seats were installed; and how much money schools earned off the revenue of these built structures, scholars' examinations of stadiums are often part of a broader analysis. With an emphasis on the financial advantage that stadiums provided many schools, sport scholarship on this topic has rightly gestured toward the structures' nod to patriotism as well, particularly for stadia erected following the conclusion of World War I. As the twentieth century unfolded, college football became big business and many college athletic departments began to operate more independently from the auspices of the university as a whole. Within this changing context, arenas stood beyond the purview of academic control as a principle site where this separation between academic institutions, popular entertainment, and capitalism became increasingly blurred.⁸

This scholarship indicates the ways that stadiums accelerated the significance of the game, complicated higher education, and boosted revenue for schools. If, as geographer Peirce Lewis has asserted, we inculcate our landscapes with meaning because they are our most

“unwitting autobiographies,” then what role did college football stadiums play in providing school officials and athletic departments the chance to consolidate power, shape the game, and supplement and even construct new definitions of normativity? How did stadiums provide those privileged enough to enter with a sense of belonging and community? The previous two chapters discussed how, through discourses of masculinity, science, and fairness, proponents of college football ideologically constructed the sport itself as both the property of the educated elite and generator of the characteristics necessary for belonging to that group. This chapter moves beyond the sport to consider the significance of spectators. As college football rose in popularity and institutes of higher education built large stadiums in their effort to institutionalize and claim the sport, fans became a greater concern. Sustaining the sport financially in its increasingly institutionalized form required greater numbers of spectators. But facilitating open access ran the risk of giving the sport over to the unaffiliated “masses”—the very populations from which members of the educated elite had used the game to distinguish themselves. This chapter considers the role of college stadiums and universities’ attempts to negotiate this tension. The football grounds, a more democratic place during the sport’s earliest days when a lack of boundaries enabled a variety of peoples to enjoy the spectacle, became less open when university stadiums encircled the action and authorities utilized the structures to impose an order politically favorable to those already in positions of power. This analysis, then, is critical in terms of identifying how the stadiums of college football served as instruments and sites that made and enacted difference.⁹

I have divided this chapter into three sections. First, I offer a description of the original and modest sites of college football by relying primarily on three schools for my analysis: Yale University, Harvard University, and the University of Michigan. A subsection of this first part

evaluates how school officials began to perceive a need to build stadiums and what drove their efforts. I then interrogate what work the actual assembly of their stadiums required. These institutional decisions were driven by men who did not necessarily set foot on the gridiron but who, through their investment in these projects of athletics, granted themselves the opportunity to revisit a time and place of yesteryear's masculinity. University committees commissioned to build stadiums often dedicated the structures to a previous generation. In even more explicit terms, many stadiums are memorials to fallen student/soldiers and commemorated as such—there are numerous “Veterans’,” “Soldiers’,” and “Memorial” stadiums on college campuses. These structures, then, and the culture they invoke and commemorate maintain an important toehold in the past, often regarded in rhetoric and lyrics of school songs as the “best” days. Finally, through an investigation of schools’ ticket distribution policies in these new athletic sites, I show how administrators were as concerned with who provided them with revenue as they were with the profits themselves.

Modest Origins

Football started with humble beginnings in which participants played far more than they watched. Chapter One illustrated how games were characterized more by disorder than order as students at each school molded the physical activity to the resources and the facilities that they had available. Sometimes a wall marked a sideline; in another setting, a well-worn path cutting through the main quadrangle of campus determined a border. Boys made due without even the luxury of grass. Recall Twombly playing in Boston’s vacant gravelly lots that are now populated by bars, restaurants, boutiques and tourist traps in the historic brownstones of the Back Bay.¹⁰ When crowds formed, typically upperclassmen watched their younger brethren battle, and the spectators were as haphazardly arranged as the game was played. Gathered around the area of

competition, seniors and juniors cheered freshmen and sophomores in what Parke H. Davis, sportswriter and football historian, called “a team game of red rover with a ball.”¹¹ When Princeton University and Rutgers University met in 1869 to play the inaugural intercollegiate football game, all of these crude elements were present. They competed on unmanicured grounds partially surrounded by fence wedged between College Avenue and Sicard Street on Rutgers’ New Jersey campus.¹² Supportive classmates, family and close friends attended these games and cheered their athletic peers; but rarely did more than a small crowd emerge from competing colleges and neighboring communities to take account of the contests through the 1870s and early 1880s.

Regardless of crowd size, the fervor of college football quickly spread across college campuses. By the 1870s, each Ivy League school fielded a team. In 1877, Washington and Lee and the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) introduced competitive football to the South. The University of Michigan faced off against Racine College in 1879, which marked the first intercollegiate game in the Midwest. By the early 1880s, small Eastern schools like Tufts, Williams, Wesleyan, and Amherst were competing against one another.¹³ By 1892, if not earlier, college football had spread to the West Coast. For example, on March 19th of that year, Stanford played the University of California at Berkeley at San Francisco’s Haight Street Baseball Park. In addition to the action of traditionally white colleges, Biddle College (now Johnson C. Smith University) traveled northeast from Charlotte, North Carolina to play Livingstone College in Salisbury, N.C, on December 27, 1892 to mark the first intercollegiate football match up between two historically black colleges.¹⁴ Well before the turn of the century, football had supplanted rowing and baseball as the primary sport on college campuses across much of the

nation.¹⁵ Student enthusiasm drove its development. This excitement first attracted handfuls of curious onlookers before larger crowds began to swiftly clamor to witness the game.

Similar to the sport itself, accommodations for spectators were equally disorganized. There was little order to the manner in which games were observed and little effort or ability to regulate who could and could not attend these events. People sat on surrounding embankments, crowded sidelines, and stood as close to the action as possible. In fact, classical archaeologist David Gilman Romano suggests, the term “stadium” may have originated from the Greek verb, “to stand.” In other words, the etymology of stadium derives from a term that literally meant “the standing place.”¹⁶ Because fans attended games before bleachers and boundaries for them were assembled, the “standing place” began without borders. Eventually rope, fence, and then more substantial structures separated players from spectators. During the earliest phases of college football, however, fans could walk unencumbered onto the field. Occasionally, this proved disruptive. At the conclusion of a gallant play, fans would often swarm the field and embrace the player responsible for the stupendous effort.¹⁷ Regardless of these varying levels of disorder during the embryonic stages of the sport, entrepreneurs began to see the supporters of college football as more than just casual spectators; they were a market.

According to media expert and sports scholar, Robert Trumpbour, advocates and organizing bodies of baseball were ahead of their football counterparts in their efforts to use their sport to turn a profit. The first admission fee charged for a baseball game occurred between two New York City teams at the Fashion Race Course in Long Island in 1858. Trumpbour further avers that the 1869 undefeated season of the Cincinnati Red Stockings convinced team owners that baseball could be considered a viable commercial product.¹⁸ With the precedent of baseball and the profitability of horseracing and prizefighting already established, university officials,

fledgling athletic departments, and city administrators collaborated to build bleachers and gates so that expenses to host games could be paid and additional profits from the events acquired. Nonetheless, despite the potential for a significant stream of revenue, schools initially made only modest incomes off of games regardless of where they took place. When Yale hosted Columbia University in 1872 for the Bulldogs first intercollegiate game, football historian Tim Cohane describes how Yale officials were worried that enough “students and townies could be lured through the gate to cover the fee” for renting New Haven’s Hamilton Park as well as the cost of dinner arranged for both teams after the match. Paying twenty-five cents each for admission, approximately four hundred spectators, from both the town and the schools, ultimately attended the contest.¹⁹ The setting of these early games reflected the stage of development of college football. Hamilton Park and other public facilities were the most available spaces in which to compete. The order, formality, and sophistication of sport spaces eventually mirrored the levels of increasing interest and enthusiasm among onlookers and proponents of college football.

Prior to the construction of on-campus sports arenas, most games were played at neutral sites convenient for both teams and easily accessible to fans. This arrangement, then, required that both teams travel; stay at least one night in the host city; spend money on meals; and, split the rent of the leased facility. Town parks and county fairgrounds provided the space for smaller-scale games and professional baseball stadiums were utilized when two powerhouse teams or elite universities matched up. For instance, New York City’s Polo Grounds regularly hosted the Yale-Princeton Thanksgiving Day clashes of the early 1880s.²⁰ Despite the size of the city, the presence of Yale and Princeton alumni in the area, and the ease with which fans could reach the stadium, the first years of these contests played before a few thousand fans were not financial bonanzas. In 1880, for instance, once all expenses were cleared, each team netted less than \$350

for their part in the game.²¹ In short time, these paltry profits became more of an exception than the rule. Sports historian Murray Sperber reports that, as an indication of how swiftly the popularity of the game gained speed, by the 1890s this very same Thanksgiving Day game between Yale and Princeton, “attracted crowds as large as forty thousand people and generated sizable profits for the schools.”²² Here, Sperber points to a shift in college football. Initially, institutions (really just a handful of student organizers) hoped to generate enough revenue to cover the expenses of the game. Eventually, the same institutions (students now organized in much more formal fashion only one decade later) regarded the game as a profit-making enterprise.

Soon thereafter, college football’s growing popularity spread—in varying degrees—from the Northeast to the Midwest, the South, and even to the West Coast where schools with the most successful football squads earned incomes from receipts in the thousands and tens of thousands of dollars per game by the turn of the century.²³ In addition to New York City, Springfield, MA was a suitable site for universities like Yale and Harvard to meet because the state capitol was approximately equidistant from both schools. It was also a major railroad junction, which enhanced its attractiveness as a host city. Thus, these two schools agreed to square off against one another in Springfield from 1891-1894. To express his satisfaction with Harvard’s and Yale’s commitment to play their four-year series in his city, Springfield mayor Edward Bradford wrote to Harvard’s captain prior to the first meeting: “Our citizens” he assured B. H. Trafford, “are ready to co-operate with you in any proper way.” Moreover, the stands that city carpenters were constructing for the games would attract crowds that, he assured Trafford, would “prove a surprise” and generate a huge “financial success,” for both teams. Bradford’s expectations were

met. 15,000 fans filled the temporary bleachers, and, according to *New York Times* calculations, total revenue for the event grossed more than \$119,000.²⁴

An 1890 article in Notre Dame's school paper, *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, observed a similar growth. The author announced that football was bidding with baseball and boxing to become the "national sport." This was due, in part, to the fact that the demand for the game had spilled beyond the confines of the college campus. College football, wrote the author, "is getting hold outside the college circles; athletic clubs in the cities have their elevens, and every year the game attracts a larger and larger audience from the miscellaneous public."²⁵ There was money to be made in the world of college football. It had financial promise, and many schools were making considerable profits. To take full advantage of growing revenues, some schools' football associations sought to avoid the additional costs of leasing private fields and began desiring and demanding fields of their own.²⁶

The compensation that the more successful football programs provided their universities persuaded some schools to invest in their own on-campus fields with grandstands for spectators. Based on the passion with which many students and alumni had embraced this new campus activity and the attention it drew from people unaffiliated with the college or university, schools quickly recognized not only the necessity but the advantages gained by accommodating the swelling waves of spectators on their own terms. Typically, neutral sites were privately owned and leasing fees were frequently considerable. When Yale played Princeton in Hoboken, NJ in 1880, rental of the field cost each school three hundred dollars. Fifteen years later, these same squads paid \$10,000 to rent Manhattan Field in New York City.²⁷ In consequence, Yale built their own array of fields in 1884, and the football team played its home games at "Yale Field" that very fall. Before the turn of the century, they were making just under \$50,000 for the season

in home ticket sales. By 1902, 30,000 fans were attending Yale home games.²⁸ By saving the money once used to lease privately owned fields and drawing the game back to the campus, universities that were able to invest in on-site football fields faced new questions. Who would be allowed into the new grandstands? How would they set prices? Who was eligible for tickets? And, how would, or could these new football spaces redefine the relation between student, spectators, alumni, and casual fans (local or otherwise)?

Moving to Campus

Despite the growing demand, college football did not move directly from cow pastures to large coliseum-like stadiums. First, most institutions invested in athletic fields with bleachers and makeshift gates to manage crowd traffic. However, as they developed these spaces, the demand for tickets and the size of crowds overwhelmed these first iterations of college football stadiums.



Fig. 3.1 University of Michigan football team at Regents Field in 1901.²⁹

In response, schools with available resources abandoned the crude, turn-of-the-century designs that marked college football's first generation of arenas in favor of more capacious structures. As a Harvard newspaper stated, "the Harvard class of 1879 presented Harvard with a nucleus of \$100,000 to build a stadium to meet the popular interest, and the country at large has not yet stopped erecting them."³⁰ Though this pronouncement suggests, inaccurately, that Harvard

spearheaded the charge into the football stadium construction era, the sentiment was correct. Beginning in 1895, modern football stadia were born when the University of Pennsylvania built Franklin Field, the first football-specific stadium, which they expanded in 1903 to host even bigger crowds. Harvard University followed its Ivy peer by completing its own coliseum in 1903 and Syracuse University built a 40,000-person structure in 1908. By the middle of the next decade, many schools had or were in the process of substantially increasing the capacity of their bleachers or committing to more permanent arenas. By 1914, Princeton unveiled Palmer Stadium by playing host to Dartmouth College while Yale University opened the Yale Bowl to over 70,000 Harvard and Yale partisans in November of that same year. By the mid-1920s, over forty schools had joined what sports journalists coined the game's "Golden Era" of stadium construction.³¹

Moving college football to the campus satisfied additional concerns for critics of the game. It cleaved a more significant fissure between the rising tension of amateur and professional sports. Proponents of the college game saw professional sports as one motivated by the extrinsic reward of money rather than sportsmanship—inspired to win at all costs rather than to play with honor at all times. Moreover, the fear of competing in front of "howling crowds" in huge cities for spectators that cared more for the excitement of the game than the well-being of the players provided college trustees with further incentive to design and control the space of the game themselves. Before offering a significant donation to Harvard University to be used to construct their first football stadium, Harvard graduate Henry Lee Higginson spoke at an 1894 dinner for the Yale and Harvard Elevens in New York City.³² In addition to lauding Yale's most recent victory and complimenting both squads for their fair play, he warned against the vices of the game. Namely, he blamed the overemphasis of victory over sportsmanship and the

commercialization of the sport for the loss of perspective and the growing disconnect between players and fans that accompanied the rise of the game. In response, “I would have fewer contests and those only on college grounds,” warned Higginson. College, he continued, is for learning from books and professors: “Your games are for health and pastime. Keep them so. Your College grounds are private. Keep them so.”³³

In addition to the over-exuberant roar of crowds and the commercialization of college football, the type of spectator partaking in the spectacle was an additional concern. Who should and should not attend games became a frequent issue of contention. Harvard graduate Henry Van Duzer, for instance, was incensed enough about the Polo Grounds’ ticket distribution policies that he wrote to the President of the Harvard Foot Ball Association. “There is great dissatisfaction,” Van Duzer asserted, “among the Yale and Princeton graduates in the University Club in regard to the manner of disposing of seats for the Thanksgiving game.” His chief complaint was that too many individuals unaffiliated with the competing universities were gaining admittance to games. Van Duzer’s subsequent request for 200 tickets from Yale and 100 from Harvard suggests that he believed that he, an alum, was a more appropriate distributor of said tickets. He would act with the best interests in mind of the competing schools; he would keep the tickets in-house.³⁴ Similarly, correspondence between officers of the Committee of Twenty-One, the Executive committee of the Yale Alumni Advisory Board responsible for the oversight of Yale’s stadium construction, and prominent alumni, prior to the 1914 completion of the Yale Bowl, assured graduates that all precautions would be taken to prevent football tickets from falling into the hands of “objectionable people.”³⁵ This letter did not specify who “objectionable” people were, and it may have been in reference to speculators who would potentially inflate the face value of tickets. Nonetheless, in the records of university papers and

sportswriters' articles, a consistent rhetoric distinguished the "right" type of fan from the "wrong" one.

To contend with this dynamic and attend to the desires of certain disgruntled alumni, privatizing the game, to use Higginson's terms, was taken to heart as numerous universities expanded their athletic facilities and embellished their resources for football. Various colleges and universities were quickly determining college football to be a site through which institutional loyalty could be further cultivated. In the nineteenth century, the Washtenaw County Fairgrounds in Ann Arbor, for example, sat adjacent to the University of Michigan campus and served as the home field for their college football team. But the squad played their biggest games in Detroit to "accommodate the large group of alumni who wanted to see their Wolverines in action."³⁶ This was, however, a dynamic schools had to constantly monitor, as graduates were hard to please and had to be frequently mollified. For instance, even after Harvard completed their stadium in 1903, ticket limitations for alumni were perceived by some as such a severe problem that the Executive Committee of the Harvard Club of Boston wrote to its members to address "the misapprehension, lack of knowledge and disappointment that have prevailed on the subject of the distribution of seats at the major football games." Having described the supply and demand of tickets and availability in cogent terms, the Committee concluded: "if the order of the distribution of seats in vogue in 1909 continues in force...no graduate can expect a seat between the goal lines unless content to go alone." Reinforcing Harvard's dilemma and reflecting the fears of Yale's stadium planning committee, a *Washington Post* author wrote, "Even in the Harvard stadium, with a seating capacity of 40,000, it has been impossible to take care of the graduates and undergraduates of the two institutions. Every year thousands of graduates are unable to buy seats."³⁷ That some graduates were not able to enjoy the performances of their

respective teams, celebrate the athletic prowess of their alma mater, and imbibe in the cultural capital that these events offered was regarded as a failure to uphold the notion of school spirit and community. Universities regretted turning alumni away at the gates. Thus, adequately serving students and former students stood at the forefront of stadium planning.

Stadiums, nonetheless, were costly affairs. Yale's effort to enhance their athletic grounds by 1914 cost nearly three quarters of a million dollars. Michigan Stadium, built the following decade, cost more than \$1.25 million, and Notre Dame Stadium, constructed soon thereafter, cost nearly as much as its Ann Arbor counterpart.³⁸ To secure the funds needed to invest in the construction of a new stadium, most schools turned to their graduates for economic support. Yale's Committee of Twenty-One, for example, composed a "Facts and Appeal" memorandum for alumni that articulated the urgency to which an upgrade in athletic facilities was necessary. "It is not a question of what Yale should have or would like to have," stated the missive, "but what Yale must have [emphasis original]." In their call to alumni to help finance construction, the letter stressed essential need: the diminutive football stands that had then existed at Yale Field—which sat 33,000 fans—cost victories because they could not accommodate enough Bulldog devotees to cheer their team. The facilities cost the school money because they were forced to turn spectators away due to the over-capacity of the stands: "During the past seven years about \$100,000, which was received with applications for foot-ball seats, had to be returned to the senders because there were no seats for them." The letter further lamented the loss of \$50,000 should the upcoming Harvard game be played on the present field, based on the necessary repairs the current facility required and the inability to satisfy all ticket requests. The state of the athletic facilities, concluded the appeal, brought shame to the university because of their ramshackle appearance and physical inadequacy.³⁹

The Yale Alumni Advisory Board began official planning for a new football stadium in April 1911. By May, the Board authorized the Committee of Twenty-One with full control of the building process, subject to the Yale Corporation's approval. Even with a fall of 1914 deadline and a \$700,000 price tag for stadium construction and an overhaul of the university's athletic facilities, Yale representatives did not consider this an optional project; it was an imperative one. Two football fields, two baseball fields, one track, numerous tennis courts, a gymnasium, indoor sporting facility, boathouse, and a "dilapidated" dressing house were insufficient for its 3500 students. With the planned Yale "Bowl," as it was being called, more than doubling spectator capacity, the appeal concluded by exclaiming that a generous response from "Yale men throughout the land," would guarantee their alma mater "the finest athletic equipment in existence." This, in turn, would return Yale to its victorious ways that had been interrupted by a "lack of facilities."⁴⁰ This was a call to Yale men across the land to (re)join their imagined collegiate community by serving their Alma Mater and, in turn, each other.

This memorandum beseeched the loyal men of Yale to stem the tide of lost revenue and help fund a project that would bring glory, extending beyond the realm of the athletic, to their deserving alma mater. Stadium construction was the focus for the benefit of the team—a "team" constituted by far more than just the current football players). This task could be achieved if Yalies took care of one another.⁴¹ Throughout this letter and numerous others that the Committee of Twenty-One sent to alumni seeking donations, the rhetoric invoked the concept of family. George Mason, Chairman of the Metropolitan Committee of the Yale Committee of Twenty-one, addressed another letter to the "sons" of Yale in the New York City area, the region where the university attempted to derive the most charitable giving from alumni. In it, he wrote about how, with their help, Yale was going to come into "her outdoor kingdom," for it was "she" that

produced graduates, and it was she, Mason's letter averred, that deserved improvement such that "every mother's son" could take advantage of "GREAT OUTDOOR YALE" [emphasis original]. Mason also strove to inspire generational continuity through a reiteration of each potential donor's connection to the larger Yale community. Their investment would benefit the "future tens of thousands of younger Yale," in addition to enabling every Yale man to visit New Haven "all the rest of his life."⁴² An attachment to Mason's dispatch from the Committee's treasurer, Augustus F. Kountze, also solicited subscriptions from alumni "not only to supply a great Yale necessity for the present, but a permanent benefit which can hardly be measured upon the Yale world of the future." To combat any fragility to the notion of the Yale family, Kountze emphasized that Yale's "sons, nephews, grandsons, and great grandsons," would be the handsome beneficiaries of Yale's elder generations' generosity.⁴³

Giving back to one's alma mater might be perceived as an act of goodwill. Building a football stadium might be perceived as the natural progression of an evolving football program. And relying on a university's extended "family" for donations can be seen as sound fund-raising strategy. Each gesture, however, is wedded to certain political implications and thick cultural meanings. Built structures are neither politically innocent nor neutral even though they are often thought of as such. Within a larger societal context, college football stadiums did not only host football games. For many individuals of privilege with access to these events, they became a safe space to reimagine notions of self and community. In this imagining, the honoring of the past, a common purpose, identity, and sense of family cohered seemingly disparate elements into one mythical interconnected entity. The stadium served as the heart of the return to the mother and to a better, simpler time in memory.

While some undergraduates termed their passion for their school's sports teams, "patriotism," the aforementioned Henry Lee Higginson declared to his New York City audience of footballers: "some of us old fellows care as much as you do about football, — possibly more."⁴⁴ Stadiums, in large part, served as monuments that threaded a school's heritage through to its future. Their construction centered on an idea of creating a home that housed nostalgia.⁴⁵ And these structures elicit responses of their own independent of the football action inside. Fans are awed, overwhelmed, admiring, intimidated and many other things all at the same time. To imagine spectators at stadiums today is to picture a handful of fans with faces smushed together to capture the ubiquitous "selfie" that necessarily frames a part of the stadium as memorial to the experience. Early twentieth century structures offered the contemporary generation of students an equivalent chance to produce forthcoming memories. Stadiums, then, give a material shape to a valued set of fragmented experiences couched within the discourse of remembering, giving back, and strengthening an already select community.⁴⁶

Building Exclusion?

In the first few decades of the twentieth century, college football stadium construction disproportionately catered to the demands and desires of the educated class relative to the general population. The architecture of football, then, communicates specific values and aspirations, even fears and philosophies as English scholar Kenrick Grandison would attest. His study of the construction of historically black colleges' and universities' campuses (HBCUs) claims that within the circumstances in which they can operate, built spaces are often knowingly and carefully calculated to reveal desired meanings to different audiences. Campus leaders of HBCUs, he contends, created dual meanings in the constructions of their physical plant that mollified white philanthropists while simultaneously motivating the educational objectives of

their black constituents. Designs were both functional and protective of students, faculty, and staff—a constant mediation that suggested black compliance to whites at the same time that it enabled black progress for blacks.⁴⁷ Historically white schools were equally deliberate in their campus plans. Grandison writes: “These gothic campuses cloister those within—guard them from the outer world—as they also serve up an intimidating exterior to outsiders.” The message, states Grandison, is that physical structures declare who deserves to belong and who does not.

Stadiums situated on campuses or occasionally at off-campus sites serve a university as one of the most symbolic reminders of that simultaneous inclusive and exclusiveness. Stadiums are visible. In most cases, they were designed to be visible. They are often the biggest structures on a college campus. They loom especially since they remain unoccupied most days of the year. Because they are closed, they become even more special—at least mysterious—because they are usually off limits. As extensions of the academic mission of universities, they supplement what Grandison calls the “intimidating exterior.”⁴⁸ As such, the way that stadiums present themselves, they must be understood as strategically constructed. Pillars and ivy might conjure images of academia, but stadiums—as the pleas within Yale’s fundraising letters reveal—anchor the sentiment of the college experience. Understood within a larger social, physical and political context, stadiums serve as a significant tool in the performance of everyday life at a university that plays an active role in discourses of community and belonging as well as exclusion and hierarchy.

Stadium construction, then, was a purposeful development that provided a fairly specific population a visibly ostentatious site to celebrate the college football phenomenon. Consolidating the football space allowed for the building of community among these football men and provided a more formal stage for their performances of masculinity. For turn-of-the-century middle- and

upper-class men, associating with an activity that demanded strength, courage, and discipline provided them an essential opportunity to disprove fears of weakness and celebrate their manliness. As discussed in greater depth in the first chapter of this project, contemporary definitions of manliness indicated that no class was more vulnerable to threats of hypercivilization, softness, and corruption than the young, white bourgeois men poised to move up in the world of education and business. For instance, following a tennis match in the Philippines where he served as Governor-General from 1908-1913, W. Cameron Forbes, former Harvard football star and one-time coach, retired to his sickbed because he thought he had “brain-fag,” as he termed it in his journal. Whatever the suffering, to become “unnerved,” as historian Warwick Anderson classified it, was to become “unmanned.”⁴⁹ Despite official diagnoses, the sense of ailment to which Forbes claimed was a cultural crisis rather than a bodily illness.

Since football was at once active and combative, aggressive but disciplined, it was the perfect remedy to interrupt and eliminate the degenerative effects of neurasthenia. Therefore, it had to be protected. Despite the hegemony of conventional male masculinity, countervailing forces constantly tested its power. Thus, it had to be constantly reworked, renewed and revised. Cultural anthropologist Esther Newton articulates this paradox facing men: “The superordinate role in a hierarchy is more fragile than the subordinate.” That is why, she continues, “Manhood must be achieved, and once achieved, guarded and protected.”⁵⁰ In other words, dominant masculinity combated challenges to notions of manliness by regaining and rewriting the terms of gender. Stadia, it turns out, were ideal locations for writing gender onto space. When Harvard first designed their football stadium, Soldier Field, the chief architects made certain that the stadium tablet inscription communicated the appropriate level of potency. Though the “joy of

friendly contest” was considered, correspondence between then president of the university, A. Lawrence Lowell, and his associates noted that phrasing to be too sentimental and lacking in force. A stronger statement was preferred and the stadium entrance remains adorned, “Dedicated to the Joy of Manly Contest.”⁵¹ As Newton states, men’s celebration of the “Manly Contest,” still compelled them to overtly declare what they claimed as male territory. It was, however, a male territory not defined in relation to a feminine or feminized arena. Rather, it was a territory *of* maleness not asserted in opposition to women or femininity. In this particular discourse, women did not factor into the equation.

The cultural significance of college football and the commitment that many universities dedicated to the sport meant that the stadium became what theorist Hannah Arendt calls a “space of appearance.” Envisioned as a politically symbolic realm, it is a place where an individual is seen through speech and action. Hence, with little opportunity for input within the football realm even when present, women were usually rendered culturally invisible in these “spaces of appearance.”⁵²

Yet, the rhetoric of the stadium—like that of the college, and the nation—is one where the symbolic female is constantly attended to and revered. As the alma mater, the reproducer of men, the university itself is cherished as a maternal figure despite, or maybe because of, her limited agency. Herein lies one of the paradoxes of the middle-class movement’s attempt to reclaim an allegedly depleted manliness. At the same time that men marginalized women, the performance of a gentlemanly masculinity required that men exalt “their” women who reinforced this manliness and who, through symbiotic relation, concomitantly assumed the most delicate definitions of femininity that demanded protection. Within patriarchal nobility, it was imperative that men not only protect their women but that women uphold the highest estimation of Victorian

respectability and ladylike behavior in order to connote a certain civility. The cherishing of the campus and the reverence to the alma mater, then, honored the female despite the fact that she could not respond.⁵³

These institutional abstractions emerged from individual dogmatic assertions. For instance, Harvard's patriarch from 1869-1909, president Charles Eliot delivered a 1908 speech where he offered his impression of a woman's most cherished profession—motherhood. After describing “a normal woman” who “brings up four or five dutiful, thoughtful and loving children,” he asks, “shall we not conclude that her occupation is the most precious in the world?” Eliot's perspective of women seemed largely unaltered throughout and beyond his tenure at Harvard. In another speech given five years later, Eliot reemphasizes his earlier point: “The great occupation of women [motherhood] is the most intellectual occupation there is in the world.”⁵⁴ To this end, it should come as little surprise that when Eliot and other university elite proclaimed on one hand the central role of education to be the cultivation and maintenance of civilization, they guarded with the other hand the gates of their institutions from female enrollment.⁵⁵ Within the Ivy League alone, Cornell University and the University of Pennsylvania began educating female undergraduate students in the nineteenth-century. More commonly though, Brown, Columbia, Dartmouth, Princeton, and Yale—some of which had sister schools—solidified their commitment to coeducation only in the late 1960s and 70s in the midst of the second wave of feminism. Harvard, itself, merged with its sister school, Radcliffe College, in 1977. Thus, for the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth, the feminine ideal had a place in higher education, but the female did not.

Even though men managed to define the football arena as a male space, they were still in competition with one another. As new stadiums on college campuses sprung up, inevitable

comparisons were made. Yale fundraisers, for instance, tried to motivate donors to collectively surpass in their potential giving for construction of the Yale Bowl the generosity of *one* Princeton alumnus who provided over \$100,000 for the support of Princeton's Palmer Field football stadium, which also opened in 1914. Of course, contrasts were not made in financial terms alone. It was often not enough just to construct a new arena; university officials were motivated to outdo the latest designs of their peers. Media, too, stoked the flames of stadium-building competition. When Yale embarked on their construction of the Yale Bowl in 1913, *The Washington Post* remarked, "the new Yale field and bowl will be totally unlike that of any other university." To fortify the implications of the above comment, a later article from the same periodical stated: "[the] [a]bility to break records in stadium building appears to be one of the necessary requisites on the part of successful construction concerns these days." In a similar strain of assessments, the *New York Times* indelicately pointed out that once Princeton's and Yale's stadium projects came to fruition, Columbia University was the only notable East Coast institution that lacked a major athletic field. The second generation of stadiums that followed those built in the first two decades of the twentieth century, some of which are noted above, inevitably measured themselves against their predecessors. When the University of Pittsburg, for example, built their nine-acre 70,000-seat stadium in the downtown area, the design was to be "similar to that of the Yale Bowl and the University of California Stadium."⁵⁶

Expansion stoked new anxieties. Proponents believed financial needs and financial aspirations could be resolved and fulfilled through expansion. Opponents, nevertheless, doubted that enough fans would fill the new behemoth arenas. Some worried even that the size of these structures would diminish excitement in the game. Perhaps these coliseums were trying to include too many spectators. A University of Michigan progress report on the construction of its

new stadium attempted to quash some of these misgivings. On the contrary, argued the report, “a big stadium creates added interest,” and an expanded coliseum would provide alumni and the citizens of Michigan “the right to see Michigan teams in action.” Further, by fulfilling the expansion of their athletic resources, the University of Michigan “can keep step...with the foremost Universities of America.”⁵⁷ The report reflected the introduction of a new language regarding the “right” to see a football game, a right that came from belonging to the imagined community of the university and from fulfilling responsibilities to that community. Also, the report pointed to a new form of competition in stadiums, crude though it may have been. As related to the masculinist competition of college football, size mattered. (It is an interesting dynamic, in which universities oscillated between asserting maleness through the size of their stadiums, but femaleness when discussing “our dear Alma Mater”). Like the Michigan report, most university proposals and updates regarding stadium construction were couched in terms that suggested that colleges endeavored to indiscriminately meet the increasing demands of their fans. Amidst these self-serving goals, officials typically employed altruistic rhetoric—trying to provide as many fans as possible with the opportunity to see the game—to also justify these ventures. In practice, access to games was more limited. As will soon be described, controlling space, mobility, and interaction were chief priorities among the dominant class regarding these new football spaces. As such, rather than increasing supply and access for all, the construction of college stadiums provided additional growth to a privileged institution that included those persons already constituting an exclusive constituency.

When the University of Michigan began constructing what is now their current stadium, some of their business decisions prioritized gaining the favor of some groups. By the early 1920s, fans had outgrown the 45,000-seat grandstands of Ferry Field, home of the University of

Michigan football team from 1906 to 1926. In response, as early as 1923, the university's Board of Regents began contemplating the possibility of enlarging Ferry Field further than its previous remodels or relocating the football arena to an entirely new site.⁵⁸ Along South State Street where Ferry Field and its predecessor Regent Field were located, adjacent buildings like the Westgate Manufacturing Company curtailed the possibility of significant expansion at the present site. In addition, the athletic department wanted to minimize congestion between the football field and campus as well as "devote the land nearest the campus to the interests of the entire male student body," rather than engulf it with a massive stadium. As such, the university began their acquisition of property on the opposite side of the Ann Arbor railroad tracks to the southwest of Ferry Field.⁵⁹ A multi-year project, which resulted in the construction of Michigan Stadium, required the university to purchase over 100 additional acres of land on which to build the new coliseum and the amenities that would support such an endeavor. Many of the lots sitting on the future football site were private property. Negotiations with individual owners and many of the stipulations of the property deeds provide insight into the type of terms that the University was willing to agree to in order to enhance and enlarge but remain in control of their refurbished football space.

Gus Cochis and his wife, Stella, were two such property owners that sold land to the University. On June 9, 1926, the Cochises sold "Lot forty eight" to the Regents for "One dollar and other valuable considerations." Though parting with said land, the Cochises included certain restrictions. In particular, the Cochises specified, "no dwelling" on the lot granted "shall be erected thereon that cost when completed less than \$2,000.00." Further, the deed stated that the lot "nor any building thereon be sold or leased to, or occupied by any colored person or by any club, society or corporation of which colored persons are members."⁶⁰ These terms and similar

demands from other Ann Arbor property owners were part of a common or reoccurring language prevalent on dozens of deeds with which the University of Michigan was in contract.

Discriminatory covenants similar to these were not uncommon in Michigan and other states across the nation at this time as primarily white land owners responded to the real and imagined presence of blacks and non-white Others. Starting around 1916, African Americans' intensified migrations from the South to Northeast and Midwest cities and swelled the populations of these urban environments. Likewise, fighting in World War I gave black Americans an assertive sense of identity with the nation that was, if not new, certainly more public. When black soldiers returned from battle, they came home “with a music, a lifestyle, and a dignity new to the nation—and soon to pervade it,” notes historian David Levering Lewis.⁶¹ This reinvigorated self-determination and the emergence of a “New Negro” sentiment may have correlated with the race riots in the Red Summer of 1919—white responses to overt black agency. Nonetheless, white hostility toward black compatriots may have likely been building for decades. Prior to its conclusion—or even U.S. involvement—WWI altered the racial dynamics in the war industries as blacks flooded positions in northern factories that whites abandoned in order to fight in Europe. As a result, manufacturing positions in cities like Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland saw their labor force steadily darken.⁶²

The 1920 census classified the vast majority of Washtenaw County residents—the Michigan County in which Ann Arbor resides—as native-born whites. The number of immigrants in this region was historically low, most arrived from Germany, and the black population was always small. Despite relative racial and ethnic homogeneity, the Cochises and other town residents who put race and class restrictions on their property sales reveal anti-Other angst regardless of whether the social composition of their towns was in flux. That being said, it

remains unknown why the Cochises—and their contemporaries—sought to place such demands on their property deeds to the University of Michigan. These limitations do not identify the Cochises' motives. Did they harbor anti-black ideologies, in general, that compelled them to discriminate against blacks as well as the poor? If they did, their racism was more anticipatory than reactionary. As mentioned, African Americans constituted a diminutive fraction of total residents in the state of Michigan and less than three percent of Ann Arbor's townsfolk, which was only a handful more than resided in the town twenty years prior. In effect, then, their restrictive demands guarded against the threat as opposed to the actuality of a significant black presence at Michigan football games.

Regardless of the intent of the Cochises et al and the collusion of the University of Michigan, they made decisions that excluded. Perhaps the Cochises viewed the college football stadium as a site of experiential privilege where their motives could be more accurately defined as favoring some, which resulted in a simultaneous but less intended outcome of excluding others. By drawing a color line around the stadium, they racialized it and differentiated the value of whiteness versus blackness by identifying who could and could not enter the space dedicated to college football. Regardless, the epoch in which these negotiations took place was rife with social, political, and cultural tensions, and these contracts reflected white, middle-class anxieties around race and class.⁶³

The specifications that the sellers postulated in the deeds unveil, to some degree, their vision for that land's future, which they hoped to control in some capacity. What do the arrangements reveal about the buyer? To what degree was the university expected to honor the conditions of the real estate contracts, particularly if black students were enrolled as undergraduates and potential football players and, at the very least, fans of their school's football

team? Despite the overwhelming presence of white faces on a football Saturday, a glance in today's Michigan Stadium would indicate that the University of Michigan has chosen to distance itself from the demands of many of the sellers of the land on which the stadium was built nearly ninety years ago. But in 1926, a year that fell squarely within the period marked by the second rising of the Ku Klux Klan, the university was, at the very least, complicit with the racist expectations of some Ann Arbor townsfolk with whom they transacted property deals. Evidence of the University of Michigan conspiring with white supremacist wishes of alumni exist outside of the athletic arena as well. In 1912, Joseph A. Bartholomew bequeathed to the university the residuals of his estate to be held "in trust by them forever." Bartholomew earmarked this gift to provide a \$500 annual scholarship "to the education of a poor but worthy young man." There were, however, limitations to the scholarship's application. Bartholomew required that the recipient "must be an inhabitant of the United States proper, exclusive of its undignified and barbaric colonies, and he must be of Aryan blood, unmixed with Negro Indian or Jew."⁶⁴

Head football coach and eventual athletic director, Fielding Yost, likely steered decisions as well. He was sporadically involved with the planning and construction of Michigan Stadium, wielded a significant degree of power in the athletic department, and had an outsized influence on the University of Michigan campus as a whole. His own racial perspectives possibly influenced the university's willingness to do business with bigoted property owners. Born in Fairview, West Virginia in 1871 to a Confederate soldier, Yost married into a family of former slaveowners.⁶⁵ His history and upbringing does not guarantee anti-black sentiment. Yet, his failure to suit up a single black football player during his twenty-five year coaching tenure led University of Michigan football historian John Behee to declare, "the hiring of Fielding Yost as a football coach in 1901 ended whatever chance black athletes might have had in football."⁶⁶ In

Hail to the Victors!, a study of black student-athletes' experiences at the University of Michigan, Behee provides several examples of Yost's attitude toward blacks. In 1928, for instance, alumnus Herbert Wilson, a white lawyer from Indianapolis, lent support to black Michigan student Clifford Wilson (no relation) in the latter's attempt to join the football team. In a letter to then coach, Elton "Tad" Weiman, asking whether it would be possible for a "colored man" to play for Michigan, Herbert Wilson conceded, "I know while I was in school Coach Yost would not permit it." In response, Weiman admitted: the "complications" of adding a "colored man" to the roster were too significant, "the handicaps to the squad would be greater than the advantages to say nothing of the difficulties that encounter the individual himself." Weiman, himself a former Wolverine player under Yost, further expounded on this standpoint by reminding Herbert Wilson that during his own playing days he never shared the gridiron with a black teammate. Despite Weiman's allowance that African Americans had tried to join the team while he was a player, "we decided that it was not worth the friction that would result to have him on the squad," Weiman justified.⁶⁷ By this time, de jure oppression of blacks in former slave states had infected the philosophies of many of their northern neighbors where de facto Jim Crow customs became practice. As such, the stances of segregation that Yost and many other coaches of northern historically white schools embraced impacted university policies and decisions that affected their football programs and athletic departments more broadly.

Ticket Distribution Policies

From a financial standpoint, minimizing the scope of the fanbase able to view games exacerbated one if not two problems facing universities once they concocted plans to build concrete colossuses. They needed to finance the construction of the stadiums, and they needed people to fill them. In many cases, the seating capacities for these new arenas exceeded not only

student enrollments but the population of the town in which the school was situated. Robin Lester, author of *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago* writes: "Sixty-five thousand attended the Michigan game to dedicate the new Memorial Stadium in Urbana, Illinois, a town of twelve thousand then [1922] and more than a hundred miles from a city of any size."⁶⁸ To this end, universities depended even more on attracting fans that lived beyond the perimeters of their campuses. Institutions from the Ivy League's Northeast to California's West Coast made targeted appeals to select constituencies in an effort to drum up support for stadium construction and for the team that would play inside. As the aforementioned discussion of Yale's queries to alumni indicates, economic concerns were intimately wedded to the notion of community-building among those with past or present connections to their alma mater. Further, universities promoted the idea that enhancing the college's investment in sport was, in fact, a larger gesture of goodwill and commitment to the campus as a whole. Chairman of Michigan's Board in Control, Ralph Aigler stated, "The building up and equipment of athletic fields are considered instances of permanent university improvements."⁶⁹ By asking alumni and "friends" of the university to demonstrate their devotion through financial means, schools almost unanimously rewarded their benefactors with ticket distribution policies that looked very favorably upon their generosity.

It was, in fact, a much more common practice for universities to provide access to reserved and better seats to subscribers. To justify this outcome, committees responsible for the oversight of athletic activities explained that they foresaw no other option. David Daggett, Yale's Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Committee of Twenty-One, assured a football fan dissatisfied with Yale's stance on ticket distribution that after numerous Committee of Twenty-One meetings, which incorporated the testimony of countless people and considered various

strategies of fundraising, they agreed to reward financial generosity. Daggett claimed, “There is no possible way of raising the amount of money we have raised,” approximately \$400,000, “without giving recognition to those who subscribe.” And, “the only recognition that they would value,” he added, “would be a seat in the structure and a good seat.”⁷⁰ Yale’s “Ticket Privilege Plan” enabled a “subscriber” to provide the university with one hundred dollars in exchange for the privilege to purchase two seats in the reserved section of the stadium for fifteen years from the date the stadium opened. The terms of the plan increased proportionally to a ceiling whereby a subscriber could give Yale \$1,000 in exchange for the opportunity to purchase ten seats. In a letter to graduates and undergraduates imploring them not to delay investing in subscriptions, it assured them that a fully paid subscription entitled them to the best reserved seats on the Yale side of the field: “The earlier the subscription, the better the seats.”⁷¹ Schools were literally buying and selling space on an individual level.

Naturally, these privileging policies were not met with unanimous acceptance. Even some alumni and students questioned their university’s propositions. In this opposition, however, it was clear that many who were uneasy with their school’s ticket plan were not necessarily in favor of a more balanced distribution of said commodities. Rather, they feared the ramifications of not receiving preferential treatment. They were not opposed to a tiered class of seating arrangements. They were opposed to not having access to first class seats. For instance, in anticipation of the games to be played in the new Bowl, Yale undergraduate R. H. MacDonald Jr. exchanged communication with Secretary Daggett and voiced his distaste with his school’s arrangements. Speaking for himself and his fellow classmates, MacDonald thanked Daggett and his committee for the work undertaken, but questioned the promise of “seat reservations” to stadium “subscribers.” “The idea,” exclaimed MacDonald, “is wrong.” Especially, he continued,

“if they with their wives and families, are to take precedence over the undergraduates, who should have the right before all others to first choice seats for the games.”⁷²

Giles Taintor, a Harvard affiliate leveled a similar gripe against Yale’s rivals to the north, as he, too, was denied access to football tickets that he felt were rightfully his. After listing his connections with the college that included membership to the Harvard Co-operative Society, the Harvard Club of Cheshire County, and the Harvard Law School Association, he admitted to not holding a degree from the university because he “could not afford the time and money to take the full course at the Law School.” In his missive to William P. Garcelon, he added that all Harvard organizations have treated him as “entitled to the privileges of a Harvard man,” until he tried to obtain football tickets. It was “illogical,” he submitted, “to discriminate against a former student at the Law School in favor of a student in the undergraduate department.” Taintor made clear that he was challenging the principle of exclusion of men of Harvard College “who do not conform to certain requirements,” more than the question of whether he would eventually obtain his desired tickets.⁷³ In both examples of discontent, the two men magnified the significance of the stadium through both their desire to become a part of the cultural experience and of their level of disappointment in being relegated to less desirable seats in the first instance and denied access altogether in the second. As students (or former student in Taintor’s case) of Ivy League institutions, MacDonald and Taintor were members of an academic aristocracy. Privy to the benefits of this class, both men were aware of the potential capital derived from belonging to their respective institution’s football community. This may explain their dismay of being marginalized within or denied from the exclusive public of the Yale Bowl and Harvard’s Soldier Field, respectively.

By virtue of being private institutions, schools like Yale and Harvard had greater latitude in their decision-making processes regarding how they granted access to their facilities, in general, and their football stadiums more specifically. At public universities where taxpayers provided a considerable portion of the funds that financed state schools, policies that excluded a paying public were not only ethically questionable, they were politically unsound. At its 1873 onset, the University of Michigan, as an example, fostered a relatively inclusive, albeit brief, ethos surrounding its football program. Initial contests between classes occurred on campus, but the Washtenaw County Fairgrounds, a site adjacent to university property played host to open games until the early 1890s.

The university signaled a shift in 1892 when it made its first attempt to gain greater ownership over the game and its site of play. In May of that year the Board of Regents approved a resolution, which authorized the University Athletic Association to have control of the athletic fields along South State Street, the eventual location of its football games for the next thirty-five years. The resolution also stated: “the grounds shall not be rented or lent to any organization or person not connected with the University.” The school did not prevent the public from viewing games. Unaffiliated fans’ willingness to pay admission, in fact, supplied the athletic association with a considerable portion of gate receipts. But the Board’s effort to establish separation between university and public was both a seed for and indicative of the institution’s continued efforts to consolidate their influence on the college football space and shape the culture of spectatorship.⁷⁴

During the crux of development of the University of Michigan’s football team and its athletic program as a whole, Fielding Yost was at the forefront. Arriving in Ann Arbor in 1901, he skippered the football team to near peerless success for more than twenty years and then led

the athletic department for almost two more decades before retiring in 1940. In spite of his racial insecurities, he maintained that many of his decisions were motivated by an ethos of “athletics for all,” which inspired the construction of numerous buildings and fields dedicated to the cultivation of students’ bodies. In addition to enhancing preexisting facilities, Yost spearheaded projects that created a state of the art indoor fieldhouse, swimming pools for both competition and general fitness, and he insisted on building a gymnasium solely for Michigan’s female students—precedent-setting projects of their day.⁷⁵

Despite his democratic rhetoric, Yost’s decisions pertaining to the university’s ticket distribution policy for admission to Michigan Stadium, completed in 1927, were incommensurate with his public declarations. Throughout its construction he acknowledged the hypocrisy of enabling the University of Michigan to benefit from taxpayer money but not offering equal share of the benefits to the public. Reporting on the progress of stadium construction to the Board in Control of Athletics he insisted that Michigan was not a private institution, and “[o]wnership,” was vested “not in our students, faculty and alumni, – but in the people whose taxes make it possible.” To this end, he concluded, the football games were just as much the taxpayers’ contests as they were the players who competed. The school had a duty to serve the needs of the state’s citizens and maintain their “support, friendship and cooperation” if the state’s flagship institution was to gain the money needed “to enlarge the University’s sphere of usefulness.”⁷⁶ In a later speech, Yost asserted, “Citizens of the State of Michigan should have an equal right with alumni in securing tickets.”⁷⁷ Providing an open and unencumbered opportunity for all to see the labors of the University of Michigan’s football team was a noble but unrealized ambition. Despite his assurances to the public, the university athletic department

that he captained, endorsed a funding plan that borrowed from preferential policies that other institutions had already implemented.

This was not the first time that the University of Michigan's athletic department offered entitlements to certain affiliates under Yost's stewardship and explicitly excluded the public from certain games. In a 1923 missive to university President Marion L. Burton, Yost extensively described how the athletic department allocated tickets to various constituencies. This distribution included the football team and their guests, official figures, faculty, the "M" Club, seats for the visiting team and their guests, students, and alumni. He concluded: "There never is any sale to the general public unless there are several tickets left at the time of the game, or a day or two before the game," which he indicated only occurred on rare occasions when demand from the above groups waned.⁷⁸ In the same year, the Board of Regents reinforced Yost's position that university ticket policies were as much a preferential issue as they were a financial one. Minutes to their November 1923 meeting reveal that the Board would "seriously regret any policy that would strengthen the tendency to transform the amateur collegiate contest into a public spectacle." The next entry in the notes reinforced the Board's leery apprehension of non-university affiliated spectators participating in the Michigan football experience: "Inter-collegiate athletics should be conducted primarily for the students and alumni of the competing institutions, for their friends and families, and for the immediate constituencies of the participating schools."⁷⁹ When Ferry Field's bleachers were overflowing with spectators toward the end of its lifespan, the university devised a ticket application lottery that left attendance to chance. Fans unattached to the university occasionally scored seats before alumni.⁸⁰ But this was not a pattern that university officials favored nor continued. Michigan's football past as well as the very ground from which the new stadium grew was built on exclusion.

To support the building of the Michigan Stadium, the Regents, the Board in Control of Athletics, and Fielding Yost agreed on a financial plan and system of reward that targeted recent alumni and members of the university community rather than the larger statewide public and reciprocated subscription generosity in similar fashion. This tactic was devised after Yost and the Board in Control of Athletics surveyed fundraising efforts of peer institutions and settled on the University of Pittsburg's "Preferred Seat Purchasing Privilege," which relied on the use of bonded debts as the best plan. Per the decisions of the university's Board of Trustees, Pittsburg offered bonds to willing participants in \$500 increments up to \$5,000 that were remunerated by the opportunity to purchase two seats each year at regular prices for preferred seating in the stadium.⁸¹ In similar fashion, with Yost as chief author, the University of Michigan explained to its loyal family and friends how the new stadium would be built, used, and financed.

On August 15, 1926, the University of Michigan's athletic department released a multi-page catalog that trumpeted to all alumni, former students and citizens of the state of Michigan the opportunities that a \$500 investment in a three percent State Tax Exempt Bond could provide them. Michigan was not asking for a gift. Rather, "owners of Bonds" could materially assist in building Michigan's new stadium by applying for tickets at regular prices each year until 1937 for guaranteed seats "*between the two thirty yard lines*"—the most coveted section [emphasis original]. The prospectus maintained that Michigan's ticket distribution practices had always been made upon the most equitable basis possible, and this new fundraising scenario was no different. In fact, it argued that if one did not take advantage of this opportunity and was found wanting for tickets on game day, it would be that individual's fault. With an emphasis on the "*equal chance*" [emphasis original] that all Michigan fans were offered with this bond investment/preferred seat policy, the catalog concluded that there could be "no justifiable

complaint” to lack tickets: “since the opportunity to assure one’s self of good tickets was passed up when available.”⁸²

Despite the assurances of opportunity and equitability, Michigan’s promotion was rife with contradiction and inequity. The stadium finance committee reasoned that total cost of construction would cost slightly more than \$1.3 million. As such, they made 3,000 bonds available for purchase at \$500 each such that bond revenue would safely exceed total costs. In the same catalog addressed to “Alumni and Former Students of the University and Citizens of the State of Michigan,” it stated on the cover page “This prospectus is being mailed to all Alumni and former students. Obviously, it is impossible to mail copies to all citizens of Michigan.” With that admission, the brochure urged uninterested recipients to hand the prospectus and subscription blanks to those citizens who might want to take advantage of Michigan’s generous offering. In later pages, Yost reveals that these bond applications were sent to 63,000 Michigan affiliates. This means that if less than five percent of Michigan alumni responded affirmatively to the offer, the Michigan taxpayers that Yost cherished would have had no opportunity to “help the university” and “secure advantages and privileges” for themselves. Moreover, according to the university’s own records, when bond sales started slowly, Yost and publicity director Phil Pack prepared a new prospectus for alumni that was sent “to all Michigan bank presidents and chambers of commerce.” They also targeted “all Detroit households with incomes over \$10,000, the membership of the Detroit Athletic Club, and high income Highland Park households.”⁸³ Though Yost alleged to desire the support of all residents of Michigan, his class-based plans were offered most fervently to the richest members of the Wolverine state.

Fielding Yost’s authorizing of Michigan’s privileged ticket plan had become commonplace by the 1920s for many schools that had significantly invested in their football

programs. And, in general, the price of admission to football was rapidly increasing. Football historian Raymond Schmidt notes that in 1920, Ohio State charged \$3.00 for their game against Michigan. Tickets for contests between Ivies also went for \$3.00. In 1926, tickets for the Army/Navy game at Soldier Field in Chicago sold for \$10-15. Even Notre Dame was requiring between \$3.00 and \$5.00 for admission to Notre Dame Stadium, completed in 1930. As much as university officials insisted that the gates to their stadiums were open to all, ticket prices and ticket distribution policies, alone, were making access to college football games increasingly more private. While it is difficult to determine whether the construction of exclusive football publics was intentional, some had their suspicions. Sportswriter for the *New York Times* Allison Danzig wrote: "For the general public there is no longer any chance for it to get into the amphitheater when ancient rivals meet...[S]ome of the colleges have raised the price [of tickets] in order to keep out the general public and make the games solely for the undergraduates and alumni."⁸⁴

The rising popularity of college football in the first few decades of the twentieth century revealed to universities the amount of revenue that could be generated from the sport. By building and owning the stadiums in which teams competed, schools could more completely harness the profits that ticket revenue provided. More complete control of the capital led to more complete control of the crowds. In *Reading Football* Michael Oriard argues that nineteenth and early twentieth century dailies and other periodicals made college football the cultural phenomenon that it became through their narration of a game that not all could access in person.⁸⁵ This line of argument suggests that the power of sportswriters' accounts lay not only in the power of their prose, but in the fact of their presence. A power existed in being present, and it was passed through the page. The result was a curious dialectic between the presence of a

narrator and the absence of the reader, who was reminded of his or her lack of access every time they eagerly consumed an account, which (inevitably) told the story not only of the game, but also of the stadium and the crowd.

This exclusive space, then, created an event that became privileged in experience even as it was mass mediated and democratized in the newspapers and radio broadcasts. In addition to demarcating where some could not go, stadiums provided a space where privileged citizens could go. Within the stadium, a superior rather than inferior place, spectators who could witness the game, by virtue of their entrance, were now part of an event that generated a mass identity—one that distinguished them from those who read football outside of the football space. This insider identity, then, calcified old and reiterated new demarcations between those with privilege and those without it.

¹ Letter from President Andrew Morrissey to Frank Carney, June 27, 1899, UPEL (Notre Dame Presidents' Letters, 1856-1906), Box 72, Folder 8: June 19, 1899-June 30, 1899, UA-ND.

² Despite the importance of football, Notre Dame dedicated Cartier Field with a three-team track meet between Notre Dame, the University of Indiana and Purdue University followed by a baseball game between Notre Dame and the University of Nebraska on May 12, 1900. See Notecard, Arthur J. Hope Papers (CHOP), Box 9, Subject: Sports, April 4, 1900. UA-ND.

³ Arthur J. Hope, *Notre Dame: One Hundred Years*, (South Bend, IN: Icarus Press, 1978), 241; Thomas Cleary, "A Review of Our Big Games," *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, November 27, 1909, no. 12, p. 178 in UA-ND.

⁴ Letter from Warren A. Cartier to President Rev. Andrew Morrissey, June 27, 1899, UPEL (Notre Dame Presidents' Letters, 1856-1906), Box 72, Folder 8: June 19, 1899-June 30, 1899, UA-ND.

⁵ Alfred E. Gall, "Cartier Field—The Old and the New," *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, November 1, 1929, No. 7, p. 208; Henry Peck, "An Alumnus Shows Appreciation of his Alma Mater," *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, October 14, 1899, No. 6, p. 191 in UA-ND.

⁶ Letter from Warren A. Cartier to President Rev. Andrew Morrissey, September 2, 1899, UPEL (Notre Dame Presidents' Letters, 1856-1906), Box 72, Folder 14: September 12, 1899-September 21, 1899, UA-ND.

⁷ The common sports lexicon often references the terms "home" and "away" to indicate which of two teams is hosting a competition.

⁸ See Oriard, *Reading Football*; Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*; Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University*.

⁹ See, among others, Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1992 [1974]); Peirce Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D. W. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 12; George Lipsitz, "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race; Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape," in *Landscape Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (January 2007): 10-23.

¹⁰ Parke H. Davis, *Football: The American Intercollegiate Game* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1911), 59; Michael R. Steele, *The Fighting Irish Football Encyclopedia* (Champaign, IL: Sports Publishing LLC, 2003), 22. Twombly, "Personal Reminiscences," 1-2.

¹¹ Tim Cohane, *The Yale Football Story* (New York: Putnam, 1951), 12; Davis, *Football*, 34. Red rover is a game often played by children where one side of competitors sequentially challenges the opposition, individually or en masse, to reach an arbitrarily chosen goal line behind their barricade of human defenders. It is a relatively chaotic and unorganized activity.

¹² Michael J. Pellowski, *Rutgers Football: A Gridiron Tradition in Scarlet* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 6. Faculty of both schools cancelled the third game because they believed it was distracting students from their schoolwork; thus, Rutgers and Princeton played only two of three scheduled games.

¹³ John McCallum, *Ivy League Football Since 1872* (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1977), 30.

¹⁴ By the first decade of the twentieth century, enough black schools fielded teams that organizing bodies were required. On February 2, 1912, a meeting of representatives from several institutions met at Hampton Institute in Virginia and formed the Colored (now Central) Intercollegiate Athletic Association (CIAA), which included such schools as Hampton Institute, Howard University, Lincoln University, and Virginia Union. On December 30, 1913, members of eleven schools met at Morehouse College and established the Southeastern (now Southern) Intercollegiate Athletic Conference. See Ocania Chalk, *Black College Sport* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1976), 222.

¹⁵ Oriard, *Reading Football*, 12.

¹⁶ David Gilman Romano, *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: the Origins of the Greek Stadion* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993), 14.

¹⁷ Oriard, *Reading Football*, 34.

¹⁸ Robert C. Trumbour, *The New Cathedrals: Politics and Media in the History of Stadium Construction* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 198.

¹⁹ Cohane, *The Yale Football Story*, 15. Hamilton Park, now a portion of Edgewood Park situated at the corner of Whalley Avenue and West Park Street, was a park in New Haven that sits a few miles from the center of the Yale University campus.

²⁰ See Trumbour, *The New Cathedrals*, 201. Originally constructed for newspaper magnate James Gordon Bennett Jr. to play polo with family and friends, the Polo Grounds hosted its first professional baseball game in 1880. Located on 100th Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, the Polo Grounds became the de facto home of the Giants baseball team where, by 1883, the popular urban sport supplanted polo even though the original name remained. As was common, professional baseball parks provided the space for the biggest college football games before colleges and universities began constructing their own stadiums.

²¹ Oriard, *Reading Football*, 90-95.

²² Sperber, *Shake Down the Thunder*, 10.

²³ As an example of the popularity of college football on the West Coast, in 1904, the first year that the Big Game, as it was known, between Stanford and California, was played on a college campus (as opposed to in a baseball stadium or other public park), the two opponents dedicated the new \$40,000 California field on the Berkeley campus and collectively earned \$30,000 in gate receipts. Just two years later, 23,000 fans paid \$2 each to watch the game. See "Yardlines," Stanford-California Thirty-Fourth Annual Football Game, 40 in JSRC-ND.

²⁴ Letter from Mayor Edward Bradford to Harvard football captain B. H. Trafford, October 23, 1891, Box 3, Accession #: 19ND-A-367, SML-YU. Cited in Watterson, *College Football*, 17. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, football captains were often responsible for duties that would today be the obligations of a coach, team manager, or team administrator.

²⁵ *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, December 6, 1890, Vol. XXIV, No. 14, p. 219.

²⁶ Football "Associations" in the nineteenth century were often precursors to colleges' athletic departments. See Cohane, *The Yale Football Story*, 45. In some instances, smaller schools that did not have their own fields and subsequently leased professional baseball stadia for their games were often unable to generate revenue from the sport since they failed to attract the following that Ivy League institutions and other elite schools were able to secure. In *Shaping College Football*, Raymond Schmidt identifies Catholic Universities like Boston College and Fordham University, New York University and Holy Cross as emblematic of this cultural crossroads where smaller institutions attempted to field teams despite the expense and inability to reap profits. See Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, Chapter 6.

²⁷ Cohane, *The Yale Football Story*, 31. Manhattan Field, situated at 155th St and 8th Avenue, roughly splitting Harlem from Washington Heights, was also Polo Grounds II, the second generation of the Polo Grounds. When city planners expanded the street grid of Manhattan northward, the New York Giants baseball team was forced to relocate when urban planning consumed the original site at 100th St.

²⁸ Cohane, *The Yale Football Story*, 45.; Chart of Expenses, 1894-1905, Department of Athletics, Box 7, Folder 7-58, University Archives, SML-YU. Yale was not alone in their development of a more coherent collegiate athletic complex. The University of Michigan, for example, invested in land south of Packard Street in 1890, which commenced the growth of their sports facilities along South State street where the main field served as the home site for the football team. By 1892, the Board of Regents approved a resolution that authorized the University Athletic Association to have control of the athletic fields. No longer would the university share space with the city of Ann Arbor. See “The Michigan Stadium Story: Regents Field, 1893-1905,” Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Athletics History, <<http://bentley.umich.edu/athdept/stadium/stadtext/regents.htm>>, retrieved September 2, 2011.; Board of Regents, May Meeting 1892, BHL-UM, 31.

²⁹ Untitled Photograph, Ann Arbor, MI, Folder: Football Photographs, Box: Athletic Department Photos in Records of Athletic Department, BHL-UM.

³⁰ Boston Evening Transcript, Harvard College 300th Anniversary Edition,” September 11, 1936, Reggie Brown Collection, Box 1, Folder FBC905-1-6: 1928 Boston University Football, JSRC-ND.

³¹ David Royal Regan, “The Golden Football: The Forces Underlying the Formation of the National Collegiate Athletic Association,” Undergraduate Thesis, University Archives, HL-HU, p. 32; Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 40. At this time, nearly all of the stadiums purposed for football were designed and built by and for colleges. See Trumpbour, *The New Cathedrals*, 19.

³² “Elevens” was often the term used to refer to the eleven players per team that competed on the field at one time. In this case, I am not sure whether he was speaking to the entire complement of Harvard and Yale players on each team, respectively, or only the starters of the two teams.

³³ Henry Lee Higginson, “Speech at the Complimentary Dinner of the Harvard and Yale Football Elevens,” February 17, 1894, Widener Library, Harvard University.

³⁴ See Henry Van Duzer, “Letter to the President, Harvard Foot Ball Association,” November 11, 1891, Department of Athletics, Box 3, Folder 3-22, SML-YU.

³⁵ For more extensive evidence of this dialogue, see Letter to Edward J. Phelps, November 28, 1913, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU. For another example of this dynamic, see *New York Times*, “Snow and Rain on Yale’s New Bowl,” November 20, 1914, p. 10. The article reported that Yale’s paper the *Yale Daily News* reminded students that they would be blacklisted from all future Yale football events should it be determined that their tickets were found in the wrong hands.

³⁶ See “The Michigan Stadium Story: The First ‘Home Field’ – County Fairgrounds,” Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Athletics History, <<http://bentley.umich.edu/athdept/stadium/stadtext/regents.htm>>, Retrieved September 3, 2011.

³⁷ See Odin Roberts et al, “Harvard Club of Boston,” President Lowell’s Papers, 1925-1928, Box 3, Folder 85, HL-HU.; See “61,000 in Stadium: Yale Will Probably Have Best Football Field in Country,” *The Washington Post*, July 6, 1913, S4.; Lastly, athletic administrators at numerous schools received countless letters from disgruntled alumni who were unsuccessful at gaining tickets to games to which they felt entitled, often complaining that less deserving, less affiliated individuals took their place. See for example Giles Taintor letter to W. F. Garcelon, November 5, 1909, President Lowell’s Papers, Box 3, Folder 83, HL-HU.

³⁸ Yale Athletic Budget prepared by Treasurer A.F. Kountze for David Daggett, Box 8: Manuscripts and Archives, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU; Fielding Yost, “A Report on the Stadium Situation at the University of Michigan to the Board in Control of Athletics,” Box 46: Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics papers, Unnamed Folder, BHL-UM; Osborn Engineering Cost Estimates, President Charles O’Donnell Papers, Box 10, Folder 89: Estimates for Stadium, Osborn Engineering Co., June 17, 1929. HL-ND.

³⁹ “Facts and Appeal” memo, Box 8: Manuscripts and Archives, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU.

⁴⁰ David Daggett letter to Anson Phelps Stokes, “Present Progress of the Stadium,” March 31, 1913, Box 8: Department of Athletics, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU; T. DeWitt Cuyler et al, “Yale Committee of Twenty-One, Incorporated: Some Facts and an Appeal,” January 25, 1914, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU.

⁴¹ “Yalies” is a shorthand term for past and present Yale students.

⁴² George Mason, “Metropolitan Committee of the Yale Committee of Twenty-One, Inc.,” March 31, 1914, Department of Athletics, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU.

⁴³ A. F. Kountze, "What Has Been Done," undated, Department of Athletics, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU.

⁴⁴ In an 1891 piece in *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, the university's journal of record, an unnamed author wrote: "The collegian of to-day [...] feels a kind of patriotism, as it were, on seeing his college colors waving in triumph over some hard-fought contest." See "Athletics," *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, April 11, 1891, Vol. XXIII, No. 30, p. 474 in UA-ND. Higginson, "Speech at the Complimentary Dinner," Widener Library, Harvard University, 1.

⁴⁵ It is perhaps no coincidence that the largest stadium in the United States, Michigan Stadium at the University of Michigan, is affectionately and commonly called "The Big House."

⁴⁶ Historian Kristin Hass's scholarship links material culture and memory in helpful ways to this project. In particular, see Kristin Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

⁴⁷ Kenrick Grandison, "Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (September 1999): 529-40.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 535.

⁴⁹ W. Cameron Forbes, "Journal" [ca. March 1912], vol. 5, p. 121, fMS Am 1365, W. C. Forbes Papers, HL-HU, quoted in Warwick Anderson, "The Trespass Speaks: White Masculinity and Colonial Breakdown," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 5 (December 1997), 1343.

⁵⁰ Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 101.

⁵¹ Letter from John Templeman Coolidge to President A. Lawrence Lowell, President Lowell's Papers, Box 46, Folder 1420, HL-HU; Firm of McKim, Mead and White, "Tablet at Harvard Stadium," President Lowell's Papers, Box 46, Folder 1420, HL-HU.

⁵² Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 199.

⁵³ Enhancing the athletic resources of an institution validated men's investments in all-male pursuits while simultaneously sustaining a commitment to the coveted female, the alma mater. Vanderbilt University's "Alma Mater" is like that of many other songs of devotion: "Cherished by thy sons forever,/Mem'ries sweet shall throng/'Round our hearts, oh, Alma Mater,/As we sing thy song." See "Alma Mater, Official Vanderbilt Football Program, November 29, 1928, p. 6, JSRC-ND.

⁵⁴ Charles Eliot, "The Normal American Woman, 1908," Records of the President of Harvard University, Box 221, Folder 223, HL-HU, 6.; Charles Eliot, "The Effects of the Education of Women on the Family and Society, 1913" Records of the President of Harvard University, Box 225, Folder 401, HL-HU, 10.

⁵⁵ For Eliot's musings and statements on education and civilization, see: Charles Eliot, "Five American Contributions to Civilization, 1896," Box 218, Folder 71; Charles Eliot; "American Belief in Education," Box 219, Folder 157; Charles Eliot; "What Uplifts a Race and What Holds It Down, 1905," Box 220, Folder 180; Charles Eliot; "Address before the Harvard Menorah Society, 1908" Box 221, Folder 222. All documents can be found in the Records of the President of Harvard University collection in HL-HU.

⁵⁶ "Yale Committee of Twenty-One, Inc." Department of Athletics, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and memoranda: 1912-1913), SML-YU; "61,000 in Stadium: Yale Will Probably Have Best Football Field in Country," *The Washington Post*, July 6, 1913, S4.; "Hustle on Stadium," *The Washington Post*, June 27, 1914, 12.; "College Athletes in Regal Quarters," *New York Times*, October 25, 1914, S4.; Homer D. Williams, "University of Pittsburg Stadium," Unlabeled book, Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics papers, Box 46, November 7, 1924, BHL-UM.

⁵⁷ Fielding Yost, "The Whole Story of Michigan's New Football Stadium: How the New Stadium Will be Built, Used and Paid for," August 15, 1926, Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics papers, Box 46, Folder: B1C1A Land Deeds Michigan Stadium Papers Relating to Stadium Deed, BHL-UM.

⁵⁸ Board of Regents, November Meeting 1923, BHL-UM.

⁵⁹ Yost, "A Report on the Stadium Situation," BHL-UM.

⁶⁰ Warranty Deed, Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics papers, Box 46, Folder: B1C1A Land Deeds Michigan Stadium Papers Relating to Stadium Deed, BHL-UM.

⁶¹ David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was In Vogue* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 5. In addition to David Levering Lewis, scholars like Steve Estes, and Davarian Baldwin, among others, have thoughtfully examined how black Americans, and often black American males, performed conventional definitions of manhood in public spaces and how the dominant class responded. See Steve Estes, *I Am A Man! Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). Davarian Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes:*

Modernity, The Great Migration, and Black Urban Life (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

⁶² These remarks already suppose a reality where Anglo-Americans subscribed to an ideology of white supremacy and black inferiority. These claims, then, are observations of an *increase* in rather than an *origin point* of white racism against black Americans. For instance, before black Americans' Great Migration north, the work place was an epicenter of racial tension. By the turn of the century, many northern employers utilized blacks, despite their relatively unappreciable numbers, as strikebreakers, which only increased antagonism between the groups. See Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 28.

⁶³ Census data is from University of Virginia Library, "Historical Census Browser," <<http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/>>. According to the census data, the black population of Washtenaw County increased by less than 150 individuals from 1900 to 1920. While African Americans swelled the population of Wayne County—where Detroit sits—more appreciably, they still constituted less than 4 percent of the region's total residents and a fraction of the state's total numbers.

⁶⁴ Board of Regents, September Meeting 1912, BHL-UM, 524-5. The University of Michigan still offers the "Joseph Bartholomew Scholarship," but not with the original, restrictive terms. Today, the financial aid is based on merit and granted to Humanities scholars with "completed credits in Greek, Latin, Italian, or French." See U-M Office of Financial Aid Scholarship Listing, <http://www.finaid.umich.edu>, Retrieved May 5, 2014.

⁶⁵ William Payne, "William Payne's Will," Fielding Harris Yost Papers, 1871-1946, Box 1, Folder: Yost, Fielding Harris, Early Family Papers (1), BHL-UM.

⁶⁶ John Behee, *Hail to the Victors!* (Ann Arbor, MI: distributed by Ulrich's Books, 1974), 33. George Jewett, the University of Michigan's first black football player, enrolled in the school in 1890 and immediately joined the football program. The precedent, therefore, of black students playing football for the University of Michigan had been set one decade prior to Yost's arrival.

⁶⁷ Herbert Wilson letter to Elton Wieman, April 25, 1928, Box 5, Folder 2. Yost coached twenty-five Michigan football teams, 1901-24 and 1925-26.; Elton Wieman to Herbert Wilson, April 26, 1928, Box 5, Folder 2, The most infamous example of Yost's prejudicial treatment of black football players was the case of Willis Ward. By his senior year Ward was an essential player for the Wolverines, but Yost, then athletic director, forced him to sit Michigan's 1934 contest against Georgia Tech, played in Ann Arbor. As southern and northern schools began to compete in intersectional games, southern schools refused to share the field with teams with black players. In collusion with their southern counterparts, northern schools would embrace a "Gentleman's Agreement," whereby they would sit their black player(s) and the southern opponent would bench an equivalently useful player of their own so that an all-white game could take place. See Dan McGugin letter to Fielding Yost, December 12, 1933, Box 18, Folder 4. Dan McGugin letter to Fielding Yost, May 2, 1934, Box 9, Folder 1. All documents can be found in the University of Michigan Athletic Papers stored at the BHL-UM.

⁶⁸ Robin Lester, *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1999), 259.

⁶⁹ Board of Regents, April Meeting 1917, BHL-UM, 741.

⁷⁰ David Daggett letter to R. H. MacDonald Jr., November 13, 1914, Department of Athletics Papers, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU.

⁷¹ David Daggett letter to Anson Phelps Stokes, "Present Progress of Stadium," March, 31, 1913, Department of Athletics Papers, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and memoranda, 1912-1913), SML-YU; Untitled/Unauthored memo, Department of Athletics Papers, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913, SML-YU; Harvard University, as has already been stated, had already been contending with fan discontent provoked by seat preference policies for several years. Football popularity had already flooded their 1903 stadium beyond capacity, and the school was forced to reconsider their seating policies where spectators, of both the university and the public, were occasionally denied seats or not granted space where desired. In a detailed letter to Dean L. B. R. Briggs, head of Harvard's Faculty Athletic Advisors, university president A. Lawrence Lowell weighed in on the matter of seat preference. With thoughtful consideration to three major views without endorsing any of them, Lowell acknowledged that college football was no longer solely an undergraduate affair, as the public had fallen in love with the competition decades prior. Concluding his remarks to Briggs, Lowell remarked, "it is not a question whether privileging shall be given or not." That, he admitted is already performed. "The question," he continued, "is rather whether those privileged seats should be distributed among those who now enjoy them, or also among others." See A. Lawrence Lowell Letter to Dean L. B. R. Briggs, December 23, 1911, President Lowell's Papers, 1925-1928, Box 3, Folder 84: Committee on Athletics, HL-HU.

⁷² R. H. MacDonald Jr. letter to David Daggett, November 13, 1914, Department of Athletics Papers, Box 8, Folder 8-60: Committee of 21, Correspondence and Memoranda, 1912-1913), SML-YU.

⁷³ Giles Taintor letter to William F. Garcelon, November 5, 1909, President Lowell's Papers, 1925-1928, Box 3, Folder 83: Athletics – General Correspondence), HL-HU.

⁷⁴ See "The Michigan Stadium Story: Regents Field, 1893-1905," Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Athletics History, <http://bentley.umich.edu/athdept/stadium/stadtext/regents.htm>, retrieved September 2, 2011; Board of Regents, May Meeting 1892, BHL-UM, 31.

⁷⁵ It is unclear whether Yost built a gym for Michigan's female students to provide them with a fitness space of their own or whether it was a calculated maneuver to isolate and segregate them from the more plentiful resources that male students were able to enjoy. The athletic department's annual expenditures may reveal clues pertaining to their athletic priorities. In 1926 the university spent slightly less than \$53,000 in support of women's physical education. While seemingly generous, this constituted less than six percent of the department's budget. See Fielding Yost, "Report and Recommendations to the Board in Control of Athletics of the University of Michigan with Special Reference to the Program of Expansion," May 12, 1926, Box 46, Folder: University of Michigan Athletic Department Stadium Seats, BHL-UM.

⁷⁶ Yost, "A Report on the Stadium Situation," BHL-UM.

⁷⁷ Fielding Yost, "Development, Administration and Control of Physical Education at the University of Michigan," Fielding Harris Yost Papers, 1871-1946, Box 6, Folder: Fielding Harris Yost Papers Speeches (1), BHL-UM.

⁷⁸ Fielding Yost letter to Dr. Marion L. Burton, November 14, 1923, Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics papers, BHL-UM.

⁷⁹ See Board of Regents, November Meeting 1923, BHL-UM, 115-6.

⁸⁰ See "The Michigan Stadium Story: Building the Big House," Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Athletics History, <<http://bentley.umich.edu/athdept/stadium/stadtext/stadbild.htm>>, Retrieved September 2, 2011.

⁸¹ "Where We Stand," in University of Illinois Memorial Stadium Notes, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1922, Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics papers, Box 5, Folder "Papers 1922 July (1)," BHL-UM; Homer D. Williams, "University of Pittsburg Stadium," Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics papers, Box 46, Unlabeled book, BHL-UM.

⁸² Fielding Yost, "The Whole Story of Michigan's New Football Stadium: How the New Stadium Will be Built, Used and Paid for," August 15, 1926, Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics papers, Box 46, Folder: B1C1A Land Deeds Michigan Stadium Papers Relating to Stadium Deed, BHL-UM.

⁸³ "The Michigan Stadium Story: Financing the Stadium," Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Athletics History, <<http://bentley.umich.edu/athdept/stadium/stadtext/bonds.htm>>, Retrieved September 2, 2011.

⁸⁴ Allison Danzig, "Football Outgrows Stadiums," *New York Times*, October 17, 1926.

⁸⁵ See Oriard, *Reading Football*.

Chapter IV

The Intercollegiate Football Consumer: The Development of Football Game Programs, the Business of Higher Education, and Spectator Privilege

On November 16, 1872, a few hundred students, professors, and townsfolk made their way to Hamilton Park in New Haven. A little more than two miles northwest of Yale's campus and the port city's downtown, New Haven's residents used the grassy, open site for baseball contests and casual recreation. On this day, however, with nary a bat or glove in sight, the motley assembly of curious onlookers was likely uncertain of what they had gathered to see. Just shy of three o'clock, twenty men from Columbia University and an equal complement from Yale took to one of two sides of a vast, rectangular area roped off from spectators in anticipation of the first intercollegiate game of football for both schools. Both squads battled back and forth before the game ended on account of darkness. Yale won, 3 – 0. To spectators, what ensued was the “most interesting spectacle” they had seen in years.¹

Yale undergraduates invested considerable time and energy in the organization and execution of the afternoon football game. Members of Yale's newly formed “Foot Ball Association” were responsible for all aspects of planning. Junior David S. Schaff, who was president of the Association and served as Yale's captain for the game, was the leader of a trio of Yale undergraduates that oversaw all match arrangements. These three delegated to a larger committee of peers the tasks to lease the field; buy posts and rope to designate the official playing surface at Hamilton Park; produce dozens of posters to advertise the game; assign a team

of Columbia and Yale undergraduates to serve as referees and umpires; and, organize a post-game banquet for the visitors and their guests. In addition, these students published hundreds of “Programmes” that were sold to spectators for ten cents apiece.² What began as a way for a bunch of young men to offset the expenses accrued by hosting a public event, developed, through their eventual mass production and detailed content, into a narrative of college football’s evolution.

It is highly likely that in 1872, Yale students’ efforts to market their game with this brand of literature set a precedent that was rapidly adopted by students at peer institutions who hosted intercollegiate games of their own. There is no record that Rutgers and Princeton students offered spectators a game program at their 1869 inaugural game and only a handful of schools competed intercollegiately in subsequent years.³ But within two decades, what began in New Haven as a four-page leaflet that identified players by name and explained to observers the basics of the game grew into behemoth productions that nearly all colleges sold to football spectators. The creation and sale of programs became, for colleges and universities, financially enriching. Even Schaff and his crew, in their first foray as hosts of a football game, earned \$9 on the sale of the programs alone. With their scale of growth and proliferation, programs not only framed the sport for its spectators, they played some role in college football’s evolution. Even though the texts are culturally illuminating, they remain understudied sites of analysis. Their inclusion of illustrations, photographs, school and football team histories, statistics, essays, advertisements, and other telling details are instructive for identifying some of the ways in which game programs were a multi-purpose part of college football’s evolution. Besides serving as an obvious money-making device, game programs offered historical record, a particular kind of personalization of players, a memorialization of college campuses, scripts for spectators’ ritual

practices, a format for the dissemination of statistics, a space for student essays, and a material keepsake that served as evidence of having “been there.” Moreover, creators of programs—initially student-athletes, eventually representatives of fledgling athletic departments, and finally university’s publicity bureaus—capitalized on a national trend in advertising where they were not just catering to but also creating a want. As such, they transitioned from program creators to cultural producers where their creations were not just flyers and booklets that provided pages to advertise commodities. In so doing, the meaning of programs rose far beyond their mere financial benefits for the proprietors who sold them. With this in mind, we are left with several questions to consider. What do the features and the layouts of the saleable and non-saleable items tell us about the audience—the market—programs attempted to construct? What do they tell us about the wedding of sport and spectatorship, big business, and higher education? Further, how did college football influence broader notions of consumption, belonging, materialism, and the expanding reality of the American consumer?

College football programs’ written and photographic histories document the sport’s haphazard development. In part, programs evidence the role college football played for universities as the relationship between higher education as academic sites of learning and the sale of their image and extracurricular function tightened between the 1890s and the 1930s.⁴ Riding on the crest of football’s rising popularity, businesses wielded increasing influence on colleges and universities. Game programs serve as record of this evolution as well as lens through which to view the increasing complexity of fandom. Initially, audience members were curious onlookers. Some became committed spectators. Many became ticket purchasers and eventually customers of an experience—completing the transformation of casual bystander to college football consumer. This chapter considers the game program as an index of that change,

a primary lens through which to read this transformation. Since it was a vehicle that made meaning, then what kind of work did it accomplish for college football, the student-athletes, the universities that offered the sport, and the array of other constituents—undergraduates not on a team, administrators, presidents, alumni, and fans—invested in the game? And how do we make sense of what was included within a game program, particularly in relation to what was excluded?

In order to understand the significance of the football game program, I focus on four of their most common features. First, I provide the context for the history and development of college football game programs with attention to two prominent features. Through the prism of the programs themselves, I then identify how higher education became intertwined in the market, and in the third section I perform a textual examination of two separate advertisements that I supplement with lighter examination of a few others. Finally, I show how these dynamics provide insight on nineteenth and twentieth century consumption practices of college men. Embedded within the seemingly neutral presentation of rosters, rules, campus photographs, sport history, and advertisements, among other elements, lurked deeper meanings. How can we read programs as clues to Progressive Era definitions of race, class, masculinity, femininity, and heterosexuality and the ways in which these discourses trafficked within narratives of domestic and global imperialism? That I found so many programs attached to the pages of college student scrapbooks—which were often next to pasted game tickets—is suggestive of their souvenir value. They were not traded. Thus, the programs were part of the institution's mechanism of exclusion. Those who read and kept the programs were the ones that were able to enter the stadiums in the first place. Ultimately, colleges and universities employed game programs that

disseminated ideas about privilege and inculcated in those who watched the sport a sense of entitled inclusion that pivoted on the spectacle of college football.

Development of the Game Program

For both financial and pragmatic reasons, the technology of game-day programs shifted over time. Initially, with few games per season, producers and distributors of programs could afford to provide elaborate creations. When team managers added games to their seasons, program layouts that presented information more efficiently superseded earlier iterations' more decorative appearances.⁵ When marketing increased, sponsors gained even greater visibility. By the end of the nineteenth century, the rising popularity and proliferation of college football gave local, city, state, and even national businesses greater incentive to feature their products in the singular offering of literature provided at games for spectators.⁶ They, in turn, began to more aggressively hail spectators as customers. This led to an even deeper consummation between college football and, first, small "Mom and Pop" shops like New Haven's Whittlesey's Drug Store then recognizable brand names like Brooks Brothers and finally corporate standards like Southern Pacific Company railroad.⁷ By the first decades of the twentieth century, divisions between higher education, the competition and consumption of college football, and commercialism became harder to distinguish. Of these four elements, game programs offered a message that situated the phenomenon of college football at the center around which the other three orbited. With football iconography always on the cover, programs combined photos of former college presidents and distinguished administrators, decades-long lists of teams' Win-Loss records, and the celebration of previous gridiron heroes next to idyllic scenes of campus trees, gravel pathways, gothic architecture, and the valiance of current squads and athletes, along with images of the grandest hotels in the nation, exotic spots in which to vacation, the newest

automobiles and the most lucrative trusts and banks in which presumably alumni could invest. Game programs wove a relationship between these discursive elements that was at once nostalgic, contemporary, and forward-looking in presentation.

When, in 1872, that handful of Yalies extended an invitation to their peers in New York City to meet them at Hamilton Park for some friendly competition, few likely anticipated the excitement or precedent this affair would arouse. Nor could they have foreseen what role college football programs would play in telling a story, not just about the game, but about the national community that became invested in this budding spectacle. Schaff and his band had a handful of concerns that could be distilled into two chief priorities: avoiding considerable debt and conducting themselves as generous hosts to their athletic guests on and off the field. Despite the novelty of a football game, the centerpiece of the day for many participants was a supper at Lockwoods, a local New Haven restaurant. Members of both teams and associates enjoyed merry company, good fare, sumptuous dessert, cigars and what the team secretary noted in his records, somewhat mysteriously perhaps mischievously, as “punch.” In fact, thirty more members of the Columbia contingent attended the ceremonial meal than had initially accepted the invitation. Even with the larger than anticipated dinner crowd, student organizers were “quite relieved and in excellent spirits” when they learned that the \$272 secured through the sale of game programs, gate fees, tickets to the supper, and small contributions from members of Yale’s football team amply covered the entire day’s expenses.⁸ Yale’s victory over Columbia sparked what became a longstanding formula of football triumph. It also initiated a process of financial success through World War II for Yale University, and football game programs became a fixture of every future Yale football game.

Offering programs to spectators of this new type of sporting leisure was not, in fact, an original idea. Though college football's architects advanced the game through great trial and error, preexisting blueprints for programs, theoretically and materially, already existed. In the antebellum (as well as the postbellum) era, the theater was one of the most powerful cultural institutions of the 1800s, one of the most widespread sources of popular entertainment.⁹ College students' scrapbooks of this era reveal performing arts to be a coveted source of entertainment for this class of young men. Covers and occasionally entire playbills of operas, plays, and minstrel shows were pasted into the picture albums of young men and women's books of memorabilia from their undergraduate years.¹⁰ Based on the similarity between nineteenth century playbills and the earliest football game program designs, coupled with the fact that undergraduate young men were frequent visitors to local playhouses and other sites of theater, it is likely that football game organizers plagiarized both the idea and the execution of playbills for the benefit of their spectators.

In form and style, the football game programs of the nineteenth century were very similar to the elementary playbills of that age. A fancy illustration or design typically embellished the cover of the playbill while the interior pages provided audience members with necessary information. Programs identified actors with an accompanying biographical sketch. Multiple act productions might have a little summary of the action so spectators could anticipate what to expect. Football game program editors crafted their guides with comparable features. A decorative cover opened to a list of players for both teams. Programs also served a pedagogical purpose, as a handful of the game's most basic rules instructed fans on how the game might generally unfold. And for those especially attuned to the action, a scorecard graced the back page of the typical four-page souvenir. If editors did reserve page space to advertisements, the

products were of a local design—a tailor in New Haven, a hatter in Cambridge—and their intrusion was minimal.

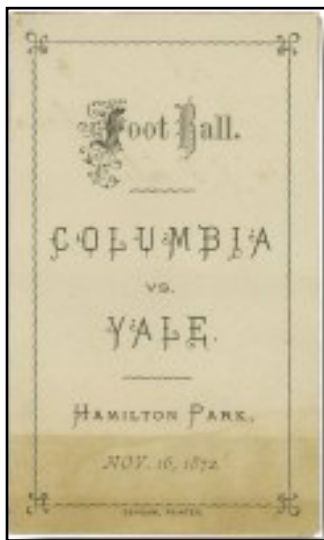


Fig. 4.1 Yale vs. Columbia Football Game Program Souvenir, November 16, 1872

The Yale students' initial venture into college football program production provided guides that were modest in scope and utilitarian in function. For \$6.00, the game's organizers partnered with local publishing company, JH Benham, to generate 500 programs. Individual leafs of cardstock were folded in half width-wise so a single sheet yielded a four-page document approximately 4x5 inches in dimensions. Ornate calligraphy graced the cover, providing only essential information. Listed in descending order with gradually diminishing font size were the competing schools, the location of the game, the date of the contest, and the identity of the printing press. Conspicuously, football, like the name of Yale's "Foot Ball Association" was spelled with two words that reflected the body part most responsible for driving the action at this phase of the sport. The two interior pages listed the members of the twenty-man squads. The back page identified the referees and judges. Below that list, a handful of lines served as scorecard so fans could keep track of how many "goals" each team scored.¹¹



Fig. 4.2 Yale vs. Harvard Football Game Program Souvenir, November 8, 1879

The toner on the 1872 program was monochromatic and limited to simple orientations of text. When Yale hosted Harvard on November 8, 1879 at their “home” field, Hamilton Park, the same grounds in which they played Columbia seven years prior, differences in the program—relative to the earlier standard—were notable. Both text and illustration ornamented the cover demonstrating how student organizers made the most of innovations and advances in printing technology. As though the design adorned a medieval pennant or coat of arms, the announcement of the teams in competition and the sport at play flanked a drawing of a football—closely resembling a modern-day basketball—nestled in a thatch of grass. In a close approximation of Yale and Harvard’s respective colors, the editors utilized blue and red ink on the cover, which they employed on the interior pages as well. On the inside, the rosters of the teams were listed—Harvard in red on the left page and Yale in blue on the right.

Besides the addition of color, other differences distinguished this program from the Yale/Columbia iteration. Aesthetically, the names of the players descended in a diagonal pattern from left to right in layers. These layers identified specific player responsibilities; athletes were separated by four positions: rushers, half backs, three-quarter backs and backs. These ranks were primarily a distinction of who was most likely to run with the ball and who was most likely to block opposing players for the man with the ball.¹² Providing players with discrete roles

mimicked the industrial process of the age, in which specific workers were assigned specific specialized tasks, which they performed repeatedly. Likewise, the architects of football regularly augmented the rules, strategies, and boundaries of their sport, believing that they were constantly improving the formula for constructing a winning team.¹³ As Walter Camp documented in his constant modification and effort to upgrade the sport, college football evolved analogously to forms of specialization central to the refinement of nineteenth and early twentieth century U.S. industry. Students' self-conscious reinvention and gradually more sophisticated game program designs were another reflection of college football and its participants' perpetual attempts at improvement.

The role of the football player or, rather, the roles of football players changed dramatically as the sport evolved. Likewise, game programs developed remarkably over time in terms of size, decorative quality, content, length, dedicated ad space, and other distinguishing features. They did not, however, substantially diversify their representations of the student-athlete save two alterations. The first modification was biographical. As programs began to expand and editors added sophistication to the pages, they enhanced the background information of the players. Initial programs included players in name only—sometimes only last names. Gradually, game programs began to introduce players' height and weight. This attention to details of the body reflected the increased focus being paid to the size and potential capability of athletes whose function was defined by their quick-witted melding of physical traits and intellectual aptitude on the field. A player's class, hometown, and high school attended were also part of the story that programs included for each athlete. This information often conveyed clues of athlete's aristocratic academic pedigree that was most prevalent in football teams of the Northeastern colleges and universities.

The nation's oldest schools and, historically, the ones with the most successful football teams during this era drew heavily from elite boarding schools within the region. Spectators who read Yale's 1895 game program learned that the squad's starting eleven, for instance, all hailed from major cities and "prepared" at private schools, including three from Phillips Andover Academy and three from St. Paul's Academy, among other elite secondary schools. In the next few decades, this trend varied little over time and place. The 1919 Princeton team, for example, was no different. The majority of the team's players grew up in urban locales and all of them attended college preparatory schools, primarily Lawrenceville Academy and the Hill School, both boarding schools in New Jersey. During the near entirety of the Progressive Era, from Harvard to Lafayette College, private school-educated city kids populated the rosters of Northeastern institutions substantiating scholars' claims that these institutions housed a significant proportion of undergraduates of the upper class. This relationship has a lengthy history. From approximately 1770 to 1790, for instance, one-quarter of Harvard graduates were alumni of a single boarding school, Governor Dummer Academy located in nearby Newbury, MA.¹⁴ This pipeline between elite boarding schools and elite universities gained greater import as European immigration intensified in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Universities' student bodies reflected changes in the domestic population that was influenced both from within and from abroad. Between 1890 and 1925 enrollment in institutions of higher learning increased almost five times faster than the general population grew.¹⁵ While recently arrived Southern and Eastern Europeans certainly attended longstanding institutions of higher learning, more commonly they founded universities under religious auspices that closely aligned with ethnic origin. Midwest Lutheran colleges, for example, accommodated students of German and Scandinavian descent; Catholic colleges, many of which were founded after 1870, educated the

children of Irish and then Italian and some Eastern European families. Meanwhile, Northeastern universities leaned heavily on their boarding school connections. Phillips Andover students continued onto Yale; Harvard drew pupils from Groton Academy and Phillips Exeter Academy; Lawrenceville fueled the ranks at Princeton; and, Deerfield Academy in Central Massachusetts graduated its students on to nearby Amherst College.¹⁶ Even so, private school graduates disproportionately populated the football rosters of these same universities relative to their impact on the overall student body.

Player biographies were instructive. They provided a snapshot of a student-athlete's familial lineage. As football crowds swelled, larger parks pushed spectators further from the action, and players might have become correspondingly more anonymous, these details—to an admittedly limited extent—individualized the players and brought them to life in ways beyond their on-field action figure presentation. But what did the information tell its readers? In short, they revealed plenty. To crowds at the turn of the century, a quarter-back named Adams or Eliot connoted very different meaning than an O'Donnell or a Piotrowski. The nineteenth century rosters, especially of Northeastern colleges, reflected a Who's Who of Brahmin privilege. Nineteenth century immigration became twentieth century manpower on the football field. College football rosters reflected the increased diversity of ethnicity on the East Coast and in the Midwest long before non-football-playing students influenced college student bodies with any appreciable impact.¹⁷ Likewise, hometowns and previous high schools provided insight into the background and social pedigree of the players. Especially before games moved back to campuses and into college-constructed stadiums, the mark of prep school distinguished players and subsequently the colleges they represented from the masses and mass identity of the undifferentiated spectators. It also revealed class differences along geographic lines. Players that

competed for Midwestern universities rarely attended private schools. Further, colleges in the Southwest and on the West Coast frequently did not even indicate where a player attended high school and sometimes neglected to list their hometowns.¹⁸ Regardless of region, some combination of players' names, educational histories, and places of origin in conjunction with their above-average physical characteristics depicted on paper the model of aspiration that fans paid to witness in person.

The Advent of Photography and the Importance of Nature

The other major addition that program authors introduced into their designs were photo images. The advent and growth of photography provided schools and college football's enthusiasts with a more visceral medium with which to market their sport. Journalists' writings conjured colorful images of game action for those who could not attend the actual event, and even for those that could. Visual imagery, however, enhanced the dimensions through which game programs could promote the potential of college football to a broader consuming public and student editors seized the opportunity to bring to graphic life their athletic peers.

As game program creators' use of photos became more prominent in the 1890s, programs opened up a range of unsystematic experimentation with their layouts. For instance, in the 1895 Brown v. Dartmouth football game, the first photograph is of Brown University President, E. Benjamin Andrews followed, two pages later, by a photograph of Brown's team captain. In the 1898 University of Pennsylvania v. Harvard game, the program's first photograph is of two sides of full bleachers at the 1897 Yale v. Harvard game in Cambridge. A team photo of the 1898 Harvard football team appears on the very next page. These seemingly arbitrary selections of images are intriguing. In one instance, a program greets readers with a symbol of academia. It then commemorates football through individual representation. The first pages of the second

program are devoid of academic imagery. But they depict football as a shared experience oriented around the collectivity of the team. This tension—between athletics and academia, team solidarity and individual achievement—lies at the very heart of college football.

The primary engineers of the sport envisioned success on the gridiron to be the epitome of teamwork. This was a common refrain. The coaches who garnered some of the greatest success oriented strategy around the rational workings of a well-disciplined, organized machine. Fielding Yost, for instance, underscored the importance of “team” over individual brilliance throughout his written musings on the game. In fact, in addition to lessons in “cooperation,” “loyalty and service,” as well as “determination, will-power, persistence and courage,” that Yost believed football taught its practitioners, he considered the value of being a part of a team to be of patriotic significance. Wrote Yost, “[the player] experiences the essence of citizenship by losing himself in a larger whole. He undergoes the deepest experiences of the ‘belonging’ instinct.”¹⁹ At the same time, the industrial nature of football teams’ tactics required a chemistry that featured select athletes in more prominent roles than others; the players who touched the ball typically received the most accolades. Players in these positions garnered greatest attention and, not surprisingly, were team captains and often their team’s stars as defined by the points they scored, the individual heroics they performed, or the awards they accrued. Photos of these individuals, in turn, graced some of the pages of game programs as solitary figures without the associated support of teammates in the picture. Thus, team photos highlighted the collective effort of each squad while the images of individual athletes elevated some players to a greater level of importance than the rest of their teammates.

Yost’s conflation of a “belonging instinct” with citizenship is provocative. It is also not entirely clear what he meant. Yet, his writings are quite transparent in terms of how much

importance he placed on the collective over the individual. Careful not to abandon the significance of each athlete, the implications of Yost's belonging instinct suggest it to be as much a feeling as a status of official membership. Inclusion on a team—which Yost expands to membership of a nation—is as much, it seems, sensation, as it is roster spot. One can imagine a player feeling even more a part of his squad if he could answer in the affirmative, “Do my teammates appreciate my contributions?” and not merely, “Did I score a touchdown?”—though fellow players would likely value that achievement as well.²⁰

Few sources capture the perception of camaraderie and belongingness to which Yost referred better than football team photographs of the 1880s and 1890s. Fig 4.3 shows the 1894

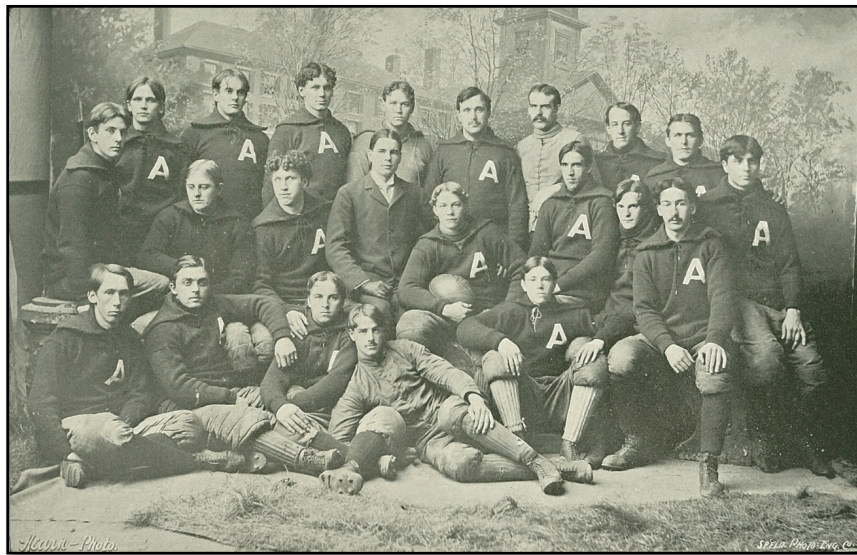


Fig. 4.3 1894 Amherst Football Team

Amherst College football team jumbled together in a group photograph. The student-athlete furthest in the foreground reclines onto his right elbow in a nearly three-quarter prone position. He somewhat cradles his nearest neighbor's left leg, which extends out from under his own chest. The rest of the athletes in the first row assemble in close proximity to one another. Forearms rest on shoulders, hands on knees—sometimes their own, sometimes teammates'. The second row of players conveys slightly more order, possibly because they enjoy the benefit of a

bench. The athletes in the third and final row stand behind their teammates. Shoulder to shoulder, their appearance most closely resembles that of more modern team photographs. The players' dress, too, is not entirely consistent. Most wear large collared sweaters with a capital "A" on the left breast, but this is not the uniform of all. A handful of the young men pose in outer garments that appear to be of personal ownership perhaps signifying different roles or responsibilities on the team. Some of the players wear shinguards; some do not. Some have light socks or stockings; others wear darker ones. The variation in the fashion matched the informality of the postures.²¹

This intimacy and disorder of the Amherst College football team picture was hardly unique to the era. In the manner reminiscent of a messy family reunion photo, young men pile onto one another in an effort to fit into the picture's frame. They are ordered enough to all be seen but hardly project a commitment to uniformity. Players' irregularity of attire exacerbates the muddled impression, as the Amherst photo attests. Young men often wore an assortment of football or college-labeled clothing, and the fact that the rows of athletes usually bled into one another contributed to the appearance of inconsistency. As the Amherst photo illustrates, for those who sat or kneeled in front of upright teammates, legs leaned casually against one another and hands often rested on others' knees. This was often true of those in the back row as well. Even more so than those on the Amherst team, young men frequently draped arms over shoulders in an informal and congenial manner. The absence of distinguished rows, matching uniforms, or semblance of player seniority epitomized late nineteenth century team photos.²²

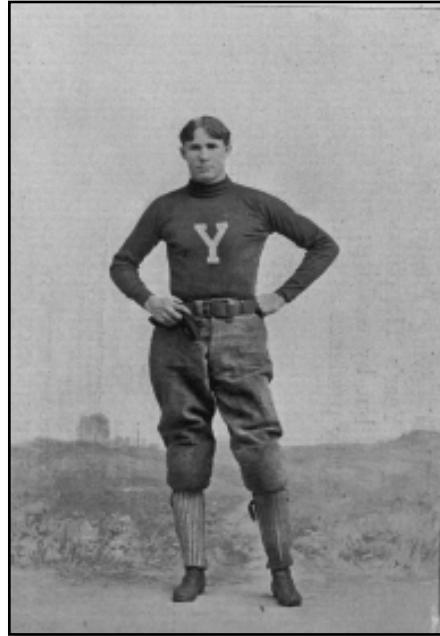


Fig. 4.4 Yale Captain, S. B. Thorne, '96²³

Unlike the friendly and familial air of the team pictures, single athletes in individual photos struck more confrontational postures. They typically stood prominently in the foreground and towered above the setting. Surroundings often appeared faint, even conquered, in the background. As opposed to bust photographs that featured only the head and shoulders of the subject, photographs of individual football players included their entire bodies. These visual representations actualized the roster specifications of height and weight. More specifically, the athletes stand erect; both hands—balled in fists—sit on hips, their eyes look directly into the camera, unsmiling. The pose is athletic; players look truculent. Somehow they manage to express an air of relaxation even as they seem prepared for combat. It was the image of nineteenth century masculine cool—self-controlled but ready to exert strength and aggression.

If the origins of game programs drew inspiration from contemporary theater, then the aesthetic ancestors of football team and individual photos may have very well borrowed from the imagery of Civil War era soldiers and their regiments. The casual order of players almost

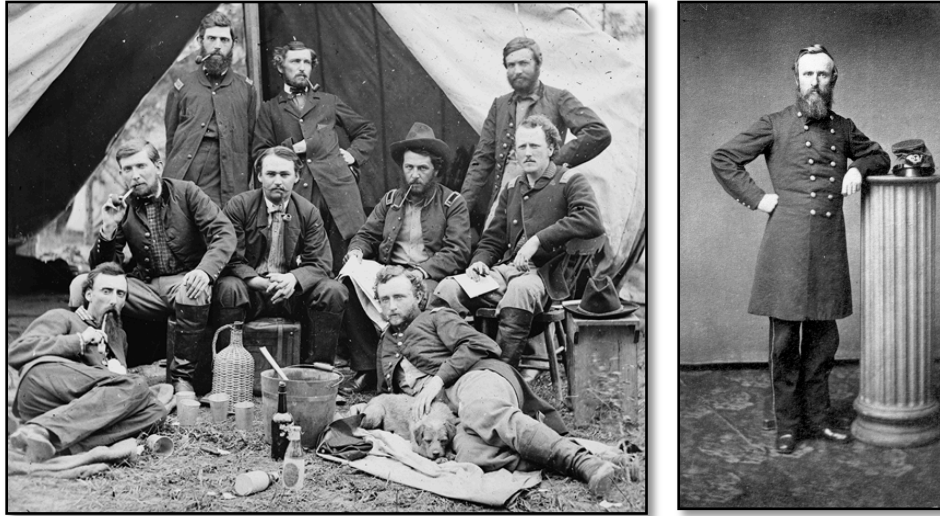


Fig. 4.5 and 4.6 General Custer with comrades, General Rutherford B. Hayes in studio portrait²⁴

tumbling onto one another resembled those of tired but dignified soldiers snapped in a moment of respite. In both cases, the photos are decidedly not action shots. The players are static, taken once the photographer, presumably, had arranged the players—even in haphazard form. Like their military brethren, athletes' uniforms and slight padding communicate their preparedness to fulfill athletic responsibilities. The duties of football, like those of war, involved risk, presented danger, and demanded loyalty, self-assertion, self-sacrifice, and cooperation. Even if the photos did not display the players in the act of performing these characteristics, readers knew that they could. Spectators knew, in fact, that for approximately ten Saturdays each fall, they would.

The visual images are coded with pre-existing stories emblematic of the type of messaging that collegians—attempting to revive their masculinity—tried to promote. This is why the association to actual warriors is significant. Perceptions of Civil War soldiers—and those who engaged in Indian Wars—fused military strength with fin de siècle notions of manliness and national identity.²⁵ In his analysis of the efficacy of Turner's Frontier Thesis and Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West shows, historian Richard White reminds us that photography of these figures utilized powerful iconography of pre-existing narratives that were legible to many Americans.²⁶

For football players, the photography is a continuation of this discursive link between appearance and audiences' awareness of the players' obligations. This obligation, for both players and soldiers, is to a heroic mission larger than themselves. Football players compete for their university; soldiers fight for their nation. In both cases, they prepare for victory or defeat, the outcome of which is determined on their respective battlefields. Understood as actors within a larger war machine, they evince one half of the battle that pit man against man.²⁷ And yet, in both cases—football player and Civil War soldier—the visual evidence of pain is sifted out.²⁸ At the same time, the residue of violence and its central ingredients remained: men, uniforms, fatigue, readiness, solidarity. This imagery, then, further animates connotations of the men themselves: bravery, fortitude, discipline, stoicism, and strength.

Another constant of football photography was the reliance on the imagery of natural surroundings. Again, the Amherst picture is emblematic of this period. Clearly, the team assembled outside. But they are not on their game field. They do not sit in military-precision rows on wooden or steel bleachers, which was the customary setting by the 1920s. Rather, they are situated as a part of the outdoors. Grass grows sporadically in front of the players. An abundance of trees sprouts behind them. The roof of the college's well-known building, Johnson Chapel, peeks out from behind the top row of players, which oriented their position at the base of the school's quadrangle.²⁹ Distinct elements of the campus were not always evident in team pictures. But they do remind viewers of the players' collegial attachment. As professional football gained momentum by the first decades of the twentieth century, reiteration of the university environment played an even more imperative role to sustain images of amateurism and remind fans that they were watching student-athletes.³⁰

The setting of the entire photograph, however, was staged. Upon closer inspection, the first row of students are sitting on a drop cloth, and the grass before them appears to be a shabby carpet that approximates the look of grass or an artificial surface on top of which someone placed hay. The positioning of the leftmost student also exposes the artificiality of the setting. Specifically, the border of the painted campus image creases directly down and behind him.³¹ The entire artifice is curious. The obvious question is why? Why construct such a charade?

These simulated environments draw into sharp relief the paradoxical friction that football proponents were forced to contend with as they imagined and fashioned their sport to be a product of modernity.³² Historically, Europeans viewed nature as a provider, among other things.³³ They imagined and constructed their relationship to it where they were responsible for transforming it from wild to civilized, commodifying its resources, and developing the land. Nature provided soil for crops, animals for food, trees for shelter. Natural resources were capital. Nature untouched by humans was, conversely, untouched by civilization. It was where, Raymond Williams asserted, “industry was not.”³⁴ Under these presumptions, failure to take advantage of these assets would be a choice to forestall evolution or human progress.³⁵ Nearly all aspects of football reflect this modernist march. The near-perpetual state of modification that the sport’s caretakers—administrators, managers, coaches, even players—subjected it to suggest it was always under improvement. Designers installed the use of clocks, standardized field dimensions, defined and universalized rules, and gradually imposed more and more guidelines onto the sport.

And yet, most obviously, football shares an intimate relation with nature. How so? Rowers race on water; baseball players compete outside as well. How is football different? In this regard, football players’ relation to nature is not just physical; it is discursive. Except for the

dead of winter, players compete at all times of year in all types of weather unlike nearly all other collegiate sports. Due to the fundamental component of tackling, knees acquire grass stains, elbows give skin to earth, and on particularly gravelly ground, pebbles might leave imprints on a cheek. Players competed; they ran, blocked, and bled. In this regard, football enabled late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century bourgeois men the chance to engage their “animal nature.” As gender scholar E. Anthony Rotundo claims, this fundamental hunger was “just as useful—and just as necessary to their manhood—as reason.”³⁶ But it was also this very physicality that incited critique. It was too brutal. Players were too at risk of injury.³⁷ It was this very element of danger, of primitivism even that entwined football with narratives of yesteryear, which evoked Turnerian battles with nature and the frontier.³⁸

Academia was the antithesis of the frontier. As discussed, the common perceptions of intellectual rigor and corrupted, diminished manliness compelled college men to keep an intentional connection to nature. Lonely, unspoiled, uncontaminated; it was a “kind of primal settlement.”³⁹ To interact with it, then, was to regain what urbanity lost. Thus, it was not just wilderness but interactions with the Wild that provided men the opportunity to find God, to find oneself, and to sustain the rugged individualism that pioneers and frontiersmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth century made so emblematic of what it meant to be an American man.⁴⁰ Nature in this case was not water. By the nineteenth century, sailing the high seas was not an exercise of hegemonic masculinity. The nature with which undergraduates ostensibly battled accentuated land; it was that which was both threatening and fertile. Linking players, occasionally sweaty and dirty, suggestive of having already competed, to these types of natural surroundings emphatically froze them in a historical period that relied on the body to determine the terms of masculinity. Spectators knew this. They watched players compete in these settings.

They, too, were even a part of it. When it rained, they, too, got wet. The photos in the game programs, however, enhanced this aspect of footballers' narrative. They communicated permanence. Fans went home; they went inside; they got dry. Not football players. The athletes' game program imagery—in uniform, among teammates, in mid-catch—suggested a constant performance of toughness. It was strength and resilience emboldened by a symbiotic yet antagonistic relationship with nature.⁴¹

But why did footballers recreate a scene of nature as the backdrop of so many of their photos, which were a mainstay of game programs? Was collegians' relation to nature one of ambiguity or desire? Caught in a paradox, they wanted equal access to both discursive sides of an unresolvable dialectic. William Cronon ascribes this attention to wilderness amidst the trappings of industrial progress as a decidedly bourgeois peculiarity.⁴² To retain some semblance of natural surrounding in one's everyday was what he called a form of "antimodernism" that combatted the "contaminating taint of civilization."⁴³ The benefits of technological advance affected football as well. Open spaces became manicured fields. Bushes became trimmed hedges or were replaced by fences altogether. Goals marked by neighboring trees became permanent metal posts. Of course, athletic departments gradually invested in the machinery that maintained these spaces that became almost entirely man-made. What nature footballers once had was no longer natural. The more they transformed it, the more distant they traversed from the very sites they believed would invigorate them. Nature tamed was civilized. No longer a part of the wild, the fabricated backdrops of football photos was an attempt to retain some measure of wilderness on a college campus that was largely devoid of nature's threats. So important was this connection that footballers and their respective athletic departments were as willing to sew and paste nature together as they were to tend and water it.

These individual and team photos of players yield critical details about the ongoing narrative that footballers, coaches, and other sport administrators constructed around the institution of college football. Undergraduate men had fathers and grandfathers who were pioneers, soldiers, or Civil War veterans. Turn of the century collegians lacked military experience, especially those with affluent backgrounds, and were left trying to fulfill Theodore Roosevelt's call for a "Strenuous Life," without being tested by strenuous challenges.⁴⁴ Football enabled some of these young men to perform a valiance that they believed could only be matched by serving in battle. Whether their bravery was analogous to that of soldiers, whether they exhibited the type of sacrifice as their martial brethren, game programs' photographs of football players portrayed them as young men recreating yesteryears' conflicts in more contemporary, less lethal form. They exuded the frontier affect without encountering the perils of the frontier itself. Pictures signified athletes who struggled with their foes over a specific territory of space. In this regard, man struggled with man over strips of nature—quintessential conflicts of the nineteenth century. Yet, these were erudite men. They traipsed the fine line between savage and civilized. Passion alone could not steer one's actions; balance had to be maintained and civilized comportment could not be abandoned. This was manliness among the educated elite. It harnessed frontier nostalgia and martial metaphors to engineer controlled violence as a physically intellectual enterprise.

For spectators, game programs sold depictions of athletes as facsimiles of warriors in a peacetime activity. In the second and third decades of the twentieth century, photos of players pretending to throw, kick, and catch the ball enhanced previously static shots. They were literally action figures.⁴⁵ Despite the signification of motion and engagement, visual images of one

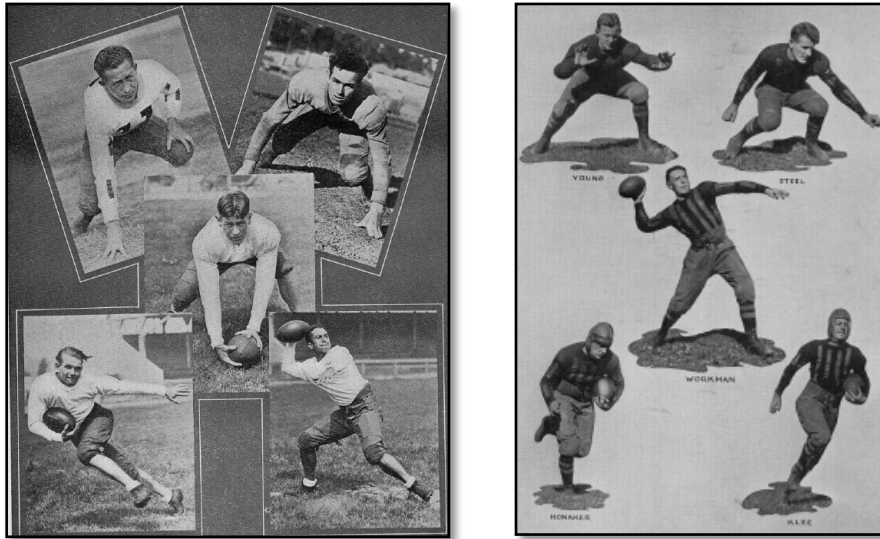


Fig. 4.7 and 4.8 Players from Occidental College and Ohio State University, respectively, captured in action⁴⁶ player tackling another or even the suggestion of physical contact were exceedingly rare. This might be due to the governing bodies behind the production of these souvenirs. By the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century (if not, well earlier), this job fell under the auspices of the host school's football association or public relations office. Typically, an assortment of approximately a dozen people comprised of students, faculty, alumni, and college board members formed the core composition of these committees.⁴⁷ Amidst perpetual critique of intercollegiate football that, to varying degrees, shadowed the sport from its outset, these associations were highly invested in selling the healthiest image of college football—not just as a sport but as something integral to the experience of college itself. By virtue of owning the channels that designed and manufactured game programs, these entities managed to control the image of intercollegiate football as well as the adjacent elements associated with the whole enterprise. Despite the violent collisions of the game, programs depicted the grace of athletes, sometimes suspended with almost balletic elegance.

Athletic bodies were not the only assets that colleges and universities marketed in football game programs. University football associations responsible for composing programs

relied on one of their most valuable resources. In order to perpetuate the discourse of athletic civility, programs advertised not just bodies of players but the body of the campuses as well. Around the turn of the century, game souvenirs began to showcase campus architecture of the universities in competition. Not surprisingly, photos of stadiums were a staple feature of nearly all programs.⁴⁸ Additionally, however, most northeastern schools, in particular, included in their programs shots completely devoid of the football scene: primarily Gothic buildings that hearkened to a distinctly British and Old World genre.⁴⁹ Chapels, gates, arches, gymnasiums, libraries, statues and shots of picturesque quadrangles represented higher education as sophisticated and enlightened. Schools regularly included distinguishing qualities that differentiated one university from another like Princeton's boathouse or Harvard's law school. Moreover, the advent of flight gave universities the opportunity to photograph—and include in their football programs—aerial views of their campuses. As such, Army/Navy fans could peruse their football guide and see how the New York hills flanked the West Point campus with the Hudson snaking along its southern edge. Similarly, the Naval Academy included the harbor in scenic shots of its physical plant. These football game programs became brochures for their respective colleges and universities.⁵⁰ In effect, college football programs provided a venue for schools to bundle gentility and tranquility packaged with rugged sportsmanship to sell higher education.⁵¹

The positioning of a sublime photograph and a Cass Realty Corporation advertisement in the 1895 Yale/Princeton game program exemplified the symbolic knot between university wealth, higher education, and commercialism. Halfway through the program, the pages open to seemingly complementary features. On the left side is the Bridge of Sighs, a covered bridge

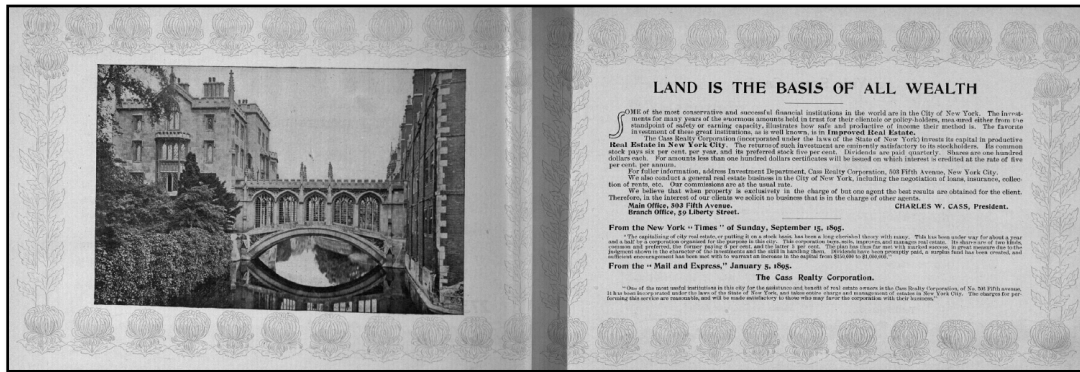


Fig. 4.9 Cambridge University’s Bridge of Sighs juxtaposed with a Cass Realty advertisement

within the St. John’s College of Cambridge University in England that spans the River Cam connecting the Third Court of the college with the New Court. Gothic design distinguishes both buildings that straddle either side of the waterway while ivy crawls up the walls that descend to the river’s edge. The photograph is both idyllic and collegiate. On the right page is a real estate advertisement that proclaims: “Land is the Basis of all Wealth.” The remainder of the announcement for the real estate corporation discloses how the company invested shareholders’ capital and how much profit their financial ventures returned.⁵² Read together, the photo on one side juxtaposed with the advertisement on the other suggest how lucrative the purchase of property could be. The development of barren land in New York State, where Cass Realty did most of its business, may not have resulted in the columns, balconies, and towers of Cambridge University. The implication to readers, however, was that seed investments in higher education and eventually property were the initial necessary steps to prosperity.

Marketing and Advertisements

Toward the end of the nineteenth century and certainly into the twentieth, game programs demonstrated that it was not just football nor colleges or universities that were for sale. These souvenirs became fertile ground for businesses to peddle their wares, and many patrons

leveraged the cultural cachet of college football to advance the market for their products. Intercollegiate football's stage for capitalism, in fact, began less than a decade after the initial game. For instance, the game program for the 1879 game between Yale and Harvard brought to light a host of technological and creative advances relative to the 1872 Yale/Columbia version. The most notable difference between the two iterations, however, was located on the bottom quarter of the second and third pages and more than half of the back cover of the 1879 version. Advertisements for F. R. Bliss & Co. tailors or Gallagher tobacco, all establishments on Chapel Street, a main thoroughfare in New Haven, shared the page space with football-specific information and marketed their goods to the 1,500 spectators that attended the late autumn game. Besides the technical press enhancements and the college football developments, advertisements for local goods were one of the most profound additions to college football game programs.⁵³

Product placement in football game programs correlates with two primary factors involved in the development of higher education. The first corresponds with major oil, steel and railroad magnates' growing philanthropy for colleges and universities. This relation intensified in the final quarter of the nineteenth century as an ethos of generosity emerged in response to the mid-century escalation of profits that industrialists heartily enjoyed. Greater riches for some exacerbated a growing divide in wealth among classes with rapidly disparate access to and possession of means. In what became an increasingly Darwinian perspective on economics, certain capitalists enjoyed tremendous earnings in the midst of the rise of labor unions, frequent strikes and, in the case of the 1886 Haymarket Square affair, even riots.⁵⁴ In the immediate decades following the Civil War, corporate bosses that triumphed before and during this period—among others, Ezra Cornell in utilities, Cornelius Vanderbilt in shipping and railroads, John D. Rockefeller in oil, Leland Stanford in railroads, and Andrew Carnegie in the steel

industry—adopted the latter’s “gospel of wealth” philosophy in order to justify their societal position, accumulation of fortune, and service for the greater good.⁵⁵ This set of beliefs was derived from an essay Carnegie wrote in 1889 entitled “Wealth,” in which he argued that the government should not discourage nor regulate the accumulation of personal riches. While Carnegie asserted that the state should not be involved in distribution or circulation of capital, he also argued that one of the best uses for money was the recirculation of wealth back into the community to aid the less fortunate. This “gospel” served as a guide for industrial philanthropists who sought to share their wealth in societally munificent ways. An outpouring of charitable giving not only benefitted educational institutions, it led to the founding of many schools typically named in honor of the prosperous tycoon whose donation financed or endowed the fledgling institution.⁵⁶ In this way, institutions of higher education became another site for wealthy industrialists to invest their money. Captains of industry became “Captains of Erudition.”⁵⁷

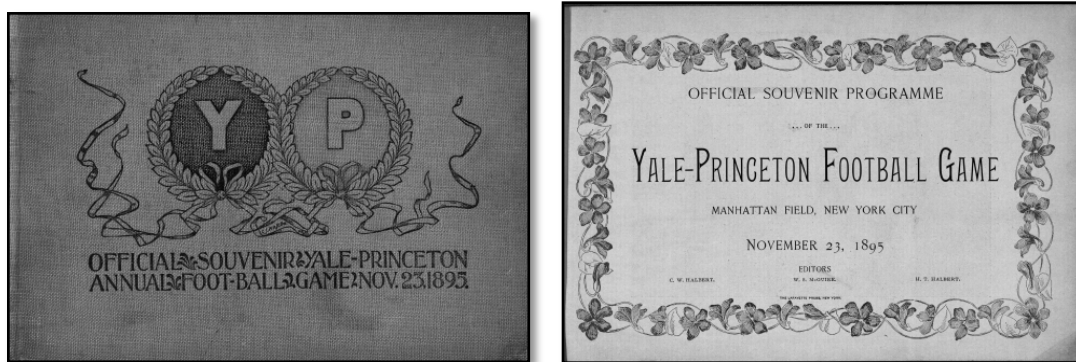
Secondly, the correlation between product placement in football programs and the transformation of higher education was that business through targeted advertising was not only more profitable, college football was more lucrative. If the 1880s was a period of experimentation, reform, and expansion for the institution, the 1890s was a decade of financial gain. Even in the midst and wake of the 1893 depression that historian Jackson Lears described as a “cross-country and cross-class catastrophe,” the most established college football programs, in particular, paced themselves in economically pragmatic ways.⁵⁸ When David Schaff and the Yale Foot Ball Association totaled their receipts from their 1872 inaugural contest against Columbia, they amassed less than \$300. Yet, only twenty-two years later, when members of the 1894 Yale squad looked back on their undefeated season, they could take pride in their team’s

victories as well the more than \$31,000 that they had netted.⁵⁹ Yale was not the only school that gained significant revenue from their athletic enterprise. In the final decade of the nineteenth century, the University of Pennsylvania trusted the viability of college football enough to invest in and complete construction of a brand new stadium in April 1895. They played their first game on Franklin Field in the fall of that year. By 1908, the Harvard Athletic Association, which played a large role in the construction of Soldiers Field in 1903, enjoyed \$120,000 in gross receipts from all of their athletic teams, \$90,000 of which derived from their football team alone. By this time, school officials discovered that hosting college football games enabled them to accrue profits from selling season passes as well as game day tickets; game programs; scorecards, which were two to four page modified programs that provided fans space to record scores and other statistical information; and, auto tickets since many fans were able to drive to the games.⁶⁰

These financial developments were a change in degree not kind. Since the very onset of intercollegiate competitions, entrepreneurial spirits identified college sports as a market rich with possibilities. In fact, a businessman was responsible for promotion of the very first intercollegiate athletic event. In July 1852, James Elkins, superintendent of the Boston, Concord & Montreal Railroad offered to cover all of the expenses to transport the Yale and Harvard rowing teams from New Haven and Cambridge, respectively, to the southern end of New Hampshire's Lake Winnepesaukee to compete in what became the first intercollegiate regatta. So confident that he would profit from this venture, Elkins also covered the crews' housing expenses for an eight-day stay.⁶¹ Although the link between money and intercollegiate sport was born on that day, college football intensified this bond. The excitement with which the 1872 Yale squad greeted the news that they made money off of programs and ticket sales in their game

against Columbia further belies any notion that profit motives were not always already a part of these physical ventures. The commercialism of college football was, in varying capacities, always an unspoken if not spoken reality of the sport. Corporations' turn-of-the-century intrusion into college football, however, transformed it from an amusement that emphasized young men, the game they played, and the significance of their performances of athleticism to one that equally prioritized consumer culture and the rising importance of materialism. Game programs were an important mechanism in this shift.

The program for the 1895 Yale/Princeton game reflected the commercial advances of collegiate athletics. The competition attracted 30,000 spectators to the comfortable confines of the Polo Grounds who witnessed Yale defeat Princeton 20-10.⁶² In preparation for the game, Yale undergraduates C. W. Halbert and H. T. Halbert and Princeton peer W. S. McGuire co-edited a 200-page tome that included football information and scores of advertisements.⁶³ The rigid, white, buckram-bound cover displayed a design of two intertwined wreaths, one



Figs. 4.10 and 4.11 The cover and interior page of the 1895 Yale-Princeton Official Souvenir Programme contained a “P” bordered with orange and black and another with a “Y” in the middle with a blue background. Spectators were inundated by more than just information pertaining to the sport of football. Upon opening the cover, the first page contained not a photo of a university president, a football captain, a team roster, or a list of rules. Rather, the first image fans saw was a full-page

advertisement for tobacco. Advertisements for luxury furs adorned the second page while the third featured rubber inner tubes. It was not until the fourth page that a reader encountered information pertaining to the game.⁶⁴

This “Official Souvenir” was the fulcrum in the evolution of this literature. I analyzed more than seventy football programs from elite East Coast institutions, HBCUs, and small and large colleges and universities from the Midwest, Southwest and West Coast. The 1895 Yale/Princeton program was a primary model on which programs pivoted from short, football-centric documents to significant vehicles of commercialism. Inside the decorated cover, drawings of violets or other floral arrangements ringed nearly every page of photos, illustrations, and text. Despite the deluge of advertisements, the editors did include football and university-related details. The hardcover book contained sporadic photographs of football players, teams, and university campuses not limited to Yale and Princeton. Additionally, there were lyrics to school cheers and “yells,” and an assortment of facts about the sport: dimensions of the field, rules of the game, and comparisons of past scores since 1876 between Yale, Princeton, Harvard, and the University of Pennsylvania, respectively, peppered the pages.

Yet, the marketing of goods dominated the program as the majority of pages differed only in advertising content. In addition to the aforementioned tobacco, tires, and fur ads, readers were flooded with images of different types of tea, clothing, shoes, home products, champagne, railroad and steamship travel, jewelry, and other luxury items. Small establishments like Sheridan’s Taxi Service that enjoyed more prominent location in 1870s and 1880s programs were forced to share ad space with more, larger more powerful businesses. Sharing also meant relegation as companies like American Tobacco Company, a transnational corporation and one

of the original twelve members of the Dow Jones Industrial Average, paid for prime positioning at or near the front of the programs.⁶⁵

This particular program is situated during a period of shift for advertising as well. Text-based promotions made room for imagery that added complexity to commercialism. This enabled proprietors to sell not just a product but the consumer as well. They sold an idea of how the consumer might envision himself. The very first advertisement in the 1895 Yale/Princeton program exemplifies this trend and coheres with the messaging that football's proponents were trying to convey about their sport.

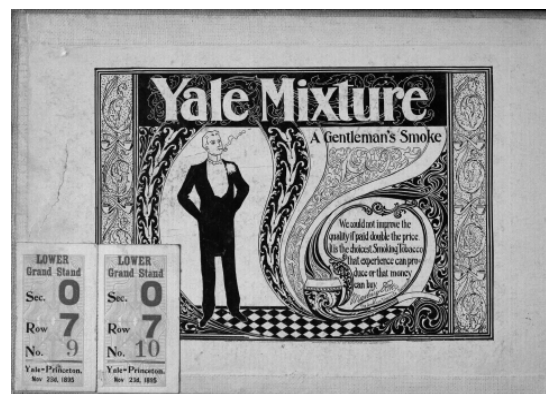


Fig. 4.12 American Tobacco Company advertisements of Yale Mixture tobacco in 1895 Yale/Princeton Football game program

A tobacco advertisement. It occupies the very first page of the program. Left of center, an illustration of a man in a tuxedo with tails, who appears phenotypically white, stands erect on a black and white tiled floor. His hands are clasped behind his back. His hair is parted and slick, a substantial boutonniere embellishes his lapel. With his head angling to the left and tilted slightly back, smoke wafts lazily into the air from the pipe extended from his lips. Alone in the image, the figure appears in the open space of undulating lines with his back against a wall. Yet, he is not in the background. His right foot stands on top of what appears to be a rising and repeating bouquet of flowers—likely tobacco leaves. Much of the rest of the advertisement is a composition of swirled designs approximating eddies of smoke in a distinctly Art Nouveau

motif. On the bottom right half of the drawing, smoke emanates from a very decorative pipe and seems to create the tagline of the tobacco. Around but not engulfing the figure, sinuous lines of smoke encircle the man, which lead one's eye up to the commercial poster's announcement, "Yale Mixture." The name hangs above the rest of the ad while, in smaller font, "A Gentleman's Smoke," sits below identifying for whom the product was intended. Boasting that they could not possibly improve what is already the best, the American Tobacco Company declares its product, "the choicest Smoking Tobacco that experience can produce or that money can buy."⁶⁶

Articulating football fans and the sport to which they were devoted with refinement and sophistication took work. The violence of college football constantly confronted proponents of the game and especially those committed to the discourse of the sport's civilizing qualities. Athletes, coaches, and school administrators—not to mention non-university affiliated fans—advanced an assortment of rationales in support of the game that justified certain forms of violence and excused some brutal outcomes. The most outspoken champions defended the sport as an expression of kinesthetic intelligence and a form of character-building. Others endorsed related avenues of validation. Sports reporters, for instance, often supporters of the game themselves, frequently documented the "brilliance," the "aristocracy," and the "good-natured and considerate" attitudes of the crowd.⁶⁷

Crowds were not always good-natured, but they were frequently part of society's upper-class.⁶⁸ And they wanted it to stay that way. Before universities built stadiums and moved the sport to the college campus, the viewing experience was not as discriminatory as many might have liked. To some, the Berkeley Oval, a New York City site of football games, insufficiently separated groups. "Children, young girls, millionaires and loafers," lamented a *New York Herald* writer, were jammed together at the Oval. He continued: "There was no special place or

distinction for any one.”⁶⁹ In contrast, the accommodations at Manhattan Field differentiated spectators much more effectively. For those fortunate enough to gain admission, the Polo



Fig. 4.13 Photograph of Yale vs. Princeton Thanksgiving Day game at Manhattan Field in Polo Grounds⁷⁰

Grounds provided some of society’s wealthiest fans a prized space from which to enjoy the experience. With sections of seats partitioned by design or unique topography, social and economic class segregated the layout of nearly the entire arena. The richest typically enjoyed the closest seats to the field; a structural advantage not offered at all playing grounds. Those with tickets were not the only ones that bore witness to the games. As Fig 4.13 reveals, thousands more watched from atop Coogan’s Bluff, a granite outcropping that rose sharply from the Harlem River and overlooked Manhattan Field. This steep hill gave those who could not afford or were too late to acquire tickets a modest opportunity to watch the action from afar. Even though it provided the less fortunate a derivative sense of “being there,” it reinforced a hierarchy of leisure—which college football continuously solidified.

Once inside the football space, advertisements provided a powerful set of discursive codes that fans could absorb in order to adapt to the cultural expectations of the football spectacle. Many ads targeted the most affluent fans and thus set aspirational goals and established normative understandings of wealth and consumerism for spectators across the range

of socioeconomic statuses. In a way, the ads paralleled the spatial differentiation that the physical structures of stadiums created. This is why the tobacco ad becomes such a useful text for analysis. Smoking at the turn of the century was an everyday practice that pervaded all social classes. It was not the type of ostentatious display to which economist Thorstein Veblen referred when he coined the term, “Conspicuous Consumption,” status acquired not through inner virtue and character, the very qualities of Victorian manliness, but through the visible expenditure of capital and the collection of goods. Moreover, failure to flaunt one’s wealth, claimed Veblen, was to risk perceptions of “inferiority and demerit.”⁷¹ But what to do about cigarettes? How did the upper class differentiate their habit from the same vice of the lower class?

Conspicuous consumption involved more than just the accumulation of assets. By the end of the nineteenth century, gentility could be bought. As programs reveal, it could also be sold. Gentility could be experienced as well. The Yale Mixture ad is as notable for its product as it is for the regal appearance of the figure. Even without the subtitle on the poster, he signifies gentlemanliness through his bearing, dress, and manner. Whether his bourgeois style is due to his smoking choices, his sartorial selections, his posture, or the potential that he is of the university class remains unknown. The figure could be a college man. But he might also be an industrialist, entrepreneur, capitalist or other important professional. That any one or combination of these prospects is a distinct possibility is unmistakable. The reality is, in fact, incidental. As a symbolic sign, he is all of these things. The intersecting meanings and conflation of potential interpretations shape the ideological message. Most importantly, all of the signified options connote an air of elegance and propriety. A noteworthy contribution to this semiotic though minor in appearance is the figure’s pipe. Before merchants figured out how to mass-produce cigarettes, high society saw smoking them as a sign of low class. However, the economic crash

of 1873 led many—even those of the upper class—to smoke cigarettes because of their affordability, and cigarettes became more fashionable even after the crash and certainly by the turn of the century. Thus, it is even more conspicuous and significant that during a time when cigarettes were rising in popularity, the “gentleman” smokes “Yale Mixture” out of a pipe.⁷²

Of course, if one smokes Yale Mixture and is thus a “gentleman,” he must look the part. College scrapbooks of this era reveal the swanky dress of students. Undergraduates frequently dressed in extravagant ways for a dance, promenade, or other special ceremony—usually with the requisite female date.⁷³ This trend also discloses a consolidation of style. The students who could afford tailored suits, fancy ties and shoes, and the requisite accessories to create such panache were not only homogenizing a style, they were fusing and expressing a certain class. College students used clothing to create to distinguish themselves from non-university young men. As a group, university men were of a minority in proportion to men of their age not enrolled in institutions of higher learning. Fancy dress, then, enhanced their experiential affluence with an affluence of appearance. Of course, not all college students could afford the expensive apparel of their wealthier peers. Thus, wardrobes served as a characteristic of class divide within university student bodies.⁷⁴

While some wealthier students used fashion to sever solidarity with classmates, the uncertainty of the tobacco figure as either college or professional man also bridged the gap between student and graduate. The ambiguity of the character’s occupation also hails alumni as part of the college football community regardless of their affiliation to the sport. In order to maximize profits, college football’s managers had to derive benefit from a market that included more than just undergraduates. From the perspective of a college student, however, the ad accelerates the speed with which a young man appears to be leaving boyhood and entering

manhood. Most adolescents who attend a university, inherently a period of transition, are living away from home and family for the first time. But they resided under the auspices of a college's responsibility of *in loco parentis*. Thus, they had not yet achieved a complete form of independence. That one of the tensions of the Yale Mixture advertisement resides in the dubious status of its actor enables college students to identify with a rank—even a prestige—which they may not yet have earned. The ad offers a visual merging of class as a conduit from education to wealth perhaps not yet consummated. Conversely, the businessman, potentially plagued by beliefs, if not accusations of effete sensibilities, based on his professional path can take heed in his association to the collegiate class. The appearance of a business figure—whose stout posture resembles the stance of an actual football player—in a football magazine conjoins the affluent spectator to manly virility performed on the gridiron. The gentleman can draft off of the ruggedness of the young men that he may feel akin to by virtue of his physical proximity to the game and/or his university affiliation as a former student himself.⁷⁵

The consumption of tobacco was and remains an unremarkable practice. But the imagery of the Yale Mixture ad was symbolic of the type of narrative that college football advocates were trying to advance. Smoking was not inherently high class, but it could be—especially with the right product. College football was not inherently high class, but it should be. Quotidian goods and services like tobacco or the New York Belting & Packing Company's rubber inner tubes mingled with ads that promoted explicitly luxury items like sealskin and chinchilla jackets, capes and collarettes lined with Imperial Ermine and lofka fur.⁷⁶ The breadth and depth of these game program advertisements identify how effective the institution of college football was as a vehicle through which to promote products. However, as the tobacco figure illustrates, these ads smuggle additional significance. The industries that made these goods, the processes involved in their

manufacture, and the class division that this merchandise represented identify how college football as recreational culture was central to the reproduction of social hierarchies. Through football player action shots and pastoral images of the campuses, essays of team histories and advertisements of expensive items, game programs became the physical manifestation of ideological pursuits that saw college football as instrumental to a gentleman's lifestyle.

If smoking was something that Yale Mixture suggested that customers should do every day, then a tropical cruise was something that the Boston Fruit Co. urged consumers to do, at least, every year. To the degree that these offerings were typically out of financial reach for most Americans, cruise line advertisements were surprisingly common in college football game programs of Eastern universities. The ad below was one of four in the same program. The imagery and layout of the Boston Fruit Company's cruise was characteristic of these types of

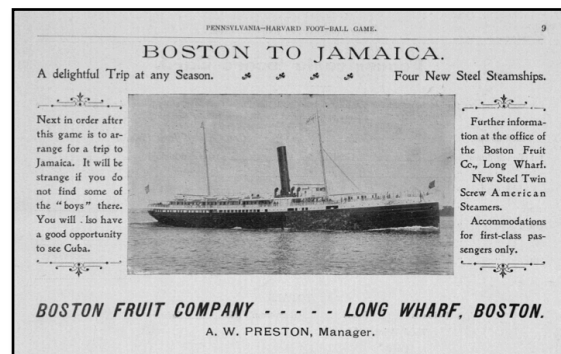


Fig. 4.14 Boston Fruit Company Boston to Jamaica cruise line advertisement⁷⁷

advertisements. Text of information and promises of luxurious experience flanked a picture of the ship or an illustration of some feature of the final destination. In addition to logistical details like dates and ports of departure, declarations for whom the trips served were explicit. For instance, in the above example, it was not the accommodations that were “first-class.” Rather, that approbation was accorded the type of passengers who were allowed access to the Boston Fruit Company's cruise line. Moreover, most cruise ads included additional headlines that

trumpeted the extravagance of the final stops: “JAMAICA, the Most Charming Tropical Winter Resort in the World,” or, “BERMUDA—FairylanD For Rest or Play [emphasis original],” dotted the pages. As opposed to the flair of the tobacco ad, cruise advertisements were as notable for what was absent. Despite the bold announcements, they were relatively unadorned with artwork or ornate detailing. Further, the ads rarely advertised the cost of the trips. Presumably, the offering of such luxury sold itself and nothing signified wealth more than a lack of concern for expense.⁷⁸

At the heart of the marketing strategies was the sale of experience and the sale of space. Ocean spray, sunshine, sandy beaches, tropical forest, and the freedom to enjoy such luxury was a commodity that a middle and upper class population could consume. Upon landing at various destinations, voyagers had the opportunity to golf and ride horses, to swim and fish. Jamaica, among other tropical sites, with its “towering mountains and picturesque valleys,” gave tourists unique vistas and access to vegetation that presumably they could not find at the locales from which they embarked. The island’s topography and other West Indian land, then, were ostensibly available to explore. With no mention of indigenous people of the islands, cruise companies presented their tours within the same discursive strain, frontier mystique, and masculinist subtexts of explorers piercing “virgin land” with much fewer hazards and much more security and comfort.⁷⁹ This type of exploration gave to the very same class of Americans who feared the deleterious effects of over-civilization a semblance of control over new places. Oceans, beaches, hills, and valleys in addition to hotels, resorts, streets and sidewalks became sites of consumption. This enterprise also delineated people, in the one-sided exchange of tourism, along different rungs of power. Tourists acted; they were waited on. Cooks, waiters, busboys, and chambermaids served them. In the burgeoning tourist industry, locals—most likely non-whites—

became recipients of men and women with money. Otherwise, as the ads indicate, they were invisible except in instances when the travelers needed them in the role of subservient providers.

With few exceptions, marketing tactics never mentioned local people in the context of cruises. The Boston Fruit Company ad assured potential tourists that it would be odd should these affiliates of Yale and Princeton “not find some of the ‘boys’” already there.⁸⁰ Likewise, the United Fruit Company, Cunard Lines, White Star Line, Furness Bermuda Line, Munson Steamship Line, and other cruise companies attempted to attract not only rich patrons but football fans as well. Their marketing, in fact, equated the two entities as one—rich people were football fans, football fans constituted the wealthy.⁸¹ It was understood that men of a certain university status and similar ilk traveled internationally, explored distant lands, and enjoyed the luxury that these locales provided. The opportunity to choose became a symbol of status. As Veblen claimed, failure to take advantage of a cruise line’s offerings, failure to exercise the privilege gained from affiliation with Ivy League universities and schools of similar standing, diminished bourgeois advantage. Thus, when cruise lines advertised in college football programs, they were selling experience that equated the university class with a type of conspicuous consumer who saw few bounds to what was conceivably theirs.

By the turn of the century, the most affluent U.S. consumers increasingly pursued global products to consume, demonstrating and signifying a kind of worldly cosmopolitanism increasingly associated with bourgeois comportment. Game programs advertised furs from Russia, Poland and parts of Scandinavia; champagne and perfumes from France; tea from China; cars from England and Germany; and, precious gems and jewelry from Belgium.⁸² At the same time, jingoist and anti-immigrant impulses emerged, and the turn-of-the-century fervor to “buy American” flared within a growing consumer culture. But product nationalism did not slow

imports or the desire among those that could afford expensive goods to covet and purchase things that distinguished their class.⁸³

That was the rub. It would be one thing if these were just exclusive pursuits of pleasure. Unfortunately, many of the products featured in college football game programs denote the culmination of extended processes of exploitation frequently shouldered by black and brown bodies. The first U.S. cruise lines, for instance, were outgrowths of steam ship companies that trafficked in fruit markets. When the British Empire abolished slavery in Jamaica in 1834, sugar plantations' output logically faded. Out of necessity, the island transformed from a monocrop economy to a system of coffee groves, cattle ranches, and smaller lots that cultivated yams and other African subsistence crops. Slowly, however, bananas became the island's primary cash yield. When larger corporations identified ways to transport the produce to northern markets, entrepreneurs moved in. In 1870, Bostonian Lorenzo Dow Baker was among the first Americans to exhibit enthusiasm for the Jamaican fruit. What began as a cautious venture blossomed into a multinational firm. Baker launched the Boston Fruit Company in 1876, which was the predecessor of the United Fruit Company. By 1899, the corporation was worth \$20 million and owned 7,500 acres of Jamaican land little more than one decade later.⁸⁴

James Duke built his empire under similar conditions. By the middle of the eighteenth century, tobacco had transformed slavery and slavery had transformed tobacco from a staple crop to a major commodity that became embedded in the national identity of the United States.⁸⁵ In the late nineteenth century, American Tobacco Company masterfully capitalized on a rapidly expanding market of smokers in the U.S. By 1885, James Duke's influence on the tobacco industry was widespread. Composing one-half of a sibling duo that took over their father's North Carolina tobacco company, Duke embarked on a near-constant effort to polish and enhance his

company's productivity. Mass production and innovative marketing elevated tobacco into the realm of industrial modernity.⁸⁶ By the start of the twentieth century, Duke had bought out most of his competitors and controlled ninety percent of the cigarette market.

Some of these industries, then, began in the direct shadow of domestic and transatlantic slavery. North American cruise lines were no exception. They profited from a well-oiled foundation of slavery and gained steam under the auspices of Caribbean colonization. Economic annexation built the machinery for seemingly apolitical adventures. On the contrary, this type of pleasure seeking was an exercise in power. The Industrial Revolution's technological advances shrank the globe and gave those who could afford it the potential to expand their world. Likewise, exploitation did not just hinge on the exotic. Much of James Duke's fortune depended on the labor of North Carolina sharecroppers who picked the tobacco that went into so many American Tobacco Company cigarettes. None of this history, of course, appeared in the game program advertisements. They solely featured the sale and potential purchase of items. This maintained the veil of separation between customers and laborers. The divide also sustained the dichotomy of power between classes and obscured the abuse of the most disempowered.

Construction of the "College Man"

By the start of the twentieth century, the marriage between the institution of college football and that of commercialism solidified on account of at least three primary factors: football was gaining nationwide popularity; conspicuous consumption was an intensifying trend; and, middle-class men increasingly had disposable income to spend. As football game programs evidence, capitalists took advantage of this burgeoning market that was the university class. They faced few limitations. Geography was certainly no restraint. By the start of the twentieth century, colleges fielded teams in most states around the country. This expansion provided

commercialism with a broader platform from which businessmen took advantage. As such, game programs outside of New England differed only in type of content. An Iowa/Michigan official souvenir program did not market cruises, but like their Park Avenue counterparts, Detroit's stately Madison and Lenox hotel made sure its name and image occupied a page. Advertisements for "Barbeque, Pig and Beef" sandwiches appeared most frequently in the programs of southern schools. Moreover, luxury cars like Rolls-Royce or Mercedes were more likely to market their \$3000 cars in a Harvard program while Oldsmobile more commonly featured their newest \$875 model in a Michigan/Ohio State program. Nevertheless, the threading of capital, commodities, and college football tightened across the country. The association between goods, universities, and college football teams flourished. By the 1920s, a Kansan could dine in Jayhawk Café and a Texan could enjoy clothing alterations at Longhorn Tailors.⁸⁷ These ostensibly more modest wares do not negate the aspirational quality of the programs and the advertised products. The concept of conspicuous consumption described most critically the status-defining expenditures of the affluent. But it was not class-specific. The Gilded Age was a period where members of each economic stratum defined their expectations of respectability by the practices of those above them. According to Veblen, they then bent their "energies to live up to that ideal."⁸⁸

Regardless of region, era or commodity, companies used game programs to market to and make a college-educated customer. Under the auspices of college football, this was a specific type of consumer, an ideal—the College Man. He was a football man. He was a gentleman. He was debonair, his tastes discriminating, and he was willing to indulge both modest and fanciful desires through purchases. He was also financially successful, worldly, and deserving of the advantages he allegedly created for himself.⁸⁹ The indulgences came at an expense. Charges of over-civilization lingered. But, the College Man, a football fan with emotional and even physical

affinities to the game, dodged the most dogged accusations due to his affiliations to the sport.

Admittedly, it is hard to determine what direct outcomes game programs and marketing had on most football fans. It is difficult to deduce how spectators interacted with the content of the advertisements and the attitude that the products portrayed to the potential consumer.

Nonetheless, that advertising within game program pages increased, that some of these ads appeared in student scrapbooks, and that this rise in advertising was part of a larger pattern in many facets of consumer culture in the United States suggest that marketing in football game programs was a lucrative practice for many investors.

In the postbellum, pre-World War I era, marketers presumed women to be the primary consumers. They were the head of the household, the domestic representative, the symbol of civility and gentility.⁹⁰ They served as vessels of exhibition. The complement to this narrative also meant that men did not shop; they produced. What recent scholarship has revealed is that not only was this untrue, the very lens of study through which researchers gathered their data was deeply flawed. Even though they spent considerable money on goods and services, men's practices of purchasing flew under the radar because they stood outside of how contemporary researchers were defining consumption. As sociologist Mark Swiencicki describes, the prevailing nineteenth century discourse gendered consumption feminine. By definition, then, what men bought was not referred to as a form of consumption not because they weren't consumers but because they were not female.⁹¹ Consumption, of course, was never a feminine practice.

Businesses were acutely attuned to this fallacy and their advertising tactics in football programs reveal a comprehensive awareness of the consuming practices of men, or at least, the potential consuming practices of men. Businesses and advertisers strategically situated their products in programs in order to access and benefit from the spending habits of male football fans. These

habits included the purchase of products for themselves. They also comprised the fulfillment of women's consumption desires via male spending. Men bought items for the real or imagined women in their lives. Football game programs serve as an ideal medium through which to observe, if not the consumer patterns of men, then the establishments, organizations, and industries that targeted them for potential business.

Of the programs that I evaluated, numerous telling trends emerge. Firstly, men consumed. Secondly, they did not merely purchase goods and services that revolved around comfort and entertainment: haircuts, shaves, food, drink, movies, theater, and sporting events. They also bought material items like watches, clothing, jewelry, cars, cruises, and other substantial articles. At the same time, advertisers also marketed home products that were categorical forms of retail, which signified the domestic space: lighting fixtures, heating devices, decorative items, kitchenware, and craft ware in football game programs. Of course, women did attend college football games, but male fans composed the vast majority of on-site football fans. One could make the argument that certain advertisers were attempting to reach a female market through the football program. Yet, the demographics of the football spectator and the preponderance of illustrations of football players to which male spectators could more readily associate would suggest that this precise targeting was a risky tactic. A vast majority of college and universities prior to the Great Depression served only male students. Once schools built stadiums, ticket distribution favored university affiliates, which resulted in a disproportionate number of men getting initial preference to stadium entry. Moreover, university athletic records serve as one of many sources that reveal how each year complimentary game and season tickets were offered to valuable individuals nearly all of which were men.⁹² This practice of subjective preference, which many schools observed, more than any official policy reveals the degree to which men

populated football bleachers and stadium seats, and, in turn, served as marketers' target audience.

This devoted space of maleness, a domain of masculinity where male spectators had the opportunity to reinforce or regain a sense of virility, protected men's proclivity to shop or be labeled a consumer. In this environment, their alibi as football fan minimized the potential accusation of engaging in effeminate practices. College football masculinized the college man. The college man, in turn, masculinized a certain type of consumption. Forces of capitalism, then, used higher education's ties to college football in order to brand a new type of consumer. The college man participated in the commodification not just of experience but also of identity. The consumption practices of educated, bourgeois men created a distinct university class. It was premised on the support of a team—business partners, associates, colleagues—that, simultaneously celebrated individualism. Success, based on victory in the competitive circles of finance, rationalized excess perceived as justly warranted. The very rituals and expenditures that distinguish the economic bracket of members of the university class avoid allegations of gain from the unseemly sides of capitalism. Game programs were accomplices in this slippery categorization, the discourse of ever-changing definitions that favored the dominant class.

The Power of Programs

Game programs were busy. Their creators assigned them multiple tasks. They emphasized the heroism of individual players while simultaneously underscoring the importance of seamless team collaboration. Pictorially and textually, they sold the value of institutions of higher education. These purposes worked to identify the “effete East” as tough, and certain populations in the Midwest as erudite and sophisticated.⁹³ Even if not every college man was equal, they were members of a university class. Despite unfavorable impressions of elitism and

wealth, programs made this demographic culturally intelligible as hardy, self-sufficient, and resistant to the decay of neurasthenia or any other related gendered maladies. Undergraduates who competed on the gridiron refuted claims of weakness and widened the scope in which the bourgeois class could claim toughness. The very crowd that embodied excessive wealth and decadent style became a symbol of rugged civility—at least to themselves, perhaps to others. And that was what mattered. Perceptions created realities. They were affluent, but their attachment to football connoted virile sensibilities. Game programs and the discursive connections they made to football and dominant channels of success enabled non-football-playing college students who fulfilled some association with intercollegiate football to self-identify with the above qualities of masculinity.

The real power of programs lay in their sale of possibility. They helped usher college football into the age of commodities and immersed it in the culture of conspicuous consumption. While historian Roland Marchand argues that advertising portrayed ideals and aspirations, the opportunity to make desires a reality were most accessible to members of the university class—a category of people programs played a role in constructing. Marketing for the schools themselves or for purchasable goods showed this class not only what they could enjoy but what they *should* enjoy. Advertisements achieved this end through redundancy. The 1926 Yale/Harvard program offered seventeen pages of ads before the table of contents.⁹⁴ Repetition created believability, and programs did it without apology. They perpetuated the belief that “[accumulating] large fortunes [was] not at all a thing to be regretted,” which nineteenth century sociologist William Graham Sumner voiced in his brief treatise on social classes.⁹⁵ He further submitted that this type of accomplishment was the very mechanism of self-improvement. Each of these elements is part of a discourse where the evolution of college football dictated who should play, where games

should take place, and who should watch. By the 1920s, it was an increasingly privatized affair where the imagery of the sport commandeered the strength of the football player and melded it to the supposed success of the modern businessman. This combination perpetuated a nationwide ideal of the university citizen—an icon that frequently appeared on game program covers—and which made its way into the broader dimensions of American culture writ large.

¹ Louis Henry Baker, “Early Beginnings,” in *History of Yale Football*, Louis Henry Baker Papers, SML-YU. 32-34,

² “Yale Foot Ball Association Presidents Book,” Department of Athletics Papers, Folder 3-21, Box 3, SML-YU.

³ Mark F. Bernstein, *Football: The Ivy League Origins of an American Obsession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 8.

⁴ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*.

⁵ By the start of the twentieth century, football game programs began to reflect a more standard appearance typical of illustrated national weekly and monthly periodicals like *Harper’s*, *The Nation*, *McClure’s*, and *Century*. These publications became, as historian John Thelin suggests, “the preferred reading of a nationwide educated middle class,” and game programs began to more closely resemble in layout and presentation these magazines. See Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 114. See also Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume II: North America 1894-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁶ While the presence of advertising within game programs was a novel intervention in college sports, it was not an innovative concept. Student athletes who offset the expenses of game programs in the 1880s, which athletic departments and university publicity offices subsequently followed, adopted the pattern that nineteenth century newspapers had practiced for decades and wholeheartedly embraced following the Civil War. Nineteenth century improvements in transportation and communication meant that businesses could capitalize on an ever-expanding population through advertising. Businesses bought ad space in newspapers and magazines providing them greater circulation and simultaneously reducing costs of production for the periodicals. As the twentieth century neared, advertising for publishers began to occupy greater physical space within issues and represented greater revenue each year. *Harper’s Weekly*, for instance, averaged less than a page of advertising per issue in 1857, one page per issue in 1862, two pages of ads per issue in 1867, and three pages per issue in 1872. In the June 1, 1872 issue of *Harper’s Weekly*, advertisements included illustrations for lawn mowers, corsets, furniture, jewelry, a toy engine, statuary, a freezer, a carriage, roofing, shotguns, engines, and sewing machines. By the 1880s, advertising accounted for nearly \$40 million of the \$89 million in total revenue that publishers of all types of periodicals received. In total, the revenue that daily newspapers earned from advertising was almost as much as they gained from sales. See “History: 19th Century, Advertising Age, Volume 74, Issue 37, September 15, 2003; Simon Dexter North, *History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States, with a Catalogue of the Publications of the Census Year*, Supplementary to the Census of 1880 (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, Census Office, 1884), 85f; Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996), 26. See also Pamela Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998); Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1929)

⁷ “Archive for the ‘Early Football Programs’ Category,” in Vintage College Football Programs & Collectibles, June 1, 2010 <http://collectableivy.wordpress.com/category/early-football-programs/> Retrieved March 4, 2013; “The Official Souvenir Program of the Yale-Harvard Football Game,” ed. Addison S. Pratt, published under the auspices of the Yale University and Harvard University Foot Ball Associations, November 19, 1898; “The Official Souvenir Program of the Pennsylvania-Harvard Foot-Ball Game, ed. F.S. Elliot, (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son Printers, November 5, 1898). Financial institutions seized the lucrative possibilities that game programs offered as sites of marketing. Central Union Trust Company of New York (what eventually became JPMorgan Chase) was one of many banks and investment companies that advertised heavily in the pages of Northeast college football game programs, especially. See “U.S. Army-Navy Football Annual, A Pictorial Review of the Athletic Year at the Two

National Academies and the Official Football Programme for the Twenty-Fifth Annual Game,” November 25, 1922, Philadelphia, PA, 27, JSRC-ND.

⁸ Baker, “Early Beginnings,” 30-33.

⁹ Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 8. Shakespeare received significant billing on many stages. Yet, historian J. Stanley Lemons posits that it was minstrel shows that were the most popular form of theater and popular entertainment toward the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. See J. Stanley Lemons, “Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880 – 1920,” *American Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring, 1977), 102.

¹⁰ For examples of this phenomenon, see Alfred Wilson, Duncan Pierce, and Marguerite Lambert’s University of Michigan scrapbooks as three of dozens of albums that include programs from a host of theatrical shows. In BHL-UM. Even Frank Merriwell found the stage: “Frank Marrywell to the Reskew,” presented by The Swillbur Opera Company at the Hallofthephi Theater, May 25, 1900 in Francis Gordon Brown Scrapbook, Folder 4, Box 29, Manuscripts and Archives, SML-YU.

¹¹ “The Oldest Known Football Program?” February 10, 2008, in *Vintage College Football Programs & Collectibles*, <http://collectibleivy.wordpress.com/category/early-football-programs/> (Retrieved March 4, 2013). Photos of 1872 and 1879 game programs retrieved from above website.

¹² For an elaboration on player roles and position descriptions, see Walter Camp, *American Football*, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1894). Rather than divide the roster into segments based on position, some programs saved space, ink, and money by listing players’ positions using initials next to their name. For example, “r.g.” for “Right Guard” is listed next to the Amherst player, “Varnum” in the 1900 Amherst/Williams game program. See “The Official Souvenir Program of the Williams-Amherst Championship Foot Ball Game,” published under the auspices of the Amherst College Foot Ball Association, Carpenter & Morehouse Press, November 10, 1900, JSRC-ND.

¹³ Player specialization emerged in conjunction with or response to the types of strategies of mechanization that emerged from the Industrial Revolution. The changes on the gridiron were also a reflection of rule alterations during the mid- to late-1870s—chiefly, reducing the number of on-field players per team and the installation of a line of scrimmage that replaced the remnants of rugby’s scrummage, which rarely yielded stoppages in play. With these new designs of the game to contend with, football tacticians found that organizing their players with specific responsibilities increased efficiency, productivity, and, ultimately, success. These strategies echo the type of management processes that were central to the industrial innovations of Fordism and Taylorism. The parallels in organization of football team or factory are remarkable in their similarities of order and execution. See David M. Nelson, *Anatomy of A Game: Football, the Rules, and the Men Who Made the Game* (Newark: University of Delaware, 1994), Appendix 2; Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911).

¹⁴ Peter W. Cookson Jr. and Caroline Hodges Persell, *Preparing for Power: America’s Elite Boarding Schools* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 50.

¹⁵ Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History*, 2nd Ed. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 442. Specifically, enrollments at institutions of higher education in total numbers and as a proportion of college-age youth, including women, progress as follows: 1870: 52,286, 1.6%; 1880: 115,817, 2.72%; 1890: 156,756, 3.04%; 1900: 237,592, 4.01%; 1910: 355,213, 5.1% ;1920: 597,880, 8.2%; 1930: 1.1 million, 12.95%. Daniel A. Clark cites statistics from *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1977-78, 85 and 94; and *Historical Statistics of the United States*, Series H, 751-56, compiled in W. Bruce Leslie, “Toward A History of the American Upper Middle Class, 1870-1940” (paper presented at the Cambridge University American History Seminar, 1994), 13, quoted in Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 191.

¹⁶ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 172. Cookson and Persell argue that wealthy industrialists founded a significant number of boarding schools in the Northeast in the last two decades of the nineteenth century in direct response to their fear of immigration contamination. See Cookson and Persell, *Preparing for Power*, 51. For an understanding of why some of the older northeastern schools may have been inhospitable to non-Anglo-Saxons, see President Abbott Lawrence Lowell Papers, Folder 1056 (Jews), Box 173 (Series 1919-1922), HUA-HU. Of the many anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant letters in this folder, one from James E. Turnbull, class of 1911, was explicit but representative of the sentiment held by many authors who wrote letters to President Lowell. Turnbull writes, “As one of the very least of Harvard’s sons, I wish to voice my hearty approval of any steps the governing powers of the University have taken, or plan to take, to exclude Jews from Harvard. [...] I have seen the Jew constantly, in business, in social life, and in political life, and I am certain that he never can be assimilated, - remolded or made a fit member of the best American society. His whole conception of life and conduct is opposed

to anything that is founded on Christianity.” See James E. Turnbull letter to President Lowell, June 4, 1922, President Abbott Lawrence Lowell Papers, Folder 1056 (Jews), Box 173 (Series 1919-1922), HUA-HU.

¹⁷ In 1951, University of Chicago faculty David Riesman and Reuel Denney conducted a sociological approach to the study of college football. They determined: “In 1889, all but one of the names (Heffelfinger) suggested Anglo-Saxon origins. The first name after that of Heffelfinger to suggest non-Anglo-Saxon recruitment was that of Murphy, at Yale, in 1895. After 1895, it was a rare All-American team that did not include at least one Irishman (Daly, Hogan, Rafferty, Shevlin); and the years before the turn of the century saw entrance of the Jew. On the 1904 team appeared Pierkarski of Pennsylvania. By 1927, names like Casey, Kipke, Oosterbaan, Koppisch, Garbisch, and Friedman were appearing on the All-American list with as much frequency as names like Channing, Adams, and Ames in the 1890’s.” While not necessarily Anglo-Saxon, all of the players named were white athletes. See David Riesman and Reuel Denney, “Football in America: A Study of Culture Diffusion,” in *American Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter, 1951), 310.

¹⁸ Perhaps, even more telling, the roster of the 1926 Harvard team failed to list the hometowns of its players. It did, however, identify the high schools that they attended, the majority of which were private schools. As a source of biographical information, a player’s high school became more informative and significant to readers than his hometown. See “Official Souvenir Program,” Harvard-Yale, (Andover, MA: Andover Press, November 20, 1926). See also: “Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game,” Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895); “University of Pennsylvania versus Lafayette College,” Game Program, October 30, 1915, printed by The John C. Winston Company; “Official Souvenir Program of the Yale-Princeton Foot-Ball Game,” November 18, 1916, published by the Bureau of Self-Help Under the Auspices of the Princeton University Athletic Association; “Official Souvenir Program of the Princeton-Yale Football Game,” Issued by the Yale University Athletic Association, November 15, 1919; “University of Michigan Athletic Program, Minnesota-Michigan,” Official Publication of the University of Michigan Controlled by the Board in Control of Student Publications, November 22, 1919; “University of Michigan Athletic Program, Chicago-Michigan,” Official Publication of the University of Michigan Controlled by the Board in Control of Student Publications, November 13, 1920; “Official Game Program, University of Detroit versus Washington and Jefferson,” 1921; “Official Souvenir Program Thirty-second Annual California Stanford Football Game, November 21, 1925, published by the Board of Athletic Control Stanford University; Official Football Program Longhorn-Vandy, October 13, 1928, JSRC-ND.

¹⁹ See Fielding H. Yost, “Educational Aims in Competitive Athletics,” in Folder: Fielding Harris Yost Speeches (2), Box 6, Fielding Harris Yost Papers, BHL-UM.

²⁰ I discuss this notion of belonging and citizenship in greater depth in Chapter Five when I address the manifestation of imagined communities within spectators’ broad football experience.

²¹ Photograph of 1894 Amherst College Football team in “The Official Souvenir of the Dartmouth-Amherst Championship Foot-Ball Game,” Folder 7, Box FP 1 in Athletics Records, Archives & Special Collections, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College.

²² See “Official Souvenir Programme of the Brown-Dartmouth Foot Ball Game,” published by S.A. McComber and D.F. O’Brien. November 28, 1895; “Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game,” Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895); “The Official Souvenir Program of the Yale-Harvard Football Game,” ed. Addison S. Pratt, published under the auspices of the Yale University and Harvard University Foot Ball Associations, November 19, 1898; “The Official Souvenir Program of the Pennsylvania-Harvard Foot-Ball Game, ed. F.S. Elliot, (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son Printers, November 5, 1898); “The Official Souvenir Program of the Williams-Amherst Championship Foot Ball Game,” (Amherst, MA: Press of Carpenter & Morehouse, November 10, 1900). All programs in JSRC-ND.

²³ “Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game,” Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895) in JSRC-ND.

²⁴ Staff of General Fitz-John Porter; Lieutenant William G Jones and (then Lieutenant) George A Custer reclining, the Peninsula, VA, May 20, 1862, “Nineteenth-century group Photographs,” November 17, 2007 in *The Toybee Convecton*, davidderrick.wordpress.com, Retrieved March 13, 2013; Hayes in Civil War Uniform in 1861, “Civil War,” Rutherford B. Hayes, *wikipedia.org*, Retrieved March 13, 2013.

²⁵ Nina Silber, *Gender and the Sectional Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); David Blight, “No Desperate Hero: Manhood and Freedom in A Union Soldier’s Experience,” in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York: Oxford Press, 1992), 55-75.

²⁶ Richard White, “Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill,” in *The Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 7-66.

²⁷ The appearance of brotherhood in football team photos is another marker of Yost's notion of the "belonging instinct."

²⁸ Despite the integral importance of physicality to football, all game programs were devoid of references to or images of violence. Even in instances when a game followed a well-publicized death of a player on the gridiron, few if any memorials appeared in a corresponding game program.

²⁹ Certain parts of the most highly esteemed college campuses, particularly the quadrangle, posits literary scholar Kenrick Grandison, communicate specific messages about the hallowed ground. "Preserving the axes," he writes, "for lawns, trees, fountains, and monuments with no commercial, industrial, residential, institutional, or even active recreational use indicates that they are sacred spaces intended to symbolize the culture's highest values." See Kenrick Grandison, "Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (September 1999), 561.

³⁰ The term "student-athlete" is a relatively contemporary term. Walter Byers, executive director of the NCAA invented the concept in 1953 in order to help schools combat cases that injured football players' filed that sought worker's compensation. See Andrew Zimbalist, *Unpaid Professionals: Commercialism and Conflict in Big-Time College Sports* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 37.

³¹ The 1894 Amherst photo is not unique. In the Official Souvenir Program for the 1898 game between Harvard and Yale, several pictures feature a mock outdoor setting. A common feature in the more elaborate programs was to offer photos of teams or players from yesteryear, an homage that linked the past with the ostensible present. In this program both the 1894 Yale and Harvard teams assembled on top of fake grass in front of painted backgrounds. See "The Official Souvenir Program of the Yale-Harvard Football Game," ed. Addison S. Pratt, published under the auspices of the Yale University and Harvard University Foot Ball Associations, November 19, 1898 in JSRC-ND. This was not singular to East Coast schools. A photo of the University of Michigan's 1884 team offers a very similar staged environment in front of which the players posed.

³² Baseball, football's foil during both sports' earliest stages of development, was a pre-modern activity. With its asymmetrical fields, tempered action—relative to football—and its pace existing beyond the reach of time, baseball lacked the industrial imprint that was so characteristic of its gridiron counterpart.

³³ In his treatise on space, Henri Lefevre asserts that the more nature shares a space, "the less it enters into the social relations of production." See Henri Lefevre, *The Production of Space* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 83.

³⁴ Raymond Williams, "Ideas of Nature," in *Culture and Materialism: Selected Essays* (New York: Verso, 2005), 80.

³⁵ See Richard White, "Discovering Nature in North America," in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 79, Issue 3 (December 1992): 874-891; Ronald Takaki, "The Tempest in the Wilderness: The Racialization of Savagery," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 79, Issue 3 (December 1992): 892-912.

³⁶ Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 232.

³⁷ John Sullivan, heavyweight champion from 1882-1892 and notable ruffian, famously cried: "Football! There's murder in that game. Prizefighting doesn't compare in roughness or danger with football. In the ring, at least you know what you're trying to do. You know what your opponent is trying to do. He's right there in front of you. There's only one of him. But in football—there's 11 guys trying to do you in!" See McCallum, *Ivy League Football Since 1872*, 49.

³⁸ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894).

³⁹ Williams, "Ideas of Nature," 80.

⁴⁰ In William Cronon's essay, "The Trouble with Wilderness," he offers a brief bibliography of some of the classic work on nature, sublime landscapes, and man's spiritual relation with wilderness. See William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1996), pg. 480, n12.

⁴¹ Cronon persuasively contends that these concepts of nature are entirely constructed. From seventeenth century fear to nineteenth century approbation of wilderness, he asserts that any changes in nature are based on Americans' perception and relation to non-human environments. Moreover, these understandings are classed. Those who did not have to subsist on land's production consumed it in the manner of a tourist, "it was a place of recreation" (78). See William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1996), 69-90.

⁴² For visual evidence of the pervasiveness of poverty during the Gilded Age, see Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (New York, Dover, 1971).

⁴³ Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 78, 69.

⁴⁴ Even before intercollegiate football, collegians tried to demonstrate bravery and prove themselves physically. Sanford S. Burr, a class of 1863 Dartmouth College student, rallied peers to join the Union forces in 1862. The resulting group of thirty-five students formed the College Cavaliers that trained in Rhode Island with a local company to form the 7th Squadron of the Rhode Island Cavalry. Notably, even in war, these audacious undergraduates maintained their patronizing air toward their less educated, military counterparts. Between training, the Dartmouth students socialized with Brown students in their fraternity halls maintaining a disdainful distance from what one student wrote in his journal, "the more hornyhanded sons of toil." Courage, patriotism, and virile output did not minimize their collegiate sense of superiority. See S.B. Pettengill quoted in Lauren Vespoli, "Ride of a Lifetime," in *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, Vol. 107, Number 5 (May/June 2013), 36-7.

⁴⁵ Incidentally, toy soldiers are centuries old. The technique of hollow casting, which originated in Britain in 1893, revolutionized the production of these figurines. Thus, mass manufacturing of military figures coincided with the frozen-in-action portrayals of football players as seen in football programs by the 1920s.

⁴⁶ "Cal Tech vs. Occidental Official Program," published by The Associated Students of the California Institute of Technology," November 7, 1930, pg. 5; "Ohio State vs. Michigan Official Athletic Program," Controlled by the Board in Control of Student Publications, Ann Arbor, MI, October 20, 1923, pg. 11, JSRC-ND.

⁴⁷ In 1890, Amherst College, for example, "put the athletic interests in the care" of one governing committee. They formed an Athletic Board that was composed of ten members: the presidents, respectively, of the Base-Ball, Foot-Ball and the Athletic Associations of the College, the Professor of Physical Education, two other members of the Faculty, three members of Alumni not members of the Faculty, and one other administrator. See "A Boom for Athletics," February 7, 1890, Folder 20, Box GEN 1, Archives & Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA.

⁴⁸ See "Official Program Souvenir of the Nebraska-Army Football Game," November 24, 1928; "Official Program Souvenir of the Purdue vs. Ohio State Semi-Centennial, 1870-1920," October 16, 1920, JSRC-ND.

⁴⁹ To infuse the program and, by extension, football and the universities with an even deeper sense of tradition, the nation's oldest schools often presented campus photos and buildings of British universities like Oxford, Cambridge and King's College. See "Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game," Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895) in JSRC-ND.

⁵⁰ In addition to the photographs, programs also incorporated histories of their schools with reference to distinguished founders, intriguing details, and seminal customs. See "Official Souvenir Programme of the Brown-Dartmouth Foot Ball Game," published by S. A. McComber and D. F. O'Brien, November 28, 1895; "The Official Souvenir Program of the Pennsylvania-Harvard Foot-Ball Game," published under the auspices of the Harvard University Foot-Ball Association, Alfred Mudge & Sons Printers, November 5, 1898; "Official Souvenir Programme of the University of Pennsylvania/Lafayette College Foot-Ball Game," printed by The John C. Winston Company, October 30, 1915; "U.S. Army-Navy Football Annual, A Pictorial Review of the Athletic Year at the Two National Academies and the Official Football Programme for the Twenty-Fifth Annual Game," November 25, 1922, Philadelphia, PA; "Official Souvenir Programme of the Harvard-Princeton Football Game," published by the Princeton Athletic Association, November 6, 1926; "Official Program Howard-Lincoln Football-Classic," November 29, 1934 in JSRC-ND.

⁵¹ As early as the 1890s, schools were concerned with and conducted studies to determine whether the national fervor, especially among high school students, for intercollegiate football and teams' success or failure influenced admissions patterns. See "President's Report for 1900-01," pages 14-18 in President Arthur Hadley Papers, Folder 029 0577 (Charles W. Eliot, 1899-1902), Box 29, Manuscript and Archives, SML-YU. This report can also be found in *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College, 1900-01* (Cambridge, Harvard University, 1902), 5-50.

⁵² "Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game," Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895).

⁵³ "The Dog Ate My Homework," June 1, 2010 in *Vintage College Football Programs & Collectibles*, <http://collectableivy.wordpress.com/category/early-football-programs/> (Retrieved March 4, 2013). Students organized logistics for competitions before athletic departments became commonly institutionalized. During the early stages of intercollegiate sports and football, in particular, undergraduates were most responsible for taking advantage of commercial interests by, among other methods, selling page space in their programs to regional and national businesses, which increased revenue and lowered the cost of game programs for interested customers.

⁵⁴ Lizabeth Cohen, *Making A New Deal: Industrial Workers, 1919 – 1939*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1-6; Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 1967), 130-37.

⁵⁵ Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review*, Vol. 148, Issue 391, June 1889, pgs 653-665.

⁵⁶ Of the benefactors mentioned: Ezra Cornell founded Cornell University in 1865; Cornelius Vanderbilt provided Vanderbilt University \$1 million for its initial endowment in 1873; John D. Rockefeller founded the University of Chicago in 1890; Leland Stanford and his wife founded Stanford University in 1891; and, Andrew Carnegie provided the funds to open Carnegie Mellon University in 1900. See Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 113-123; Rudolph, *The American College and University*, 424-427. Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 263-67.

⁵⁷ John Patrick Diggins, *Thorstein Veblen: Theorist of A Leisure Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 170.

⁵⁸ Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of A Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), 170.

⁵⁹ "Yale Foot Ball Association Presidents Book," Department of Athletics Papers, Folder 3-21, Box 3, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT, 3. "Chart of Expenses," Folder 7-58, Box 7, University Archives, SML-YU.

⁶⁰ Folder "Statements Football 1902-1918," Harvard Athletic Association Annual Report, Department of Athletic Records, HUA-HU. That many spectators drove to games in the early twentieth century is a topic to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

⁶¹ By mid-century, Central Harbor on Lake Winnepesaukee as well in Wolfeboro, NH, the other side of the lake, were known vacation hotspots for those who could afford the luxury. As the railroad official had hoped, the presence of the collegians and the rumors of a race, held on August 3rd, injected the resort area with "life and excitement." The local hotels, restaurants, and even the *Lady of the Lake* resort steamer profited from the arrival of the undergraduate competitors. See Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 37-39; Ronald A. Smith, *Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 1.

⁶² *Daily Princetonian*, Volume 20, Number 106, November 25, 1895.

⁶³ Lafayette Press printed the entire production and the Van Ness & LittleJohn Company enhanced the programs with half-tone illustrations. Both establishments were located in New York City. This football game program, along with nearly all other game programs under analysis, is housed at the Joyce Sports Center in the Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame. I was not able to determine the cost of individual copies of the 1895 Yale/Princeton programs. Prices were not listed on the programs themselves. Yet, of the more than \$38,000 in net profits from the game, \$1,600 was earned from program sales. The cost of programs in the fin de siècle period depended heavily on the location and notoriety of the competing schools. As such, prices varied widely, anywhere from free to as much as fifty cents.

⁶⁴ "Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game," Eds. C. W. Halbert et al (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895).

⁶⁵ "Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game," Eds. C. W. Halbert et al (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895); "Bowdoin-Wesleyan Football Game," 1926 Vol., No. 2, Published by the Wesleyan Athletic Programs Committee, Middletown, CT in JSRC-ND. In 1890, tobacco entrepreneur James Buchanan Duke created a "Tobacco Trust" by buying much of his competition to form a conglomerate, the American Tobacco Company. For the next twenty years, Duke honed his production of tobacco and his \$25 million dollar investment grew to assets topping \$350 million two decades later. See Allan M. Brandt, *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of a Product that Defined America* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 38.

⁶⁶ Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game, Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895) in JSRC-ND, 1.

⁶⁷ A glimpse of just one month of football articles from a host of different newspapers in the fall of 1905 yields numerous examples of sportswriters describing football crowds in glowing terms of courteousness and elegance. See a portion of this small sample: "Nothing is Left of Morley's Men when the Yale Pup Finishes," *New York Press*, November 5, 1905; "Penn Outplayed Harvard and Gained Much Ground," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 11, 1905; "Penn Won from Harvard in Big Football Match," *Philadelphia Record*, November 12, 1905; "The Stadium was a Wonderful Sight," *Boston Sunday Herald*, November 26, 1905. Moreover, a recent article in the University of Michigan's College of Literature, Arts and the Sciences online journal featured an article highlighting

the evolving fashion choices of football fans from the 1920s to current day. Prior to World War II, and even after, it is clear that most football fans' sartorial sensibilities favored suits, furs, and upscale styles. Most of the clothes appear to be highly personalized and expensive. See Robert Havey, "Football Haute Couture," in *LSA Today*, November 9, 2012, University of Michigan http://www.lsa.umich.edu/lsa/ci.footballhaute couture_ci.detail, (Retrieved April 10, 2013).

⁶⁸ University of Michigan Board of Regents, September Meeting, 1905, pg. 586-7 in BHL-UM.

⁶⁹ See *New York Herald*, 29 November 29, 1889, p. 4. Quoted in Oriard, *Reading Football*, 97. For further readings on the contested spaces of popular culture, see: Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working-Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*; "On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall," ed. Lawrence Grossberg, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, George Lipsitz, eds. Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley (New York: Routledge, 1996); George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001). For a useful historiography on the study of popular culture, see Nan Enstad, "Popular Culture," in *A Companion to American Cultural History*, ed. Karen Halttunen, (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 356-69.

⁷⁰ "Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game," Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895). The program did not indicate the year of the photograph. Yale and Princeton began playing their Thanksgiving Day game at the Polo Grounds in 1880. A game was not held in 1885 and 1888. Yale and Harvard played on Thanksgiving in 1883 and 1887. Otherwise, Yale and Princeton were the sole competitors through 1893. See Oriard, *Reading Football*, 91.

⁷¹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1994 [1899]), 46; William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1883), 43-57.

⁷² Brandt, 25. Yale Mixture was not the only college-labeled tobacco. There was also a Cornell, Harvard, and Princeton Mixture. Cameron & Cameron, a family-owned tobacco business was one of many companies that identified the university class to be a lucrative demographic in which to market. Their "Intercollegiate Mixture" brand with a prominent C. H. Y. P. label on the front in the collegiate colors of Cornell, Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, respectively, was a successful seller rendering the Cameron family significant players in the North Carolina tobacco industry before American Tobacco Company bought the rights to their business around 1905. The colorful tins that housed the tobacco utilized not only a collegiate discourse to market their brand but capitalized on the fervor of sport to move their product. Their vibrant tins displayed an array of athletic equipment: rowing oars, baseball mitts, footballs, and tennis racquets replete with the tagline, "The Students Solace." See *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, Ed. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Volume 4 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915), 259. For images of the Cameron & Cameron tins, see: Legendary Auctions, 1890s "Inter-Collegiate Mixture" Sports-Themed Tobacco Tin, <http://www.legendaryauctions.com>. Retrieved April 21, 2013.

⁷³ Virtually every male college scrapbook that I researched included invitations, menus, and often dance cards to various balls they presumably attended. On the importance of clothing for fashioning a political, collegiate identity, see: Peter Dobkin Hall, "Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie: Higher Education and Governing-Class Formation in the United States, 1870-1914" in *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Julia Rosenbaum and Sven Beckert (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Clark, *Creating the College Man*, 165-175; Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 55; Kathleen Torrens, "Fashion as Argument: Nineteenth Century Dress Reform," in *Argumentation and Advocacy*, Fall 1999, Vol. 36, Issue 2, 77-87.

⁷⁴ Scholars have certainly traversed the contested landscape of fashion as a formative site of political identities. My analysis contributes to this discussion by identifying the fluidity with which the interpellation of college students and professionals during the Progressive Era was so sartorially interdependent. For a cross-sample of studies that consider the racial, classed, gendered, and intersectional implications of fashion and political projects, see: Nan Enstad, "Fashioning Political Identities: Cultural Studies and the Historical Construction of Political Subjects," in *American Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (December 1998), 745-82.; Robin D. G. Kelley, "The Riddle of the Zoot: Malcolm Little and Black Cultural Politics During World War II," in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 161-82; Roy Rosenweig, *Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986). Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁷⁵ Advertisements for Fatima Turkish Blend cigarettes, like Yale Mixture, utilize similar visual and textual devices to conflate the identity of college men and businessmen. In a 1913 Army/Navy game program, an ad for

Fatima cigarettes with a watermark-like illustration of men in tuxedos enjoy cigarettes in what appears to be a smoking room. In front of this scene are two dozen lines of narrow text, the first few lines of which exclaim: “Today’s good things for tomorrow’s big men. The college man—through environment and from choice and inclination—demands the good things in life.” See “Official Souvenir Program,” Army vs. Navy Football Game, publisher Harry M. Stevens, November 29, 1913 in JSRC-ND. By the 1920s, cigarettes no longer signified the tobacco choice solely of the working class. They, too, were equated with bourgeois preferences. A 1926 Yale/Harvard game program featured Old Gold cigarettes. A crude drawing of a middle-aged white man’s face provided the illustrated actor that seemingly expressed the accompanying monologue. While sustaining an affinity with the university class, the figure closely articulated the discourse of hardy civility that college football enthusiasts continually espoused in support of their sport. “I don’t like namby-pamby cigarettes,” explained the figure. The declamation continued, “I like ‘em strong and able, but not rough...if you get what I mean. A two-fisted cigarette with a college education.” See “Official Souvenir Program,” Harvard-Yale, (Andover, MA: Andover Press, November 20, 1926), JSRC-ND. These upscale settings and catchphrases conflating university and future businessmen, masculinity and leisure were common advertising strategies for tobacco companies marketing in college football game programs.

⁷⁶ “Fur Notes,” *Fur Trade Review*, Vol. 22, August 1894, 582.

http://books.google.com/books?id=syoAAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA582&lpg=PA582&dq=lofka+fur&source=bl&ots=JkTn3A0wfp&sig=PLXO2JLUamKFKyhZ_8Qw8p-0Bny&hl=en&sa=X&ei=cJSCUcPQKZC10QG21YG4Cw&ved=0CDkQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=lofka%20fur&f=false (Retrieved April 20, 2013). From 1860 to 1914, the value of U.S. exports rose from \$316 million to \$2.4 billion. Similarly, the value of imports increased from \$354 million to \$1.9 billion. See Kristin Hoganson, “The Imperial Politics of Globavore Consumption in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in *A Destiny of Choice? New Directions in American Consumer History*, eds. David Blanke and David Steigerwald (New York: Lexington Books, 2013), 16.

⁷⁷ “The Official Souvenir Program of the Pennsylvania-Harvard Foot-Ball Game, ed. F.S. Elliot, (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son Printers, November 5, 1898), JSRC-ND, 9.

⁷⁸ Sources for cruise line advertisements: “The Official Souvenir Program of the Pennsylvania-Harvard Foot-Ball Game,” published under the auspices of the Harvard University Foot-Ball Association, Alfred Mudge & Sons Printers, November 5, 1898; “Harvard-Yale Football Programme and Book of Athletic Records for the Harvard-Yale Game,” November 21, 1903; “Football Program of the Princeton-Harvard Game,” (New York: Intercollegiate Press, November 6, 1920); “West Point-Yale Official Souvenir Program,” October 22, 1921; “Official Souvenir Program,” Harvard-Yale, (Andover, MA: Andover Press, November 20, 1926); “Football Program of the Princeton-Harvard Game,” November 6, 1920 (New York: Intercollegiate Press, 1920), JSRC-ND.

⁷⁹ In *Virgin Land*, Henry Nash Smith demonstrates how ideology inspired perceptions and fueled Westerners’ efforts to forge into territory and settle for themselves land that was neither theirs nor unoccupied. See Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* 2nd Ed., (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁸⁰ “The Official Souvenir Program of the Pennsylvania-Harvard Foot-Ball Game,” published under the auspices of the Harvard University Foot-Ball Association, Alfred Mudge & Sons Printers, November 5, 1898, JSRC-ND.

⁸¹ In a 1921 Army/Yale game program, a White Star Line advertisement defined the football fan/global traveler link explicitly. It stated: “The Goal of Winter Tourists” was trips to the Mediterranean as well as the West Indies. Framing the slogan and much of the ad was an illustration of a football player, his leg outstretched, presumably kicking a winning field goal. See “West Point-Yale Official Souvenir Program,” October 22, 1921 in JSRC-ND.

⁸² “Official Souvenir Programme, Yale-Princeton Annual Foot-Ball Game,” Eds. C. W. Halbert et al, (New York: Lafayette Press, November 23, 1895); “Official Souvenir Program of the Yale-Princeton Foot-Ball Game,” November 18, 1916, published by the Bureau of Self-Help Under the Auspices of the Princeton University Athletic Association; “Official Souvenir Program,” Harvard-Yale, (Andover, MA: Andover Press, November 20, 1926), JSRC-ND.

⁸³ Dana Frank, *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), chapter 2. Kristin Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865 – 1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2007). Within the context of higher education, schools had long embraced a model that was distinctly European in design. Founders of colonial era universities modeled their schools on a precedent that Oxford University and Cambridge University established. Northeastern private schools and especially the boarding schools, many of which became feeder schools for the most prominent colleges and

universities, continued to have distinctly English overtones. Of course, Americans' cultivation of football borrowed directly from the public schools of their British counterparts.

⁸⁴ Richard Tucker, *Insatiable Appetites: The U.S. and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 122-24.

⁸⁵ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), Chapter 5. For more on the history of tobacco cultivation in the United States, see: Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁸⁶ In 1889 alone, American Tobacco spent \$800,000 on advertising. See Brandt, 20-39. See also Robert Sobel, *The Entrepreneurs: Explorations within the American Business Tradition* (Washington D. C.: Beard Books, 2000), Chapter 5; Patrick Porter, "Origins of the American Tobacco Company," *Business History Review*, Vol. 43, Issue 1 (March 1969), 59-76.

⁸⁷ "Official Football Program, Longhorn-Vandy," October 15, 1927; "Official Souvenir Program of the Yale-Princeton Foot-Ball Game," November 18, 1916, published by the Bureau of Self-Help Under the Auspices of the Princeton University Athletic Association; "Official Souvenir Program," Harvard-Yale, (Andover, MA: Andover Press, November 20, 1926). "Official Program, Ohio State University vs. University of Michigan," published and distributed by the Board in Control of Athletics, University of Michigan, October 22, 1927; "Official Program of the Kansas vs. Nebraska Foot-Ball Game," 1928; "Official Football Program, Longhorn-Vandy," October 15, 1927.

⁸⁸ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 52.

⁸⁹ Vendors rewarded seemingly hard-earned achievements of the already privileged through discounts and unique treatment. The Copley Square Hotel in Boston or the Clinton Hall Hotel in Springfield were "home to college men" and offered "Special Rates" to this valued clientele. See "The Official Souvenir Program of the Williams-Amherst Championship Foot Ball Game," published under the auspices of the Amherst College Foot Ball Association, Carpenter & Morehouse Press, November 10, 1900, JSRC-ND.

⁹⁰ See Charles Eliot, "The Normal American Woman, 1908," Folder 223, Box 221, Records of the President of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. (p. 6); Charles Eliot, "The Effects of the Education of Women on the Family and Society, 1913" Folder 401, Box 225, Records of the President of Harvard University, HUA-HU, 10; Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 48-55; Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 52.

⁹¹ Mark A. Swiencicki, "Consuming Botherhood: Men's Culture, Style and Recreation as Consumer Culture, 1880-1930," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Summer 1998), 777. Projects that address the gendered practices of consumption include: Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers and Customers in American Department Stores*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Gary Cross, *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture* (New York: 1993); Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (Minneapolis, 1992); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*, (New York: Basic Books 1994).

⁹² See Folder: Statements Football, 1902-1918, Box 1, Harvard Athletic Association Records, Harvard University Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA; See Folder: Statements Football, 1936-39, Box 1, Harvard Athletic Association Records, HUA-HU. See also "Official Souvenir Program," Harvard-Yale, (Andover, MA: Andover Press, November 20, 1926), JSRC-ND.

⁹³ *New York Times*, "Yale Outplays Tigers in 3-3 Tie," November 16, 1913, S1.

⁹⁴ "Official Souvenir Program," Harvard-Yale, (Andover, MA: Andover Press, November 20, 1926).

⁹⁵ In the same statement, Sumner insisted that of all characteristics of the rich, people must consider them "good-natured." Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*, 32, 37.

Chapter V

The In Crowd: Real and Imagined Football Communities And the Experience of Belonging

“...They are our own. They are Notre Dame. They represent your school and mine. They are students. They are gentlemen. [...] They have made for themselves millions of friends in this fair-minded, open-hearted America of ours. But they belong to us first and last and always.”

— *Reverend Charles L. O’Donnell, University of Notre Dame president, 1928-34*¹

For the average spectator, college football in the 1890s and early 1900s was marked by tedium. The most effective offensive strategies proved aggravating to watch. Prior to 1906, the year in which the sport underwent a series of significant rule changes, the team with the ball only had to advance five yards in three downs; forward passes were illegal.² It was not incumbent on the offense to make big plays. Small increments of movement—if they could muster such headway—could potentially sustain possession for great lengths of time. The “Flying Wedge,” for instance, was a staple tactic in the arsenal of many of the most successful squads. With the ballcarrier situated in the middle of his teammates—who formed a V and took a running start—a mass of humanity crashed into the opposition’s wall of men. The move had all the grace of a sledgehammer, but it was quite successful. When a team encircled the player with the ball and one squad met the other, brute force substituted for finesse; individual talent became indistinguishable from the sidelines.

From the spectator’s point of view, these types of plays offered little opportunity to perceive nuance and skill, since they basically involved more than twenty men falling on top of one another. The game’s most prominent coaches and policy makers were not oblivious to the dilemma. “Close mass work” required skill and teamwork, but even Walter Camp was concerned

with its shortcomings. These methods, “will never appeal in the least to the spectator,” he lamented. They may even, he feared, “disgust him with the game.”³ Moreover, popularity exacerbated the problem. As the game became more widespread and ever-increasing crowds surged to see the spectacle, college football became paradoxically less friendly to the viewer. Bleachers and then stadiums drew fans further from the action, and an increasingly distant vantage point inhibited their ability to see what took place on each down.

Moses G. Crane was one of those frustrated fans. A doting father who had raised three Harvard football players, Crane watched many of the team’s games in the 1880s and early 1890s. He was exasperated, however, that he could not always see the ball or identify his sons amidst the fray. With the encouragement of peers within the Newton Athletic Association in Newton, MA, of which he was a member, Crane invented Pushball, a football-related game with one major modification. Crane made the ball, the primary piece of equipment, similar to a football—except that it was six feet in diameter and weighed approximately seventy pounds. With the ball so big that “spectators [could] always see it,” and a minimum of rules fashioned after football itself, Harvard students began playing the game by 1895.⁴



Fig. 5.1 Hundreds of University of Michigan students lounge after a game of Pushball.⁵

Crane's creation took hold on college campuses and in numerous recreational and athletic associations in the East and Midwest. By 1902, a group of American players introduced the game to England, providing a public demonstration at London's Crystal Palace. Allegedly, Pushball reached as far as France and even Australia. Its simplicity and the ease with which observers could follow the action drew many followers. With approximately eleven players per side on a space of similar dimensions to a football gridiron, the ball was placed in the middle of the field, and the object was for one team to push the ball over the goal line guarded by their opponents.⁶ Collegians enjoyed it wildly. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century scrapbooks include many yellowed photos of young men's faces contorted in all manners of smile, grimace, laughter or pain as they played, fought, and watched their peers—typically, members of the freshmen versus sophomore classes—push a giant sphere around their campus quadrangle. Though Pushball did not unseat the supremacy of its predecessor, it filled a void for which college football's primary designers like Camp, supportive university presidents, rabid alumni, and players and coaches were forced to account.⁷



Fig. 5.2 Columbia University undergraduates competing in a Pushball scrimmage.⁸

In addition to Pushball's popularity, the advent of professional football, player injury, other amateur and non-amateur recreational activities, and especially fan boredom and discontent compelled college football's architects to respond.⁹ The 1905 meeting in which President Roosevelt invited to the White House representatives from the leading colleges and universities to keep college football from imploding led to several major changes, and, among other reforms, birthed the precursor to the National Collegiate Athletic Association.¹⁰ Of the many new rules, two effected immediate change on the gridiron: the legalization of the forward pass and the proviso that teams were afforded four chances to advance the ball ten yards rather than three opportunities to march five yards. Most proponents and critics alike applauded the changes to the game, which made it safer for the competitors. The forward pass spread the game out and minimized the *en masse* confrontations between both squads produced by "run-only" tactics. Further, by forcing teams to travel slightly further in actual footage but twice as far in terms of relative distance to the prior standard, tactics that relied solely on sheer physical power proved less effective even with one more down. These innovations reduced massive collisions and minimized significant pile-ups where injury often befell those at the bottom. But the new stipulations had an important additional benefit: calling the ten-yard rule "an infallible remedy," and the forward pass "essential," Camp lauded the new regulations for the way they enabled "the spectator to follow the play more understandingly."¹¹

Though Pushball did not alter college football alone, the creation of a rival game by a fan demonstrates that late nineteenth and early twentieth century spectators were not content to be mere bystanders. When dissatisfied, they created alternatives. When critical of the games' violence or monotonous inaction, they compelled college football's primary engineers to modify the rules. The dissatisfaction of fans was in turn the direct result of the increase in their number

and the new spaces that enabled them to watch the action. They asked questions of college football and demanded answers. Often, they responded themselves. This chapter considers the thus far unexamined cultural impact of spectators on turn of the century era college football. Though they did not put on pads or score touchdowns, spectators were nonetheless a critical part of the football event. But who were they and what exactly did they do?

Football scholars certainly write fans into their studies of the sport. They acknowledge spectators as loyally cheering their valiant side. But it is all too easy to regard them as secondary to players, coaches, and policy makers in terms of who was most responsible for construction of some of college football's most significant discourses.¹² It is, in fact, the work of Performance Studies theorists and gender scholars that offer insight useful for a more nuanced analysis of audience involvement in college football games. For instance, French Marxist Guy Debord's scholarship compels us to think about what spectators gain from being part of the crowd. Director and theater scholar Dennis Kennedy's work entertains notions of how the spectator sees his role in relation to the theater performance. Relatedly, scholar of dance, Susan Leigh Foster, considers the relation between individual performance and the collective choreography of a group. These considerations usefully relate to turn of the century college football fans who did not merely spectate but actively contributed to the collective experience within the sport space. But how? And what was their impact?

In this chapter, I begin with some descriptions of the types of spectators that frequented football games. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but it is meant to illuminate profiles of possible fans. The rest of the chapter is split into two main parts, which consider the role that spectators played inside and outside of the college football stadium. First, I evaluate the building and logistics of the infrastructure and material community partnerships that provided the

foundation for the game-day experience. Once college athletic departments had to account for the arrival of thousands of spectators, coordination of hosting a game involved far more than preparation of a field. University representatives worked in tandem with city officials to alter train schedules, construct makeshift and then permanent parking lots (often in what began as neighboring fields), and close certain streets adjacent to or near the playing fields to accommodate the influx of horses, carriages, and eventually cars. Secondly, the bulk of the chapter interrogates how fans constructed communities that were as imagined as they were real. Through a study of spectators' dress, song, and behavior, this section identifies how college football crowds constructed an identity that demarcated difference particularly along lines of access to higher education. For instance, how do we make sense of a University of Michigan Board of Regents member's observation when he announced, "the public are as crazy about football as the students."¹³ Do students not also constitute the public? This identity, a college football class, hinged on concepts that starkly differentiated those who were insiders versus outsiders relative to the spectacle and institution that was college football.

Who were these Fans?

To provide a contour of the average college football fan would be to essentialize what was an inherently diverse group. Nonetheless, a snapshot of three different profiles offers an estimation of the type of spectator that frequented games, particularly in the Northeast, at the turn of the century. Paradoxically, to gain further perspective, consider a high school game. On November 11, 1905, the Phillips Andover Academy football team, with most of their classmates in tow, traveled to Phillips Exeter Academy to compete against their New Hampshire rivals. New England preparatory schools provided elite colleges with some of their origins of exclusivity. Ivy League schools, in particular, circled the ethnic and racial wagons at the turn of the century to

homogenize their student bodies at a time when European immigration was diversifying the Eastern shoreline. As we have seen, preparatory schools were not just a pipeline of admission but a restricted channel toward popularity and the promise of post-graduate possibility for which football players often had the most to gain.¹⁴ Since Exeter and Andover had fielded teams for nearly as long as some of the oldest intercollegiate sides, their 1905 contest provides a worthy lens through which to look for university insight.¹⁵

The highly anticipated game turned into a rout as the Andover boys defeated their overmatched opponents 28 – 0. More notable, however, was the web of possibilities—the social, economic, political, and cultural capital that was woven among the individuals present at the game. For the students who competed, their future intentions appeared decided and promising. On the morning of the game, in addition to team statistics and an assortment of other details pertaining to the respective squads, the *Phillipian*, Andover’s school newspaper, published biographies on both schools’ star players. Like college football game programs, heights, weights, hometowns and a brief comment on each player’s strengths preceded information on the athlete’s college plans. Below the description of Andover’s J.R. Kilpatrick, the article’s author wrote, “Yale will take care of him in the future;” for E. W. Jackson, “Harvard is his college.” Educational options for Exeter players varied little from their Massachusetts counterparts: “[J.E. Gilroy] intends to enter either Princeton or Yale,” while B.P. Seldon “expects to enter Harvard.” Unless a student was undecided about his prospects, nearly every player mentioned in the student newspaper intended to study at an Ivy League university.¹⁶

The connection between elite preparatory schools and elite universities was not limited to the student pipeline. Both schools employed football coaches that were Ivy League graduates. John O’Connor and Fred Jennings, both young alumni of Dartmouth College, marshaled the

Andover squad. The other side was in the hands of Exeter and recent Yale graduate Jim Hogan (captain of the Yale squad his senior year). Edgar Wrightington, a former All-American while at Harvard, was the game umpire. In the stands, blue-blooded pedigree was well represented. According to a *Boston Globe* reporter, undergraduates as well as alumni from “Harvard, Yale and other New England colleges” sent many delegates to root for their respective squads. The journalist also claimed that New Hampshire statesmen packed the bleachers in “goodly numbers” while Governor John McLane, along with several members of his staff, ostensibly flew partisan colors for the home team by occupying “seats in the middle section of the Exeter cheering stand.”¹⁷

Samuel Clarke Bushnell was occasionally a part of this crowd but also part of the periphery. His elite status was contingent and sometimes temporary. His story provides a more individualized glimpse of a college football fan. Clarke spent “four of the happiest years of [his] life” at Yale before graduating in 1874.¹⁸ An active member of his class, he alternately served as secretary and president of various groups on campus. Classmates appointed him the primary collector of funds to send to needy Chicago residents following the Great Fire in 1871. He was also involved in several sports. He noted his role as judge in the 1872 Yale/Columbia match and played in the first Yale/Princeton clash in 1873. Ultimately, he attended Yale’s Theological Seminary and became a pastor providing sermons for weddings, funerals, and a host of other occasions. In his journal he marked momentous events like the inauguration of Noah Porter who succeeded Theodore Dwight Woolsey as Yale’s president. Quotidian events garnered remark as well; Bushnell recorded many meals had with family, talks shared with friends, and trips enjoyed with his wife. Most importantly, many of his memories as a loyal alum revolved around his attendance at college football games.¹⁹

Despite the preference universities accorded alumni regarding tickets to football games, Bushnell was not always accommodated to the degree he was accustomed. As the twentieth century dawned and the game grew in popularity, “it was more difficult to get tickets,” he claimed. Despite these challenges, Bushnell was able to secure fifty-seven tickets before the 1905 Yale-Princeton game and eighty-seven tickets “for the use of his friends,” in anticipation of the November 23, 1907 game between Yale and Harvard.²⁰ Two years later, Bushnell’s acquisition of tickets was not as smooth, and he recorded his frustrations in his journal. November 16th began and largely proceeded promisingly. It started with a friend, “Mrs. Rankin,” when a chauffeur drove them and others throughout Groton, CT. They dined at the Groton Inn where they had all the “sweet cider” they could drink, paraded through the chapel on the Groton Academy campus, visited Mrs. Rankin’s childhood home, and lastly, paid their respects at a cemetery where some of Mrs. Rankin’s children were buried. When Bushnell returned home, however, only thirty-two of his forty tickets that he pre-ordered for the November 20th Yale/Harvard game had arrived in the mail. To his dismay—similar to that of Henry Van Duzer and Giles Taintor—the seating for most of the tickets were “poor ones” [emphasis original].²¹



Fig. 5.3 John “The Orange-man” Lovett with Harvard student, Carroll Swan, class of 1901

And then there was John the Orange-man (John Lovett). An Irishman born in the 1830s, the son of farmers, he grew up in Kenmare, County Kerry, a little village in the southwest of Ireland. One of twelve children, eight of which died during the Great Famine, Lovett emigrated to Boston during the height of disease and starvation where he reunited with his mother, brother and two sisters who preceded him by several years. Penniless but industrious, Lovett secured work sawing wood and doing odd jobs in and around Harvard Square. Ultimately, his proximity to the college inspired what became a longstanding relationship between him and many of the undergraduates. His attachment to the young men of Harvard was borne through circumstances emblematic of his entire relationship to them. During an idle moment, he watched a handful of students play football on a field adjacent to the campus proper. During an interval in their play, one of them offered to pay Lovett if he would fetch them fruit and water. He obliged. They paid him. Thus, began a strangely twisted, strangely affectionate relationship between Lovett and generations of Harvard students. He parlayed the undergraduates' willingness to pay him for delivered fruit into a daily enterprise—he traveled to Boston to purchase oranges—thus, his moniker—which he sold to students on the quadrangle every afternoon for decades.

Printed stories of John the Orange-man, of which there are several, consistently recount the warmth that many students harbored for Lovett. They admired his resourcefulness. They appreciated his kindness. They rescued him from scuffles. The class of 1881 bought him a two-wheeled handcart to haul his fruit, which replaced the unwieldy basket that Lovett had used for so many years. When Harvard's "yard boss" threatened to remove Lovett from the premises for allegedly trespassing, students petitioned the faculty to grant Lovett an edict to amble about the campus without harassment. Their wish was granted.²² The students rewarded Lovett's own fondness for sports when they began taking him to football games in 1888. As such, he traveled

to numerous locales to cheer the Crimson football squad. It is these trips that reveal in the most explicit terms the service that Lovett provided for the Harvard students. He was their mascot. This is not just an analytical conclusion. In two biographies of Lovett, both authors articulate this role as his. “Of late years,” one writes, “it has become the fashion to have John accompany the ball teams as a mascot.”²³

This relationship that Lovett had with Harvard was complicated. As a football fan, he bellowed from the stands like that of the undergraduates, but he also paraded about the field during respites of play, a solitary cheerleader. Carrying flags emblazoned with Harvard emblems in each hand yielded “deafening cheers from his ‘frinds’.”²⁴ Did they cheer with him or jeer at him, or both? Few episodes capture the ambivalent tension better than Lovett’s first trip to New York with Harvard’s football fans. The group enjoyed spirited song, joke, and cheer with Lovett at the center of the merriment. Following an afternoon and evening of fine dining, Lovett stayed at their hotel on Broadway Avenue, the Hoffman House, while the undergraduates perused the theaters. There, waiting in the lobby, a black waiter mistook Lovett for an “ordinary workman,” and sought to have him removed from the hotel. At some point in this exchange, one of Harvard’s largest football players intervened on Lovett’s behalf. According to Henry Fielding one of the biographers, the athletic Californian was indignant that the “mascot of the foremost university in the land,” was so mistreated.²⁵

The hotel incident was a curious affair. Without the security of aristocratic camaraderie, Lovett was mistaken, discursively and socioeconomically, for the immigrant laborer that he was. When the waiter acted in the manner that he was likely required to do, Lovett was incensed enough to not only protest the alleged insult but to allegedly level racial epithets at the offender. As opposed to the chap who would “never utter a bad word of anyone,” this side of Lovett belied

the good-natured, seemingly egalitarian spirit to which so many of his advocates recounted. Despite his immigrant status, his illiteracy, his financial instability, Lovett was still better than a black man. Ironically, the rarefied luxury that affluent hotel patrons expected during their stays was the very space the black waiter was protecting from “rabble” like Lovett. The black man attempted to uphold class and even racial, if we conceive of Irish as more of a race than a white ethnicity in the nineteenth century, segregation on behalf of the educated elite, which Lovett traversed—with the literal support of racial and economic manpower. Yet, Lovett was hardly an equal. Despite his invitation into the fold of Harvard lore, undergraduates hardly regarded him a peer.

The photograph of Lovett and Harvard student Carroll Swan exemplifies this disparity. To the right of center, Lovett sits on a bench. He clenches a bottle in his left hand, a large mug in his right. His beard is long and unkempt, characteristic of many of the photographs of Lovett in his latter years. He stares at the camera, his eyes sharp, his lips slightly parted. A brimmed hat sits on his head. The creases make it look worn, perhaps well loved. The rest of his attire is composed of slightly ill-fitted clothing. The button of an inner jacket seems to strain against his paunch, the outer jacket appears to be a size too small. His trousers have the look of years. Cuffed, they cover all but the bottom of boots that have likely covered many miles. Swan sits on a nearby table perched above Lovett. His left arm flares out with his hand cocked against his hip. His right forearm supports his lean as he rests on his right thigh; his foot dangles off the edge of the table. From here the young man looks down at Lovett with the trace of a grin on his face. The undergraduate’s dark suit, tie, collegiate baseball cap, and well-polished shoes create a stark contrast to the appearance of his companion. Where Lovett grasps a bottle and a mug, the student clenches a thick cigar between his middle and forefinger. Several other bottles are strewn across

the floor. Even the wicker basket (Lovett's fruit basket?) contains what appear to be two more empty bottles.²⁶

Prep school education or not, Swan signifies all of the pretentious elitism found at an early twentieth century Andover/Exeter football game. Lovett did not. He was a source of amusement; he provided his younger acquaintances with service and entertainment. Lovett was jolly, conceivably a lot of fun to be around. But he was also unsuspecting, as though not in on the joke of which he was often the butt. This is not to deny that he may have also earned from Harvard undergraduates a modicum of respect. But he likely achieved it under the circumstances epitomized by the photo: the educated elite lord over those who serve them. This was true even for the exceptions, like Lovett, that breached the gates of Harvard's Soldier Field and other exclusive collegiate spaces.

Toward the end of *The Story of John the Orange-man*, a brief sketch of Lovett, the anonymous author confirms Lovett's status among the spectrum of un-belonging: "He is the one privileged character that is allowed to pass unmolested the signs 'Pedlars, Beggars, Traders, and the Book-agents are not allowed in this building'."²⁷ Yet, he did so at a contingent price. One of the last lines of the treatise warned, "He has served us faithfully, and will continue to do so as long as he is able to push the hand-cart."²⁸ He served a purpose for some Harvard students. The sale of oranges was one use. More broadly, Lovett represented everything that they were not or planned not to be. In relation to him, Lovett illuminated the Harvard students' similarities and consolidated their differences. Hailing from a host of states and backgrounds, what they were was not Lovett.

The poor, uneducated, unaffiliated Irishman sold fruit, sang songs, told stories, wandered about the Harvard campus, and befriended students decades before any of his "frinds" actually

took him to a football game. That he witnessed games only through the “benevolence” of these connections reinforced the mechanisms of who was in control. Had he not been a mascot, would his presence, his puncture, of the aristocratic space have defiled it? This question relates to Bushnell’s aggravation. For someone like Bushnell who had the luxury to parade about town on a Tuesday afternoon, enjoy fine midday meals, and peruse the elegance of a prep school campus, poor football tickets were incompatible with what he felt he deserved and likely incommensurate with the status that he imagined he attained. His humble life path dedicated to others did not minimize his sense of entitlement that even if he scored dozens of tickets, unless they were prime, he deserved better.

By the start of the twentieth century, gentility achieved through commodification prized access nearly as much as assets. Simultaneously, higher education was beginning to expand its mission. In order to reflect broader societal values, the college, as historian David Levine argues, was becoming the “center for the ethos of an emergent white-collar, consumption-oriented middle class.”²⁹ In comparison to Lovett, members of this class were colleagues of a discrete unit. Within this group, there was substantial variation. Therein lay Bushnell’s dilemma. Like many of his counterparts, he was a college graduate. It remained debatable as to whether he was a “College Man.” In comparison to an ideal that heralded males of a certain type of carriage, appearance, behavior, profession, or network, did Bushnell have the right occupation, belong to the right clubs, carry himself properly, wear the most fashionable clothes, don the proper jewelry, accessorize with the best hats, and brandish the awareness of necessary knowledge? Where, too, did the Harvard students fall that befriended John the Orange-Man? They, too, attended football games. What kind of fans were they? As reports of thousands attending college football games in the fin de siècle era became commonplace, and spectators regularly filled 50,000-seat stadiums,

the expression of wealth and propriety depended not just on gaining entry—even if one had purchased dozens of tickets—but on the quality of accommodation. For Bushnell, his legacy as a Yale man contributed to his identity, but the ongoing process of his class status depended not just on witnessing games but on the very seats from which he was able to view the spectacle. At this point, the comparison to Lovett is no longer useful. Stratification between fans reasserts itself, and the metric of rank—as it always does—has shifted up the scale. Bushnell’s concerns illuminate the contestation and construction of the ideal fan and the anxiety experienced as a member of the football fan set. Solidarity did not ensure equal rank among spectators. Even those who earned a spot among the “in-crowd” may not have been satisfied with their position within the community. Besides one’s affiliation as a student or graduate, how did one become part of the gang?

How Did it Begin?

The origin story for college spectatorship begins with travel. Some could walk to the park or stadium, others took horses or buggies, the most well heeled took ostentatious carriages. When automobiles came into vogue they became a primary source of transportation for fans, especially once they became affordable. From some of the earliest games to the dawning of the Great Depression, regardless of where the game was played, many fans took trains. They were the most common form of intercity transportation for the duration of the Progressive Era, and football fans, regardless of class, were hardly exceptions to this trend.³⁰ Trains also determined the sites of numerous matches played at neutral sites. Squads met in places like Springfield, Hartford, and New Haven precisely because these cities were major railroad hubs.

Historians have documented how trains transformed the U.S. landscape. They literally altered the terrain, but they also changed Americans’ relation to the land. Travelers began to

measure space in terms of time rather than distance.³¹ New York was no longer a few hundred miles from Boston. Rather, it was six hours away. New Haven to Boston? Less than four.³² Moreover, trains were vessels that enabled—in fact, forced—dozens of people to come together in one space. They made neighbors out of strangers. By 1880, trains could fit sixty people per individual car; eighty could sit relatively comfortably by 1910.³³ It was rare for someone of Lovett's ilk to frequent the trains. But Bushnell might sit next to a day laborer who could be seated next to a Princeton-educated physician. Bodies might not intermingle, but they could. In anticipation of the football festivities that awaited the spectators at their destination, they often did. Trains, then, provided spectators the opportunity to mobilize both formal and informal networks—even if they were merely for recreational purposes—collaborate, and create possibilities that were to their benefit.

These trains, then, offered spectators one of the initial sites where sharing—with respect to college football—commenced. To imagine a coach car or especially a parlor car (a luxury car) snaking its way from New York City through Connecticut or up into Massachusetts with its cargo of football fans is to imagine insignias, connections, and performances. Draped in the metonymic symbols of institutional allegiance, football fans wore clothes and scarves and waved pennants and flags that declared their institutional loyalty. Women often embellished their dress with flowers, the petals' shade coordinated to match their chosen schools colors. In addition to comparisons of fashion, spectators bonded through mutual knowledge. They could regale one another with memories of past games and glory, critique the coach, and celebrate their favorite team's star. Men, in particular, could exhibit their statistical savvy regarding a team's history, display knowledge of songs, and practice a host of other rituals. In this setting, men could share wisdom and information. They could speak in a football vernacular where positions, plays,

strategies, player nicknames and other linguistic codes confirmed a sport-specific grammar of communication. This style of exchange established or clarified their insider status with regard to college football—overt performances of cultural capital. In so doing, even if they did not agree, men bonded.

Trains also hid social deficiencies. Samuel Bushnell did not have to admit that his game tickets were not prime. A financially unsuccessful alum could save for one football weekend and return to the collegiate community of which he was once a part. The unaffiliated laborer, with the right fusion of clothes and savvy, could blend into a space with the proper words and knowhow. In his 1936 memoir, Henry Seidel Canby, Yale class of 1899 declared that once in college, a student was “no longer a boy from Rochester.” He was, claimed Canby, an “undergraduate, admitted to the rights and privileges of college life, and this consciousness went to the roots of his being.”³⁴ Canby understates the hierarchy that exists on college campuses, but individual students do become part of a student body. An adolescent folds into his identity his position as collegian. A similarly transformative effect occurs on trains. Once there, disparities in social capital can be potentially minimized. When men played the part, they seized the opportunity to form bonds that may not have previously existed. They could also hide that which they were too embarrassed to reveal. Stories could be written or rewritten, new narratives invented. The trains become a potential proving ground, which, in turn, was a training space, where men could ingratiate themselves to one another. In doing so, they were knowingly or unknowingly testifying their worth, loyalty, and commitment to the mission—the support of the college football team. Among other locales, it is on trains—far from the football space—where those who gathered to watch a game, knowingly or unknowingly, began constructing aspects of their

individual and collective identity as a college football spectator. Trains helped construct the college football class.

Railway transportation in the United States began much like college football. It was modest, unregulated and unstandardized, and practical. A single class of cars linked together on rails pulled by some form of power—initially a horse—carried passengers a short distance. Once the standard American car, an open-compartment eight-wheel day coach, began to turn a profit for cash-strapped railroad companies, they quickly upgraded their accommodations. This response was due, in part, to the pressures from many travelers who were quite vocal about what they perceived as intolerant conditions. As early as 1835, one cantankerous fellow wrote of the Boston and Providence line: “The rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar, [are] all herded together in this modern improvement in traveling.”³⁵ Like the testy journalist who complained about the Berkeley Oval setting, attitudes among some were not entirely charitable of the earliest trains’ democratic arrangements. As quickly as they could, rail lines invested in or subcontracted out to other companies the construction of luxury cars that met the expectations of more demanding customers. The 1850s ushered in an era of more comfortable travel on larger cars. The 1860s and 1870s introduced new architectural devices that unveiled the potential for innovative design. By the 1880s and 1890s, ladies and gentlemen could stand fully erect because of the common Clerestory Roof—the central portion of the roof extended eighteen inches, the sides provided increased ventilation and light. Additionally, in first-class cars, passengers were surrounded by interiors finished with black, walnut, cherry, or mahogany wood. Windows and doors were arched in Roman or Tudor styles and gaudy, brass or nickel-plated center lamps hung from the ceiling. Upholstered in velvet with elaborate stitching,

some seats reclined. The finest cars had foyers at either end; steam heating and gas lighting completed the furnishings.³⁶

Before and after the turn of the century, the standard day coach remained a staple in a railway's fleet of cars. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the luxury day, parlor, lounge, private, and, the sleeper car for longer or overnight trips, became first-class variations most prevalent along lines that serviced Washington, Philadelphia, New York, New Haven, and Boston—known as the Northeast corridor.³⁷ Demand for these added benefits suggests that those who could afford to ride in luxury did so. It was not until the first and second decades of the twentieth century that state legislatures began to fix rates for intrastate travel and interstate fares began to gain consistent regulation. That said, from as early as 1846 through to the 1920s, fares typically varied between two and three cents per mile. The cost to travel longer distances usually coincided with the development of better technology, which kept rates relatively constant during this period. First-class travel was typically one dollar or fifty percent more than coach travel.³⁸ With games to attend, transportation available, and relatively affordable rates, football fans flooded these Northeast lines in order to fill the stands in support of their team.

Except in the Jim Crow South, few laws dictated where people could and could not go on a train. Social custom and work obligations, however, were additional factors that influenced the complexion of the college football community on the railroad. Historically, for instance, the first cars on a mid-nineteenth century passenger train were least desirable—and, hence, the cheapest—because travelers were most exposed to the wood cinders of the engine. Further, until the turn of the century, “immigrant tickets” were available to those who had recently arrived from Europe and traveled between big port cities especially on the East Coast. This cheaper fare entitled these riders to travel on the most poorly equipped coaches and sometimes even in freight

cars.³⁹ Moreover, though train rates were not prohibitively expensive, a trip from New York to Boston was more than a day's wage for a blacksmith, machinist, or painter or the average laborer in cotton or woolen textiles as well as the leather, paper, or stone industry. For the working class, it was not just the expense that made witnessing a football game improbable; it was logistics too. Not until the 1930s was the five-day workweek standard practice. Thus, occupational obligations forced the poor and even middle class to work on Saturdays—game day.⁴⁰

But for the football crowds who did ride the trains, increased traffic on the rails reflected their demand. Even in the 1880s, companies obliged football crowds by devoting additional cars and trains to serve the game day site.⁴¹ For the most popular games, railroads between New York, New Haven, Hartford, Springfield, and Boston, in particular, nearly always had to make special arrangements for the volume of passengers that flooded stations and train cars on game weekends. For instance, on the morning of November 21, 1914, twenty-five extra trains left Grand Central Station in New York City while ten extras left Boston for New Haven in anticipation of the inaugural game at the new Yale Bowl between host Yale and the Harvard Crimson.⁴² Trains composed of anywhere between four and twelve passenger cars, each of which could carry eighty people by 1914 equated to thousands of people flooding the Elm City. On this occasion, as had been historically done for the past decade in anticipation of big game day weekends, the general superintendent of Union Station in New Haven and his lieutenants suspended all use of freight trains until the football crowds had come and gone through the city. Moreover, they accelerated service by mounting additional telephones throughout the yard and installing special electric lights for the benefit of the crowd's safety and to minimize congestion on the platforms once the sun had set. Emergency power generators were also fixed at principal operating points to ensure the continuity of traffic flow throughout the weekend.⁴³

As mentioned, trains were a significant but certainly not the exclusive mode of travel by which turn of the century fans made their way to a game. Even within a city, the coordination of transportation was no small feat. In New York, one reporter covering the Yale/Harvard game at Manhattan's Polo Grounds described how: "[h]andsome private equipages, with liveried drivers and well-cared-for horses rolled through the gates." In this instance, where "stylish tandem teams with glittering harnesses pranced in" the class politics of college football become clear; there were those that drove the vehicles and those who watched the games. Situated in the midst of a Gilded Age peak between the economic crisis of the 1870s and its downturn in the 1890s, the most fortunate arrived at the 1883 Yale/Harvard game in "barouches and coaches in abundance, buggies and light wagons galore, and big, bulky, stately four-in-hand coaches."⁴⁴ These carriages and eventually fancy automobiles signified spectators' class privilege and gentility.

Fans' demands on the football spectacle required universities and city officials to organize logistics far from the field. Pedestrians, fans on bicycles, horse-drawn carriages, and trolleys jammed the roads in and around baseball parks or football stadiums that hosted the games. Further, by the first decade of the twentieth century, the automobile was a primary source of private travel on which wealthier football fans relied come game day. In advance of the 1905 game between Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, all forms of transportation "filled the streets," in and around Penn's Franklin Field.⁴⁵ Often, authorities closed specific roads or reversed traffic flow for a designated window of hours to contend with the flood of game day fans. For those who purchased tickets to the 1909 Harvard/Yale game in Cambridge, they received an additional slip of information providing directions where they could and could not go as well as where they could park their carriages. Specifically, the memo alerted football goers: "no vehicles will be allowed on Boylston or North Harvard Streets from Mt. Auburn

Street in Cambridge to Western Avenue in Brighton between the hours of 12-5.” Additionally, it stated that there was a special entrance on the Charles River Parkway opposite the University Boathouse for those arriving to the game in carriages.⁴⁶

Like its collegiate neighbors to the Northeast, train transportation was not the only form of traffic with which Yale University officials had to anticipate and contend with when they hosted games in New Haven. Because they were located near the West River, which meanders through Edgewood Park on the city’s west side, much of the area surrounding Yale’s athletic fields was swampy but, fortunately for the university, undeveloped. As such, the institution made use of adjacent space to accommodate thousands of game-day vehicles. To welcome spectators to the Bowl’s 1914 inaugural game against Harvard, Yale officials assured concerned parties that they were prepared to accommodate more than 6,000 “machines,” and “1,400 attendants” would be more than capable to usher crowds as well as oversee the care of vehicles during the game. In addition to an already stout brigade of manpower, a strong complement of New Haven policemen and firemen were also on duty to peacefully manage affairs.⁴⁷

The influx of fans necessitated that university administrators coordinate with city representatives in order to sustain a modicum of safety and efficiency as thousands of out-of-towners swelled the typical municipal population. When a big football game came to town, the impact of the event did not merely affect the everyday lives of college students and passionate alumni. Hotel owners arranged to house more patrons; restaurants prepared more meals; and, taxi drivers, train operators, and street vendors anticipated greater business. Towns and cities mobilized more police officers. Local townsfolk, regardless of their interest in the competition, had to negotiate the influx of those who clogged streets, flooded theaters, and changed—if but for the weekend—the rhythms of their city. The confluence of energies that college football

organizers, in conjunction with city officials, marshaled in order to make the football weekend successful suggests that the sport was far more than casual, leisure activity. The total mobilization of university and city resources meant that everyone within the municipality that hosted a major football game, regardless of their involvement, had to adjust to this citywide undertaking.

The phenomenon of a college football game began long before one team kicked off to another. City infrastructure was made, and shifted and new constituencies were established. Carpenters built bleachers; workers readied stadiums. City services braced for an influx of crowds. Each preparation made in service to the football crowd differentiated those who could and could not attend the actual game. Hotel workers, taxi drivers, custodians, train operators, vendors and other working-class individuals were a part of the event, but they were apart from it as well. That much of these arrangements were dedicated to hosting people coming to and fro for a football game suggests that it was not just space but the ability to move within these spaces that became privileged. The advent of parlor cars and more sophisticated railways meant that collective train travel was as nearly privileged as private transport. Moreover, this dynamic of relativity meant that if trains shrunk distances for the rich, they elongated them for the poor who were now being left further behind by wealth and technology. In this way, trains were not just modes of transportation. They were locations of what philosopher Henri Lefebvre termed a “spatial economy”—abstract space that humans occupy that upholds certain norms even if they are unspoken. This economy was part of the construction of a larger ecology that validated certain behaviors and relationships.⁴⁸ To be a part of the college football in-crowd depended on affiliation to a competing university, the right fashion, the best seats, the proper knowledge of the team, and awareness of the genteel codes that were markers of potential membership.

Stadium Crowds

Of course, the game-day goal for most spectators was more likely to watch a football game than to travel to it. Initially, they lined the ropes that designated the field sidelines, eventually hollered from temporary bleachers, and ultimately crowded one another from high within the many rows of seats offered by modern coliseums. It is inside the stadium space, with football at its center, where fans have the richest opportunity to consummate the potential for constructing community. Stadiums' closed or semi-closed construction, a container-like effect, facilitates this process. Adjacent, above, below, and across from one another, spectators surround themselves as they surrounded the gridiron. Quarters are tight. Shoulders bump up against one another; knees easily brush or wedge themselves into the seat backs one row ahead. Each row or cluster of fans becomes a quasi-neighborhood. Squished into their plot of personal real estate, fans talk, debate, and cheer with their nearest seatmates. The structural confines, in fact, enhance the communal experience. There is hardly enough room to individualize the space. But it takes more than architectural constraints to make relatively autonomous individuals commit to a cohesive whole. What other factors contributed to the construction of community among college football fans inside the stadium?

Seated or standing within football bleachers, fashion was part of the apparatus that spectators mobilized to distinguish their class and articulate their civil comportment. Photos of late nineteenth and early twentieth century college football crowds reveal the uniformity among the fans. Men wore dark suits their heads crowned with equally dark fedoras. Save the occasional mustache, facial whiskers were rare. Beards were virtually nonexistent. Women, according to many sportswriters, added colors to the fashion. One credited the costumes of the "fair girls and women" with disrupting and invigorating the monotony of the "somber [sic] color of the



Fig. 5.4 A crowd at the University of Michigan Ferry Field Stadium⁴⁹

masculine garb.”⁵⁰ Their handsome gowns if varied in style, color, and construction were similar in quality and expense. In the late October and November, fans donned grey and black wool overcoats. Game programs encouraged expressions of sartorial luxury, and fancier women occasionally distinguished themselves with fur. Overall, however, their outfits were rather stock in their appearance amidst the bleachers of Saturday afternoon football games. In total, as Fig. 5.4 reveals, spectators favored uniformity. Like the teams and their uniforms, spectators, in a dialectical relation with the players, marked and constituted teams and categories by their attire.

Propriety in dress did not, however, necessarily ensure respectability in conduct. The football stadium offered a site of departure for men’s performances of bourgeois masculinity. An educated and cultivated man, according to those who felt qualified to provide counsel, always functioned with integrity and operated in “moderation.”⁵¹ Through the privileged channels by which spectators traveled to games, the elegant hotels and locales they frequented before and after games, and the dignified appearances they portrayed through adornment, it would seem plausible if not probable that football fans would maintain this performance of affluent decorum

at the game. Not only did ideologies of manliness during this period support stoicism and measured expression, most football fans endorsed these performances prior to and even during the games. Courteous applause certainly occurred. This practice sustained and bonded spectators in one conjoined display. It allowed fans to participate in a call-and-response exchange that served as another link to the gridiron experience. A player or team achieves a stupendous play; the partisan side provides their approval. Modest, refined clapping marked the temporary conclusion of action. It served to acknowledge it and even offer appreciation. But it was not the only demonstration of support.

Despite the codes of gentility, men's behavior at the competition often failed to cohere to such gentlemanly expectations. Cornell University graduate Dr. Morris Joseph Clurman volunteered his observations of a football crowd that illustrated the debauchery that ensued following kickoff. Stolid men, he wrote, became "howling dervishes." In his excitable state, a dignified gentleman, Clurman asserted, would fail to notice that his hat had been crushed and "irrevocably ruined by the fist of a frenzied freshman sitting behind him." And, despite Victorian expectations of femininity, "tender-hearted" women often abandoned sobriety and exuded "hysteria" in equal doses to their male counterparts.⁵² In the football setting, men emoted in uncharacteristic ways relative to normative conventions and expectations in public spheres. The gentlemanly figure in the "Yale Mixture" tobacco advertisement hardly approximated the conceptions of the over-exuberant fan. What was this? What gave football fans license to presumably operate outside of established social boundaries of upper-class decorum?

In the context of the football spectacle, spectators rarely screamed haphazardly. The clothes they chose had a rationale. The sounds they uttered had a purpose. And so, properly attired, fans made often improper noise. These energies were most united in the "yells" they

cheered and the songs they sang. Navy fans screamed: “Ray, Ray, this way, Football we play. U.S.N.A. Rah! Rah! Rah!” while Nebraska Cornhuskers bellowed: “Yea Team, Yea Team, Yea Team, FIGHT! FIGHT! FIGHT! A spectator at a Carlisle game would be privy to the distinctive cheer: “Hello! Helle! Who are we?” which is repeated three times for effect.⁵³ Read out of context—or even spoken out loud—the cheers are a little mystifying. Is Ray a person? Why such repetition? Cheers and yells were outbursts. They were united noise. They broke a relative silence, created audible excitement; they might even generate momentum for the preferred team. Most importantly, fans did it together.

Similar to the yells but more complex, fight songs were animated, visceral exhibitions of enthusiasm and support. Every school had them. In “On to Victory,” Harvard men pledged eternal devotion to their institution: “To her name shall her sons be ever true./Long live – her glorious fame!” What fame was earned and why it was glorious remain unclear. Enthusiasm was demanded and not to be questioned. This was not, however, a form of ambiguity as if clarification would articulate what fans supported. The lack of definition allowed for the redefinition of the past in a likeness that fans, often in their own individual ways, preferred to imagine. Songs depicted the past in superlative but vague terms. Regardless of the focus of commemoration, these linkages frequently depended on harnessing a particular type of time and memory. In martial tones, “Princeton, Forward March” commanded Princeton’s pupils to profess their zeal to their own university through all circumstances: “Come, fall in line, we’re all in line, for/Princeton./To show we’re true, to team or crew [...] To show we’re loyal, through and through.” Honoring their school most literally and emphatically through “Mother of Men,” Yalies sang, “High in our hearts enshrined, enthrone thee,/Mother of Men, Old Yale!/Spirit of

Youth, alive, unchanging [...] Thee whom our fathers loved before us—Thee whom our sons unborn shall hail.”⁵⁴ Fame. Glory. Honor. Community.

These vocalizations were some of the most explicit ways in which spectators could celebrate players and pledge their allegiance. Most often, as lyrics reveal, students’ and alumni’s uttered outpourings of devotion were often most emphatic for the institution.⁵⁵ They cheered for a team and pledged loyalty to a school. Fans identification with their college or university was the same institution that the players represented. Hence, both entities, athletes and spectators, were part of the same team. Singing and yelling, cheering and screaming were the roles of the fan in service to the larger project of school success defined, in part, by victories on the gridiron. When a section of bleachers of undergraduates, if not a large portion of a stadium explodes in song simultaneously belting out the same lyrics, separate figures become part of a larger whole, the “student body,” for instance. They exude a verbal, corporeal energy that approximates the dynamism of the players on the field. It is the most audible, physical equivalent that onlookers can achieve in comparison to the athletic bodies they view. Certainly, the associations to which spectators felt attached were varied—to the players, to one another, and to the school itself. The tenuousness and strength of these connections varied from fan to fan and even moment to moment. But whether individuals were enrolled or graduated, affiliated or not with the universities competing, song provided the perception of unity and a sense of community that may not have previously existed.

Tradition fueled the football crowd’s practice of singing, yelling, cheering, and celebrating the heroics on the field and the solidarity in the stands. Occasionally, these rituals formed haphazardly. When Ben Crowinshield, a rower for Harvard’s 1858 crew team, decided to buy red handkerchiefs to distinguish his teammates from other squads, a tradition was born.

Harvard became the Crimson. In his telling of the story, President Charles Eliot, attributed Crowinshield's choice to happenstance: "It was the purest accident in the world. We might just as well have bought blue."⁵⁶ Yet, most students, alumni, and other school partisans perpetuated institutional customs through deliberate and systematic means. Knowledge, folklore, and inculcation of college ways and, specifically, football culture did not wash over participants organically. Energy, effort, and investment were essential to perpetuate conventions that required continual sustenance to survive. With song lyrics published in game programs that emphasize the pronoun "we" sung by fans draped in school colors and scarves waving flags, banners, and pennants the metonymic symbols of universities themselves, very little creation of tradition was left to chance. In fact, it was not uncommon for students to get instruction on how to cheer in advance of a game. By the 1920s, the University of Michigan's newspaper, the *Michigan Daily*, published explicit instructions on how to be a fan. Prior to the game, cheer leaders tacked flags to the seats in specific segments of the stadium. When the crowd began to sing "Yellow and Blue," students in the appropriate seats were to "hold the flag directly in front of [themselves] on a level with [their] chin." They were not to wave the flag until given a specific signal—the "Locomotive Yell." At this point, students were to wave their flags in concert with their neighbor. The *Michigan Daily* even included a diagram that illustrated the motion that spectators were to adopt. The directions concluded with a warning: "if all are not in time the entire effect will be lost."⁵⁷ Rituals and routines required rehearsal and careful execution; they also had to be learned—hence, the advance notice. Spectators, with leaders, choreographed these sequences, hardly the organic, folkloric evolution of coordinated crowd behavior. This acquisition and feat of knowledge not only supported the team but constructed a certain kinship among the fans.

Spectators, then, actively make the college football spectacle at the same time that they are witnessing it.

Invention of tradition resulted in construction of community. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century educated elite were primarily middle and upper class men who did not eschew but rather celebrated their connection to colleges and universities in a manner that generations of capitalists and other successful professionals only decades prior did not embrace. Of course, not all graduates of institutions of higher education favored college football or supported the type of manhood-making that the sport and its supporters were engaged. As such, proponents of college football among the educated elite were a specific division that constituted a unique social class. This construction was premised on a host of different exclusionary or selective inclusionary practices.

Game-day participants called this production “College Spirit.” An ambiguous term, fans used it to describe loyalty to their side. To define it, they employed additional, equally vague words. Yet, ardent spectators had it, and they knew what it was because they felt it. Chiefly, spirit was performed; it was a form of expression. Yelling revealed enthusiasm; singing declared unity; the appropriate fashion demonstrated conformity. These multiple vectors involving tradition, commitment, and passion collided in an amalgamation of discursive constructions where fans convinced themselves that the ways in which they exhibited love for team and school created a group identity unique from that of rival fans largely engaged in the same theatrics. Fielding Yost classified this display as symbiotic. He claimed the spirit of the football team to be “the spirit of the campus.” In turn, “the spirit that prevails in the classroom,” he continued, “is the spirit that prevails on the gridiron.”⁵⁸ Here, Yost reiterates elements of his “belonging instinct” where these vapors of feeling conjoin the student-athletes with the larger campus whole.

Even if he, too, failed to identify exactly what this phenomenon was, he claimed to know what it was. Regardless of the clarity or lack thereof with which proponents could characterize spirit, it seems to be a seed around which participants rallied. Whether they were unified in worldviews, socioeconomic status, employment, similar geographic residence, or other commonalities, spirit mobilized school pride in a manner that minimized difference outside of the distinctive setting of college football. According to Maude Sink, University of Michigan undergraduate class of 1910, college spirit was “the manifestation of the outlook, interests, and aims that are pertinent to the work, activities, and the social relations of the college student,” which differed from “the world that lies beyond the campus.” College spirit provided a unifying respite. Sink’s effort to define spirit suggests that its creation required thought and clarity. Like the cheers, yells, and songs, spirit was something enthusiasts thought deeply about, and tried to define and make real. Through further elaboration, she explained that spirit remains stable across time, which links generations of collegians to one another through a common devotion. This sense of steady permanence allows colleges, according to Sink, to maintain “its institutions, and its ideals, [which] keeps the spirit ever distinctive and peculiar to itself.”⁵⁹ External factors and internal trends may influence the trajectory of a university, but college spirit provides the guiding anchor to which football fans, in particular, could always return to for fulfillment and camaraderie. The multi-generational assembly of spectators rally around college spirit, the roots of the institutional family tree.

By way of manufactured tradition, school spirit, and devotion, the construction of community within this network of distinct but “likeminded” spectators hinged on a significant principle. The reinvention of the past through the forgetting of shortcomings, exclusions and missteps—along with certain successes—required shared memory. This sharing offered a place

and a role for all willing and allowed to partake in the experience. Collective rituals that fans performed during games, after victories, and even following defeats further amalgamate variations naturally found among a group of thousands even if they share certain commonalities. From the affluent alum to the social-climbing Bushnell, from statesmen like Gov. McLane to the average student, committed fan, former player's son, or doting girlfriend, those able to enter the stadium could achieve a solidarity that emphasized lateral comradeship where the privileged few—relative to wider society—were able to enjoy the college football spectacle together.

In the space of late nineteenth and early twentieth century college football, this notion of community fluctuated between one collective whole and two smaller sub-groups. When two teams took to the field representing two universities, it is likely that members of the crowd were split into two parties—at least among the fans committed to seeing one particular side victorious. Intercollegiate rivalries and sports, in many cases, exacerbated the enmity. So, among the solidarities thus described, two divided confederations of fans root for outcomes in direct opposition to one another. The internal logic of “spirit” combines with the external rancor for one's foe that further solidifies the parameters of spectator identity. Under these circumstances, even competition among onlookers surfaced. During the 1905 clash between Yale and Harvard, their corresponding supporters—in what was likely a test as to who could top the other in melodic capability and sheer volume fortified by their respective school bands—shouted “song[s] of defiance” back and forth to one another during the game.⁶⁰ Yet, what was an ongoing contest between respective rooters evolved into a cooperative of mutual admiration, as the yells and cheers became supportive rather than combative.

This was an occasion where the two competing groups of spectators fused into one. During the game, Yalies learned that Harvard's All-American, Dan Hurley, could not play due to

an injury sustained the previous Saturday in a game against Dartmouth. According to sportswriters, “Yale men cheer[ed] the Harvard captain in his absence.”⁶¹ Subsequently, while recovering in a Boston hospital, Hurley determined that Yale students were responsible for some of the well-wishing cards, gifts, and boxes of condolence that he received.⁶² Further, numerous newspaper articles recounted how, by the end of the match, “each contingent cheered the other.” The interchange that began as competitive discord became one of harmony. This sportsmanship climaxed in a manner that conjured memories of even more historic rupture and reconciliation. One *Boston Herald* reporter observed that amidst the musical sparring session, Yale’s band struck up “Auld Lang Syne.” The commotion between sides became one as both sides chimed in together. It was, recalled the journalist, like the “Civil War stories of the opposing armies on each side of the Potomac joining in ‘Home Sweet Home’.”⁶³ The comparison is more than apt. Veterans still lived. Sides still debated the reasons for the war. And, in 1905, recuperation in some regions, particularly the South, was ongoing. But like the reconciliation of blue and grey veterans on long-abandoned battlefields, historians have shown that in the Post-Reconstruction era, diplomatic confederation required not just mis-remembering or outright forgetting. Reunion required erasure. Union and Confederate gatherings in Virginia and Pennsylvania fields smoothed the Mason-Dixon line and reinforced the color line.⁶⁴ Among the educated elite at the most prestigious games of the year, spectators gathered and feted one another and each side’s athletes. They minimized rivalry and celebrated privilege.

The degree of mutual respect that Harvard and Yale devotees showed to their rivals may have been extreme but not necessarily unusual. This was a time when cheering one’s opponent was encouraged. Praise, Walter Camp instructed, should not be limited to that of one’s own side. Cooperative cheering bonded anonymous and even competing constituencies in ways that

crossed institutional boundaries.⁶⁵ This anonymity worked in service to the cultivation of community. No one was more known than another. Everyone was equally invested in his or her role as audience member in observance of the gridiron action. As such, they were in support of themselves. Respect for the sanctity of the game in this fashion demanded that enthusiasts policed themselves and account for violations. For instance, when Bates College fans were rowdy at a 1934 game against Harvard, the Bates coach assured Harvard's Director of Athletics William Bingham that the outbursts were regrettable even if they were out of the ordinary. "Each Bates undergraduate and alumnus" was thoroughly "disgusted with the two loud-mouthed thugs," wrote David Morey to Bingham. Morey concluded with an apology: "I am sorry that we have any followers who fail to recognize the differences between enthusiasm and muckerism."⁶⁶

Morey perhaps rightfully addressed an episode of crowd behavior that did not exemplify the spirit of fair conduct that he hoped representatives or supporters of his institution would sustain. The note on which Morey ends his missive—reminiscent of Knute Rockne's contention with Valparaiso representatives—hints at the degree to which alliances that schools and their contingencies garnered through healthy competition may have been accepting of some individuals more than others. The distinction of a player's lamentable performance as "mucker" play isolated the offending individual from the respectable institution of the sport. The same rhetorical and discursive separation defined trouble-makers within the stands. The "mucker," an epithet lobbed primarily at immigrants of Irish descent, meant to distinguish one as dirty and otherwise unworthy of complete citizenship by virtue of their heritage, castigated the actor and not the theater. It behooved policy makers, proponents, and publicity generators invested in the decency of college football as an institution to distinguish the aberrant fan as singular—like deviant players—in order to protect the image of propriety of the sport both on and off the field.

The behavior of one or two anomalous individuals was tolerable and even understandable. For an entire crowd to engage in outlandish behavior signaled a departure from upright comportment—a disastrous outcome for those invested in intercollegiate football's image of robust gentlemanliness.

Contingent and Denied Coalitions: Part I

The affluent and educated elite—by the twentieth century, these distinctions were more and more one and the same—prospered from U.S. development and, in many ways, were the vanguard of sophisticated society. At the same time, they suffered from the perception that a shift toward the cerebral displaced the physical, pioneer spirit that was at the heart of the mythology of American ruggedness and individualism. College football reclaimed—and invented—some of these fabled attributes. To this end, organized football was not only recreational fun; it was preparation for power. Football became a site by which privileged groups, who feared contestations to their authority, modified social formations in order to preserve the pre-existing hierarchy of social relations.⁶⁷

Many spectators at turn-of-the-century college football games invested tremendous energy in their dress, songs, cheers, emotion, and mimicry to generate solidarities along partisan lines that occasionally honored both sides in competition. The intensity of this commitment of manufactured fealty with familial undertones and outright overtones of brotherhood in football coincided with the elevation of other all-male spaces—on-campus social clubs, fraternities, and fraternal orders. Additionally, by the 1880s, many schools published alumni magazines, had established alumni organizations and halls, and hosted alumni conventions in major cities. These efforts created multiple channels by which graduates could sustain regional and even national networks.⁶⁸ This creation of different collectives that kept and consolidated social capital for

specific individuals was merely, according to Harvard President Charles Eliot, “The habit of forming associations with like-minded persons.”⁶⁹

Higher education as an institution facilitated this ownership. Numerous colleges and universities had racially restrictive policies. The south operated under Jim Crow laws and ideologies into the 1960s. Many northern schools, nonetheless, harbored Southern sensibilities when it came to admitting non-white students and especially African Americans.⁷⁰ Princeton, for instance, did not admit a single black student to its undergraduate program until after World War II. Precisely because of these barriers, nonwhite football players within the first half-century of intercollegiate competition were rare. Black players, like William H. Lewis at Amherst, George H. Jewett at Michigan, William Arthur Johnson at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, George A. Flippin at Nebraska, Preston Eagleson at Indiana, Frank “Kinney” Holbrook of Iowa, and William Washington of Oberlin all competed for traditionally white schools before 1900. Their numbers, however, remained negligible until well after World War II, and rarely did they total more than two at one time at the same university.⁷¹ For most of the first half of the twentieth century, white non-Anglo-Saxon players determined diversity on a football roster.⁷²

Harvard, on the other hand, was a relative exception to the educational exclusion of African Americans. By the end of the nineteenth century, the university included blacks in curricular and extracurricular affairs. Their racially progressive stance—by the standards of the day—and, especially, the presence of black players on the football roster illuminated the obstinacy of white supremacy in northern institutions of higher education. In 1904, Yale protested Harvard’s William Clarence Matthews who lined up for the Crimson. When the two schools ultimately competed against one another, many thought that Matthews endured considerable abuse from the Elis.⁷³ While the *Philadelphia Press* reported that Yale clobbered

Matthews “nearly into insensibility,” Matthews penned a review of the game insisting that his opponents did not intentionally hurt him though he did incur injuries during the game.

Regardless of Matthews’ individual experience, countless Northern and Midwestern schools that hosted varsity football squads with all-white rosters balked at the possibility of sharing the gridiron with even one black opponent.⁷⁴

By the 1920s, racial friction on some university campuses illuminated the polarity between the black and white college experience. At the same time, additional strains of socio-cultural tension complicated this binary. The increased enrollment of Jewish students at some schools exacerbated latent but preexisting anxieties. These additional religio-ethnic concerns of Anglo-Saxon Christian administrators and alumni froze into sharp relief the desire among the aforementioned parties to maintain the status quo of campus hierarchy. In the 1920s, for instance, Harvard President Abbott Lawrence Lowell considered Jews to “present the greatest race problem.” As a result, he contemplated and eventually imposed a quota for limiting the admission of Jewish students. This decision was not unique as Yale and Princeton incorporated similar caps on their admission of non-Gentile students.⁷⁵

At nearly the same time that East Coast presidents were restricting Jewish presence on their campuses, elsewhere, some Jewish undergraduates were celebrating their racial, or at least phenotypic, privilege. Benny Friedman, renowned footballer for the University of Michigan in the mid-1920s was as recognized for his superlative talent as for his Jewish heritage—rare on many college campuses and even more unique on the gridiron. Friedman was loyal to his religion despite the limits that his athletic obligations to the Wolverines placed on his ability to practice his faith. He did not consider it anathema to assimilate into American society and simultaneously remain a Jew. What he was thankful for was not being black. In response to interviews for a

newspaper article, Friedman admitted that his most embarrassing moment as a child was being mistaken for a “colored boy.”⁷⁶ To not be Christian was not a worry he seemed to harbor. To not be African American was a reality for which he was grateful. In light of these delineations of campus pecking orders, the porousness of college campuses in the early twentieth century was such that schools gradually incorporated more and more non-Anglo Saxon students into their student bodies. But these sites of higher education continued to remain unfit or at least inhospitable for most African Americans.

Where college admissions, racial prohibitions, or economic restraints failed to protect the gridiron from racial integration, white supporters of college football defended their athletic terrain through practices of cultural hostility and intimidation. These displays, most prominent in print media and stadium interactions among spectators, were most pronounced when one of the traditionally white institutions played Carlisle. Journalists’ typical description of the setting between Carlisle and its often Ivy League opponent conjured all forms of stereotypical hyperbole. They stocked their articles with references to “braves,” “scalping,” and “mohawks,” among other offensive signifiers.⁷⁷ Since Carlisle began competing against New England universities only a few years after the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota, which symbolized the end of the U.S Government’s war against indigenous Americans, sports reporters seized upon these circumstances of frontier expansion, domestic aggression, and racial difference. In anticipation of an 1896 contest between Yale and Carlisle, a *New York World* article reprinted in *Red Man* described the players of the Connecticut school as “the undergraduates of an old and great university. They represent, physically, the perfection of modern athletics, and intellectually, the culture and refinement of the best modern American life.” The author then contrasted these scholar-athletes with their opponent: “On the other side

was the aborigine, the real son of the forest and plain, the redskin of history, of story, of war, developed or veneered, as the case may be, by education.”⁷⁸ Coaches at an assortment of New England colleges participated in this kind of racial signifying as well. Even in the absence of Native athletes, they described an illegal tactic where the offending party launched himself horizontally at his opponent, a form of open-field blocking, as “indianizing.”⁷⁹ This term described a crafty technique that an athlete employed when confronted with a lack of better options. It was also illegal. This label of strategy, however, mirrored white coaches’ perceptions of Carlisle participation and Indians more broadly—cunning, under-resourced, and deceitful.

That said, on the field, Carlisle’s players were present. They inserted themselves into nearly all-white spaces and, based on the victories they earned, often held their own. This was the school’s founder Richard Henry Pratt’s goal—assimilation at work. His players stood on the same ground as student-athletes from some of the nation’s most illustrious colleges and leveled the playing field. During the program’s most successful stretches, 1903 – 1908 and again from 1911 – 1913, the football squads earned double-digit victories, rarely lost more than two games in one season, and, in 1904 especially, often outscored their foes by more than a touchdown per game.⁸⁰ Thus, football enabled Carlisle to “kick themselves into civilization,” as Pratt had hoped.⁸¹ This was a peculiar dynamic for Carlisle’s student body. Native students went head-to-head with whites and often beat them at their own game. But the very institution whose name adorned the front of their uniforms was a co-conspirator of violence perpetrated on the young men and women. Their hair was shorn, religion stifled, name changed, and on some occasions, young boys and girls were stolen from reservations to be educated and Christianized.⁸² This made winning that much sweeter. After Carlisle memorably upset Harvard 18 – 15 during the 1911 season, legendary player Jim Thorpe recalled: “When the gun was fired and we knew that

we had beated [sic] Harvard, the champions of the East, a feeling of pride that none of us has ever lost came over all of us, from Warner to the water-boy.”⁸³ Football was not just an athletic contest; it was a racial one. But victory was always satisfying. And the racial politics were always complicated.

In a peculiar way Carlisle’s students were most inured from racism when they took to the field. Within the confines of fair play, they could respond to bigotry with a devastating tackle or shivering forearm. Paradoxically, success on the gridiron had the effect of confirming the stereotypes that many whites harbored of Native Americans. Should Carlisle lose to a predominantly white institution, the defeat confirmed their inferiority. Should they win, the victory validated suspicions of innate primitive physicality. The football space for Carlisle was always, in the words of Eve Sedgwick, “kinda subversive, kinda hegemonic,” simultaneously progressive and retrogressive.⁸⁴ Moreover, within the confines of the stadium, the field had borders of its own. If spectators filled the container that was the stadium, players occupied their own smaller, discrete space. The action and the participants between the lines, while related to the spectators, had its own explicit parameters. Moreover, because of a lack of significant facilities, Carlisle played almost all of their games on the road.⁸⁵ In sport parlance, they were always “Visitors,” which connoted a transient feel to their presence. They might win but then they went home. Thus, a Carlisle triumph determined that they were skillful players, a talented team, even worthy competitors. But were they equals off of the field?

Part of Pratt’s orchestration of Native assimilation through football entailed activities away from the sport space. The athletes ate in public restaurants; traveled on trains; and, slept in some of the better hotels (of course, several players to a room). Their visibility had an equivalence with upper-class status—based on where they ate, rode, or rested. They were not just

athletes. At times, it impressed. On other occasions, it perplexed and infuriated because it contested. Unfortunately, provincial opinions were not limited to evaluations of Carlisle players alone. Their most dedicated fans, typically Native themselves, did not have the sporting reputation to arm themselves against the curious to hostile perceptions of the mainstream crowd. Nor could they escape to the gridiron like the athletes. The football field could not buffer them from criticism. Inability to avoid the gaze, commentary, or physical proximity to the dominant class, Native fans had to contend with other spectators in a manner that Carlisle players were more likely to avoid. For instance, following a 1905 game against the University of Pennsylvania, 3,000 presumably white fans confronted the section of Native American Carlisle fans and uttered “warwhoops and call[ed] for ‘Tammany’.”⁸⁶ These types of incidents were not uncommon.

For the “Main Line aristocracy,” as one journalist called UPenn football fans, who draped themselves in elegant, sartorial splendor and traveled to games in impressive coaches or parlor train cars, the presence of “Indian” players and fans bridged the past with the future.⁸⁷ In the shifting social, economic period of the early twentieth century, Indians reminded these whites of who—whatever it was—they were. The Penn supporters’ call for Tammany, an eighteenth century Delaware chief of the Lenape who had peaceful relations with colonists who ultimately deified him in death, was not a gesture of solidarity. Unlike the bonding through bands and song that the Harvard and Yale contingents enjoyed, the whites’ demand that Native Americans invoke an ancient Indian elder—some colonists even elevated him to the rank of saint—was meant to restore the racial boundaries that Carlisle had transgressed. For Carlisle’s supporters to summon Tammany in the mythical manner of Penn’s fans imagination was to “Play Indian” according to white fantasies of Indianness.⁸⁸ This episode, Penn supporters’ call for an artificial

representation of the Indian legend, is part of the same discourse that compelled football teams of Indian boarding schools to bring their “Indian costumes” with them when they traveled to away games in order to salve the demands of the Eastern public.⁸⁹

The Carlisle/Penn affair raises interesting questions about Indian assimilation. By the turn of the century, Native Americans did circulate among whites. Many Carlisle graduates, by their own estimation, successfully integrated into mainstream culture. John Frost, Piegan Indian and former Carlisle student, was a successful rancher at Grey Cliff, Montana. In a letter to *The Red Man*, Carlisle’s newspaper, he wrote: “I am the only Indian in this neighborhood, all the rest being white, and I am pleased to say that they are all my friends.”⁹⁰ In these instances, whites accepted their Native neighbors as Frost’s experience attests. But assimilation was never simple, consistent, nor guaranteed. In contrast to Frost, the Tammany incident was symbolic of some of the daily indignities of Natives’ lived experience.

Certainly, Carlisle’s athletes transgressed social boundaries. Their intercollegiate competitiveness challenged the racially exclusive project that many white architects and supporters of football had worked hard to preserve. But they had also gained a modicum of begrudging respect with their play. How were spectators different? Perhaps Native athletes’ integration of the gridiron did not signify much change. The football field was a different space than the stands; players were separate from spectators. Additionally, two competing teams are paired against one another. They defend opposite halves of the field; wear different uniforms, and, by necessity, compete for outcomes in direct contrast to the other. Fans for Carlisle or predominantly white universities, on the other hand, wave flags, banners, and emblems for their respective side; wear clothes of the school’s colors; and cheer specific chants; but, the differences in the bleachers, stands, or stadium were not as clear. If, inside the stadium, fans

could shrink the variance among themselves—those cheering for the same team or in instances like that of the 1905 Harvard/Yale match where fans supported both squads—then they could reassert difference in other circumstances. The technologies that created cohesion also manufactured fissures.

Were Carlisle supporters harassed because they diminished that difference? In all probability, the Carlisle students and fans in the bleachers were ordinary. Before and after the game, they likely used the same sidewalks, shopped at the same vendors, and ate at the same restaurants. What if these Indians favored cotton knit sweaters, wore their hair short, and spoke fluent English? Fans, far more commonly than players, trafficked in the same spaces. Thus, homogenous spaces were threatened. In this case, then, whites practiced conflicting forms of racism. They respected Native athletes and they rejected Native fans. They appreciated the natural athleticism of the players, and denigrated the cultural parallels that the spectators exhibited. Native athletes were appropriately primitive; spectators were dangerously modern. Native spectators were threatening to white spectators because they were mundane.

Whites' racializing of Native American players on the field and of their classmates and family members in the stands served a dual purpose. It hailed the Carlisle contingent as outsiders of the college football world and clarified for Penn supporters their own collective, insider identity. The imagination of primitiveness and the hearkening of a nostalgic, constructed age propped up white invention of civility in an era when modernity was perpetually destabilizing the already mutable nature of race and, specifically, whiteness.⁹¹ Calling for Tammany may have been a gesture toward mutual celebration. It was more likely bigoted mischief. Either way, the appeal for the Carlisle contingent to participate in their own self-Othering reflects a dependence on the very group whose access to college football whites struggled to regulate. Native

Americans' presence on the field and in the stands of Penn's Franklin Field Stadium challenged whites' conventional fictions of Indian life. The football uniform was a costume that was understandably temporary. Yet, its wearing signified admission into a space that was becoming an increasingly more important cultural space for college-educated, bourgeois white Americans. If the Eastern public had to contend with the symbolism of Indians on the football field, then they were also forced to contend with the un-fixedness of race. Penn supporters' insistence that Carlisle affiliates act and appear a certain way was not only an effort to reinforce a cultural, social, and political status quo, it was an attempt to force the reenactment of difference that would reassure them that even if Natives were encroaching on their game, they were still not like them. The public's call for players on Industrial Indian Training schools to wear their headdresses; derogatory characterizations of Native Americans in newspaper articles and illustrated cartoons; stereotypical war whoops or pleas for Indian fans to participate in their own degradation represent whites' efforts to solidify the fluidity of identity. To assimilate through sport was one thing, to do so socially was still another.

Contingent and Denied Coalitions: Part II

As it was for non-whites, exclusion or a precarious presence was true for women as well. The patriarchal framework that governed gender relations in society manifested and reinforced itself in college football stadiums giving white men a space to perform their masculinity in relation to women. Traditions, rituals, school songs and other performances that fortified school unity and perpetuated deep brotherhood also positioned women as trespassers. On the football field, men tackled, wrestled, grappled, high-fived (or the nineteenth-century equivalent), and even hugged one another. As spectators, men fulfilled their own roles as they cheered, talked,

booed, yelled, screamed, cried, and laughed. It was a homoerotic display on the field for a homosocial audience in the stands. But women were there, what were they doing?



Fig. 5.5 Norman Rockwell painting, “Football Hero” in *The Saturday Evening Post*⁹²

Norman Rockwell’s depiction of footballers and the women that served them was—and remains—common iconography in the historical discourse of college football. In the illustration, the player kneels in front of the seated young woman while she stitches his sweater. The ginger-haired athlete tilts his head slightly up; his marginally raised eyebrows create a slight furrow in his brow. A white sweater and gold pants cover his shoulder, thigh, and knee pads. Blue trim accents the uniform’s lettering and socks. The black cleats and standard helmet, which the player grips with a tightly-clenched right fist, complete the athlete’s equipment and total uniform. The young woman’s outfit matches that of the player. Her white sweater, topped by the collar of a neatly matching white blouse, and white skirt with similar blue trim suggest they represent the same school. The megaphone that sits upright to her left hints at the possibility that she is, in fact, a cheerleader. Her similarly red hair is curled, part of which is pinned behind her ear. Perched atop a small wooden chest, she diligently attends to the letter on his front. Needles stick

out from her pursed lips, a thimble tops the middle finger of her right hand, and she wears a small ring on her left pinky finger as that hand braces against the player's chest for leverage. With her face a few inches from the player, her right hand either pulls or pushes thread through the cotton of the sweater.

The power of Rockwell's illustration lies in its portrayal of the familiar. The player is not overly masculine. His prominent Adam's apple indicates he is not a boy. But his skinny physique, youthful crew cut, and smooth face challenge a vision of him as gridiron superhero. This could be any football player. At the same time, the bandages on his nose and cheek reveal the scrapes of competition. He does not ride the bench. He has seen action and suffered the bruises for it. But he is not broken and hardly injured. The young woman, poised with thread and needle, appears confident in her ministrations. The sewing kit that lies open at her feet implies she has made such repairs before. So, the young man competes, and the young woman patches him back up. This is their relation. His casual, half-open eyes, her attention to his uniform, he extended above her, they hardly interact. And yet, her left hand placed gently on his chest, the attention she pays to her task, the proximity of her knees to his body, there was affection in the routine. That the football player is so physically unexceptional signifies that she attends to him because of his status not necessarily his prowess. His role as athlete earned him the kindness she provides. For football players, the image implies not that this type of care could happen; it should happen.

The intimacy between the two signifies an all-important relationship. Their exchange is pragmatic—banal even—but it imports critical markers of heterosexuality into the image. The pairing of men and women in the football scene gained greater import as the discourse of manliness began to wind more tightly around heterosexuality by the dawn of the twentieth

century. By the 1910s, conventional narratives recognized homosexuality to be more than acts; they were identities. Therefore, males' displays of sexuality, mediated through gender performances, had to involve females in some capacity in order to quiet suspicions of homosexuality—especially in hyper-male football settings.⁹³ But as the form of the young cheerleader evokes, the female had to be the right type of woman. She, with her hair just right, her clothes white, her domestic talents apparent, was a picture of respectability. Viewers of Rockwell's creation did not—they virtually could not—evaluate the two figures in isolation from one another. The football player was no longer just an athlete; he was a young man who could draw interest from attractive young women. The co-ed was not just a supporter; she was a nurturing source and potential sexual reward. The physically gifted football player and the striking cheerleader were perfect mates for one another.⁹⁴

Images like Rockwell's were widespread and popular, and they crafted a script for female football supporters that tracked along strict, conventional gender lines. Newspaper cartoons, magazine photographs, journalistic coverage of games, and other literature portrayed women as fawning “coeds” doting on a gridiron hero. Accommodating captions to illustrations reinforced their idolatry, revealed their ignorance about the game, or provided hypothetical thoughts of the athlete himself. Game programs featured women in extremely conventional ways. Most advertisements paired them with domestic products. Or, as one poster began, “To Men Only! That little lady at home has asked you time and again...”⁹⁵ Football could claim upper-class “ladies,” but even in their absence, wives were diminutive nags. More risqué flyers used women in tight-fitting and even revealing clothing as objects that might facilitate the sale of tobacco or alcohol. Others offered women looking demure but elegant, lounging about in full-length fur coats exuding the picture of wealth to which perceptions of college football were attached. This

type of imagery perpetuated a dangerous conflation. In the context of college football, material goods and women served as signs of men's status. Ownership of merchandise and the presence of women in frequently marketed iconography, then, made it difficult to discursively separate—women and objects—what men did and did not commodify.

If programs did not reinforce the place of women with college football, sportswriters perpetuated a discourse of gender inequity. Coverage of a football game typically featured commentary on the audience and its appearance. Newspapers often mentioned within the crowd the “pretty girls” decorated with chrysanthemums or other signifying adornment that bespoke their femininity. Journalists accorded their presence as the civilizing element among the more boisterous male fans. At a Harvard/Yale game a *New York Times* writer remarked on the “pretty girls and their good-looking aunts and mothers.” They “added a new touch of the beautiful to American sport.”⁹⁶ Despite the complimentary manner in which journalists described female fans, they also always portrayed them as accessories. They were not fans so much as the essential other half of a heterosexual pairing that male spectators ensured with the presence of their companion. Despite their actual attention to the game, with few exceptions newspaper articles characterized women as present but not engaged or even likely spectating.

Patriarchy determined the terms under which women encroached on the space of college football. This was never more true than when men not only suppressed women's voice, they, in fact, embodied it. In one *Harper's Weekly* article, male reporter Tudor Jenks as “Cynthia” crafts a letter to “her” mother regarding the 1892 Thanksgiving Day game between Yale and Princeton that “she” attended with her cousin Philip. Cynthia remarks about the colors of the bows she wore and the fashionable but unattractive women in the stands. She seemed bemused by the pre-game pomp and ceremony but largely unaware of its significance. Players were “fat circus

elephants” and the coach was a “coward” who, according to Cynthia, ran about the field haphazardly whose antics caused general consternation among the athletes and onlookers. The football action was alternately “funny” or “awful” depending on the play and level of brutality. And when Cynthia asked her cousin Philip questions regarding the game, he fed her caramels to keep her quiet and minimize her badgering.⁹⁷ Whether the editors gave Jenks this assignment, he invented this scene for comedic purpose, or wrote the scenario to articulate how primarily female fans should conduct themselves remains indeterminable. The invention of “Cynthia,” the character, however, provides a lens into fin de siècle constructions of fandom, and the positions at stake in consolidating who owned the football space. Portrayed as superficial, dumbfounded, and a nuisance, Jenks’ essay signified certain football game gender roles that were either observed, expected, or both.

Had women been content to exist as the garnish of their male companions or as doting asexualized mothers, aunts, and grandmothers to the players, then men might have been less motivated to invent commentary that reinforced rigid, discrete gender roles. The most popular media channels, which men controlled, forcefully rendered women’s roles in college football as secondary. This portrayal was not patriarchal neglect. Men did not absentmindedly forget to include women in consideration of the football audience. Instead, men invested energy into carving and maintaining a space for women that men, in turn, dictated and policed. This all-consuming effort is the type of commitment that exclusive social constructions demand precisely because they are more unstable than they appear. This was a problem for men and male football advocates, specifically. Women were present. Mothers, aunts, sisters, girlfriends, and friends cheered at games, waved pennants, wore school colors, recorded their exploits in journals and

scrapbooked their experiences as keepsakes. What if they did not want to play by the boys' rules?



Fig. 5.6 Page from scrapbook of Julia Magruder Phillips, University of Michigan Class of 1901⁹⁸

Julia Magruder Phillips was a football fan. In a well-worn scrapbook, the University of Michigan student (class of 1901) compiled a rich history of experiences that included countless tributes to football: photos, poems, illustrations, newspaper articles, programs, and game tickets dotted the pages of memorabilia. In one especially unique page, she used three photos of athletes to frame a much larger illustration of Civil War icons. Like the 1905 Harvard/Yale enthusiasts, collegians across the nation, male and female, wrestled with the questions, ghosts, and contradictions of the Civil War. In his study of fraternities, for instance, historian Nicolas Syrett found that Greek peers worked hard to rescue their collegiately-derived, Greek-affiliated brotherhood split by their Union or Confederate alliance.⁹⁹

In the context of Phillips' scrapbook—primarily an homage to football—the total composition of the page, athletes from different schools around a drawing of reunification,

enhances the allegorical tensions. In the middle is a colored illustration of two soldiers in military uniform, one “blue” and one “grey,” representing opposite sides of the conflict. They stand astride one another as they shake hands. The eyes of both figures are fixed in the opposite corners, as though they are vigorously trying to avoid eye contact. Between them stands a woman, taller than both men. The Stars and Stripes of the American flag wraps around her waist as though it was the lower half of a dress. In the era in which this imagery was produced, the turn of the century, her likeness would be easily discernible as that of Lady Columbia, the symbol of the United States. Her arms are outstretched and cradle the outer shoulders of both soldiers. Her head is slightly cocked to her left, her eyes are open but weighted, her lips pressed together unsmiling. Flora sprouts beneath and behind the trio as water extends further into the background. In what might be the Atlantic Ocean or some other large body of water, the faint outline of battleships float in the distance.

Three photographs flank this illustration: two pictures of individual athletes and a group photo. In the group photo, which sits below the illustration, seventeen young men gather on the steps of a building. Typical of nineteenth century pictures like the 1894 Amherst football team, the guys arrange themselves with equal measure of order and somewhat haphazard arrangement. Their high striped socks and knee-high trousers denote the apparel of a baseball team, and an individual in the front row rests a bat between his legs. Some of the letter sweaters have a giant “P” on the front, and a handwritten scrawl of “Pennsy” below the picture suggests that they represent the University of Pennsylvania baseball team. In the upper left and right corners of the page, two more undergraduates pose separately in their football gear. P.J. O’Dea a fullback from the University of Wisconsin and “Powell” of Annapolis. What are we to make of this constellation of pictures? Four different images, almost entirely of men, as either athletes or

soldiers, bedeck a page of a female student's scrapbook. The male figures carry the burden of war—the soldiers literally and the athletes metaphorically. And yet, at the center of it all stands a woman, the personification of the nation. What does this page tell us about the space in football that Phillips carved for herself?

On the page, the role of the woman appears ambiguous. The soldiers look incredulous of the potentially forced peace that appears to linger in mid-formation. Nonetheless, the larger project stands between them and mollifies—or attempts to mollify—their skepticism. Columbia rises head and shoulders above the fighters who look more and more like boys at closer inspection. The woman is in the middle. Read without the inclusion of sport, the Civil War illustration could be a connection to personal aspects of Phillip's past or present. The *mise en scene*, however, combines war and athletics in a conspicuous manner. Does Columbia signify for Phillips her place in the world of football? Do the athletes play for her? Is she a supporter, a mediator, perhaps a confidante, a cheerleader? Of course, the imagery can be read in numerous ways: the woman may or may not be an equal third party; she might be a reward to be gained. As the Jenks article would have us believe, perhaps she is just in the way of the bond that the men wanted to form on their own. Phillips' scrapbook page raises provocative questions.¹⁰⁰ But it confirms that regardless of their position and their role, women were involved, occasionally in the middle of it, and often holding onto tenuous positions.

Sometimes women were very involved and they did assert themselves. Occasionally, they were fanatical. Toward the end of the 1923 football season, William Spill, a California-based lawyer and 1896 graduate of the University of Michigan penned a letter to Fielding Yost. After recounting numerous college football exploits on the West Coast, he relayed with pride the exuberance that his daughter, Geraldine, a Michigan undergraduate practiced at the recent Ohio

State game. She screamed so much, wrote the father, “she couldn’t speak the next day!” “Believe me,” he added, “if she were a boy Uteritz [Michigan’s quarterback] would have an understudy!”¹⁰¹ At Michigan, Geraldine was not alone.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, many college football game programs were the product of a well-orchestrated university publicity bureau. In the case of sports, these offices usually fell under the domain of an athletic department. In addition to welcome addresses from the college president and essays from coaches and team captains, game programs might also include editorials from non-football-playing undergraduates. In 1919 and 1920, two University of Michigan programs, respectively included additions that female students composed. In an essay in the 1919 Michigan/Minnesota program, a female author identified only as a “co-ed” addressed the chauvinism of her male classmates and refuted the presumed football illiteracy of female fans. As if in response to Jenks among others, she wrote that, “Honorable gentlemen,” fill columns of newspaper print with “perfectly fictitious” reports of fabricated conversations they claim to overhear between girls at a game. While acknowledging that some do not know football well, the author claimed that these young women are in the minority. In fact, it is the witless female fan, asserts the author, who is conspicuous because she is so rare. More common are the “thousands of other girls,” who “anticipate every play, who know every player by name and number, and can tell to a touchdown or an end-run what he has done in previous games, who lead the cheering when a clever play is put across, and who sing ‘Varsity’ and ‘The Victors’ [Michigan’s “fight” songs] with a vim equaling that of any other group.” The 1920 Michigan/Chicago program included an article from Dorothy O’Connor echoing that of her predecessor. O’Connor contended that girls at games know “as much about [football] as does the



Fig. 5.7 – Photo from scrapbook of Audrey Wright, University of Michigan Class of 1929¹⁰²

boy who sits next to her.” Comparing their knowledge and passion to male fans, “The college girl brings as keen an intelligence, as loyal a heart and as staunch support to her team as the men do,” wrote O’Connor.¹⁰³ And when University of Michigan female undergraduates were not writing or cheering about football, they were playing it. Audrey Wright, a student at Michigan around the same time as Geraldine Spill included in her scrapbook a handful of photos of her and friends playing football themselves. What lurks beneath the surface of the larger football spectacle, then, is women’s desire to be more than spectators. If provided the space or if they acquire it on their own, women will clearly be football players.

The University of Michigan’s female undergraduates may have offered counterexamples to shortsighted perceptions of women at football games because they were able to enroll at the university as early as 1870—more than one hundred years earlier than some all-male bastions in the Northeast. Athletics between men and women were strictly segregated by way of facilities, time and duration of training, sports of play, and other divisions. The university did, however, dedicate a modicum of commitment toward formal physical education for female students when administrators formed the Women’s Athletic Association in 1905.¹⁰⁴ Despite having to adhere to restrictive dormitory regulations, attend lectures on hygiene, and likely endure an assortment of individual and institutional forms of harassment, female students’ presence in the classrooms,

hallways, libraries and various academic spaces may have emboldened them with an uncommon sense of ownership of other parts of the campus.¹⁰⁵ Specifically, as O'Connor and others articulated, women's claim of the school's athletic spaces was relatively unique at a time when the site of football, in particular, was a male domain. This is not to deny the plausibility that male students at Michigan—when not excluding them—limited their female classmates' involvement with football, denigrated their participation, highlighted their appearance rather than their knowledge, or negated their full contribution, as the series of journalistic examples revealed. In fact, this is highly likely since O'Connor and her anonymous peer felt compelled to refute misconceptions of the female fan. Nonetheless, across the college landscape, their experience as football spectator may not have been the norm.

Discriminating inclusion and exclusion of women in the college football space figured deeply in how educated elite males negotiated their sense of themselves and therefore was a central pillar of manhood-making within the context of college football. Inclusion of women in selective fashion also enabled men to maintain the experience of a homosocial event while maintaining the illusion or truth—it did not really matter which since external validation of sexuality was nearly as important as personal perception—of heterosexuality. Furthermore, by rendering women as ludicrous and uninformed, women were allowed a part in the football spectacle but only to the extent that male ownership of the game remained intact.

Game Ownership

Student player/managers and eventually university athletic departments invested time and resources to recruit fans to intercollegiate football games. When they recruited fans, they empowered fans. In 1909, Harvard President Lowell received a letter from Pastor Frank Williams of Portland, ME. The pastor indicated that if the Intercollegiate Football Association of

which Harvard was a member did not approve Lowell's proposed safety reforms, Williams would "enlist a hundred alumni in different parts of the land," to demand legislation that would better protect the welfare of the student-athlete. When Notre Dame briefly expelled football star George Gipp in 1920, eighty-six South Bend businessmen composed a letter to then school president, Reverend James A. Burns politely asking that Gipp be reinstated, which he was in April of that year.¹⁰⁶ Whether Lowell took the pastor's beseeching seriously or whether Burns reenrolled Gipp based on the requests of local businessmen remains unknown. That they felt compelled to frame demands in the form of suggestions reveals the degree to which these supporters felt a part of their respective programs. If supporters "owned" players, as Father O'Donnell indicated in the epigraph, fans funded stadium construction, and graduates claimed their Alma Mater as their own, where did the possession end? Who was in control? Who owned the game?

This inquiry is, of course, a Gordian Knot. With respect to the spectators, however, when alumni pen declarations of pride to the respective football coach following a victorious effort, or pastor Williams, or the South Bend businessmen write to the college president, they are involving themselves in the affairs of intercollegiate athletics. The intentions may be benign, supportive, or critical, but their involvement advances their identity from mere onlookers to spectators to individuals or parties who feel authorized to influence the trajectory of their favorite team or even the sport of college football itself. When Father O'Donnell welcomed the 1930 University of Notre Dame football team home from Los Angeles where they had defeated the University of Southern California securing their second title in two years as national champions, he extolled their skills, verve, conduct, and accomplishments. Amidst the celebration, he declared, "They belong to us."¹⁰⁷ This could easily have been a tribute to the players as

ambassadors of the institution. But the rhetoric is one of ownership that renders the line between players and their advocates exceedingly blurry. The roles that many fans of student-athletes fashioned for themselves make it difficult to separate athletes from their champions. This is not to suggest that fans in the bleachers experienced the same rush of adrenaline as the player that outruns a defender or endures pain when an athlete is not quite swift enough to elude the tackler. But players and fans experienced symbiosis with considerable overlap. Both constituencies were responsible for crafting the institution in a way that was mutually valuable and constitutive.

This investment in the pragmatic and spiritual infrastructure that underlay college football performance and athletic privilege had two primary effects on the sport's relationship to spectators—it compelled university affiliates invested in the sport to recruit spectators, and it empowered spectators with a sense of ownership of the teams' successes and travails. This means that university's football associations—that provided institutions the conceptual blueprints for athletic departments—were motivated to meet the demands of a paying crowd. These needs influenced where teams played games, how big stadiums became, and even what plays the players executed. It also meant that team managers relied on alumni networks to appeal to former students in an effort to garner their support for the football team. And it meant that alumni, many of whom were already active in their university associations, felt a common kinship to fellow graduates by virtue of their shared Alma Mater and began to claim ownership of the most visible and culturally powerful aspect of their school—the college's football team. Sport did not set the bounds of perceptions of ownership. To possess elements of the college football phenomenon was to control the discursive forces that informed and were informed by the sport.

¹ “Partial Text of Father O'Donnell's Speech of Welcome to the Team,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, December 12, 1930, no. 11, p. 330 UA-ND.

² Camp, *American Football*, 20.

³ Walter Camp, "Football in 1891," *Outing*, Vol. XIX (Deposit, NY: Outing Pub. Co., October 1891 – March 1892), 154. Camp was the consummate perfectionist. He constantly tinkered with tactics, always trying to gain advantage within the rules—many of which he invented. Yet, he was also acutely aware of college football as entertainment. In 1885, on the last play of the game in a duel between Yale and Princeton, Princeton punt returner Henry "Tillie" Lamar received the last kick, dashed the length of the field, scored a touchdown, and secured a victory, 6 – 5, against Camp's Elis. The play, in part, hinged on the Yale kicker's decision to punt the ball away rather than retain possession and run out the clock. Despite the loss, Camp regarded Lamar's kick return as stupendous and did not object to Yale's final tactics. A "kick," he wrote, "was surely the more generous play in the eyes of the crowd." See Camp, *Book of College Sports*, 144.

⁴ C. H. Allison, "Pushball, A Strenuous New Game," *National Magazine* (Boston: The Chapple Publishing Co.) Vol. XXIII, October 1905-March 1906, 47.

⁵ Photo in Clayton Oscar Johnson Scrapbook, circa 1911, BHL-UM.

⁶ Allison, "Pushball," 47-49. In addition to his description of Pushball, Allison articulated the perspectives of spectators that college football aficionados were guarding against. He said that most of the football play was "invisible and unintelligible" to most fans. On most occasions, particularly with well-matched squads, Allison asserted, the observer sees nothing more than "a mass of struggling bodies piled up in a heap, disentangling themselves at intervals merely to repeat the unavailing onslaught." Only the occasional score, punt, or stoppage of play to remove from the field injured bodies serve as diversions ("inadequate" ones) to the "monotonous performance." See Allison, "Pushball," *National Magazine*, 47. Though Crane intended for participants to compete in teams of eleven, photos of the action, suggest that undergraduates commonly marshaled an entire college class to constitute a side. As such, Crane and observers may have been able to follow the path of the ball more easily than football, but players likely remained obscured from one another due to the sheer magnitude of their numbers. See also *Harper's Weekly*, c 1-2, November 22, 1902, 1764.

⁷ Yale graduate Henry Canby provides a description of rabid alumni: "I saw in my own experience his [the alumnus'] romantic enthusiasm for 'our team' become a country-wide passion which came near to making athletics the chief purpose of so-called higher education. Like children wanted one more exciting story before bedtime, the alumni demanded victories until intercollegiate play was expanded into a professional entertainment which has slaughtered more than one educational ideal to make a November holiday." See Henry Seidel Canby, *Alma Mater: The Gothic Age of an American College* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1936), 270.

⁸ Amanda, "c. 1910 – c.1915: 'Push Ball' Columbia University, September 20, 2013, courtesy of the Library of Congress, <http://www.retronaut.com/2013/09/push-ball-columbia-university/> Retrieved March 19, 2014.

⁹ The abbreviated report below captures moments of a Pushball game between University of Pennsylvania freshmen competing against their sophomore classmates. Where collegians played this game, the following commentary was common in university newspapers across the country: "There were batteries of cameras of all sizes on the field, and three moving picture machines. A large crowd followed the progress of the ball with great interest, retreating when it approached the side-lines." See "Freshmen Win Push Ball Fight in Extra Period," *The Pennsylvanian*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 53, November 27, 1912, p. 1. At MIT's 1919 Field Day, Push Ball actually substituted for the annual intracollegiate football game. See "April 18 Date Set for Field Day," *The Tech*, Vol. 38, No. 94, February 21, 1919, p. 1. It is also worth noting that even though college football only gained in popularity after the turn of the century, undergraduates played competitive matches of pushball well into the second decade of the 1900s.

¹⁰ Ronald A. Smith, "Harvard and Columbia and a Reconsideration of the 1905-06 Football Crisis," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Winter, 1981), 5.

¹¹ Camp, *Book of Foot-Ball*, 66. In *Collier's Weekly* essay summarizing the 1906 season, Camp reiterated the importance of protecting the players while simultaneously acknowledging the significance of the fan. Referring again to the effect of the ten-yard rule, Camp reflects, "One would hardly risk a forward pass when he had the old five-yard rule. The changes have worked out to give us a game pleasing to the spectator," while at the same time, "lessening the number of injuries," to the players. See Walter Camp, "The All-America Football Team," *Collier's Weekly*, Vol. 38, No. 13, December 22, 1906, 18.

¹² Watterson, *College Football*; Oriard, *Reading Football*; Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University*; Jeff Benedict and Armen Keteyian, *The System: The Glory and Scandal of Big-Time College Football* (New York: Doubleday, 2013); John U. Bacon, *Fourth and Long: The Fight for the Soul of College Football* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).

¹³ University of Michigan Board of Regents, September Meeting, 1905, pg. 586-7, BHL-UM.

¹⁴ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 172; Cookson Jr. and Persell, *Preparing for Power*; Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (New York: Mariner Books, 2006). Historian Nicholas Syrett makes a compelling argument that membership in fraternities in the late nineteenth and twentieth century provided white collegians a way to differentiate themselves from their non-Greek brethren. This affiliation, in turn, provided “brothers” with an assortment of post-graduate advantages in employment, professions, and, among many others, positions of civic eminence. Syrett writes, “Having gone to a private preparatory school dramatically increased one’s chances for election to a fraternity.” Syrett adds that high school athletic stars “were almost always sure of bids to all the top fraternities.” Fraternity brothers and alumni often targeted and attempted to woo these prized individuals before they even set foot on campus.” See Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 132-143.

¹⁵ “Athletic Association of P.E.A. Playing Rules for Foot-Ball,” November 11, 1873, Phillips Exeter Academy Archives.

¹⁶ “Statistics of the Andover and Exeter Players,” *Football Extra*, in *The Phillipian*, November 11, 1905, 1-4.

¹⁷ “Andover Outclasses Exeter and Wins Easily by the score of 28 to 0,” *The Phillipian* Vol. XXVIII, No. 14, November 15, 1905, 1. *Boston Sunday Globe*, “Andover Gets a Little Revenge,” November 12, 1905, 1. In the lower left corner of the last page of the November 11th issue of *The Phillipian* was an announcement that reinforced the provincial lens through which this community seemed to view football and those who played it. In less than two square inches of text, a notice broadcast “The football games for today.” Although there were many dozens of college football teams by the turn of the century, the list only included four games: Yale v Brown; Harvard v Penn; Cornell v. Princeton; and, Dartmouth v. Amherst College. See “Statistics of the Andover and Exeter Players,” *Football Extra*, in *The Phillipian*, November 11, 1905, 4.

¹⁸ Samuel Clarke Bushnell, “Reminiscences of Samuel C. Bushnell, Vol. I,” Folder 1, Box 1, SML-YU, 30.

¹⁹ Bushnell, “Reminiscences,” Vol. I, 34 – 45.

²⁰ Samuel Clarke Bushnell, “Reminiscences of Samuel C. Bushnell, Vol. II,” Folder 1, Box 1, SML-YU, 20, 61.

²¹ Bushnell, “Reminiscences,” Vol. II, 112-13.

²² Around the same time that the students bought Lovett the handcart, they also gave him a donkey. The donkey’s name was Radcliffe. It is unclear who bestowed the name onto the animal. Nonetheless, Radcliffe College was founded in 1879, which served as the sister institution to the all-male college of Harvard. The name of the donkey as Radcliffe is consistent with the hijinks that Harvard students enjoyed, often at the expense of others.

²³ *The Story of John the Orange-man; being a short sketch of the life of Harvard’s popular mascot, by one of his ‘frinds’* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1891), 33.

²⁴ This spelling captures the tenuousness of Lovett’s relationship. “Frinds” in quotations, a spelling writers adopted to signal Lovett’s Irish brogue, identifies the friendship as potentially contingent. Harvard students and Lovett were friends, but on what terms? How much control did Lovett have over this relationship? Could it be taken away? Despite the occasions in which Lovett was feted and included, the literature gestures toward a perpetual fragility between the Irishman and the college students.

²⁵ Henry Fielding, *The History of John the Orange-man* (Boston: C.M.A. Twitchell & Co., 1892), 37-8.

²⁶ “John Lovett and Carroll Swan, Harvard College class of 1901 photograph,” ca. 1901, A752 Item 1, HUA-HU.

²⁷ *The Story of John the Orange-man*, 44.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ David Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 19.

³⁰ At the peak of railroad travel just before the U.S. entered World War I, trains constituted ninety-eight percent of travelers commutes from one city to another. John White Jr., *The American Railroad Passenger Car* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978), xi.

³¹ Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011), 141.

³² “Special Football Trains,” *Boston Daily Globe*, November 20, 1902, p. 8; “New Haven Football Trains,” *Boston Daily Globe*, November 21, 1914, p. 6.

³³ White Jr., *The American Railroad Passenger Car*, xiii.

³⁴ Canby, *Alma Mater*, 33.

³⁵ White Jr., *The American Railroad Passenger Car*, 203.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22-31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 287. Eastern railroads in total—the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, and the New York/New Haven/Hartford lines—constituted a large portion of passenger travel in the U.S. Even during the Great Depression and after railroad construction had significantly expanded to the Midwest and West, these lines, with thirteen percent of the mileage, carried forty percent of all passengers, and earned forty-two percent of all passenger revenue in the nation. See Clyde Freed, *The Story of Railroad Passenger Fares* (Washington, 1942), 49-50.

³⁸ Freed, *The Story of Railroad Passenger Fares*, 10-27.

³⁹ Freed, *The Story of Railroad Passenger Fares*, 23. The nineteenth century North (and even into the twentieth), as Frederick Douglass revealed, did not favor the type of signage that designated where people could sit. Rather, conductors and social custom determined riding assignments typically relegating blacks to the least desirable cars and seats on the train—*de facto* rather than *de jure* Jim Crow cars. See Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1987), 294-5. See also W.E.B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1999), 230; Louis Ruchames, “Jim Crow Railroads in Massachusetts,” *American Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1956; Francis Boardman Bradlee, *The Eastern Railroad: A Historical Account of Early Railroad in Eastern New England* 2nd Ed. (Salem, MA: Newcomb & Gauss, Printers, 1922).

⁴⁰ Table Ba4271-4279, “Daily Wages for Common labor, by region: 1851-1880,” contributed by Robert Margo, <http://0-hsus.cambridge.org.luna.wellesley.edu/HSUSWeb/toc/tableToc.do?id=Ba4271-4279> in Philip R. P. Coelho and James F. Shepherd, “Regional Differences in Real Wages: The United States, 1851-1880,” *Explorations in Economic History* 13 (April 1976): 229-30. Table Ba4290-4297, “Hourly wages in manufacturing, by industry: 1865-1914,” contributed by Robert A. Margo, <http://0-hsus.cambridge.org.luna.wellesley.edu/HSUSWeb/toc/tableToc.do?id=Ba4290-4297> in Christopher Hanes, “Comparable Indices of Wholesale Prices and Manufacturing Wage Rates in the United States, 1865-1914,” *Research in Economic History* 14 (1992): 269-92. Retrieved May 1, 2014.

⁴¹ “Harvard-Yale Football Match,” *New York Times*, October 2, 1889, 1.

⁴² *New York Times*, “Harvard and Yale Battle on Gridiron,” November 21, 1914, p. 14.

⁴³ “Crisp, Clear November Weather Brings Out a Joyous Crowd,” *New Haven Register*, November 18, 1914, and “Big Transportation Problems,” *The Washington Post*, November 29, 1914, p. MS2.

⁴⁴ “Foot-Ball at the Polo Grounds,” *The Sun*, November 30, 1883, Vol. XCIV, Issue 12, page 1.

⁴⁵ “Penn Won from Harvard in Big Football Match,” *Philadelphia Record*, November 12, 1905.

⁴⁶ “Yale-Harvard Game, Soldier Field, November 20, 1909 General Directions, Folder: FBC905-1-3 (Titled: 1905 – Harvard), Box 1, Reggie Brown Collection, HL-ND.

⁴⁷ “70,055 Seats in Yale Bowl,” *New York Times*, November 18, 1914, p. 9.

⁴⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 56. See also Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Boston: The MIT Press, 1992).

⁴⁹ “Michigan 42 – Cornell 0,” November 10, 1917 at University of Michigan Ferry Field, Ann Arbor, MI in Alfred Wilson Scrapbook, BHL-UM.

⁵⁰ “Penn Outplayed Harvard and Gained Much Ground,” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, November 11, 1905.

⁵¹ Gentlemen, according to Harvard president Charles Eliot were “quiet and calm.” They did not, he claimed, “bawl or scream with laughter, or hustle, or seem in haste.” See Charles Eliot, “The New Definition of the Cultivated Man, 1903,” Folder 135, Box 219, Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, HUA-HU; Charles Eliot, “What Harvard Expects of Her Sons, 1904,” in *Harvard Graduate Magazine*, March 1904, Folder 141.2, Box 219, Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, HUA-HU; Charles Eliot, “The Character of a Gentleman,” October 12, 1904, Folder 155, Box 219, Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, HUA-HU.

⁵² Morris Joseph Clurman, “The American Game of Football: Is It a Factor for Good or for Evil?” reprinted from the *Medical Record* (New York: William Wood & Company), January 7, 1911 in Folder 88, Box 3, President Lowell’s Papers, 1925-28, HUA-HU.

⁵³ “U.S. Army-Navy Football Annual: A Pictorial Review of the Athletic Year at the Two National Academies; and the Official Football Programme,” November 25, 1922, Franklin Field, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; “Nebraska-Army Official Program,” Michie Stadium, West Point, NY, November 24, 1928. Programs in JSRC-ND. Richard Henry Pratt letter to John R. Spears, October 28, 1896, Box 10-31, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, BRBM-YU.

⁵⁴ “On to Victory,” in Football Dinner Program, December 16, 1921, Folder: “Programs,” in Harvard Memorabilia of Philip Coburn (AB 1923), 1921-1923, HUA-HU; “Princeton, Forward March,” in Harvard-Princeton Football Game Souvenir Song Program, November 11, 1922, Folder: “Programs,” in Harvard Memorabilia of Philip Coburn (AB 1923), 1921-1923, HUA-HU; “Mother of Men,” in *The Bookman: An Illustrated*

Magazine of Literature and Life, Vol. XXVI, September, 1907–February, 1908 (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1908), 533. Songs of this nature were abundant, and they were hardly limited to East Coast schools. “Hail to California,” one of the University of California’s signature songs, hailed their institution with a fervor of school pride equal to that of their New England brethren. “Hail to California, queen in whom we’re blest./Spreading light and goodness over all the West./Fighting ‘neath her standard—/We will sure prevail—/California, Alma Mater, Hail! Hail! Hail!” See “Hail to California,” in Official Souvenir Program Thirty-First Annual Stanford California Football Game, (Berkeley: A.S.U.C. Publicity Bureau, 1924), November 22, 1924 in JSRC-ND.

⁵⁵ Dennis Kennedy, “Sports and Shows: Spectators in Contemporary Culture,” *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 277 – 284.

⁵⁶ Charles Eliot, “The 1858 Races, Origin of Harvard’s Colors, 1900,” Folder 93.1, Box 218, Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, HUA-HU.

⁵⁷ “The Block ‘M,’” *Compliments of the Michigan Daily*, in Alfred Wilson Scrapbook, BHL-UM.

⁵⁸ Fielding Yost, “The Football Team and You,” in University of Michigan Athletic Program, Minnesota-Michigan, Official Publication of the University of Michigan Controlled by the Board in Control of Student Publications, November 22, 1919, page 9 in Alfred Wilson Scrapbook, BHL-UM.

⁵⁹ Maude Sink, “College Spirit,” circa 1910, Scrapbook, BHL-UM.

⁶⁰ “The Stadium Was A Wonderful Sight,” *Boston Sunday Herald*, November 26, 1905

⁶¹ Paul J. Dashiell, *Boston Sunday Globe*, November 26, 1905.

⁶² See “Hurley Badly Injured,” *The New York Times*, November 24, 1905; “Hurley Followed Game,” *Boston Sunday Herald*, November 26, 1905.

⁶³ “The Stadium Was A Wonderful Sight,” *Boston Sunday Herald*, November 26, 1905; Melville E. Webb Jr., *Boston Sunday Globe*, November 26, 1905.

⁶⁴ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 6 – 12.

⁶⁵ Walter Camp wrote effusively and didactically on the need to treat one’s opponent with gentlemanly propriety. “It is not a courtesy upon a ballfield to cheer an error of the opponents,” Camp stated. Moreover, he wrote, “if there are remarkable plays made by your rivals you yourselves should cheer.” See Camp, *Book of College Sports*, 5-6.

⁶⁶ David Morey letter to William Bingham, October 8, 1934, Folder: Bates (1931-38 FOOTBALL), Box 7: Correspondence and other Records of Harvard Athletic Teams, Harvard Athletic Association Papers, HUA-HU. Intercollegiate sport established a model of amateur athleticism and sportsmanship. As such, those at the secondary school rank keenly observed undergraduate decorum at competition. After a baseball game between Harvard and Yale, Francis Call Woodman, headmaster of the Morrissett School, wrote to Dean LeBaron Russell Briggs at Harvard to express his disgust at “tricks” and “machine methods” of the Harvard undergraduate fans who participated in “the rattling business” to upset the opponent. Woodman claimed that the displays of unsportsmanlike conduct from the crowd turned the ball game into a “circus.” Silence except at moments of deserved cheer, Woodman averred, should have been the appropriate deportment. Echoing the same demands that many wish to see on the gridiron, the headmaster concluded: “cannot we afford to throw away a few chances of victory in the cause of a gentlemanly sport?” Francis Call Woodman letter to Dean Briggs, Folder 83, Box 3, President Lowell’s Papers, HUA-HU.

⁶⁷ This contention considers Stuart Hall’s statement regarding predicaments based on fluctuating social conditions. Hall avows, “Crises occur when the social formation can no longer be reproduced on the basis of the pre-existing system of social relations.” Stuart Hall quoted in Alys Eve Weinbaum, *Wayward Reproductions: Genealogies of Race and Nation in Transatlantic Modern Thought* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 13.

⁶⁸ Peter Dobkin Hall, “Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie: Higher Education and Governing-Class Formation in the United States, 1870-1914” in *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Julia Rosenbaum and Sven Beckert (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 178. Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, Chapter Four. Even at the same schools, wealth discrepancies between students separate and define undergraduates into different class divisions that distinguish economic difference in social terms. For example, at Harvard, Eliot described how the student body was composed of young men from all social strata. There were numerous extracurriculars and clubs that these collegians could join. Some of the clubs, he admitted however, “[were] so expensive that none but rich men’s sons [could] belong to them.” See Charles Eliot, “What reasons can be, given to an intelligent ambitious young American for choosing Harvard University as his University, 1913,” August 7, 1913, Folder 422, Box 225, Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, HUA-HU.

⁶⁹ Charles Eliot, "The Conflict Between Individualism and Capitalism in a Democracy," 1909, Folder 324, Box 223, Records of the President of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, HUA-HU.

⁷⁰ Southern schools certainly fielded intercollegiate football teams by the turn of the century. Despite their prowess today, the South was widely considered an inferior football region until the mid-1920s. Widespread poverty, small school enrollments, and substandard coaching—all relative to Northeast and Midwest teams—stymied their development for decades. Many Southerners and football historians mark the 1926 season as a turning point in the narrative of Southern college football. In that year, the University of Alabama upset the University of Washington in the Rose Bowl, which marked the first ever victory for a Southern squad of that magnitude. See Wes Borucki, "'You're Dixie's Football Pride': American College Football and the Resurgence of Southern Identity," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10, Iss. 4 (2003), 477-94; Andrew Doyle, "Turning The Tide: College Football and Southern Progressivism," *Southern Cultures* 3, No. 3 (1997), 28-51; Andrew Doyle, 'Causes Won, Not Lost': College Football and the Modernization of the American South," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, No. 2 (Aug, 1994), 231-251.

⁷¹ For studies of black players in college football, see: Patrick B. Miller, "Slouching Toward a New Expediency: College Football and the Color Line During the Depression Decade," *American Studies*, 40:3 (Fall 1999): 5-30; Monroe H. Little, "The Extra-Curricular Activities of Black College Students, 1868-1940," *The Journal of African American History* 87 (Winter 2002), 43-55; Charles H. Martin, "The Color Line in Midwestern College Sports, 1890-1960," *Indiana Magazine of History* XCVIII (June 2002), 85-112. Ocania Chalk, *Black College Sport* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1976); Arthur Ashe, *A Hard Road to Glory: A History of the African-American Athlete* (New York: Warner Books, 1988).

⁷² In 1951, University of Chicago faculty David Riesman and Reuel Denney conducted a sociological approach to the study of college football. They determined: "In 1889, all but one of the names (Heffelfinger) suggested Anglo-Saxon origins. The first name after that of Heffelfinger to suggest non-Anglo-Saxon recruitment was that of Murphy, at Yale, in 1895. After 1895, it was a rare All-American team that did not include at least one Irishman (Daly, Hogan, Rafferty, Shevlin); and the years before the turn of the century saw entrance of the Jew. On the 1904 team appeared Pierkarski of Pennsylvania. By 1927, names like Casey, Kipke, Oosterbaan, Koppisch, Garbisch, and Friedman were appearing on the All-American list with as much frequency as names like Channing, Adams, and Ames in the 1890's." While not necessarily Anglo-Saxon, all of the players named were white athletes. See David Riesman and Reuel Denney, "Football in America: A Study of Culture Diffusion," in *American Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter, 1951), 310.

⁷³ Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 150-51. Even if they were prevented from taking the field against white counterparts, black student-athletes were well aware of the symbolism of participating in intercollegiate competition even if it was only against other historically black colleges and universities. In 1893, only one year after the first official HBCU football game, Fisk University undergraduate, Charles W. Snyder explained that black collegians' enthusiasm to play against other schools would "raise the honor" of their respective institutions. See Patrick Miller, "To 'Bring the Race along Rapidly': Sport, Student Culture, and Educational Mission at Historically Black Colleges during the Interwar Years," *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 35 No. 2 Summer 1995, 117.

⁷⁴ For excellent documentation of football teams representing traditionally white universities protesting the possibility of interracial competition, see: Charles Martin, "The Color Line in Midwestern College Sports, 1890-1960," *The Indiana Magazine of History* (2002), 85-112.

⁷⁵ See President Lowell letter to Coleman Silbert, June 3, 1922, and President Lowell letter to Jacob Zaritsky, June 13, 1922, President Abbott Lawrence Lowell Papers, Folder 1056 (Jews), Box 173 (Series 1919-1922), HUA-HU. See also Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), Ch. 4. The papers of President Abbott Lawrence Lowell contain boxes of letters and correspondence between him, administrators, and alumni regarding the presence of Jewish students at Harvard University.

⁷⁶ "We Have With Us Today," newspaper article in Ben Friedman Scrapbooks, Volume I and II, microfilm, BHL-UM. In this same article, he admitted that he had nicknames that included Benny, Big Ben as well as "Nigger" and "Indian."

⁷⁷ For a useful analysis of Native American football, see: David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), Ch. 6; David Wallace Adams, "More Than A Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917," in *The Western Historical Quarterly* 32, No. 1 (Spring, 2001), 25-53; Matthew Bentley, "Playing White Men: American Football and Manhood at the Carlisle Indian School, 1893-1904," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (Spring, 2010), 187-209; John Bloom, "Show What the Indian Can Do: Sports, Memory

and Ethnic Identity at Federal Indian Boarding Schools,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 35 (Spring 1996): 33-48; Philip Deloria, “‘I Am of the Body’: Thoughts on My Grandfather, Culture, and Sports,” in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004); Sally Jenkins, *The Real All Americans: The Team that Changed a Game, a People, a Nation* (New York, Doubleday, 2007); John S. Steckbeck, *The Fabulous Redmen: The Carlisle Indians and Their Famous Football Teams* (Harrisburg, PA: J. Horace McFarland Co, 1951). For Pratt’s perspective, see Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), esp. Ch. 28. For a more expansive study of the ramifications of Native iconography within college sports in the U.S., see, Jennifer Giuliano, *An American Spectacle: College Mascots and the Performance of Tradition* (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 2009).

⁷⁸ *New York World* reprinted in *Red Man*, November 1896, Quoted in Adams, “More Than A Game,” 31.

⁷⁹ Charles Hann Jr. letter to “Percy,” Folder: FBC905-1-5 (1914 Harvard Football Scouting), Box 1, Reggie Brown Collection, JSRC-ND.

⁸⁰ Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 183.

⁸¹ Richard Henry Pratt letter to Dr. Carlos Montezuma, November 5, 1896, Box 10-31. In an earlier exchange of similar sentiment. Montezuma had written to Pratt with similar optimism for football’s assimilative effect. “If football shall open the gate into civilization,” wrote Montezuma, “I am in favor of football.” Montezuma added that athletic success would have a cumulative effect: “If the people will let us all loose in the East we shall compete with them not only in football, but in everything. This is the only true solution of the Indian problem” [emphasis original]. See Dr. Carlos Montezuma letter to Richard Henry Pratt, October 26, 1896, Folder 213, Box 6. All letters in the Papers of Richard Henry Pratt, BRBM-YU.

⁸² In Pratt’s records, hundreds of letters to friends, family, Bureau of Indian Affairs representatives, other government officials, in addition to educators at both Native and predominantly white schools detail Pratt’s stance with regard to Native education. In short, Pratt sought to eliminate the “Indian problem” by symbolically eliminating Indians. Because notions of Indianness and Americanness appeared, throughout his missives, as diametrically opposed, to make an Indian an American did not expand his/her identity; the effort was to end one and begin another. To achieve this result, Pratt employed Western, Anglo-Saxon-based educational philosophies as the heart through which to achieve his objective. To propagate this form of knowledge also required an un-education and a mis-education. There are numerous instances in his communications where Pratt demanded that the education his Native students received cancel—or attempt to cancel—the knowledge gained on the reservation. Despite this intellectual and cultural diminishment, Pratt saw himself and his cause as one of saving and benevolence. He claimed, “The Indian, in his native state, is the enemy of civilization.” Even implementation of Western education on Native land was insufficient. Without removing an Indian from his “tribe,” European-American schooling would make the Native student “an alien and a bother, far more of a bother as an educated man than he was as an ignorant Indian.” Thus, the Native enemy was also an enemy unto himself since Pratt saw reservation life and Native communities as stagnant and unable to modernize relative to that of white society. To Pratt, it was imperative that schools, the most powerful instruments for affecting change, “break up tribal slavery and bring about the freedom and American citizenship of the individual Indian.” Among Anglo-Saxon educators, Pratt was not alone in his view. Charles Eliot was a proponent of this philosophy as well. In a 1905 speech, he declared: “The next best means of lifting a race out of barbarism into civilization is universal education.” See Richard Henry Pratt, “Civilizing the Indian, before Protestant Ministers, 1891,” Folder 649, Box 19; Richard Henry Pratt letter to Mr. Frank J. George, County Superintendent of Public Instruction in Tell City, IN, September 18, 1894, Box 10-26; Richard Henry Pratt, “Civilizing the Indian, before Protestant Ministers, 1891,” Folder 649, Box 19 in BRBM-YU. Charles Eliot, “What Uplifts a Race and What Holds it Down,” Folder 180, Box 220, Records of the President of Harvard University, HUA-HU.

⁸³ Quoted in Charley Paddock, “Chief Bright Path,” *Collier’s* (12 October 1929), 81 in Adams, “More Than A Game,” 43. Carlisle’s coach recognized this pride in his players as well. “Nothing delighted them more than to outsmart the pale faces,” asserted Glenn Scobey “Pop” Warner. See Sally Jenkins, “The Team that Invented Football,” *Sports Illustrated*, April 19, 2007, 62.

⁸⁴ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank, “Shame in the Cybernetic Fold: Reading Silvan Tomkins,” *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Winter, 1995), 500.

⁸⁵ Most of the Native boarding schools in the U.S. lacked the quality and size of sports facilities relative to nearly all of their opponents. The one exception might be Haskell Institute in Lawrence, KS. Nevertheless, prior to the 1925 construction of their stadium, students and faculty affectionately called their playing “‘Gumbo Gridiron’,” because the surface lacked grass and was extremely unforgiving. The decrepit wooden bleachers hardly serviced more than a few hundred spectators, too. Nonetheless, after significant fundraising, donations from members of

numerous tribes, particularly the Quapaw of Oklahoma, Haskell unveiled their new stadium when they hosted Bucknell University on October 30, 1926. See Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 162-170.

⁸⁶ "Penn Defeated the Indians by Six Points to Nothing," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, October 28, 1905.

⁸⁷ "Penn Won from Harvard in Big Football Match," *Philadelphia Record*, November 12, 1905.

⁸⁸ Deloria, "'I Am of the Body,'" 130. See also Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁸⁹ Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 160.

⁹⁰ John Frost, Letter to the Editor, *The Red Man: Formerly the Indian Craftsman*, Vol. 2, No. 8, (April 1910), The Carlisle Indian Press, U.S. School, Carlisle, PA, pg. 51 in Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/red-man-vol-2-no-8>, (Retrieved June 5, 2014). Numerous letters and articles in the *Red Man* sing triumphant tales of assimilation. Often, they attribute these strides to formal education and even to sport. At the annual meeting of the Athletic Association and student body of the Indian School, Dr. Eugene A. Noble, L.L.D., newly elected president of Dickinson College, in his praise of Carlisle's 1911 football team pronounced, "The young men in the colleges to-day are cleaner-minded, more law-abiding, and more respectful, and this improvement in academic life is chiefly due to the growing interest in school athletics." See "Athletic Celebration and Presentation of C's," in *The Red Man: Formerly the Indian Craftsman*, Vol. 4, No. 6, (February 1912), The Carlisle Indian Press, U.S. School, Carlisle, PA, pg. 256 in Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, <http://deila.dickinson.edu/utills/getfile/collection/carlisle/id/10/filename/11.pdf>, (Retrieved June 5, 2014).

⁹¹ American Studies scholar, Philip Deloria asserts: "Indianness lay at the heart of American uniqueness" (36). It is a contention that crystallizes when Indian Industrial school football teams played historically white colleges and universities in the first three decades of the twentieth century. In *Playing Indian*, Deloria instructively interrogates whites' simultaneous desire and repulsion of Native Americans, a similar dynamic to the former's relation with black Americans as historian Eric Lott describes in *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford Press, 1993). See Deloria, *Playing Indian*.

⁹² Norman Rockwell, "Football Hero," *The Saturday Evening Post*, November 19, 1938. <http://www.artexpertswebsite.com/pages/artists/rockwell.php>, Retrieved April 20, 2014.

⁹³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley, (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 43. See also George Chauncey, "The Forging of Queer Identities and the Emergence of Heterosexuality in Middle-Class Culture," in *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 57-79.

⁹⁴ While the comparison is not perfect, historian Nicholas Syrett's research on inter-gender relations involving undergraduates in the Greek system is a worthwhile consideration for gaining potential insight into male/female interactions within the college football space. His study of nineteenth and twentieth century fraternity men's intimate relations with women determined that they were constituted on inequity. Fraternity brothers' interactions were largely with women who were not enrolled at their university even if they were college students themselves, and they were often of lower economic status. Henry Seidel Canby's memoirs corroborate these experiences. Canby wrote extensively on his experience in college where he explained that women who provided undergraduate men with sexual favors were perceived as "vulgar" or worse, "commonplace." They were not of the men's status. Their selection, as such, was intentional. On the other hand, women of the educated elite's class were sought for friendship or marriage and motherhood but not for romance, as this would corrupt their ostensibly chaste reputations. See Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 174-81. Henry Seidel Canby, *The Age of Confidence: Life in the Nineties* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), 91.

⁹⁵ "To Men Only!" Johnson & Peterson Photographers in Official Program Bowdoin Versus Wesleyan, (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Athletic Programs Committee, 1926) November 13, 1926 in JSRC-ND.

⁹⁶ 'Yale Outplays Tigers in 3-3 Tie,' *New York Times*, November 16, 1913, p. S1. "The War in the Yale Bowl," *New York Times*, November 21, 1914, p. 12.

⁹⁷ Tudor Jenks, "She Sees the Game." *Harper's Weekly*, December 3, 1892, c. 2-3, 1158.

⁹⁸ In my research, this image is unique. But the confluence of military and football iconography in student scrapbooks was common. Phillips' arrangement of the illustration of Union and Confederate soldiers joining hands with Lady Columbia overseeing the bond flanked by college football players is suggestive of how undergraduates—and other fans—may have envisioned those student-athletes that fought on the gridiron. See Julia Magruder Phillips scrapbook, BHL-UM.

⁹⁹ See Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 110-13.

¹⁰⁰ The imagery in this memorabilia parallels and even probes discourses of empire building during the turn of the century. The picture of Columbia signifies both the civilizing effect of the female and the purpose of war in the first place. It cannot be overlooked that the trio of characters was a gesture to the Civil War remembered in an era of expanding U.S. imperialism abroad. The picture, then, sustained the dialectic where Victorian white femininity was supportive of but in opposition to white manhood. Proper white womanhood was the home; it created and raised the family; it epitomized the highest order of civilization. Inextricably linked to white manhood, “Ladylike behavior was a mainstay of imperialist civilization,” according to theorist Cynthia Enloe. Moreover, empire-building masculinity, asserts Enloe, required “protection of the respectable lady.” See Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 48.

¹⁰¹ William A. Spill letter to Fielding Yost, November 12, 1923, Folder: 1923 November, Box 5, Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics Papers, BHL-UM.

¹⁰² This is one of several photos of Audrey Wright and friends playing football at what was labeled a “Houseparty at Eleanor Verdier’s Cottage.” Audrey Wright Scrapbook, BHL-UM.

¹⁰³ University of Michigan Athletic Program, Minnesota—Michigan, (Ann Arbor: Board in Control of Student Publications, 1919), November 22, 1919, 33, in Alfred Wright Scrapbook, BHL-UM; University of Michigan Athletic Program, Chicago—Michigan, (Ann Arbor: Board in Control of Student Publications, 1920), November 13, 1920, 13, in Alfred Wright Scrapbook, BHL-UM.

¹⁰⁴ Handbook of the Women’s Athletic Association of the University of Michigan, in Katrina Caughey Scrapbook, BHL-UM.

¹⁰⁵ See Audrey Wright, Elizabeth Burns, Katrina Caughey, and Pauline Emerson Scrapbooks, BHL-UM.

¹⁰⁶ Pastor Frank Williams letter to President A. Lawrence Lowell, December 9, 1909. Folder 88, Box 3, President Lowell Papers, HUA-HU. Burns, *Being Catholic, Being American*, 204-05.

¹⁰⁷ “Partial Text of Father O’Donnell’s Speech of Welcome to the Team,” *The Notre Dame Scholastic*, December 12, 1930, no. 11, p. 330.

CONCLUSION

The Price and Power of Play

It was a Saturday afternoon in the fall of 2010. I was at *Linebackers*, a beloved South Bend, Indiana watering hole. The beers are cheap, the floors are sticky, and the entire place is awash in Notre Dame football memorabilia. Framed jerseys of legendary players adorn the plywood walls. Faux street signs labeled, “Champions,” “Notre Dame,” and “Linebackers,” hang overhead mixing with all manner of lit and unlit *Budweiser*, *Fat Tire*, and *Jameson Whiskey* signs among other numerous emblems and logos of alcoholic products. Photos of former and current Notre Dame football players ornament much of the remaining wall space. A handful of non-football related souvenirs are scattered about the bar: a basketball signed by Notre Dame’s women’s team, a soccer jersey with the signatures of the men’s squad. By and large, however, the physical environment and sentient atmosphere of Notre Dame football engulfs customers. Judging by the smiles on faces, the fan fashion of the clientele, and the topics of conversation, it is exactly how everyone there would want it.

In addition to the bricolage of mementoes and commercialism, numerous big-screen televisions loomed high atop the walls—every one of them tuned to a college football game. The bar patrons milled about excitedly, many of them wearing the jerseys of, presumably, their favorite player. An interloper in the land of the “Fighting Irish,” I kept to myself as I craned my neck trying desperately to see and hear, above the clamor, the highlights of the University of Michigan football game—playing on the smallest TV screen. The majority of those around me

were there to watch the Irish take on the University of Pittsburgh Panthers. It was a game happening less than half a mile away in the university's stadium located at the center of campus. A few hundred yards from that stadium is the thirteen-story tall *Word of Life* mural, which keeps a watchful, sanctioning eye on the gridiron action. Composed of hundreds of granite and stone pieces, situated on the southward facing side of Hesburgh Library, the mosaic pictures Jesus Christ surrounded by other theologians, teachers, and doctors. It is also known as "Touchdown Jesus" because Christ's arms extend upward like a referee signaling a touchdown. As such, it accentuates the significance of football to Notre Dame's legacy and culture. The people surrounding me in *Linebackers* had clearly failed, for one reason or another, to find their way into the football cathedral that afternoon.

With a semi-loyal eye on Michigan, I divided my attention to another screen to watch the pomp and ceremony of the Notre Dame game begin. The Irish Guard, a small unit of tall, uniformed students dressed in traditional Scottish garb of Notre Dame's blue, gold, and green colors with military-precision led the university band onto the field. The blaring of brass and other assorted instruments and the rumble of the stadium crowd cascaded through speakers, which joined the gradually rising din of noise in the bar. The excitement was palpable. Finally, the Notre Dame players took to the gridiron, spread out across the thirty-yard line, and awaited their kicker. When #97 launched the ball into the air, the bar roared. The fifty-something, white man standing shoulder to shoulder with me swiveled his head and exclaimed, "It just gives you goose bumps doesn't it?"

I did not quite have the heart to tell my new companion (we ended up bantering about football for the next half hour) that I was not a Notre Dame fan and only half-heartedly cheered for Michigan. Still, at the start of Notre Dame's game, with the reverberations of the bar and of

the stadium crowd (audible even from inside the bar), I did get goose bumps. But what was “it?” And what was “it” for him? Was “it” the thrill of watching impressive feats of athleticism or the constantly changing one-upmanship that were coaching tactics, or vicariously experiencing all of it at once? Was “it” the history of Notre Dame of which he claimed even if he was never a student (a commonality among many Notre Dame fans)? Was “it” his being a part of the multi-celled organism that is the Notre Dame football community? In all likelihood, “it” was a combination of these elements and many more that caused his arm hairs to stand on end. That he was not on the field, or even in the stadium hardly mattered—and he was not alone. What I witnessed at *Linebackers* (and many times before and since) was college football fans performing and owning their belonging to Notre Dame football. It is a ritual that occurs in living rooms, bars, barbershops, college dorms and fraternities, locker rooms, and, of course, football stadiums enacted by fans, coaches, and players on Saturdays every fall. One can imagine that the type of exchange my new acquaintance and I shared—storytelling, comparisons of team histories and statistics, and mild chest-puffing—could have just as easily occurred at the turn of the century in a Pullman car, a field that acted as a makeshift parking lot, a carriage that rolled up Park Avenue, or in the stands of a smaller venue in a football outpost. Many of these customs have likely varied little since the late nineteenth century when kicking a field goal was worth more than reaching the endzone and thousands of partisans packed baseball parks to watch players on their favorite side, outfitted in leather helmets and scant padding, crash into their opponent in pursuit of a round, leather ball.

What has changed this experience is twenty-first century technology. It has extended the sport space, which has enabled spectators and other non-players, like my Notre Dame companion, to experience a sense of belonging to even larger college football communities—

both material and imagined. For example, all of the National Broadcasting Company's (NBC) cameras trained on the Fighting Irish vs. Panthers game ensured that *Linebackers* fans, for instance, were not only able to witness the game, but, with replay and slow-motion, they actually enjoyed a better vantage point than those in the stadium. In addition, the various forms and speed of social media allows all of those invested in college football to acquire or provide information and to converse in manners that connect vast networks of interested parties in ways that the print media and even television cannot. In doing so, these advances make the institution of college football more inclusive than, as this dissertation has demonstrated, the sport could have been or that many wanted it to be in its early years. It is not technological progress alone, however, that has altered the game's landscape. The proliferation of college football well beyond the "top" universities, the breaking down of college admissions barriers to members of non-dominant classes, and the racial integration of the sport all contributed to the expansion of college football.

As my *Linebackers* buddy would attest, college football is no longer the property of primarily the educated elite, as was the case during the Progressive era. However, with the incredible growth of college football and, more broadly, U.S. culture, a new set of power dynamics in degree and kind have emerged in conjunction with new tensions. Chiefly, money-making forces in intercollegiate sport have intensified, which encourage hegemonic ideas of gender, racial identity, and social class, particularly as they map onto perceptions of intelligence. If discursive undercurrents have shifted, they still disproportionately benefit members of today's ruling class—white, middle- and upper-class Americans.

Like its nineteenth century ancestor, college football continues to house and create contradictions. Today, this has even more to do with the economics of the institution. A 2013 *Forbes* article evidenced the sizeable investment colleges put into their football programs while

simultaneously pointing to the motivation for such investment. The article reveals that, while college football outfits such as Alabama, Ohio State, Texas A&M, and Notre Dame (to name only a few) spent between \$17 and \$36 million on football expenses during the 2011-2012 season, they enjoyed profits of between \$24 and \$45 million. Topping the chart in terms of earnings was The University of Texas “Longhorns,” with roughly \$26 million in expenses for a return of just over \$100 million.¹ These figures help explain why, in its present form, college football continues to contend with some of the sport’s original tensions: the legitimacy of its amateur status; the over-emphasis of athletics within higher education; the disproportionate focus on football athletes within intercollegiate sports; and, a profit-driven enterprise that undergirds the entire “non-profit” institution.² They also help explain recent college football scandals that continue to illuminate social inequities that the sport helps reveal, produce, and perpetuate.

In the nineteenth century, Michigan’s Charles Baird recruited illegally and Chicago’s Amos Alonzo Stagg boasted about bending the spirit of fair play within (and likely beyond) the rule of football law. In twenty-first century terms, the University of North Carolina’s Mary Willingham revealed what a contemporary loss of perspective looks like. Willingham, a reading specialist who resigned at the end of the 2013-14 school year, began working as an academic tutor for UNC-Chapel Hill student-athletes in 2003. Over the course of a decade she accumulated significant concerns regarding the athletic department and ultimately the university’s decline and eventual bankruptcy of standards when it came to academic integrity and its student-athletes. High-level administrators’ apathy to adjust policy or practice was one of the final elements that motivated her to blow the whistle. In 2012, Mary Willingham made public UNC’s scandalous state of affairs.

At the heart of her distress were the repercussions exacted on the backs of students when UNC prized the success of high-revenue athletics over academic achievement. What did this look like? At its worst, it meant trying to teach students who had never read a book, did not know what a paragraph was, and began their college education by practicing letters and sounds.³ University-administered diagnostic tests indicated that numerous basketball and football players arrived at UNC incapable of doing college-level work. Willingham's own research determined that of the 183 football and male basketball players she surveyed from 2004 – 2012, sixty percent read at fourth- to eighth-grade levels—roughly ten percent read at or below a third-grade level.⁴

In 2006, UNC hired Butch Davis as head coach to reenergize the flagging football program. Willingham claims that when she told athletic department administrators including athletic director, Dick Baddour, that bolstering the football program—which Davis's hire was meant to do—would deleteriously affect the academic caliber of their student-athletes, they concurred with her. According to higher education scholar Gerald Gurney, the equation is simple: “money and winning are the two driving forces,” behind the Faustian bargain to which Willingham was witness and partial participant.⁵ The NCAA does, however, have some rules that it enforces. Ironically, one of the stipulations that it imposes most stringently is student-athletes' athletic eligibility based on their academic grade-point average. How, then, do academically ill-equipped students maintain their playing status as athletes? According to Willingham, “You stay eligible by some department, some professor, somebody who gives you a break. That's everywhere across the country.”⁶

The cracks in UNC's gross academic malfeasance began to emerge in the late 2000s when, among other improprieties, the disproportionate number of student-athletes enrolled in

“Independent Studies” classes became too numerous to overlook. Independent studies were listed as lecture courses in UNC’s academic handbook, but they were classes that never actually met. Internal and external investigations identified more than 200 questionable classes and 500 instances of unauthorized grade changes; student enrollment overwhelmingly constituted by football players and less so by male basketball players; 100% of students’ grades were Bs or higher; and, nearly all of these Potemkin classes fell under the auspices of the Department of African, African American, and Diaspora Studies chaired by Professor Julius Nyang’oro. When these charges came to light, Nyang’oro swiftly resigned but was ultimately charged and indicted for accepting \$12,000 to teach a course that never existed.⁷

The offering of fake classes, the admittance of woefully uneducated students—the admissions office characterizes them as “special admits”—and, the probability of an increasingly comprehensive cover-up coincided with UNC’s reinvigoration of their football program. In concert with the hiring of Davis, UNC invested \$70 million to remodel Kenan Memorial Stadium. This commitment involved the addition of 15,000 more seats, the inclusion of multiple levels of luxury suites, and the construction of the Loudermilk Center, a multi-purpose area inside the stadium of which the largest feature houses the 29,000 square foot John W. Pope Student-Athlete Academic Support Center, a state-of-the-art academic resource center that serves UNC’s 800 student-athletes.⁸

This is college football today. Racially, geographically, and socioeconomically integrated rosters purge images of an exclusively elite sport. During the 2011-12 school year, black men composed nearly 70% of UNC’s basketball and football rosters but only 3.5% of the total student body. Disparities of this magnitude at other universities in the six major Division I conferences are not only common they are the norm.⁹ More egalitarian access to the playing field, however,

does not make college football or higher education a more democratic institution. Debates regarding football players and intellect hardly dissipate when UNC's student-athlete academic center is located in the bowels of the football stadium. Whether they need the most remedial assistance or should be afforded the greatest convenience based on the Pope Center's proximity to the football space, either possibility fails to adequately respond to the critiques that Harvard President Charles Eliot leveled one hundred years ago when he feared the corrupting power of football on the moral and academic mission of higher education. Further, based on the numbers, it is hard to discount the marriage in intercollegiate athletics that weds blackness with physicality and inferior intelligence when such a top-heavy percentage of young black men walk around campuses as recognizable athletes.

These demographics are contemporary complexities. But they map onto old issues that animate and exacerbate preconceived ideologies of worthiness and belonging. Today, the NCAA sees to it that the tramp athlete of yesteryear can no longer gallivant from one school to another offering his athletic services while masquerading as a student.¹⁰ In his place, however, are many academically unqualified "studs" (in the very breeding sense of the term). These young men are admired for their athleticism though their performances on the field often far outpace their accomplishments in the classrooms. Further, like Chapter Two's foul-playing Wesleyan athlete, when scandals arise, scapegoats take the fall while few question the systemic ills of the institution. In the case of UNC, it is hard to overlook the racialized nature of those who have been caught in the crosshairs of the finger-pointing. The African-American Studies program is targeted, used, and then rendered an illegitimate department, and the only named individuals blamed for academic dishonesty—Professor Julius Nyang'oro and football players Michael McAdoo, Bryan Bishop, and Devon Ramsey—are black. The inclusion of previously excluded

parties has not precluded the NCAA, athletic departments, college presidents, and some of the most devoted fans from continually moving the goalposts.

The commentary that swirls around the UNC case raises intriguing questions about gender equity, academic preparation, representation and exploitation, and even paying student-athletes to play.¹¹ Amidst the hand-wringing, however, one concern repeatedly surfaced: “how did it get like this?” Such questions drove the initial investigation for this study and, over time, evolved into: “when was it *not* like this?” The tensions and contradictions highlighted by the UNC case seethe just below the surface of college football. Those who played, coached, watched, built, and celebrated the game at the turn of the century planted some of the seeds that created fissures in the sport that have expanded or shifted over time. From its inception, the sport fostered technological advance (in uniforms, fields, equipment, etc.) and retained elements of primal struggle (most notably physical assault). Early advocates required football players be civilized gentlemen according to Victorian ideals but capable of a degree of savagery. But, as winning became more profitable, the value and utility of gentlemen shifted. In 1902, for example, University of Michigan coach Fielding Yost lamented that the best recruits were “so everlasting poor.”¹² His pithy complaint articulates the ever-present challenge that confronted the educated elite: how to reconcile the alleged gentility of higher education with the toughness of the working class athlete deemed requisite for victory if achieved with virtue and integrity. And, as the number of spectators grew—drawing more and more consumers into one space or shared interest—college football administrators milked the sport’s commercial possibilities, but demanded (and continue to demand) the amateur status of the competitors.

Football spaces used to be sites of exclusion. The twentieth century phenomenon of football stadiums, encouraged by earned profits of letting people “in” prompted the

intercollegiate equivalent of an arms race. Schools competed to build bigger and better stadiums that required larger crowds, yet the average layman was more often than not still on the outside looking in. The narrative of college football in the Progressive era is a story of contradictions with the ever-shifting landscape of class, race, and masculinity at its center. “It,” as my Notre Dame companion referred, includes individual, breathtaking athleticism but also systemic corruption. “It” was inspired by the educated elite’s use of the sport as soft power (power that does not necessarily look like power) to maintain its dominant societal position. At the same time, it became such a cultural phenomenon that it was neither possible nor profitable for them to maintain sole proprietorship over it.

¹ Alicia Jessop, “The Economics of College Football: A Look at the Top-25 Teams’ Revenues and expenses,” *Forbes.com*, August 31, 2013, Web, Retrieved June 26, 2014.

² Eamonn Brennan, “Cash Rules Everything around Mark Emmert,” *espn.go.com*, July 11, 2013, Web, Retrieved June 15, 2014; Steve Berkowitz, “Senators want answers from NCAA president Mark Emmert,” *usatoday.com*, May 13, 2014, Web, Retrieved June 15, 2014.

³ Sara Ganim, “CNN analysis: Some college athletes play like adults, read like 5th-graders,” *cnn.com*, January 8, 2014, Web, Retrieved June 12, 2014. Dan Kane, “UNC tolerated cheating, says insider Mary Willingham,” November 17, 2012, *newsobserver.com*, Web, Retrieved June 20, 2014; *Schooled: The Price of College Sports*, Dir. Ross Finkel, Trevor Martin, and Jonathan Paley, 2013.

⁴ Mary C. Willingham, “Academics & Athletics – A Clash of Cultures: Division I Football Programs,” (Masters Thesis, University of North Carolina-Greensboro, 2009). Associated Press, “UNC Reading Specialist to Resign,” April 22, 2014, *espn.go.com* retrieved June 10, 2014.

⁵ *Schooled: The Price of College Sports*.

⁶ Kane, “UNC tolerated cheating,” *newsobserver.com*.

⁷ Dan Kane, “UNC tolerated cheating, says insider Mary Willingham,” December 14, 2012, *The Drake Group*, thedrakegroup.org/2012/12/14/359/ retrieved June 10, 2014; Sara Ganim, “UNC fake class scandal and NCAA’s response wind their way to Washington,” *cnn.com*, April 8, 2014, Web, Retrieved June 12, 2014; Sarah Lyall, “Reporter Digging Into Scandal Hits a University’s Raw nerve,” *nytimes.com*, April 26, 2014, Web, Retrieved June 12, 2014; Paul M. Barrett, “NCAA in Turmoil: Why UNC Can’t Get Past Its Fake Classes Scandal,” *businessweek.com*, March 27, 2014, Web, Retrieved June 12, 2014.

⁸ *Schooled: The Price of College Sports*. “Academic Support Program for Student-Athletes,” Official Site of Carolina Athletics, *goheels.com*, Web, Retrieved June 20, 2014.

⁹ The conferences to which I refer are the Atlantic Coast Conference, Big East Conference, Big Ten Conference, Big 12 Conference, Pac 12 Conference, and the Southeastern Conference. Incidentally, the University of Michigan’s percentages were 58.1 and 2.4, respectively. See Shaun R. Harper, Collin D. Williams, Jr., and Horatio W. Blackmon, *Black Male Student-Athletes and Racial Inequities in NCAA Division I College Sports* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Race and Equity in Education, 2013), 12-15.

¹⁰ Howard L. Nixon, *The Athletic Trap: How College Sports Corrupted the Academy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 4.

¹¹ Tom Farrey and Lester Munson, “NU players cast historic vote,” April 25, 2014, *espn.go.com* Web, Retrieved June 20, 2014; Kurt Streever, “Former UCLA star Ed O’Bannon leads suit against NCAA over use of images,” July 22, 2009, *latimes.com*, Web, Retrieved June 20, 2014. I include the Ed O’Bannon case because contemporary men’s basketball shares some of the same issues as college football. Moreover, the decisions in the

O'Bannon case may have significant ramifications for the future of college football. See also, Charles Pierce, "The O'Bannon Decision: Does Ed O'Bannon's lawsuit mean the NCAA might have to change?" February 6, 2013, *grantland.com*, Web, Retrieved June 20, 2014.

¹² Fielding Yost letter to Charles Baird, April 23, 1902, Folder: 1902, Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, BHL-UM.

Appendix A¹

On February 8, 1896, one representative from each of seven schools, University of Chicago, University of Illinois, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, Northwestern University and University of Wisconsin met at the Palmer House in Chicago, IL to establish the Western Conference, the precursor to what is now the Big Ten Conference. Among other things, they established recommendations, which became rule, for how best to govern intercollegiate contests. Below are the twelve rules that the committee originally put forth for adoption. They remain the foundation for college football and United States amateur intercollegiate athletics more broadly.

1. No one shall participate in any intercollegiate game or athletic sport unless he be a bona fide student doing full work in a regular or special course as defined in the curriculum of his college; and no person who has participated in any match game as a member of any college team shall be permitted to participate in any game as a member of another college team until he has been a matriculant in such a college, under the above conditions, for a period of six months. This restriction in regard to time shall also apply to students who, having graduated in one college, shall enter another for professional or graduate study.
2. No person shall be admitted to any intercollegiate contest who receives any gift, remuneration, or pay for his services on the college team.
3. Any student of any institution who shall be pursuing a regularly prescribed, resident, graduate course within such institution, whether for an advance degree or in any one of its professional schools may be permitted to play for the minimum number of scholastic years required before securing the graduate or professional degree for which he is a candidate.
4. No student shall participate in any intercollegiate contest who has ever used or is using his knowledge of athletics or his athletic skill for gain. This rule shall be operative after October 1, 1896. Addendum: "But shall not apply to any one now in college for what he has done in the past.
5. No student shall play in any game under an assumed name.
6. No student shall be permitted to participate in any intercollegiate contest who is found by the faculty to be delinquent in his studies.
7. All intercollegiate games shall be played on grounds either owned or under immediate control of one or both of the colleges participating in the contest, and all intercollegiate games shall be played under student management and not under the control of any corporation or association or private individual; except in the case of the intercollegiate meets of track teams."

8. The election of captains and managers of teams in such college shall be subject to the approval of its committee on athletics.
9. College foot ball teams shall not engage in games with professional teams nor with those representing so-called athletic clubs.
10. Before every intercollegiate contest a list of the men proposing to play shall be presented by each team or teams to the other or others clarifying that all members are entitled to play under the conditions of the rules adopted, such certificate to be signed by the officer or officers designated by athletic committee or board of control of each university. It shall be the duty of the captain to enforce this rule.
11. Athletic Committees shall require each candidate for a team to represent the university in intercollegiate contests to subscribe to a statement that he is eligible under the letter and spirit of the rules adopted.
12. No student shall participate in any intercollegiate contest after any year who has not been in residence at least six months of the preceding year of the course.

¹ "Athletic Rules to govern intercollegiate contests recommended," Folder: January 1896 – March 1896, Box 1, Charles Baird Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscript and Archive Collection

Academy Archives and Special Collections, The Class of 1945 Library, Phillips Exeter Academy

The Exonian

Amherst College Archives, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College

Athletics Records

Game Programs

Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University

Richard Henry Pratt Papers

Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan

Board in Control of Intercollegiate Athletics Papers

Board of Regents Papers

Charles Baird Papers

Fielding Yost Papers

University of Michigan Department of Intercollegiate Athletics

Scrapbooks

Alfred Wilson

Audrey Wright

Benny Friedman

Charles Baird

Clayton O. Johnson

Duncan Pierce

Earl Henry Rathbun

Elizabeth Burns

Harry Kipke

Irene Van Slyke

Irving Pond

Iva Irene Swift

Julia Phillips

Katrina Caughey

Margaret Huey

Marguerite Lambert

Minstrel Scrapbook

Pauline Emerson

Ralph Tinkham

Richard Millard Dott

Walter D. Graham

Walter H. Pritz

William Otis DePuy

Rare Books & Manuscripts, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

Daniel B. Hutchins Journal

Harvard University Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University

Administrative Records of the Harvard Athletic Association

Department of Athletics

Harvard Bulletin

Harvard Football Memorabilia of Philip F. Coburn

Letters from Harvard undergraduate Martin Buel Tinker to his parents

Letters to his family from Albert Veenfliet and Harvard memorabilia

Papers of Charles William Eliot

Papers of Abbott Lawrence Lowell

Papers of William T. Reid, Jr.

Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University

Henry Lee Higginson Papers

Theodore Roosevelt Papers

Harvard University Archives, Widener Library, Harvard University

The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt

Rare Books & Special Collections, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame

The Joyce Sports Research Collection: Football

Fielding Yost lectures

Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College

Collection of Matthew W. Bullock

*The Daily Dartmouth**The Dartmouth Alumni Magazine**The Dartmouth Bi-Monthly**The Dartmouth Jack-O'Lantern*

Department of Athletics Papers

The Papers of James Frank Drake

The Papers of President Ernest M. Hopkins

Special Collections, Oliver Wendell Holmes Library, Phillips Andover Academy

Alfred E. Sterns Papers

Andover/Exeter Athletic Problems

Andover/Exeter Football Memorabilia

Cecil F. P. Bancroft Papers

The Phillipian

Vertical Files

Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

Alexander Stevenson Twombly Papers

Arthur Twining Hadley, President of Yale University, Records

Department of Athletics Records

Francis Gordon Brown Papers

Harry T. Hamilton, Class of 1904, Yale College, Memorabilia

Henry Twombly Papers

James Roland Angell Personal Papers

Men of Yale Series Records

Roswell Parish Papers
 Samuel Clarke Bushnell Papers
 Walter Chauncey Camp Papers

University of Notre Dame Archives, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame
 President James Burns Collection
 Arthur J. Hope Collection
 Edward “Ted” Coy Collection
 John R. DeWitt Collection
 Notre Dame Presidents’ Letters
The Notre Dame Scholastic
 Reggie Brown Collection
The Dome

Newspapers, Magazines, and other Periodicals

<i>Advertising Age</i>	<i>Harvard Graduate Magazine</i>
<i>Boston Globe</i>	<i>The Michigan Daily</i>
<i>Boston Herald</i>	<i>New Haven Evening Register</i>
<i>Boston Record</i>	<i>Newton Villager</i>
<i>Boston Sunday Post</i>	<i>New York Press</i>
<i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i>	<i>New York Times</i>
<i>Collier’s Weekly</i>	<i>Outing</i>
<i>Dartmouth Alumni Magazine</i>	<i>Philadelphia Evening Bulletin</i>
<i>The Daily Princetonian</i>	<i>Philadelphia Evening Telegraph</i>
<i>Harper’s Weekly</i>	<i>Philadelphia Record</i>

SECONDARY SOURCES

Unpublished Theses and Dissertations

- Anderson, Ryan K. “‘What Would Frank Merriwell Do?’: Middle-Class Readers and the Progressive Era Roots of All-American Boyhood.” Ph.D. diss., Purdue University, 2006.
- Bond, Gregory. “Jim Crow at Play: Race, Manliness, and the Color Line in American Sports, 1876-1916.” Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008.
- Clark-Pujara, Christy. “Slavery, emancipation and black freedom in Rhode Island, 1652–1842.” Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2009.
- Giuliano, Jennifer. *An American Spectacle: College Mascots and the Performance of Tradition*. Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 2009.
- Regan, David Royal. “The Golden Football: The Forces Underlying the Formation of the National Collegiate Athletic Association.” Undergraduate Honors Thesis, Harvard University, 1999.

Willingham, Mary C. "Academics & Athletics – A Clash of Cultures: Division I Football Programs." Masters Thesis, University of North Carolina-Greensboro, 2009.

Books

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1995.

Althusser, Louis. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. London: New Left Books, 1971.

Anderson, James. *Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Arnold, Matthew. *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay In Political and Social Criticism*. Ed. Samuel Lipman. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994 [1869].

Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Bacon, John U. *Fourth and Long: The Fight for the Soul of College Football*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013.

Bagg, Lyman Hotchkiss. *Four Years at Yale, By A Graduate of '69*. New Haven: C.C. Chatfield & Co., 1871.

Baldwin, Davarian. *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, The Great Migration, and Black Urban Life*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Bartlett, Edwin J. *A Dartmouth Book of Remembrance: Pen and Camera Sketches of Hanover and the College Before the Centennial and After*. Hanover, N. H.: The Webster Press, 1922.

Bartlett, John Henry and John Pearl Gifford. *Dartmouth Athletics: A History of All Kinds of Sports at the College*. Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, 1893.

Beard, George Miller. *American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences: A Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Behee, John. *Hail to the Victors!* Ann Arbor, MI: distributed by Ulrich's Books, 1974.

Bellamy, Edward. *Looking Backward: 2000-1887*. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1996 [1888].

Benedict, Jeff and Armen Keteyian. *The System: The Glory and Scandal of Big-Time College Football*. New York: Doubleday, 2013.

- Benson, Susan Porter, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers and Customers in American Department Stores*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Bernstein, Mark F. *Football: The Ivy League Origins of an American Obsession*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Bordo, Susan. *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in Public and Private*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Bradlee, Francis Boardman. *The Eastern Railroad: A Historical Account of Early Railroading in Eastern New England* 2nd Ed. Salem, MA: Newcomb & Gauss, Printers, 1922.
- Brandt, Allan M. *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of a Product that Defined America*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.
- Brooker, Peter and Andrew Thacker. *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume II: North America 1894-1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Buford, Kate. *Native American Son: The Life and Sporting Legend of Jim Thorpe*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2012.
- Burgos Jr., Adrian. *Playing America's Game: Baseball, Latinos, and the Color Line*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Burns, Robert. *Being Catholic, Being American: The Notre Dame Story, 1842-1934*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Cahn, Susan. *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century American Sport*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- Camp, Walter. *American Football*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1894.
- . *Book of College Sports*. New York: The Century Co., 1901.
- . *The Book of Foot-Ball*. New York: The Century Co., 1910.

- Canaday, Margot. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Canby, Henry Seidel. *The Age of Confidence: Life in the Nineties*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart Inc., 1934.
- . *Alma Mater: The Gothic Age of the American College*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart Inc., 1936.
- Capello, Daniel. *The Ivy League*. New York: Assouline, 2012.
- Chalk, Ocania. *Black College Sport*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1976.
- Chauncey, George. *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Chestnutt, Charles. *The Marrow of Tradition*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1901.
- Churchill, Ward. *Kill The Indian, Save the Man: the Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools*. San Francisco: City Lights, 2005.
- Clark, Daniel A. *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-class Manhood, 1890-1915*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010.
- Clotfelter, Charles. *Big-Time Sports in American Universities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Cohane, Tim. *The Yale Football Story*. New York: Putnam, 1951.
- Cohen, Lizabeth. *Making A New Deal: Industrial Workers, 1919 – 1939*, 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Connell, R.W. *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Cookson Jr., Peter W. and Caroline Hodges Persell. *Preparing for Power: America's Elite Boarding Schools*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.
- Cox, J. Randolph. *The Dime Novel Companion: A Source Book*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2000.
- Cross, Gary. *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture*. New York: 1993.
- Davis, Parke M. *Football: The American Intercollegiate Game*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1911.
- Davis, Lennard J. *The Disability Studies Reader*, 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge, 1997.

- . *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body*. London: Verso, 1995.
- Debord, Guy. *Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Black & Red, 2000.
- de Lauretis, Teresa. *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Deloria, Philip. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.
- . *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- D'Emilio, John. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: 2nd Ed.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Denning, Michael. *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working Class Culture in America, 2nd Ed.* New York: Verso, 1998.
- Donoghue, Emma. *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture, 1668-1801*. New York: HarperCollins, 1993.
- Douglass, Frederick. *My Bondage and My Freedom*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1987 [1857].
- Du Bois, W.E.B., *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1999.
- Dunning, Eric and Kenneth Sheard. *Barbarians, Gentlemen, and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Enloe, Cynthia. *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.
- Estes, Steve. *I Am A Man! Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
- Ewen, Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen. *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness, 2nd ed.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.
- Fabian, Ann. *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science and America's Unburied Dead*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Finoli, David and Tom Aikens. *The Birthplace of Professional Football: Southwestern Pennsylvania*, Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2004.
- Flexner, Abraham. *Universities: American, English, German*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994 [1930].

- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- . *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1980.
- Frank, Dana. *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.
- Frankfort, Roberta. *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America*. New York: New York University Press, 1991.
- Freed, Clyde. *The Story of Railroad Passenger Fares*. Washington, 1942.
- George, Henry. *Social Problems*. New York: R. Schalkenbach Foundation, 1953.
- Goffman, Erving. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963.
- Gordon, Lynn D. *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Gorn, Elliot. *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Gossett, Thomas. *Race: The History of an Idea in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Grant, W. Vance. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Ed. Thomas Snyder, National Center for Education Statistics (January 1993).
- Greenberg, Amy. *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Guglielmo, Thomas. *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Habermas, Jurgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Boston: The MIT Press, 1992.
- Halberstam, J. Jack. *Female Masculinity*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Hale, Grace Elizabeth. *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940*. New York: Vintage, 1998.

- Halperin, David. *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004.
- Hartwell, Edward Mussey. "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities," in *Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education*, No. 5. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886.
- Hass, Kristin. *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Heap, Chad. *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform: from Bryan to F.D.R.* New York: Vintage Books, 1955.
- Hoganson, Kristin. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Holt, Richard. *Sport and the British: A Modern History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Hope, Arthur J. *Notre Dame: One Hundred Years*. South Bend, IN: Icarus Press, 1978.
- Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story Of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.
- Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.
- Hunter, Tera. *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Hyde, William DeWitt. *The College Man and the College Woman*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906.
- Ingrassia, Brian. *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012.
- Jacobsen, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of A Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- James, C.L.R. *Beyond A Boundary*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- James, Henry. *The Bostonians*. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.
- James, William. *On Some of Life's Ideals: On A Certain Blindness in Human Beings, What Makes Life Significant*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1912.

- Johnson, James Weldon. *Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson*. New York: The Viking Press, 1933.
- Karabel, Jerome. *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admissions and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton*. New York: Mariner Books, 2005.
- Kelley, Mary. *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.
- . *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Kelley, Robin D. G. *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. New York: Free Press, 1994.
- Kennedy, Dennis. *The Spectator and the Spectacle: Audiences in Modernity and Postmodernity*. New York: Cambridge Press, 2009.
- Ketchum, Richard M. *The Winter Soldiers: The Battle for Trenton and Princeton*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1999.
- Kimmel, Michael. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 2nd Ed. New York: Oxford Press, 2006.
- Kulikoff, Allan. *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Laird, Pamela. *Advertising Progress; American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998.
- Lauretis, Teresa de, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Lears, Jackson. *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2010.
- Lears, Jackson. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1992 [1974].
- Lester, Robin. *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago*. Chicago: University of Illinois, 1999.

- Levine, David. *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Levine, Lawrence. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Lewis, David Levering. *When Harlem Was In Vogue*. New York: Penguin Books, 1997.
- Lipsitz, George. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.
- . *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.
- Little, Ann. *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Litwack, Leon. *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Lott, Eric. *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Madej, Bruce. *Michigan: Champions of the West*. Urbana, IL: Sagamore Publishing, 1997.
- Mangan, J. A. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Marchand, Roland. *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- McCallum, John. *Ivy League Football Since 1872*. New York: Stein and Day, 1977.
- McClellan, Keith. *The Sunday Game: At the Dawn of Professional Football*. Akron, OH: The University of Akron Press, 1998.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

- Miller, Perry. *Errand in the Wilderness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Morgan, Jennifer. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, Vol I and II*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.
- Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Nelson, David M. *Anatomy of A Game: Football, the Rules, and the Men Who Made the Game*. Newark: University of Delaware, 1994.
- Newton, Esther. *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- Ngai, Mae. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Nixon, Howard L. *The Athletic Trap: How College Sports Corrupted the Academy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.
- Ohmann, Richard M. *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Verso Books, 1998.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States, from the 1960s to the 1990s, Second Edition*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Oriard, Michael. *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1993.
- Peiss, Kathy. *Cheap Amusements: Working-Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Pellowski, Michael J. *Rutgers Football: A Gridiron Tradition in Scarlet*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008.
- Pettegrew, John. *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890-1920*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2007.
- Powel, Harford Willing Hare. *Walter Camp: The Father of American Football*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1926.
- Pratt, Richard Henry. *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.

- Presbrey, Frank. *The History and Development of Advertising*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1929.
- Puleo, Stephen. *City So Grand: The Rise of an American Metropolis*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2011.
- Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Reiss, Steven. *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Renda, Mary. *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Rice, Thurman. *Racial Hygiene: A Practical Discussion of Eugenics and Race Culture*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1929.
- Richardson, Leon Burr. *History of Dartmouth College, Vol I and II*. Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses*. St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1970 [1901].
- Romano, David Gilman. *Athletics and Mathematics in Archaic Corinth: the Origins of the Greek Stadion*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses*. St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1970.
- Rosenzweig, Roy. *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: BasicBooks, 1993.
- Rudolph, Frederick. *The American College and University: A History*, 2nd ed. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990.
- Russert, Cynthia Eagle. *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Sack, Allen and Ellen J. Staurowsky. *College Athletes for Hire: The Evolution and Legacy of the NCAA's Amateur Myth*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998.

- Schmidt, Raymond. *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007.
- Schweik, Susan M. *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Sedgwick, Eve. *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Shah, Nayan. *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality and the Law in the North American West*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Shribman, David and Jack DeGange. *Dartmouth College Football: Green Fields of Autumn*. Portsmouth, NH: Arcadia Publishing, 2004.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1985.
- Smith, Ronald A. *Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010.
- Smith, Ronald A. *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007 [1950].
- Sobel, Robert. *The Entrepreneurs: Explorations within the American Business Tradition*. Washington D. C.: Beard Books, 2000.
- Solomon, Barbara Miller. *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Somerville, Siobhan. *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*. Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Sperber, Murray. *Beer and Circus: How Big-Time College Sports is Crippling Undergraduate Education*. New York: Holt Paperbacks, 2001.
- Sperber, Murray. *Shake Down the Thunder: The Creation of Notre Dame Football*. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2002.
- Stagg, Amos Alonzo. *Touchdown!* New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1927.
- Steele, Michael R. *The Fighting Irish Football Encyclopedia*. Champaign, IL: Sports Publishing LLC, 2003.

- Stokes, Anson Phelps. *Memorials of Eminent Yale Men: A Biographical Study of Student Life and University Influences during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 2 vols. New Haven, 1914.
- Storey, John. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Sumner, William Graham. *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1883.
- Syrett, Nicholas. *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2009.
- Taylor, Frederick Winslow. *The Principles of Scientific Management*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911.
- Thelin, John. *A History of American Higher Education*, 2nd Ed., (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).
- Thomsen, Rosemarie Garland. *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.
- Trumpdour, Robert C. *The New Cathedrals: Politics and Media in the History of Stadium Construction*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006.
- Tucker, Richard. *Insatiable Appetites: The U.S. and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Tully, John. *The Devil's Milk: A Social History of Rubber*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Macmillan, 1899.
- Veysey, Laurence. *The Emergence of the American University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Watterson, John. *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Weinbaum, Alys Eve. *Wayward Reproductions: Genealogies of Race and Nation in Transatlantic Modern Thought*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

- Welke, Barbara. *Law and the Borders of Belonging in the Long Nineteenth Century United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- White Jr., John. *The American Railroad Passenger Car*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1978.
- White, Kevin. *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.
- White, Richard. *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011.
- Whittingham, Richard. *Rites of Autumn: The Story of College Football*. New York: The Free Press, 2001.
- Wiebe, Robert. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. New York: HarperCollins, 1967.
- Wiegman, Robyn. *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Wilder, Craig. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled Histories of America's Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013.
- Wood, John Sweet. *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730-1830*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003.
- Woodward, C. Vann. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow, Commemorative Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Zimbalist, Andrew. *Unpaid Professionals: Commercialism and Conflict in Big-Time College Sports*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Articles

- Adams, David Wallace. "More Than A Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 32, No. 1 (Spring 2001), 25-53.
- Allison, C. H. "Pushball, A Strenuous New Game." *National Magazine*. (October 1905): 47-49.
- Baynton, Douglas C. "Defectives in the Land: Disability and American Immigration Policy, 1882-1924." *Journal of American Ethnic History*. Vol. 24, No. 3 (Spring, 2005): 31-44.
- Bentley, Matthew. "Playing White Men: American Football and Manhood at the Carlisle Indian School, 1893-1904." *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3, No. 2, (Spring, 2010): 187-209.

- Berlin, Ira. "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America." *The American Historical Review* 85, No. 1 (February 1980): 44-78.
- Borucki, Wes. "'You're Dixie's Football Pride': American College Football and the Resurgence of Southern Identity," in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10, Issue 4 (2003): 477-94.
- Butler, Judith. "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," in *The Judith Butler Reader*, Ed. Sara Salih and Judith Butler. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. 119-137.
- Carnegie, Andrew. "Wealth," *North American Review* 148, Issue 391 (June 1889): 653-665.
- Chandler, Timothy. "The Structuring of Manliness and the Development of Rugby Football at the Public Schools and Oxbridge, 1830-1880," in *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*. Eds. John Nauright and Timothy J. L. Chandler. London: Frank Cass & Co., 1996. 13-31.
- Davis, Lennard J. "Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Disability Studies Reader, 2nd Ed.* ed. Lennard Davis. New York: Routledge, 1997. 3-17.
- Diaz, Vicente M. "'Fight Boys, 'til the Last...': Football and the Remasculinization of Indigeneity in Guam," in *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and the Pacific*. Eds. Paul Spickard, Joanne Rondilla and Deborah Hippolite-Wright. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. 167-194.
- Doyle, Andrew. "'Causes Won, Not Lost': College Football and the Modernization of the American South," in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, No. 2 (Aug 1994): 231-251.
- . "Turning The Tide: College Football and Southern Progressivism," in *Southern Cultures* 3, No. 3 (1997): 28-51.
- Eley, Geoff and Ronald Grigor Suny. "Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation," in *Becoming National: A Reader*, eds. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. 3-38.
- Enstad, Nan. "Fashioning Political Identities: Cultural Studies and the Historical Construction of Political Subjects." *American Quarterly* 50, No. 4 (December 1998), 745-82.
- . "Popular Culture," in *A Companion to American Cultural History*. ed. Karen Halttunen. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2008: 356-69.
- Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actual Existing Democracy." *Social Text*. No. 25/26 (1990): 56-80.

- Geertz, Clifford. "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," in *Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973. 412-454.
- Grandison, Kenrick. "Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America." *American Quarterly* 51, No. 3 (September 1999): 529-79.
- Hall, Peter Dobkin. "Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie: Higher Education and Governing-Class Formation in the United States, 1870-1914," in *The American Bourgeoisie*. Eds. Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 167-189.
- Hall, Stuart. "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley. New York: Routledge, 1996. 411-440.
- . "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'," in *Cultural Theory & Popular Culture: A Reader*, 2nd Ed., ed. John Storey. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998. 442-453.
- . "On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. eds. Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Harper, S.R., Williams, C.D., & Blackman, H.W. *Black male Student-athletes and racial inequities in NCAA Division I college sports*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Center for the Study of Race and Equity in Education.
- Hoelsher, Steven. "Making Place, Making Race: Performances of Whiteness in the Jim Crow South." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93, No. 3 (September 2003): 657-686.
- Hoganson, Kristin. "The Imperial Politics of Globavore Consumption in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *A Destiny of Choice? New Directions in American Consumer History*. eds. David Blanke and David Steigerwald. New York: Lexington Books, 2013. 15-28.
- Hollis, Ira. "Intercollegiate Athletics." *The Atlantic Monthly* (October 1902): 534-544.
- Kaplan, Amy. "Black and Blue on San Juan Hill," in *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005. 121-145.
- Kennedy, Dennis. "Sports and Shows: Spectators in Contemporary Culture." *Theatre Research International* 26, No. 3 (October 2001): 277-84.
- Kimmel, Michael. "Men's Responses to Feminism at the Turn of the Century." *Gender & Society* 1, No. 3 (September 1987): 261-283.

- Kingsdale, Jon. "The 'Poor Man's Club': Social Functions of the Urban Working-Class Saloon." *American Quarterly* 25, No. 4 (October 1973): 472-489.
- Lemons, J. Stanley. "Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880 – 1920." *American Quarterly* 29, No. 1 (Spring, 1977): 102-116.
- Lewis, Guy. "The Beginning of Organized Collegiate Sport." *American Quarterly* 22, No. 2, Part 1 (Summer 1970), 222-29.
- . "Teddy Roosevelt's Role in the 1905 Football Controversy." *The Research Quarterly* 40. (1969): 717-724.
- Lewis, Peirce. "Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene," in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D. W. Meinig. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. 11-32.
- Lipsitz, George. "The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race; Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape." *Landscape Journal* 26, No. 1. (January 2007): 10-23.
- Little, Monroe H. "The Extra-Curricular Activities of Black College Students, 1868-1940." *The Journal of African American History* 87 (Winter 2002), 43-55.
- Martin, Charles H. "The Color Line in Midwestern College Sports, 1890-1960." *Indiana Magazine of History* 98, No. 2 (June 2002): 85-112.
- Miller, Patrick. "To 'Bring the Race along Rapidly': Sport, Student Culture, and Educational Mission at Historically Black Colleges during the Interwar Years." *History of Education Quarterly* 35, No. 2 (Summer 1995): 111-33.
- . "Slouching Toward a New Expediency: College Football and the Color Line During the Depression Decade." *American Studies* 40, No. 3 (Fall, 1999): 5-30.
- Miller, Perry. "Errand Into the Wilderness." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January 1953): 3-32.
- Montgomery, Maureen E. "'Natural Distinction': The American Bourgeois Search for Distinctive Signs in Europe," in *The American Bourgeoisie*. Eds. Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 27-44.
- Mumford, Kevin J. "'Lost Manhood' Found: Male Impotence and Victorian Culture in the United States," in *American Sexual Politics: Sex, Gender, and Race since the Civil War*. ed. John C. Fout and Maura Shaw Tantillo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. 75-99.
- Needham, Henry Beach. "The College Athlete." *McClure's Magazine*. (June 1905): 260-272
- Oriard, Michael. "Home Teams," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 95 (Spring 1996): 471-500.

- Osofsky, Gilbert. "Progressivism and the Negro: New York, 1900-1915." *American Quarterly* 16, No. 2, Part 1 (Summer 1964): 153-68.
- Porter, Patrick. "Origins of the American Tobacco Company." *Business History Review* 43, No. 1 (March 1969), 59-76.
- Pratt, Richard H. "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," in *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900*. Ed. Francis P. Prucha. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973. 260-271.
- Reader, Garry L. "The History of Blacks at Yale University." *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 26 (Winter 1999-2000), 125-126.
- Renan, Ernest. "What is A Nation?" in *Becoming National: A Reader*, eds. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. 42-56.
- Riesman, David and Reuel Denney. "Football in America: A Study of Culture Diffusion." *American Quarterly* 3, No. 4 (Winter, 1951): 309-325.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. "The Value of Athletic Training." *Harper's Weekly* 37 (December 1893): 1236.
- Rotundo, E. Anthony. "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle-Class Manhood, 1770-1920." *Journal of Social History* 16, No. 4 (Summer 1983): 23-38.
- Ruchames, Louis. "Jim Crow Railroads in Massachusetts." *American Quarterly* 8, No. 1, (Spring 1956): 61-75.
- Sargent, D. A. "The Physical Proportions of the Typical Man." *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. 2, Issue 1 (July, 1887): 3-17.
- Shakespeare, Tom. "The Social Model of Disability," in *The Disability Studies Reader*, 2nd Ed. edited by Lennard Davis. New York: Routledge, 1997. 197-204.
- Shaler, Nathaniel. "The Negro Problem." *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 54, Issue 325 (November 1884): 697-703.
- Shurtleff, Nathaniel B. "Remarks on Negro Election Day." *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, XIII (1873-1875): 45-46.
- Smith, Ronald A. "Harvard and Columbia and a Reconsideration of the 1905-06 Football Crisis." *Journal of Sport History* 8, No. 3 (Winter, 1981): 5-19.
- Stepan, Nancy. "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science," in *The Anatomy of Racism*, edited by David Theo Goldberg. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990. 38-57.

Stern, Hal S. et al. "Statistics and the College Football Championship [with Discussions, with Reply]," in *The American Statistician* 58, No. 3 (August 2004): 179-195.

Swiencicki, Mark A. "Consuming Brotherhood: Men's Culture, Style and Recreation as Consumer Culture, 1880-1930." *Journal of Social History* 31, No. 4 (Summer 1998): 773-808.

Takaki, Ronald. "The Tempest in the Wilderness: The Racialization of Savagery." *The Journal of American History* 79, No. 3 (December 1992): 892-912.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894.

White, Shane. "'It Was A Proud Day': African Americans, Festivals, and Parades in the North, 1741-1834," *The Journal of American History* 81, No. 1 (June 1994): 13-50.

White, Richard. "Discovering Nature in North America." *The Journal of American History* 79, No. 3 (December 1992): 874-891.