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National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1896–1916

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Abstract

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Within the context of the Progressive era, this dissertation offers an in-depth analysis of the state of intercollegiate athletics around the turn of the twentieth century, the transformations it underwent, and the media’s role in that process. The National Collegiate Athletic Association was founded in 1906—in the middle of the Progressive era—after a public outcry for football reform came in 1905, a year that produced eighteen deaths and one hundred forty-nine reported injuries.

Using framing theory and the concept of collective memory, this study seeks to explore the coverage of college athletics by popular mass circulation magazines from 1896 to 1916 and the coverage of the National Collegiate Athletic Association by the New York Times and the evening edition of the New York World from 1906 to 1916.

Four media frames were found in popular magazines from 1896 to 1916 focusing on college athletics, including Call for Reform, Muscular Christianity, Evils of College Athletics, and Methods in Strategy. The most dominant frame, “Call for Reform,” emphasized the constant debate occurring within the pages of these magazines as to whether the benefits of competitive college athletics outweighed their possible evils. The primary examples were commercialism, professionalism, football rule changes, and alumni issues. The “muscular Christianity” frame reiterated the importance and benefits
of college athletics as a key to defining men as men worthwhile, stressing a martial mentality. Even though primarily focused on manhood, examples of this frame applied to women’s athletics as well, and it was the only one to highlight women’s athletics.

To combat the tendency of educators and sporting advocates to oversell the benefits of college athletics, popular magazines published articles noting the “evils of college athletics,” namely the win-at-any-cost mentality and the hero culture surrounding popular athletes. The most common example of this frame focused on the shift in focus from academic scholarship to athletics. The “methods in strategy” frame provided vivid details to readers as to the ways in which to develop and make an intercollegiate team as well as the proper training for certain sports.

Close examination of the New York Times and The Evening World reveals the dawning of the NCAA’s evolution into a dominating and powerful regulator of intercollegiate athletics as these newspapers charted the progression of its growing influence over college athletics. As more institutions joined and as the most prestigious institutions gave up their resistance to join, the NCAA began its transformation into the largest and most influential governing body in the field of intercollegiate sports, and the struggle for control of intercollegiate athletics is highlighted throughout this analysis.
To my mom, who continues to inspire me with her perseverance, courage, and love.

To my dad, who chose to be the biggest influence in my life.
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More than four years ago, I drove my loaded car into Athens, Ohio, from sunny Sarasota, Florida, not knowing a soul and ready for my next adventure: a one-year Master’s program. That first day, I met Molly Yanity, a fellow sports enthusiast, and I can honestly say my life has never been the same since. She has been my rock, my confidant, and my sister (as well as my office mate and house mate) throughout my time at Ohio University. I will miss having her by my side in my next life adventure, but I know she will never be far from my heart (or my research). I also owe my sanity and success to the Thursday nights spent at Jackie O’s surrounded by my fellow Scripps graduate students, namely Sally Ann Cruikshank, Janie Henderson, and Ed Simpson. Thank you all for the laughter, tears, and craft beers.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

One hundred and seven years ago, on a field in the Morris Heights neighborhood of the Bronx, a tragedy took place that altered the direction and rules and regulations of college football, and ultimately of college athletics. On a crisp, cool Saturday, November 25, 1905, William Moore of Ogdensburg, New York, traveled to New York City to watch his only son, Harold (1886–1905), play football for Union College in Schenectady, New York, against New York University. It was the weekend after Thanksgiving—a weekend now known for rivalry college football games. As Harold trotted onto the gridiron wearing a leather helmet with no facial protection, clad in a thin, canvas-like moleskin uniform with knee pads inside the trousers and shoulder pads sewn into the jersey, his father beamed with pride from the stadium bleachers. After a mere fifteen minutes of play on Ohio Field, the nineteen-year-old right halfback made his last play. The *New York Times* described the incident in this way:

There was a hard struggle between the two teams, and at times the play was very rough. In the first half of the game Moore got the ball at the 30-yard line and started toward the goal. He was tackled and thrown by a New York University man. The next moment there was a pile of men on the field, with Moore at the bottom of it.

Seeing that somebody was about to be hurt the referee blew his whistle. At the same time Detective Sergeant Darcy, who had been doing special duty with twelve policemen, broke through the lines and cleared the players away. Moore was lying flat on his face on the field unconscious.

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1 The researcher attempted to find the life spans of every historical figure in this dissertation, but was unable to locate them all.
Although other newspaper articles gave differing accounts of the circumstances of the play, no one saw what Moore’s head struck except that he dropped limply and the ball fell from his hands. Moore was rushed, in the backseat of the nearest automobile, to Fordham Hospital, where he was pronounced dead at 9 p.m. the same night. Moore died from cerebral hemorrhages, super induced by concussion of the brain, according to the autopsy report. A proud William Moore came to watch his son play college football. Instead, he watched his boy collapse into unconsciousness.

Following Moore’s death, Union College suspended classes for two days in mourning. Union College President Andrew Van Vranken Raymond (1854–1918) released this statement to the *New York Times*:

We are all so deeply stirred by the death of Moore in Saturday’s game that the impulse is strong to attempt at once Faculty action to abolish football from Union College. There is, however, no need of immediate action. The season is over and whatever is done should be done deliberately and intelligently. It now seems certain that the fatalities of this Fall will lead to some united effort on the part of our colleges either to suppress football altogether or to make such radical changes as will eliminate not only the element of brutality, but that of unnecessary danger. There can be no question that a game that calls for so many victims each year in spite of every precaution and safeguard that may be taken is radically wrong.

On November 6, 1869, the Princeton Tigers met the Rutgers Queensmen on the gridiron at College Field in New Brunswick, New Jersey, marking the first college football game in history. The game quickly gained popularity at college campuses across

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the country; and, by the 1890s, one hundred and twenty schools fielded teams.\(^7\) With this popularity, however, came a mounting increase in brutality and violence culminating in the death-ridden 1905 season. Harold Moore was just one of the eighteen young men to die while playing preparatory school or college football in the 1905 season.\(^8\) An additional 149 football players were seriously injured playing the game that year.\(^9\) A public outcry for reform came immediately, as exemplified by the November 28, 1905, edition of the *New York Times*, which contained seven articles about the football crisis.\(^10\)

Prompted by these statistics and the overwhelming negative press coverage, President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) convened two White House conferences with coaches, faculty, and representatives from Harvard, Princeton, and Yale to encourage reform in the sport as opposed to abolition of football at the college level.\(^11\) Following Roosevelt’s intervention, NYU Chancellor Henry M. MacCracken (1840–1918) called a meeting with thirteen colleges and universities to initiate changes. At a follow-up meeting, sixty-two institutions became charter members of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States (IAAUS), which was founded to regulate collegiate football and protect student-athletes. The IAAUS was officially established on March 31,

\(^7\)Ibid., 10.
\(^8\)Ibid., 13.
\(^9\)Ibid. Statistics on deaths attributed to football prior to the 1905 season remain elusive.
1906, and took its present name, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), in 1910 to reflect its national nature. In his address to the 1907 annual IAAUS convention, the president of the new Association, Captain Palmer E. Pierce (1865–1940) of the United States Military Academy, predicted the Association’s impending domination: “I firmly believe the IAAUS will finally dominate the college athletic world. It stands for purity, for rational control, for fair play…. As its aims and methods become better understood, its strength will grow until its influence will become truly national.” Since its inception, the NCAA grew from a discussion and rules-making body for a few member institutions to become the largest and most influential governing body in the field of intercollegiate sports.

The importance and presence of the media has been a common thread throughout the history of this organization. Early in its history, the NCAA leadership was aware that the media could play a role in its success. President Pierce suggested in 1907 that the NCAA could become “a central bureau of propaganda concerning college athletics” by using “newspaper statements of aims and policies” and “circulars and other published literature.” In 1907, he called for greater use of newspapers to advance the NCAA’s purpose for higher athletic standards to the public and students by providing reports of the Association’s proceedings to local New York newspapers, namely the New York

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Fans received the game-day details solely from newspapers until the late 1920s when radio made live play-by-play coverage available to even more fans. As press coverage of college athletics increased, so did fan demand and vice versa, creating an insatiable appetite for more and more sporting news. Captain Pierce once referred to the fledging Association as “the voice of college sports.” Little did he realize that this voice would still be booming well into the twenty-first century.

Within the context of the Progressive era, this study offers an in-depth analysis of the state of intercollegiate athletics around the turn of the twentieth century, the transformations it underwent, and the media’s possible role in that. The Progressive era, 1896 to 1916, represents a spirit perceived — a spirit that took shape in broad movements for reform, as many Americans thought that the United States was not living up to its democratic ideals or maintaining White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) control. The news media were primarily print media: newspapers and magazines with visual images, graphic designs, and a plethora of advertisements. In regard to these new mass magazines, Matthew Schneirov argues “corporate capitalism and consumer culture were not ‘things’ they [magazine editors and contributors] adapted to or legitimated. They were phenomena the popular magazines helped, directly and indirectly to create.”

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16Falla, NCAA: The Voice of College Sports, 1.
through which to reach that market. In other words, the popular press played a pivotal role in the process of cultural evolution, of helping Americans who read the popular press to define themselves, sort through possibilities, and make sense of their place in the United States. Coverage of college life, especially college athletics for both men and women, as well as concerns over shifting requirements for business success and male identity expanded dramatically in the popular press.¹⁹

Sites preserving the collective memory of the NCAA’s history abound from exhibits at the NCAA Hall of Champions in Indianapolis, Indiana, to films, books, and Web sites. This study explores evidence of collective memory in the coverage of college athletics and the NCAA by the popular press. While numerous sports historians have written about the formation of the NCAA using press accounts as primary sources, research is scarce about the media re-presentation over time. This dissertation examines national press coverage in popular mass circulation magazines from 1896 to 1916 and the New York Times and the New York World from 1905 to 1916, revealing how coverage of college athletics and the formation of the NCAA evolved in these publications during the Progressive era, a development shaped by the larger social, cultural, and political currents of American society. It applies textual and historical analysis in the examination of its research questions about the journalistic influences on college athletics and the NCAA’s role in constructing and reinforcing cultural values regarding masculinity. This contributes to a growing body of scholarly work on public memory and media, investigating the role of the popular press in shaping collective memory. It also adds to

¹⁹Daniel A. Clark, Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 18, 21.
the expanding body of sports media history, which until recently has been an under-
examined area of media history. As Arnold Lunn said in 1963: “The historian is apt to
forget that sport in some form or other is the main object of most lives, that most men
work in order to play, and that games which bulk so largely in the life of the individual
cannot be neglected in studying the life of the nation.”20 By studying the function of the
popular press as a site of public memory and its role in shaping the legacy of the most
dominant governing body in intercollegiate athletics in the twentieth century, one gains
greater insight into America’s fascination with college sports.

This dissertation began with a simple yet inadequately understood question: What
media informed the modern demand for college athletics in the United States? This
scholarly quest sought the symbolic first of the first-generation of college student athletes
in the modern period in order to understand what forces shaped the popular acceptance of
college athletics into American life during the critical formative Progressive era. In the
following chapters, the author conducts a close reading of popular mass circulation
magazines, two New York newspapers, and the annual proceedings of the first eleven
years of the NCAA and connects the dots in order to answer this fundamental question
about the media’s role in the shaping of Americans’ obsession with college athletics.
Further, this dissertation provides modern day examples, parallels, and implications
connecting our nation’s historical collegiate athletic past with the present college athletic
landscape.

20Arnold Lunn is cited in Robert H. Boyle, Sport: Mirror of American Life (Boston: Little, Brown,
1963), x.
Chapter 2 places the reader into the context of the historical background in which college athletics and the NCAA took form by providing a definition and brief overview of the Progressive era, including an explanation of some of the issues confronting the native-born, white American men at the time, such as a shifting economy, the threat of massive immigration, and the fear of feminization, resulting in growing anxiety among the nation’s WASP elite. It also outlines the rise of popular mass circulation magazines and popular New York newspapers with an emphasis on the emerging idea of separate sports pages and in-depth sporting coverage. Framing theory and the concept of collective memory is the focus of Chapter 3, as this dissertation is tied into the greater thread of these two theoretical frameworks in the examination of its nine research questions. In addition, the methodologies of textual and historical analysis, as well as the details of the data collection process, is highlighted.

In the next four chapters, each frame found within popular magazines from 1896 to 1916 is highlighted, and examples from the magazines will elaborate on these frames. Chapter 4 explores the most dominant frame, “call for reform,” where a constant debate occurred within the pages of these magazines as to whether the benefits of competitive college athletics outweighed their possible evils. This debate highlighted the need for college athletics to undergo major rule and structural changes in order to remain associated with the nation’s colleges and universities and to prevent even more serious injuries and fatalities on the field. The primary topics included in the “call for reform” frame were commercialism, professionalism, football rule changes, and such alumni issues as proselytizing and recruiting among the preparatory and high schools.
During this time, native-born, Anglo-Saxon Protestant men confronted drastic changes in their way of living, which seemed to threaten American notions of success and self-made manhood. A movement advocating a renewed “muscular Christianity” responded to this identity crisis by emphasizing the importance of college athletics, as indicated by the framing found in popular magazines. Chapter 5 looks at how popular magazines reiterated the importance and benefits of college athletics as a key to defining the worth of men. Muscular Christianity also stressed a martial mentality, as sports provided a mechanism for young men to learn the martial values of courage, aggressiveness, and brutality without actually having to go to battle.

To combat the tendency of educators and sporting advocates to oversell the benefits of college athletics, popular magazines published several articles noting their negative effects. Chapter 6 examines how popular magazines often blamed the sensationalism in the newspapers of the era for the prevalence of college athletic evils, namely the win-at-any-cost mentality and the hero culture surrounding popular athletes, resulting in the rise of both commercialism and professionalism. The most common example of the “evils of college athletics” frame focused on the shift in focus from academic scholarship to athletics.

Chapter 7 discusses the fourth and final frame found within Progressive era popular magazines, labeled “methods in strategy.” Articles provided vivid details to readers as to the ways in which to develop and make an intercollegiate team as well as the proper training for certain sports. Coverage of strategies, tactics and formations, most notably in college football, was another example of the “methods in strategy frame,” as
magazine articles charted the history and development of the sport from the first intercollegiate game in 1869 between Rutgers and Princeton to the game as played in 1916. By providing a glimpse into the culture and development of college football, magazines gave an insider’s perspective and knowledge of the sport’s various aspects.

Close examination of the *New York Times* and *The Evening World* in Chapter 8 reveals the dawning of the NCAA’s evolution into a dominating and powerful regulator of intercollegiate athletics. The coverage of the first eleven years of the NCAA by these New York newspapers charted the progression of its growing influence over college athletics. The NCAA grew exponentially from a meager thirty institutions at its first convention in December 1906 to more than two hundred colleges and universities in December 1916. As more institutions joined and as the most prestigious institutions gave up their resistance to join, the NCAA began its transformation into the largest and most influential governing body in the field of intercollegiate sports, and the struggle for control of intercollegiate athletics is highlighted throughout this analysis.

Finally, Chapter 9 connects the dots in order to answer the fundamental question about the media’s role in the shaping of Americans’ obsession with college athletics. This chapter provides modern day examples, parallels, and implications connecting our nation’s historical collegiate athletic past with the present college athletic landscape.
Chapter 2: Setting the Scene

In the decades adjacent to the turn of the twentieth century, a period known as the Progressive era, the United States was under crisis: a society without a core.¹ Robert H. Wiebe (1930–2000) wrote that Progressivism was a reaction to dislocations in American society.² Political and social institutions within the United States did not respond quickly to rapid economic changes. Economic power had moved to large, national corporations, while political and social life remained chiefly centered in local communities. This crisis in local communities led to a lack of confidence, and many people fought to maintain the community life that had given their lives meaning for generations, resulting in widespread anxiety, disorder, and unrest and culminating in the turbulent 1890s.³

During this search for order, a revolution of values took place and developed a bureaucratic orientation, which was suited to the impersonality and fluidity of a newly created urban-industrial world. Progressivism, Wiebe argued, was the effort of the “new middle class”—a class tied to the newly emerging national economy—to stabilize and enhance their place in society by creating large national institutions that corresponded to the new national economy.⁴ A litany of words have been used to describe the Progressive era, as it was a period of definition—a period where the middle class was defining itself. Thus, the fragmented society of the nineteenth century gave way to an increasingly

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²Ibid.
³Ibid., 44.
⁴Ibid., 166.
bureaucratic society of the twentieth century. The NCAA was one such bureaucratic organization that formed in the middle of the Progressive era.

Despite being a nation of individualists, Americans have chosen to express their individuality within the context of groups. The impulse to constantly improve oneself as well as society translated into the active formation of associations to implement goals. Americans formed associations and unions such as the Amateur Athletic Union and the National American Woman Suffrage Association not only to cure social ills and to save souls but also to bring together people with similar interests. These organizations became so commonplace in the late nineteenth century that there appeared to be one for almost every social cause, resulting in Calvin Colton (1789–1857) commenting that voluntary associations of the era were “so numerous, so great, so active and influential … which lead the public mind and govern the country.” At the same time, churches, schools, and community organizations became increasingly concerned with the problems of youth, resulting in the creation of the YMCA and the Boy Scouts (and their feminine counterparts) to organize the leisure time of school children. In the schools and colleges,

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7The Amateur Athletic Union was founded in 1888 by William Buckingham Curtis to establish standards and uniformity in amateur athletics. Today, it is one of the largest non-profit volunteer sports organizations in the United States.
8An American women’s rights organization formed in 1890, the National American Woman Suffrage Association was a unification as the combination of the American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Women Suffrage Association. From 1890 to 1900, Susan B. Anthony was the most prominent figure in NAWSA.
9Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), 182-183. Calvin Colton was an important publicist and writer for both the Whig party and evangelical revivalism in antebellum America.
faculty members were assigned to advise the increasing number of student organizations and athletic teams.¹⁰ These voluntary organizations were constantly preoccupied with increasing their membership, which was evident during the first ten years of the NCAA’s formation.¹¹

As reflected in its rhetoric, the Progressive mind was preeminently a Protestant mind.¹² “Character, conscience, soul, morals, service, duty” were the key terms in the Progressives’ vocabulary along with their counterparts “shame, disgrace, sin and selfishness.”¹³ Beginning in the Industrial Age, the Protestant hegemony was reflected in America’s power brokers, where Protestants held disproportionate positions in business, education, and politics. Except for the Irish Catholics in New York City, politicians elected to all levels of government were typically Protestant, which was reinforced by the fact that every president and vice president of the United States through the mid-twentieth century belonged to one of the Protestant sects.¹⁴ Protestant dominance in business and politics carried over into the sports establishment. During the rise of organized sport in the late nineteenth century, Protestant aristocrats held the majority of powerful positions and influence on teams and in league offices—and continued to do so for decades.¹⁵ Thus, the Protestant establishment set the style for popular culture as well industry and politics.¹⁶

¹¹Overman, The Influence of the Protestant Ethic on Sport and Recreation, 101.
¹²Ibid., 76.
¹⁵Ibid.
¹⁶Ibid., 12.
This chapter seeks to place the reader into the context of the historical background in which college athletics and the NCAA took shape by providing a brief overview of the Progressive era, including an explanation of some of the issues confronting the native-born, white American men at the time, such as a shifting economy, the threat of massive immigration, the fear of feminization, and anti-intellectualism. This chapter also describes the rise of popular mass circulation magazines and popular New York newspapers with an emphasis on the newly emerging idea of separate sports pages and in-depth sporting coverage.

WASP Mentality and Growing Anxiety

During the 1880s and 1890s, the perceived inferiority of “colored” races (mainly African American racism) led to the inferiority of any person of a different race, culture, or ethnicity who was not of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) descent. Racism turned to a feverish nativism. Spurred by the United States’ victory in the Spanish-American War, complacent nationalism overtook the native-born population. In 1898, the United States military fought with Spain for ten weeks over the freedom of Cuba. The war ended with the Treaty of Paris, negotiated on terms favorable to the United States, and the United States gained indefinite colonial control over Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. This nationalism was further amplified two decades later by the United States’ victory in World War I. Ethnocentrism in the United States expanded globally, and many Americans saw the rest of the globe as an imagined stage for American

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prowess. However, that power rested in the hands of mainly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) men who valued progress, wealth, and the nation above all else.

Thirty-four million of the more than fifty million poor European immigrants displaced by industrialization, famine, and hostile national policies sought refuge in the United States from 1850 to 1930. In response to the expansion of capitalism, industrialization, and urbanization, most of these immigrants flocked to cities in the United States in search of work in the construction, service, and manufacturing industries. On the Lower East Side of Manhattan during the 1880s, more than 334,000 people were packed into a single square mile, making it the most densely populated place on earth. Immigrants and the working class were crammed into grimy, disease-ridden tenements, housing multiple families with ten or fifteen people to a room, and many rooms did not even see the sunlight or feel the flow of air. Quickly becoming an urban majority, more than 70 percent of residents in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, San Francisco, Milwaukee, and many other large cities were immigrants or children of immigrants by 1880. Having little knowledge of city life and minimal understanding of English, they were even more foreign to the native-born middle class who believed that their own cultural and social identities were coextensive with Americanism. To further complicate matters, the majority of all but the Jewish immigrants came with the intention of returning to Europe, and thus, saved and sent their

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19 Ibid., 278.
20 Ibid., 120.
money home while declining to “Americanize.” Consequently, the perceived peculiarity, poverty, and seclusion of immigrants fed the discourse of “dangerous classes” and of the city as a place of corruption, crime, vice, and disease. Through flash photography and sensational writing, Jacob Riis (1849–1914), a Danish immigrant, became a famous campaigner against slum housing in New York City. By exposing the squalid living conditions of the poor to the middle and upper classes, Riis attempted to begin the conversation leading to social reform. Published in the Christmas 1889 issue of *Scribner’s Magazine*, Riis’ eighteen-page article, “How the Other Half Lives,” was accompanied by nineteen of his photographs rendered as line drawings. Printed in black and white, these drawings depicted street urchins sleeping on top of one another in the alleys to stay warm, tenements built so close to one another that inhabitants of the building could touch the next building, and large families sleeping side by side on the floor in one room.

The United States was a land of parallel societies, and a vastly different world for immigrants than native-born Protestants. “Many people do not live in America,” declared a Slavic immigrant, “they live underneath America.” Native-born Americans believed that the social ills of society lay in hereditary factors, and immigrants were a public menace and lowered the mental, physical, and moral strength of the native-born population, which Riis’ images reinforced. The widespread WASP belief was that the

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24 Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 121.
United States was under attack from two foes of extraordinary strength—huge, consuming corporations and throngs of sexually deviant immigrants.²⁸ Prominent, wealthy American families viewed these threats as a tidal wave that must be stopped before it sweeps away all of legitimate society.

Native-born members of society abhorred immigrant’s labor unrest, political radicalism, and violence. In order to survive in the United States, many members of working class and immigrant families, including women and children, were forced to work in factories. Working conditions here were harsh, as employees typically stood for ten to twelve hours a day repeating the same monotonous task every few seconds. Unsafe working conditions led to deadly accidents, fueling the desire for workers to band together into collective groups and unions. During this period of labor unrest, many of these group members were political radicals, supporting communism, socialism, and anarchism as tools for change. Groups such as the American Federation of Labor (AFL) or the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) organized boycotts and strikes in order to get management to give into their demands.²⁹ But perhaps, the greatest cause of friction was economic competition and employment. Whether native-born Americans lived in rural or urban communities, they could not escape immigrants as cities were filled with working class immigrants and rural communities were flooded with migrant workers, who flocked to farms in search of work with each change of season and crop and made

²⁸Wiebe, The Search for Order, 52.
²⁹Founded in Columbus, Ohio, in May 1886, the American Federation of Labor was one of the first federations of labor created by an alliance of craft unions discontented with the Knights of Labor, a national labor association.
up the “indispensable outcasts of rural America.” As Wiebe eloquently wrote, “No pot melted these bits and pieces into a class. Fearful of each other’s competition and ignorant of each other’s ways, they lived in mutual suspicion, as separated into groups of their own kind as they could manage.” Hence, Darwinian biological ideas such as “survival of the fittest” and “natural selection” added comfort to those in powerful positions in society who had lingering inner doubts about their superiority. These fears and anxieties led to the exclusion of immigrants in WASP society, and reformers pressured the federal government for immigration laws, which would restrict the flow of immigrants by using literacy tests and also by a variety of private Americanization programs, culminating in the passage of the Immigration Act of 1917.

Native-born Americans believed wholeheartedly that immigrants were the cause of municipal corruption, alcoholism, poverty, and crime as well as powerful subversives whose foreign ideologies were undermining American society, especially on the brink of World War I. Roman Catholics grew in number from 1.6 million in 1850 to 12 million

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30Ibid., 17.
31Ibid., 14.
32Ibid., 40.
33See Daniel J. Kevles, In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Wiebe, The Search for Order, 209. Passed by Congress on February 5, 1917, the Immigration Act of 1917 restricted the immigration of “undesirables” from foreign countries, including “idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, alcoholics, poor, criminals, beggars, any person suffering attacks of insanity, those with tuberculosis, and those who have any form of dangerous contagious disease, aliens who have a physical disability that will restrict them from earning a living in the United States..., polygamists and anarchists, those who were against the organized government or those who advocated the unlawful destruction of property and those who advocated the unlawful assault of killing of any officer.” Prostitutes and anyone involved in or with prostitution were also barred from entering the United States. (Immigration Act of 1917, Public Law 301, 64th Cong. (February 5, 1917): H.R. 10384.) It was later altered formally by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, known as the McCarran-Walter Act.
34Wiebe, The Search for Order, 54.
in 1900, producing a renewed outburst of bitter anti-Catholic nativism.\(^{35}\) The large cities with their saloons, theaters, dance halls, and immigrant slums were feared by many American Protestants, who lived primarily in small cities and the rural countryside. Josiah Strong (1847–1916), an evangelical American Protestant clergyman, wrote in *Our Country*, “The Roman Catholic vote is more or less perfectly controlled by the priests. That means that the Pope can dictate some hundreds of thousands of votes in the United States.”\(^{36}\) By employing the common stereotype that individual Catholics were mindless puppets, Strong’s statement upheld the anti-alien and anti-Catholic sentiment of the era. In the early twentieth century, anti-Catholic literature found a prominent place in the American cultural landscape by instilling the emerging themes of nationalism, masculinity, and progressivism, which were central in the print culture, within the larger framework of the long-established anti-Catholic traditions in the United States.\(^{37}\) This was most apparent in the movement’s portrayal of heroic masculine readers bravely defending America’s children and women from Catholic enemies.\(^{38}\) Because of Catholics’ adherence to priestly hierarchies, the anti-Catholic press denounced Catholics’ alleged inability to embrace American civic virtues such as individualism, tolerance, and democracy.\(^{39}\)

In addition, removing Roman Catholic influence from the levers of power constituted a major reform of urban life, resulting in anti-Catholic press in the form of

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\(^{38}\) Ibid., 142.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., 8.
books, journals, pamphlets and especially newspapers such as *The Menace, The Peril,* and *The Liberator.*\(^{40}\) The anti-Catholic press called upon its readers to emerge from their blind state and recognize Catholicism’s danger to the American way of life.\(^ {41}\) The anti-Catholic press was one of the most vocal and determined muckraking voices of the early twentieth century.\(^ {42}\)

The Progressive era witnessed an increase in industrialization, urbanization, and corporations and, as a result, an increased schism in social influence, political power, and wealth. As such, journalists in the Progressive era found themselves writing in a unique period in United States history. Progressive writers sought to address the injustices resulting from these swift changes as well as to suggest reforms to alleviate the effects of America’s entrance into industrial capitalism.\(^ {43}\) Such writers were often labeled “muckrakers”—a term popularized from a speech given by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906—for their efforts in digging up scandals, corruption, and social problems.\(^ {44}\) Ida M. Tarbell (1857–1944) led the way with her 1903 *History of Standard Oil* series in the leading muckraking publication, *McClure’s Magazine.* Serialized in nineteen parts, this series was a seminal example of muckraking and stirred many other journalists to write about large business that attempted to gain monopolies in different industries. Tarbell’s series is noted for accelerating the breakup of Standard Oil, run by industrialist John D. Rockefeller, in 1911, when the Supreme Court found the company in violation of the

\(^{40}\)Ibid., 10.  
\(^{41}\)Ibid., 3.  
\(^{42}\)Overman, *The Influence of the Protestant Ethic on Sport and Recreation,* 54.  
\(^{43}\)Nordstrom, *Danger of the Doorstep,* 54.  

Writing in *Cosmopolitan Magazine* in October 1906, Upton Beall Sinclair, Jr. (1878–1968) reflected on his recent best-selling novel, “I aimed at the public’s heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach.”45 First published as a series in the socialist newspaper, *Appeal to Reason*, Sinclair’s novel, *The Jungle*, about the meatpacking industry in Chicago, shocked and disgusted Americans. Filled with page after page of nauseating detail, his novel told how dirt and guts were swept off the factory floors and packaged as “potted ham,” how dead rats were shoveled into sausage-grinding machines, and how inspectors turned a blind eye when diseased cows were slaughtered for beef.46 Astonishing the public, Upton’s novel caused a public uproar, contributing to the passage of the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act. Written by David Graham Phillips (1867–1911) in February 1906, *Cosmopolitan Magazine* ran a series titled “Treason of the Senate” exposing the corruption of the United States Senate, namely Senator Nelson Aldrich (1841–1915) from Rhode Island.47 As a result of his muckraking, seven years later the Seventeenth Amendment, providing for the direct election of the United States Senators, was passed and ratified. None of the senators named in his expose were re-elected in 1914.

Fear of Feminization

As the land of wealth and unlimited and equal opportunity slowly morphed into the land of capitalism, wealth was distributed among the few elite. In 1922, 1 percent of the population owned 37.1 percent of the country’s wealth.\textsuperscript{48} Society in the United States was changing drastically, and many Americans felt anxious about their place in this newly emerging society. The closing of the frontier and lack of free land as well as congestion of the cities led to a fear of dwindling economic opportunities.\textsuperscript{49} This complex mix of social reform, racism, and immigration fueled additional fears among the native-born American population, namely the fear of feminization and the subsequent loss of masculinity.\textsuperscript{50}

Male critics and reformers placed the blame for the feminization of society on the public school system, which saw a drastic rise in the number of female teachers toward the end of nineteenth century from 59 percent in 1870 to 86 percent in 1920.\textsuperscript{51} During the final three decades of the nineteenth century, as men shifted from agricultural jobs in the rural parts of the country to industrial jobs in the cities, the role of women drastically changed from house-based production to seeking work outside the home. The feminization of education coincided with the formalization of state school systems and, as the jurisdiction of states expanded, the cost of public education increased. Female


\textsuperscript{49}Wiebe, The \textit{Search for Order}, 66.

\textsuperscript{50}Daniel A. Clark, \textit{Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915} (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).

\textsuperscript{51}MacLeod, \textit{Building Character in the American Boy}, 47.
teachers provided the perfect solution to state schools as they could be paid much less
than men.\footnote{John G. Richardson and Brenda Wooden Hatcher, “The Feminization of Public School
Teaching,” \textit{Work and Occupation}, 10, no. 1 (February 1983), 97-98.}

From 1890 to 1920, secondary and college education became much more
common for women and socially accepted, resulting in their rapid expansion in both
absolute numbers and in relation to men. Women constituted a clear majority of all high
school students by 1917.\footnote{Statistic of Public High Schools 1917-1918, published by Statistical Division of the Buraru of
Education, 1930, as cited in Willystine Goodsell, \textit{The Education of Women: Its Social Background and Its
Problems} (New York: MacMillan, 1923), 26.}

As early as 1907, women outnumbered men in some of the
large coeducational universities, namely the universities of California, Washington,
Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, and Texas, and more than a third of all college
graduates were women by 1916.\footnote{Thomas Woody, \textit{A History of Women’s Education in the United States 2} (New York: Science
Press, 1929), 290.}

As their numbers grew, college-educated women were
perceived as threatening to professional men, who feared women would take jobs from
men. Many college women were advised, “You may have the same studies as men, but
you must put them to different use. You are…here for the preparation of marriage and
motherhood.”\footnote{C. J. Lucas, \textit{American Higher Education} (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1994), 158.}

Some Progressive reformers, including President Roosevelt and Harvard
President Charles Eliot (1834–1926), bemoaned the large number of intelligent, WASP
women in colleges who were not marrying and thus, not reproducing WASP children,
saying they were committing “race suicide.” It was feared that the white, educated WASP
race would die out and that the leadership of the country would be left in the hands of the intellectually inferior southern and eastern European immigrants.\textsuperscript{56}

Fear of feminization was further shown through conscious efforts early in the twentieth century to segregate college women in gender-specific programs such as teacher training, social work, and home economics and to make interscholastic sports and student government thoroughly masculine.\textsuperscript{57} Education should prepare students “for the destiny that awaits them. The destiny of woman being marriage, she should be thoroughly prepared and educated for its duties,” wrote Los Angeles developer and conservationist Abbott Kinney (1850–1920).\textsuperscript{58} These educational programs standardized women’s marginality on campus and guaranteed that access to a college education would not translate into equal employment opportunity for women after they received their diplomas. These kinds of changes occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century in direct response to girls’ numerical dominance of boys in the high school population in Los Angeles schools, wrote Victoria Bissell Brown.\textsuperscript{59}

This perceived loss of masculinity was steeped in the move toward an urbanized, industrial society and the changing nature of work.\textsuperscript{60} Prior to industrialization, the normal path for boys was working beside their fathers on the farm. By pitching hay, mucking stalls, and hauling feed, boys built a manly physique and spirit through hard, manual labor. However, many more boys were growing up in cities and suburbs and crammed

\textsuperscript{58}Abbott Kinney, \textit{Tasks by Twilight} (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1893), 76-77.
\textsuperscript{59}Brown, “The Fear of Feminization,” 511.
\textsuperscript{60}Overman, \textit{The Influence of Protestant Ethic on Sport and Recreation}, 113.
into public school through high school, and since there was no farm to attend to after school hours, they found themselves with more leisure time. In order to further separate themselves from the immigrant population, more middle class boys began attending public school through high school and then attending universities to gain better access to higher paying jobs in the newly emerging industrial complex. The Protestants cherished the idea that God had made the land and called humans to cultivate it, idealizing the farmer as the paragon of civic virtue and physical well-being. With the majority of urbanites working in factories, Protestants felt those types of jobs ate away at meaningful work, and the sense of pride, recognition, and dignity that came from agrarian work had lessened. In a sense, industrial capitalism left most Americans feeling as if their work was now merely a “job” instead of a calling from God.

Industrialism facilitated the rise of organized sports, as the baseball diamonds and playing fields arose in the shadows of the factories. Industrialism created the technical capacity to promote and market sport to a mass audience including the extension of the railroad system that allowed professional and college teams to compete and carried fans to the games. Further, mass production led to extra change lining worker’s pockets to spend on attending games and commercial recreation, resulting in sports such as football and baseball becoming an important part of the lives of the working class. As historian

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61 MacLeod, Building Character in the American Boy, 7.
62 Clark, Creating the College Man.
63 Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, 24-36.
64 Overman, The Influence of Protestant Ethic on Sport and Recreation, 119.
65 Ibid., 120.
66 Ibid., 125.
67 Ibid.
Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975) explained, games and sports were a conscious attempt to counter-balance the “soul-destroying specialization” of industrial capitalism.69 Industrialism and factory work was making American men weak. They stood on unforgiving concrete factory floors for ten hours a day attaching, for example, heels to boots again and again and again—the man up the line had sewn on the soles and now it was time for the heels—as the mass produced products passed through the assembly line. Gone was the craftsman’s sense of accomplishment and freedom when he created an entire boot himself. Under dim factory lights, such workers, the cogs in the wheel, wasted away. The tasks of industry no longer had the feel of work because machines increasingly replaced muscle power.70 Hence, organized sports were inserted as a way to restore to the mind and body some of the functions of which the machine had deprived it.71 Winning in athletic contests, thus, became increasingly important, as it acquired connotations of productivity.72

Participation in athletics played a significant role in redefining the criterion of middle-class masculinity, which involved moving beyond the American man’s relationship to his work and family to include his physical self and character. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, middle class American men became more interested in sport and physical culture as a means of proving their manliness to themselves and to others.73 Shuffling papers under low-grade artificial lights, middle class desk workers sat

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70 Overman, The Influence of Protestant Ethic on Sport and Recreation, 125.
71 Ibid., 128.
73 Clark, Creating the College Man.
behind a desk for hours on end, weakening their muscles in a hot, closed building with no fresh air. The enormous changes occurring around these men with the rise of big business and the corporate state caused a loss of individuality and self-esteem.

In addition to the changing nature of work for men resulting in less physical labor than previous generations experienced, women’s roles began changing as well, as evidenced by the increase in number of women working outside the home from four million to more than seven million between 1890 and 1910. Women became less involved in the domestic sphere and entered and invaded men’s public sphere. Between 1900 and 1910, married women working outside the home more than doubled to 11 percent of all married women and became involved in the causes of the public sphere, namely suffrage and temperance. Concurrently, an active women’s movement began challenging men’s claims for exclusive social and political spaces as well as masculine social power. Women’s domination of the domestic sphere and their demand for inclusion in the public sphere led to a crisis of the feminization of American culture and society. Iconic feminist leaders, namely Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) pushed to the forefront of the women’s rights movement by introducing women’s suffrage into the United States.

Organized sports carved a unique arena for men to prove their masculinity and worth to society. “The rapid rise and expansion of organized [sic] sport during this same

75 Ibid.
era can be interpreted as the creation of a homosocial institution which served to counter men’s fears of feminization,” wrote Michael Messner, an American sports sociologist at the University of Southern California.\textsuperscript{78} Boys formed city leagues in football and baseball, playing in neighborhood parks as youngsters, and transferred those skills to organized sports at the high school level. Simultaneously, factories and businesses fielded competitive baseball teams to introduce physical activity into their employees’ lives after their ten-hour work day. Sport was conceived of and evolved as a masculine space by naturalizing a connection between masculinity and the skills associated with sport such as physical strength, aggression, success in competition, and ultimately a negation of the feminine.\textsuperscript{79} Hurling a football forty yards down the gridiron, swinging a baseball bat and connecting with the ball for a deep left field triple, and rowing in complete synchronization with seven other team members in a scull provided outlets for men to prove themselves. During a time when hegemonic masculinity appeared to be threatened by changing social and economic forces, the growth of modern competitive sport was tainted by these cultural anxieties and aids in explaining the type of institution that sport became in American society.

As a response to these identity crises, middle-class men participated in a wide variety of strenuous, outdoor sports, especially team sports such as football, rowing and baseball, to develop their strength, courage, and morality, and to regain confidence in

\textsuperscript{79}Brown, “The Fear of Feminization,” 508.
their masculinity and ultimately become muscular Christians. A movement advocating a renewed “muscular Christianity” offered one response to men’s identity crisis. Coming into vogue during the Victorian era and continuing into the Progressive era, the prevailing ethos of muscular Christianity and rugged, assertive masculinity gained enormous popularity in this changing environment. Originating during the 1850s in England, the movement endorsed physical activity, bodily strength, and competitive sports to cultivate a new Christian manliness in the hopes of revitalizing Protestant churches anxious about the weakening effects of urban life.

Following an era dominated by the social Darwinian concept of the survival of the fittest, football emerged as the best sport to teach young men the virtues of martial life without the bloodshed of actual war. Football in the United States evolved from a hybrid between Britain’s Association football (soccer) and Canada’s rugby football, due to the efforts and diligence of Walter Camp (1859–1925), widely known as the “Father of American Football.” In William James’s (1842–1910) words, football was a “moral equivalent of war,” and the sport seemed appropriate for a nation ready for a clean, violent yet gentlemanly sport. Perhaps one of the finest examples of using athletics to achieve and certify one’s masculinity was Theodore Roosevelt, the elite New York civic reformer and twenty-sixth president of the United States. He widely promoted his beliefs regarding athletics and masculinity through several mainstream periodicals of the time.

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such as *Harper’s Weekly, St. Nicholas*, and *The North American Review* and was an advocate for contact sports—namely boxing and football.\(^3\) Roosevelt wrote in his “American Boy” essay appearing in the May 1900 edition of *St. Nicholas* that “great growth in the love of athletic sports … has beyond question had an excellent effect on increased manliness.”\(^4\) These martial values of football came to fruition during the Spanish-American War in 1898 when Colonel Teddy Roosevelt purposely recruited cowboys and ranchers as well as football players (and other manly types) for the Rough Riders and took them barreling up San Juan Hill on horseback as journalists and cameramen with their newsreels transformed them into legendary icons.\(^5\)

American schools as well as other American institutions were structured around competition. Children learned early that teachers’ and parents’ approval could be won by winning in competition whether at the annual spelling bee or for higher grades and honors.\(^6\) Competition was rationalized as good training for success outside the family and school, especially for success in the business world.\(^7\) Athletics quickly moved into the forefront. At the third annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education held in Brooklyn, New York, in 1887,

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\(^{5}\) Riess, “Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-class Masculinity,” 19.

\(^{6}\) Overman, *The Influence of the Protestant Ethic on Sport and Recreation*, 93-94.

Dr. Jay W. Seaver (1834–1909), argued that most American youth wanted the opportunity to exercise because they were eager for the excitement that competition offers. He wrote:

... It is this innate love of competition that makes us a commercial, an enterprising nation. We measure ourselves with others and find where we are weak and fortify ourselves; we find where they are weak and we outstrip them. Our popular athletic games then are real educators and prominent factors in building up national character.

Students from all social backgrounds showed enthusiasm for college athletics over traditional academic extracurricular activities such as literary and debating clubs because, beyond the aforementioned reasons, it was more stimulating, promoted a sense of community, and operated separately of faculty supervision. Educators as well as students shared in the conventional wisdom that athletics built strong character and enforced values that could be easily transferred into the next phase of college student’s life: the business world. Thus, athletics defined for these men their sense of manliness and provided mechanisms to achieve it. By the end of the Victorian era and moving into

88 Jay W. Seaver, “Military Training As An Exercise,” Proceedings of American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education, Third Annual Meeting, Brooklyn, November 25, 1887, 20-21. Formed in 1885, the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education was a national organization comprised of physical educators, who pushed for all Boards of Education in the U.S. to embody physical culture in the course of study of all the schools under their control. In 1903, it changed its name to the American Physical Education Association and continues to meet and publish journals to this day.

89 Ibid.


the Progressive era, the college athletic hero and the virtues he represented provided a pivotal role model for children and adolescents, and the cycle of aspiring intercollegiate athletes had begun. Popular mass magazines showcased the college athletic hero and provided an outlet for schoolboys to gain intimate access to player’s athletic careers and lives.

While competitive intercollegiate sports remained a man’s domain, most women’s colleges offered physical education programs and intramural sports by the turn of the twentieth century. Since the early development of women’s collegiate sports programs, women opposed the adoption of a male model for their competitive activities. Writing in the American Physical Education Review, the journal for the American Physical Education Association, in 1906, Frances A. Kellor (1873–1952) listed three essential considerations for women’s sports programs. First, women’s sports should be conducted for a large number of students rather than training a few elite athletes for championship teams. Second, the joy of playing should be the most important aspect of women’s sports programs instead of the determination to win at any cost. Third, women’s games should be played for the benefit of the athletes and not for the spectators who pay admission. Women physical educators warned their peers about such “evils” of college sports as gate

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93 Paula D. Welch and Harold A. Lerch (eds.), History of American Physical Education and Sport (Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1981), 257. Deriving from the Latin words intra muros meaning “within walls,” the term was used to indicate athletic contests that took place among teams from within the walls of an institution as opposed to an intercollegiate team which competed with teams from other institutions. The first intramural sports programs were established at The Ohio State University and the University of Michigan in 1913 and gradually spread throughout the United States.
receipts, illegal recruiting, and obsession with winning that were already entrenched in
the men’s intercollegiate athletics programs.

A stigma for female athletes developed from the belief that sports participation
brought out unladylike behavior with a decline in manners resulting in loud, boisterous or
rude language and a masculine appearance with bulging biceps and muscular legs in
women. By suggesting that women who excelled in sports “either inherited or acquired
masculine characteristics,” Dr. Dudley Sargent (1849–1924), was a lead contributor to
the anti-athletic sentiment for women. 95 He believed that women were unable to “bear
prolonged mental and physical strain…,” and therefore, he thought that games and sports
should be modified and made easier for women. 96 The former four-term president of the
American Physical Education Association advocated for the cultivation of good form by
women, but athletic programs at the time were designed to meet male needs and were not
suitable for the more delicate female. Thus, he concluded that women should “know
enough about (sports) to be the sympathetic admirer of men and boys…This kind of
devotion has made heroes of men in the past, and it will continue to make heroes of them
in the future.” 97 The value, as well as its detrimental aspects, of college sports programs
for females became a frequent topic for debate among physical educators, resulting in
several articles published in the popular magazines during the Progressive era that
addressed this topic.

95Dudley Allen Sargent, “What Athletic Games, If Any, Are Injurious for Women in the Form in
Which They are Played by Men?” American Physical Education Review, 11 (September 1909): 176, 179,
181.
96Ibid.
97Ibid.
Rise of Popular Mass Magazines

On a chilly, winter day in early December in 1900, Jonny Smith ran excitedly home after a long, boring school day anxious for the arrival of his favorite issue of *Collier’s*. He flips the magazine’s pages to “All-American Football Team,” knowing that Camp has made his famous selections from the 1900 college football season. He was not disappointed: Camp chose his favorite player, Charles Dudley Daly (1880–1959) of Harvard, as the All-American quarterback along with terrific photographs of Daly, looking manly and noble in his “H” turtleneck. A complex juxtaposition of needs, forces, interests, and desires led to the magazine revolution at the turn of the twentieth century.98

The two decades after the Civil War brought an onslaught of magazine start-ups as a result of the general spirit of expansion, the availability of investment capital, advances in the printing industry, and reductions in postal rates for magazines to the level of newspapers with the passage of the Post Office Act in 1879.99 In 1865, approximately 700 magazines were printed in the United States, and by 1885 that number had increased to 3,300.100 Fifteen years later, more than fifty magazines had a national circulation of more than 100,000 with some achieving circulations of more than 100,000.101 Resulting from the growth of public education, especially high school as a preparatory path to the university, and a broader, more literate American society in general, the audience for magazines drastically increased. From 1890 to 1910, the number of teachers and students

98Ohmann, *Selling Culture*.
increased more than fourfold, then more than doubled again in the next decade.\textsuperscript{102} In this quickly changing landscape, the advertisements in local handbills, newspapers, and posters were no longer adequate. Advertisers needed a national medium in order to get their products simultaneously in reach of all consumers in the United States. Enter the mass-circulation magazine.

Technological advances played a fundamental role in the success of consumer magazines as the mass circulation magazine obviously would never have been feasible with the Gutenberg Press. New production methods such as production timed scheduling, conveyor systems, and assembly lines made production quicker and more efficient.\textsuperscript{103} The invention (and continued improvements) of the rotary press made mass production possible and also made it more efficient and quick. Other printing advancements included half tone processing, which allowed editors to reproduce photographs cheaply and on type-compatible paper.\textsuperscript{104} These photographs brought color, life and authenticity to magazines, and editors utilized the photographs to extend their appeal and audience. Initially, many editors reproduced old, well-known images in their magazines so that their middle class readers could feel a connection to the established, upper class cultural experience.\textsuperscript{105} Gradually, magazine editors shied away from this practice and began using photographs in new ways. In particular, photographs of celebrities and important people in American society such as Rudyard J. Kipling (1865–1936), William Frederick "Buffalo Bill" Cody (1846–1917), and Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923) began appearing in

\textsuperscript{102} Wiebe, The Search for Order, 199.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., 5.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 234.
magazines, which narrowed the gap between fame and the middle class. While these printing advancements stimulated the entrepreneurial spirits of editors such as Frank Munsey (1854–1925), John Brisben Walker (1847–1931), Edward Bok (1863–1930), and others, the rise of the modern magazine cannot be fully attributed to technology.\textsuperscript{106}

Perhaps, the most important technological advancement was the creation of a national infrastructure—a system of transportation and communication that made the rest possible. In 1860, the railroad system in the United States only had 30,000 miles of track, but by 1900, the system had increased to 200,000 miles of track, connecting the United States from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, and even more importantly, connecting small communities to large, industrial cities.\textsuperscript{107} This drastic and quick increase in the railroad system made the United States the leader in steel and iron production, boosting both of those industries immensely and producing even more capital. The telegraph was in widespread use from the 1860s onward and was replaced by the telephone in the 1890s. Both of these communication technologies made communication quick and easy and connected business people and railroad engineers from coast to coast and allowed for efficient communication for business purposes. Developing late but quickly, electric power replaced steam power by the 1890s. The electric-powered streetcar was especially useful in cities, rising from 15 percent of the population using them in 1890 to 94 percent of people using them in 1902.\textsuperscript{108} All of these technological advancements made it easier for commuters to get to work, for salesmen to

\textsuperscript{106} Ohmann, \textit{Selling Culture}, 36. \\
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 49. \\
travel across the country, for raw materials to reach factories, and for products to reach national markets and consumers.

Four characteristics tied the modern, mass-market consumer magazine together, according to magazine historian Theodore B. Peterson (1933–2001). First, these magazines were low in price (10 cents and even 5 cents), so more people lined up to get their own copies. Second, with mass production and distribution methods as well as the low price, these magazines achieved huge circulation numbers. Some of the magazines, Munsey’s and Cosmopolitan (among others), reached a half million in circulation quite quickly and maintained those figures for many years. Advertising also was pivotal for these magazines’ success. The huge revenues from such advertisers as Pear’s Soap, Coca-Cola, and Quaker Oats paid for most of the production and distribution costs of the magazines, which allowed editors to drastically reduce the price and thereby place it within reach of a broader range of Americans. Finally, the content (and advertising) of the modern mass magazine was “popular,” geared toward middle class tastes with glossy, colorful covers, and elaborate illustrations.

Many historians attribute the success of magazines to a larger, more affluent middle class. Since the middle class had more money to spend on the advertised products, they looked to magazines and their advertisements as a guide to consumption. Young women clamored for Packer’s Tar Soap from Ladies Home Journal in order to become as glamorous as Nurse Curtis who had hair down to the floor as a result of the

109 Ibid., 13.
soap. Mothers set their desires on a new sewing machine in the mail order catalog, Sears and Roebuck. To further validate this point, Theodore Peterson noted the close relationship between magazine revenue and consumer spending.\(^1\) Third, the middle class had more leisure time to devote to reading, and mass circulation magazines came to fill a large part of that leisure time as women clamored to finish their housekeeping so they could relax on the couch and absorb themselves within the pages of magazines.\(^2\)

Economic conditions pushed the middle class outside of urban areas and segregated them by blocks and neighborhoods in newly created suburbs with cookie-cutter houses where they carved out their own, unique cultural space. Around 1900, the emerging middle class used commodities to think collaboratively about society and their place within it. They carved out and understood social space in a variety of ways such as locating themselves in suburbs, colleges, and vacation destinations and identifying themselves with each other through the use of similar manners, culture, and a ever-growing separation between work and leisure.\(^3\)

Since the middle class identified itself with modernity, they wanted a cultural middle ground that placed modern values above old ways. Magazines guided readers and caused them to feel the need to keep up with modern society along with their neighbors by reading the best fiction written by Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894), and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) and knowing the critically-acclaimed theatrical and opera performances showcased on Broadway, the hottest new celebrities such as Mary Pickford (1892–1979) and Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), the portraits of heroes such

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\(^1\)Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 42.
\(^2\)Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 35.
\(^3\)Ibid., 173-174.
as Abraham Lincoln and Napoleon, and the best middle class vacation destinations such as Cape Cod, Asbury Park, and Atlantic City.\footnote{Ibid., 227, 245.}

Popular mass circulation magazines charted a social space for the middle class, establishing and signaling the social class of the homes they entered. They were beautifully bound with crisp, clean colorful covers that people could place on their mantles as a sign of social class, mainly \textit{Munsey’s}, \textit{McClure’s}, and \textit{Cosmopolitan}.

Circulating nationally, they entered middle class homes where people had similar interests, values, and needs. Coca-Cola, Kodak cameras, Remington bicycles, Quaker Oats, Ivory Soap, Cream of Wheat, and other brand name commodities also united the middle class within an aura of respectability. Homes with modern conveniences such as indoor plumbing, city water, electricity, and gas as well as regular use of convenience goods such as creamy baby food in little jars, boxed breakfast cereals, and canned goods were all distinguishing signs of the middle class way of life.\footnote{Ibid., 224.} The vast array of content as well as the departments and special sections provided diversity and individuality to each member of the family who knew that one section was written especially for them. Because of their low price, middle class families purchased several mass circulation magazines to ensure that they were not missing anything. “To a very large class of our people the newspaper and the magazine stand in the place of a complete education, and there is no denying that each of them is able to accomplish wonders,” Munsey

\footnote{See Robert Coit Chapin, \textit{The Standard of Living among Workingmen’s Families in New York City} (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1909), 154-66; Ohmann, \textit{Selling Culture}, 167.}
editorialized in his magazine in January 1987. Therefore, it was pivotal that the magazines contained up to the minute accounts of the advances in medical science, the automobile industry, submarines, and aeronautical navigation, for example. While people read these magazines in homes across the nation, popular magazines did not place equal value on all parts of the United States, especially focusing on New York City as the cultural capital of the United States, and much of the coverage focused on city life.

The rise of industrialization and the rise of modern corporations can also help explain the emergence of mass magazines. From 1869 to 1899, United States capital quadrupled and more than doubled in relation to the number of people in the United States from $1,120 to $2,530 per capita. At this time, the main wealth-producing capital was in manufacturing, agriculture, mining, utilities, and transportation. As capital from agriculture gradually decreased, capital in big business drastically increased and the country shifted from an agrarian to an industrial society. Due to expansion and industrialization, mass production methods replaced home production methods, and massive amounts of people, including immigrants from Europe, flooded to the cities looking for work and the American way of life. People bought canned peaches, for example, instead of canning their own from the trees on their farm. In crowded cities and homes, it was no longer feasible to make all the commodities that people needed for everyday life. So, people turned to purchasing products, and capital rested in these newly forming large corporations. From the mid-1880s until the turn of the century, Congress

118 Ohmann, Selling Culture, 231.
favored the rich and big business as corporations and politicians worked hand in hand to create laws that favored the wealthy.\textsuperscript{120}

**Rise of Popular New York Newspapers**

The newspaper became a channel of national mass culture about the same time as did the magazine, but it had a longer and richer evolution. In 1790, only ninety-two newspapers were published in the United States, and each had small circulations and tended to be unstable enterprises, as was the case with early magazines.\textsuperscript{121} By the late 1820s, small-town weekly newspapers had become a key part of the lives of most Americans, Robert Gross, for example, noted that the *Yeoman's Gazette* of Concord, Massachusetts, had a circulation of 1,100 in a town whose population was only about 1,500.\textsuperscript{122} By 1840, there were 1,400 of these weekly newspapers in the country.\textsuperscript{123} Becoming a part of the social fabric of their communities, weekly newspapers detailed the births, lives, and deaths of the local citizenry. However, a transformation of newspapers and their place within the daily lives of American citizens occurred in the 1830s. A production resembling the modern daily emerged only after 1830 and did so in a dramatic way, much as happened in the 1890s with the modern mass magazine.\textsuperscript{124}

Until the 1830s, most urban dailies sold for six cents and only sold a few hundred copies to mostly merchants and other affluent people whose political views the paper represented. In 1833, Benjamin Day (1810–1889) founded the first penny press

\textsuperscript{120}See David Graham Phillips, “Treason of the Senate,” *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, February 1906, one of the most noted muckraking pieces of the era on the rise of the modern corporation.


\textsuperscript{122}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{123}Ibid, 106.

\textsuperscript{124}Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 19.
newspaper in the United States, the *New York Sun*, and was soon followed by James Gordon Bennett’s (1795–1872) *New York Herald*. Penny press newspapers revolutionized journalism, bringing the news to lower and middle class citizens for a reasonable price, instead of being exclusive to the upper-class citizens. This new readership was evident by the vast increase in the numbers: in 1830, the circulation of all eleven New York dailies totaled around 25,000; by 1835, the three leading penny papers alone sold 44,000 copies per day. As penny newspapers spread around the country, the national circulation of all dailies soared from 78,000 in 1830 to 300,000 in 1840.125

Peaking from 1895 to 1898, Joseph Pulitzer’s (1847–1911) *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst’s (1863–1951) *New York Journal* battled for the highest circulation in New York City, resulting in their editorial formula being dubbed “yellow journalism.” Describing the sensationalistic nature of their papers, techniques of yellow journalism consisted of large, eye-catching headlines, lavish use of illustrations, inclusion of puzzles and contests, and the exaggeration of news.

The boom in daily newspapers stemmed from more than simply a five-cent drop in price. These new editors, including Day and Bennett, changed the nature of the product and its use and place in readers’ lives. First, these newspapers collected and conveyed news itself, in a more modern sense, by sending out reporters to cover particular beats such as crime, high society, and sports. Newspapers became independent from political factions and limped toward the practice of objectivity. Thus, the nature of articles and advertisements broadened and changed, and readers ceased to consult newspapers

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primarily for business and editorial opinion or advertisements about the arrivals of ships from overseas but for a survey of their immediate world and for advertisements geared toward consumers of clothing, patent medicines, and brand name products. Newspaper’s content centered less on work life and more on entertainment and leisure activities, as evidenced by the addition of the sporting pages. As with advertisements in the low-cost magazines, advertisements in the penny papers paid a much greater share of the costs than the list subscription price, and the new editors sold readers to advertisers, aggressively pursuing new readers by sending newsboys to hawk papers in the streets. Thus, the newspapers itself became part of the spectacle of city life, as the writing style became less stuffy and more accessible to the common folk.

The changes made during the penny press era set the standards for all future newspapers, and many of those standards still exist today. While a total circulation of 300,000 in 1840 represented a drastic leap, it still only amounted to just one daily for every fifty-seven people in the United States. Many citizens never saw or had the chance to see one as it was a phenomenon of the city, and most of the papers did not circulate far from where they were produced. Further, the content was different from place to place, aside from some of the political news, where readers in Boston saw none of the same text as a reader in Chicago. Physically, these papers were dull and not appealing to the eye with four pages of unbroken columns, no large headlines, and virtually no graphics except for tiny logos in some of the advertisements. Gradually over the next five decades, the newspaper developed into a national medium. After the

\[126\] Ibid.
\[127\] Ohmann, Selling Culture, 19.
invention and expansion of the telegraph in 1840 and the formation of the Associated Press in 1848, articles from newspapers like the Herald and the Tribune were reprinted in other papers around the country by 1860. Coinciding with the bureaucratic ideals of the Progressive era, journalism began to emerge as a profession, with its own code of ethics, practices, and organizations.\(^\text{128}\) Syndication of features became common in the 1880s, and comics staple newspaper fare in the 1890s. Publishers discovered that their product could sell itself visually, and by the 1890s, halftone reproductions of photographs became commonplace. In the format of a newspaper, this was the first time Americans had available a homogenous national experience of the news, including opinion, household advice, and entertainment.\(^\text{129}\) Throughout this period, the daily newspaper became modern in regard to advertising practices, as advertising agencies began selling space to clients in “lists” of dailies from all over the United States so that national advertising became a reality. Finally, advertising began to provide more than half of the revenue for newspapers in the 1890s, and advertisements for national brands such as Nabisco’s Uneeda Biscuits and Ivory Soap and took a prominent place beside classifieds announcing job postings and advertisements for local merchants and department stores, namely Macy’s and Lord & Taylor.\(^\text{130}\)

**Sports Coverage in the Popular Press**

At the turn of the century, newspaper coverage of sports replicated a new epoch in which athletic success came to represent America’s national character and American


\(^{129}\)Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 21.

\(^{130}\)Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 46.
During the era of yellow journalism, gaudy sports writing attracted newspaper readers and contributed to building a worldwide image of the United States as a political, economic, and athletic power. Team sports, especially college football, gave people a social outlet participating and watching sporting events. During this era, Americans felt a strong sense of nationalism, which was represented on the playing field with patriotism and pageantry, including mandatory school pep rallies before rivalry and Homecoming games and marching band and baton twirling majorette performances during football halftime shows that allowed citizens to show their loyalties to teams and most importantly, to the nation.\(^{131}\)

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the rise in yellow journalism contributed to the national interest in sports, as exemplified by sports coverage in Pulitzer’s *New York World* and Hearst’s *New York Journal*.\(^{132}\) This sensational, splashy form of journalism featured scare headlines in large type, speedy news delivery, lavish use of pictures, color printing, comics, larger newspapers, exaggerated reporting, and self-promotion to spur circulation.\(^{133}\) In the 1880s, Pulitzer’s *New York World* became the first newspaper to feature specific sports coverage with a sports department run by its own editor.\(^{134}\) He identified the public’s new hunger for sports information and understood that sports news was unique in that it appealed to the “everyman,” which complemented his philosophy

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that the *World* should reach as many readers as possible, especially the growing urban middle class.\textsuperscript{135} The sports department’s first editor, Henry G. Crickmore, made baseball and boxing coverage his first priority and quickly realized those sports drew devoted readers.\textsuperscript{136}

When Hearst bought the *New York Journal* in 1895, he emulated all of Pulitzer’s innovations and attempted to surpass them, including sports coverage as well as an emphasized coverage of crime, sex, and scandals. Throughout the 1890s, the *World* and the *Journal* both introduced separate sports sections along with increased sports coverage as part of their general circulation-building strategies. The newspaper war between these two New York dailies became the pinnacle of yellow journalism, which was coined from “The Yellow Kid,” a cartoon character that the two papers battled back and forth to run as a comic.\textsuperscript{137} Other New York dailies began to follow suit, including Bennett’s *Herald*, the *New York Post*, the *New York Tribune*, and other smaller papers. Even the somber *Times* and *Sun*, which sought to remain newspapers for “class” rather than the “mass” readership caved and devoted more coverage to sports as well as separate sports sections.\textsuperscript{138} This growing emphasis on sports news spread from New York and was replicated in newspapers across the nation, helping establish sports as a respectable


pastime for the middle class.\textsuperscript{139} Further, it set a model for the modern sports section, which is now standard in most daily and weekly newspapers.\textsuperscript{140}

Middle-class newspapers also created a niche for middle-class identity with the elite sport of intercollegiate football.\textsuperscript{141} Since colleges enrolled the sons of the wealthy, these intercollegiate football matches, especially between the Ivy League institutions, became elite social events. Coverage of social events was a newspaper staple, and football games were easy to insert into the established tropes for such events. Newspapers competed to give their readers coverage of two aspects of football games: first, a sense of the game-day experience with details on the environment, audience, and spectacle. In November 1903, \textit{The North American Review} led with an article containing this anecdote illustrating the popularity of football: “When thirty thousand people are willing to forsake comfortable homes and profitable business to sit several hours upon boards in chill November winds to witness a football-game between rival colleges, no one can doubt that the game is eminently successful as an entertainment.”\textsuperscript{142} Newspapers also provided a sense of the actual game, including the rules and basic object of the game, giving readers a play-by-play of the game to recreate the action on the field.\textsuperscript{143} The daily newspaper in particular virtually created football as a popular spectacle as the games themselves became a commodity for the newspapers to create, hype, and promote.\textsuperscript{144}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{Merrill} George E. Merrill, “Is Football Good Sport?” \textit{The North American Review}, November 1903, 758.
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid., 9.
\end{thebibliography}
appeal depended to a large degree on “spectacle,” which Guy Debord (1931–1994) identified as a key to understanding contemporary mass culture.\textsuperscript{145} Middle-class readers began to follow intercollegiate football as a way of identifying with the elite.\textsuperscript{146} The sports’ constant narrative developed a wide variety of stories about what the game meant: football as pastime, as the sport of gentlemen, as a science, as a game of rules and their infringements, as Darwinian struggle and site for the muscular Christianity movement.\textsuperscript{147} Newspapers and magazines reveled in the rough, rugged competition of football, for example, as a way to incorporate manly elements into the perceived effeminate academic life.\textsuperscript{148} From the 1880s until the 1920s, reading the popular press was the primary means of experiencing a given sporting event, as far more people read about a sporting event than could actually attend. Thus, newspapers helped to catapult the game of football into national consciousness by developing distinct narrative tensions in their coverage of college football that charged this new game with cultural concerns and anxieties burning through American society. Mass magazines then shaped these narratives of masculine identity and football into frames that focused more specifically on the demands of their middle-class readers, and they did so in a more acute fashion than newspaper coverage of college athletics.\textsuperscript{149}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[146]Oriard, \textit{Reading Football}, 9.  
\item[147]Ibid., 190.  
\item[148]Clark, \textit{Creating the College Man}, 81.  
\item[149]Ibid., 88.  
\end{footnotes}
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Using framing theory and the concept of collective memory as its theoretical basis, this dissertation examined the frames that emerged during the Progressive era in the coverage of college athletics by the popular press. It is pivotal to understand the relationship between culture and media because the mass media have become an important means by which people understand their past. The author ties this dissertation into the greater thread of these two theoretical frameworks in the examination of its nine research questions about the historical journalistic influences on college athletics and the NCAA’s role in constructing and reinforcing cultural values regarding masculinity.

Framing Theory

Media content is both a source and a manifestation of culture. It takes elements of culture, magnifies them, frames them, and feeds them back to the audience.¹ The media are also fundamental in explaining to the audience what is normal by telling them what is deviant.² This means that certain groups or individuals are given more importance in the media by the frequency in which they appear and by appearing in powerful positions while other groups or individuals are marginalized in the media by being ignored or shown in less advantageous positions and outside of the mainstream.³ WASP supremacy dictated the type of institution that college athletics became—an institution that continues to be dominated by white wealthy elitist men.

²Ibid.
³Ibid., 55.
Robert Entman defined framing as “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation.” Scholars have argued that framing is necessary to make facts significant and that the presence of frames makes particular elements of news more salient to the audience. However, although framing may make news more comprehensible to readers, it limits the telling of the story by calling attention to only certain aspects of reality in a predictable and patterned way. For example, an early reading of the New York Times coverage reveals that the publication brought to the forefront of American consciousness the notion that football could equal death rather than victorious soldiers returning heroically from the battlefield in all of their Saturday afternoon gridiron glory.

Since frames have to be considered schemes for both comprehending and presenting news, two concepts of framing are used: individual frames and media frames. Entman defines individual frames as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information.” Therefore, individual frames help readers of news to interpret what they consume. On the other hand, media frames are a “central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events … The
frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue." Entman also labeled media frames as “attributes of the news itself.” Thus, the framing and presentation of news and events in the mass media can affect how readers of the news come to understand certain events. Framing theorists use two different approaches to understand framing: episodic frames and thematic frames. In short, episodic news frames are those that focus on a specific event such as Moore’s death on Ohio Field in the Bronx or individual case studies, whereas thematic news frames are those that focus on trends over time such as eighteen football-related deaths during the 1905 season and places news stories into perspective. In the words of Shanto Iyengar, “an episodic frame presents a portrait, while a thematic frame pulls the camera back to present a landscape.”

While individual and media frames are necessary to increase salience between both the receiver and sender of the frames, this study focuses on media frames because it examines how the popular press used frames in its coverage of college athletics and the formation of the NCAA, instead of how the readers comprehended them. Throughout history, college sports fans have typically attended few games, so they rely on the media to give them the final score and the highlights, if not the play by play. This was the case

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at the turn of the century, and they read about dozens of games the next day in the newspaper. Thus, it is the sportswriter’s job to mediate between the athletic contest and its audience with sports writing as the text for that mediation process. The sportswriters, faculty representatives, and university spokesmen who wrote about football and college athletics in the popular press during the Progressive era were themselves interested followers of these games and issues, and thus to some degree representative of their interested readers, but they were unique because they had access to the most powerful media of the day: the mass circulation magazine and the daily newspaper. Therefore, those writers’ power to determine their readers’ understanding of college athletics resided in the issues they raised and the ways they framed those issues.13

William A. Gamson argued, “the frames for a given story are frequently drawn from shared cultural narratives and myths.”14 Sports, especially college athletics, have a way of capturing the attention of the American public. This study seeks to discover and explain how and why these frames emerged during the formulating period of combining athletics with the system of higher education, reinforcing and perpetuating the myth of the white male Christian ideal in popular society.

Collective Memory

Barry Schwartz offered a concise definition of collective memory as “a metaphor that formulates society’s retention and loss of information about its past in the familiar

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Communication is a critical element of collective memory, and it makes possible the unique capacity of collective memory to preserve pasts older than the oldest living individual. Chris Weedon and Glenn Jordan argued: “Multiple power relations shape collective memory. Many factors affect collective memory and the counter-memories to which it can give rise: for example, constructions of nation, region, family, class, political affiliation, ethnic group and religion.”

Joan Konner, publisher of *The Columbia Journalism Review*, wrote in the magazine’s century-review in 1999 that during the past 100 years “[j]ournalism not only wrote the first draft of history, it played an ever larger role in defining history …. The words and images by which we came to know [events] are branded into our collective memories as the moments that defined our lives and times.”

By understanding the collective beliefs about the past that help influence and inform the present and future of different communities, regions, social groups, and nations, collective memory is critical to understanding the relationship between culture and media because the mass media have become an important means by which people understand their past.

Renee Christine Romano and Leigh Raiford write, “Representations of the past can be mobilized to serve partisan purposes. They can be commercialized for the sake of tourism; they can shape a nation’s sense of identity, build hegemony, or serve to shore up the political interests of the state; and they can certainly influence the ways in which

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people understand their world.”’

Hence, historical memory matters as a site for the struggle over power and ideology. Some of these memory sites struggle to exist, and in competing versions of the past, “power is the key to understanding why a certain content embodied in a specific form has been selected in a specific context.”

Thus, by looking at press coverage of certain people and events in historical memory, it is reflective of shifts in cultural and social power. During the Progressive era, the fear of feminization as well as WASP supremacy led to the construction of college athletics as a social and cultural phenomenon that quickly swept the nation.

Several scholars noted that the press has played a historic role in building American collective consciousness and memory, and it has depended upon history and memory in storytelling.

Jill Edy analyzed the ways journalists have used the past and collective memory and concluded that the media are extremely important to the construction and maintenance of national collective memory. She wrote:

> As our society continues to dissect itself into small, competing groups, our possession of a past in common may be one of the few ties that bind us as a whole. Collective memory, the meaning that a community makes of its past, is home to critical aspects of political culture, community tradition, and social identity. It informs our understanding of past events and present relationships, and it contributes to our expectations about the future.

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23 Ibid.
Based primarily on almost 2,000 nineteenth-century magazine article titles, Betty H. Winfield and Janice Hume found that historical referents increased drastically by 1900, and journalists used them primarily for context and placement while often noting the country’s origins, leaders, and wars, particularly the Civil War. During an era of increased magazine circulation, rise in feature stories, and nation building, journalists connected the present to the past by highlighting an American story worth remembering.24 In her pivotal work on collective memory in magazines, Carolyn Kitch contended that news media have become the public historians of American culture. It characterizes specific slices of the past in ways that merge the past, present and future into a single, ongoing tale, connecting the Progressive era to the present day.25 Through that process, the media extend the cultural authority of mass media as the shapers of public memory — a shared understanding of the American past that is negotiated in the public sphere and that draws on a common cultural framework of values. Furthermore, magazines are important sites of identity formation, and even though they are a commercial enterprise, they also convey normative cultural ideas whose construction repeatedly involves the reader.26 By studying the function of the popular press as a site of public memory and its role in shaping the legacy of the most dominant legislative body in intercollegiate athletics in the twentieth century, one can glimpse inside America’s fascination with college sports.

26Kitch, “‘Useful Memory’ in Time Inc. Magazines,” 94.
Michael Schudson also made connections between newspapers and the construction of collective memory, calling the medium a “remarkable institution, an intriguing and important historical achievement, today the most representative carrier and construer and creator of modern public consciousness.” He argued that news stories are social constructions and that the newspaper is the vehicle transporting these news stories to its readers. Therefore, the newspaper “participates in the construction of mental worlds in which we live rather than in the reproduction of the ‘real world’ we live in relation to.” Since both newspapers and magazines are published for a mass audience, collective memories are preserved and available for future journalists and others to recall and repeat them.

However, as Barbie Zelizer aptly noted, relatively limited research has explicitly explored the media’s role in collective memory study, especially the sports media. Sports journalism— with its routinely mythic invocations, endless statistics, and diligent recordkeeping—presents a fertile site for analyzing journalism’s use of the past and its consequences for how a community accommodates it. Kitch argued that magazines offer a medium of “meaning-making, community-building, and reminiscence.”

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28 Ibid, 423.
30 Edy, “Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory.”
presenting a product through which memory is “inscribed.”\textsuperscript{31} Thus, it is arguable that sports pages and sports coverage in the popular press would offer even more opportunity for identity, memory, and community building because the purpose of this journalistic coverage and adoration of sport is itself a platform for collective memory. And the shadow of tragedy and reform can only heighten the stakes.

**Research Questions**

Popular New York newspapers as well as popular mass circulation magazines that emerged around 1900 served as the forerunners of the modern media — the nation’s first national mass media.\textsuperscript{32} Stuart Hall wrote that the media works “actively ruling in and ruling out certain realities … helping us not simply to know more about the ‘world’ but to ‘make sense in it.’”\textsuperscript{33} These newspapers and magazines played a pivotal role in the process of cultural evolution, of helping Americans who read the popular press to define themselves, sort through possibilities, and to make sense of their place in the United States. Coverage of college life, especially college athletics, as well as concerns over shifting requirements for business success and male identity expanded dramatically in the popular press.\textsuperscript{34}

As Jacquelyn Down Hall eloquently noted: “We are never outside memory, for we cannot experience the present except in light of the past … and remembering, in turn,

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\textsuperscript{34}Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 21.
is an action in the present.” By using the theory behind her quotation and the concept of collective memory and framing, this dissertation will look for evidence of how popular New York newspapers and mass magazines during the Progressive era entrenched the importance of the NCAA and college athletics into Americans’ thoughts toward higher education and how college athletics grew into a sort of lifestyle for many Americans. In addition, I will analyze the presentation of athleticism and how it reinforced anxieties of the time, including the threat to American culture and Americans’ definition of manhood and masculinity. Therefore, to analyze the coverage of college athletics and the NCAA by the popular press, this dissertation proposed nine research questions:

RQ1a. What media informed the modern demand for college athletics in the United States?

RQ1b. What social forces informed the modern demand for college athletics in the United States?

RQ2. In what way did the formation of the NCAA aid in the construction of college athletics in the popular press?

RQ3a. What media frames about college athletics were found within the popular press?

RQ3b. What media frames about the NCAA were found within the popular press?

RQ4a. What media frames about women’s college athletics were found within the popular press?

\footnote{Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, “’You Must Remember This’”: Autobiography as Social Critique,” *The Journal of American History* 85, no. 2 (September 1998): 440.}
RQ4b. Did the media frames about women’s college athletics differ from those about men’s college athletics within the popular press?

RQ5a. Did the press coverage of college athletics reinforce the accepted views of virtuous life and cultural anxieties of the time?

RQ5b. Did the press coverage of the NCAA reinforce the accepted views of virtuous life and cultural anxieties of the time?

Methodology

This dissertation applies textual and historical analysis to examine its research questions about the historical journalistic influences on college athletics and the NCAA’s role in constructing and reinforcing cultural values regarding masculinity. Alan McKee defined textual analysis as a “way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world.” Based on his justification, this dissertation will employ McKee’s definition to examine coverage of intercollegiate athletics in popular magazines from 1896 to 1916, the dates of the Progressive era, and coverage of the NCAA from the organization’s inception in 1905 to 1916 in two popular New York newspapers, the New York Times and the New York World, as well as the proceedings of the fledging NCAA, which held its annual conventions and significant meetings in New York City. Textual analysis considers not only what is said, but also why it is said and how it might be interpreted. It allows researchers to examine the ways in which ideas or events are given importance, as well as how those ideas and events are to be

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understood. Measuring the qualitative attributes of media content can be difficult, but it is often much more revealing than measuring the quantitative attributes of media content. Since textual analysis can be subjective, it is pivotal to become immersed in the time period by reading secondary literature about the Progressive era and to understand the historical backdrop against which college athletics took shape.

Historical analysis shares many similarities with textual analysis. In historical analysis, researchers, through records and primary documents, study the past in order to reveal insight into social phenomena. This method will be used as an introductory strategy for establishing a historical context in which to set a more contemporary study. It is also often used in conjunction with other research methods, which is the case in this dissertation. The author visited the NCAA archive, located at the NCAA’s national headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana, in the fall of 2012. The archive consists of the papers of the past two NCAA Executive Directors, NCAA championship programs, photographs from the Association newspapers, and press guides and results as well as convention proceedings dating back to 1906, which is where the author found a treasure trove of details so far unexplored by previous scholars. Several scholars have utilized these archives when writing about the history of the NCAA, but none have done so from the perspective of the media. The archive is not open to the public, but the author

39 Very few detailed histories of the NCAA exist and the two significant ones are both commemorative. The NCAA asked journalist Jack Falla to write its official seventy-fifth anniversary history. Falla, NCAA: The Voice of College Sports. For its centennial version, the NCAA turned to the former President of the University of Nevada, Reno, Joe Crowley. Joseph N. Crowley, In the Arena: The NCAA’s First Century (2006), http://www.ncaapublications.com/p-4039-in-the-arena-the-ncaas-first-
received permission from the head archivist, Ellen Summers, who graciously consented to the research request. The annual NCAA convention proceedings from 1906 to 1916 detailed how the Association planned to use the media as a way to build the NCAA’s membership and influence throughout the United States. The discussions at these annual meetings also was reflected in the popular press coverage of college athletic issues and concerns, adding evidence of the influence the NCAA had on the content in the popular press.

An interpretive textual analysis allows scholars to look at not only what was written, but also at what was not written and why that may have been the case. Thus, the focus is not only on what was written in the popular mass circulation magazines and the *New York Times* and the *New York World* about college athletics and the NCAA, but also on why these media outlets and authors wrote and framed college athletics in the manner they did. First, historical analysis will establish the context and backdrop of the Progressive era. By utilizing the NCAA archives, contextual gaps will be filled from the NCAA’s first eleven proceedings, 1906–1916. Second, textual analysis of newspapers and magazines permits the author to analyze the frames and meanings within these texts and the relationships between those frames, meanings, and the wider processes of newspaper and magazine production and consumption.

Data Collection

Articles from American popular magazines were collected and examined from 1896 to 1916, the Progressive era, a period that saw an increase in the number and circulation of popular magazines, immense social and cultural anxiety, and the redefinition of masculinity. In addition, the NCAA was founded in 1906 — right in the middle of the period. The Readers’ Guide Retrospective, a digitized, online version of the Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature, which is the ultimate index of subjects in the popular press, was used to locate articles in popular mass magazines. Using the keywords “college athletics,” “college sports,” “women athletics,” and “college football,” a total of 258 articles were found. The keyword, college football, was picked out specifically as opposed to other college sports because of its historical importance as the catalyst for the formation of the NCAA. Former NCAA staff writer Kay Hawes argued: “Without the sport of football there would be no NCAA, at least not as we know it today. Football was the initial reason for the Association, although the organization didn’t limit itself, even from the beginning, to just one sport. But football was the seed that began it all.” These articles appeared in a total of thirty-one magazines with the majority of the coverage about college athletics found in Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation, which in 1906 changed its name to The Outing Magazine (62 articles), The Outlook (42 articles), The Independent (29 articles), The Nation (26 articles), Harper’s
Weekly (15 articles), and Collier’s (12 articles). Articles also appeared in lower frequencies in other popular magazines (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Number of Articles Found in Popular Magazines, 1896-1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Title</th>
<th>1896-1900</th>
<th>1901-1905</th>
<th>1906-1910</th>
<th>1911-1916</th>
<th>Total No. of Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Homes and Gardens</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Magazine of Civics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Magazine</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Monthly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collier’s</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Century Illustrated Magazine</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everybody’s</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Housekeeping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper’s Bazaar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper’s Weekly</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClure’s Magazine</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munsey’s Magazine</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outing Magazine</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overland Monthly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Popular Science Monthly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific American</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Nicholas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Atlantic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bookman: A Magazine of Literature and Life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Forum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Independent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ladies’ Home Journal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Living Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North American Review</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Outlook</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Spectator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The World To-Day</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman’s Home Companion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
<td><strong>239</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Articles from the New York Times and the evening edition of the New York World were collected from 1905 to 1916. This time period represented the first ten years of the NCAA’s existence as well as the year leading up to its formation, in which the New York press was fundamental in pushing for college football reform. The New York Times emphasized news over entertainment and thus, drew readers primarily from the educated and business classes, whereas the New York World emphasized entertainment over news and thus, drew readers from the emerging less-educated middle class at the turn of the century. Writing in particular about the New York Times, Jack Lule called the newspaper a “state scribe … our society’s privileged and preeminent storyteller.” As a result of the quantity (multipage features) and quality of its college football coverage, the New York daily press is said to have “‘created’ college football, transforming an extracurricular activity into a national spectacle.” The New York World was also the first newspaper to feature a separate sports section, proudly labeled in the evening edition, “BEST SPORTING PAGE IN NEW YORK.” In adhering to its self-labeling as the best in the city, the evening edition of the New York World would be the first opportunity for the newspaper to report on the NCAA’s annual proceeding for that given day.

Using the Historical Newspapers database operated by ProQuest, ninety-five articles from the New York Times were found from 1906 to 1916 with a search of the

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44 Oriard, Reading Football, 58.
keywords “Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States” and “National Collegiate Athletic Association.” Using the Chronicling America database available through the Library of Congress, a search of the keywords “Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States” and “National Collegiate Athletic Association,” yielded sixteen articles from the New York World between 1906 and 1916. Every article was analyzed that matched the search criteria to determine what major frames emerged, especially regarding the benefits and anxieties of merging athletics with higher education.

Four media frames were found to be present in popular magazines from 1896 to 1916 touching on college athletics, including Call for Reform (Chapter 4), Muscular Christianity (Chapter 5), Evils of College Athletics (Chapter 6), and Methods in Strategy (Chapter 7). The most articles (sixty-eight) pertaining to college athletics were found during the years of 1905 to 1907, which was during and after the pivotal formative period of the IAAUS in 1906. Coverage of college athletics peaked in popular magazines in 1905 with thirty-six articles, corresponding to the year plagued with the most deaths, up to that point, from the game of football. Coverage of college athletics spiked again in 1910 with nineteen articles, following the 1909 season, which resulted in the death of thirty football players including the captain of the West Point football team, Cadet Byrne (see Table 3.1).45

Chapter 4: Call For Reform

Of the four media frames identified in popular magazine articles on college athletics from 1896 to 1916, the most frequent and prominent media frame was “call for reform.” College athletics’ coverage peaked in popular magazines in 1905 with thirty-six articles, eighteen of which used the “call to reform” frame. To further highlight the prevalence of this frame, the most articles (sixty-eight) pertaining to college athletics were found during the years of 1905 to 1907, which surrounded the pivotal formative period of the IAAUS, an Association formed partly in reaction to the public outcry in the popular press demanding reform after the deaths of college football players on the gridiron. The call for reform frame highlighted the need for college athletics to undergo major rule and structural changes in order to remain aligned with the nation’s colleges and universities and to prevent even more serious injuries and fatalities on the field. A constant debate within the pages of these magazines occurred about whether the benefits of competitive college athletics so outweighed their possible evils that they should be encouraged or even permitted to exist as a part of the physical education system at the high school and college level. Popular magazine articles discussed topics such as commercialism, professionalism, football rule changes, and alumni issues including proselytizing and recruiting among the preparatory and high schools. In addition, many

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articles included a list of the reforms, regulations, and rules that authors suggested college administrators should adopt to improve college athletics.²

A Public Outcry

Nineteen football fatalities occurred during the 1905 football season, a record of deaths more than double that of the yearly average for the previous five years.³ At the close of the 1905 football season in November, the general dissatisfaction with the game had reached its climax, and a public cry for reform within the popular press had been established.⁴ As Dartmouth Professor Homer Eaton Keyes (1875–1938), writing for The Outlook in 1906, a general interest weekly magazine published in New York City, so aptly summed up,

Newspapers compiled lists of the slain; wise professors, feeling that something was incumbent upon them as guides, philosophers, and friends of young manhood, rose up and pronounced anathema upon the game which, it is to be feared, some of them had never seen; enthusiastic faculties passed votes of total abolition—and later reconsidered them.”⁵

⁵Homer Eaton Keyes, “The New Football: Origin and Meaning of the Revised Rules,” The Outlook, November 24, 1906, 778. Founded in 1870, The Outlook began as a Baptist paper called The Christian Union. In July 1893, the editors, Henry Ward Beecher and George S. Merriam, changed the name to The Outlook and claimed the weekly magazine would be a running history of the year in fifty-two chapters with its editorials, features, and departments detailing the issues of the day. Around the turn of the twentieth century, the magazine turned much of its attention toward politics, and Theodore Roosevelt
Following the lead of newspapers, popular magazines compiled detailed lists of the fatalities as well as the serious injuries, discussing annual mortality rates and offering explanations for the deaths from several seasons (see Table 4.1).⁶

### Table 4.1. Deaths and Serious Injuries Resulting for Football, 1905 to 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Serious Injuries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All Levels</td>
<td>College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Data compiled from the *New York Times* and the IAAUS/NCAA annual convention Proceedings.

During each annual convention, the IAAUS, a governing body consisting of college coaches, educators, and administrators, also gave a report on the number of football fatalities. At this time, players wore very little padding except for the inside lining attached to their jersey at the shoulders, and thighs and helmets were nothing more than a leather cap. Adding another layer to this problem, teammates often chastised other

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player’s masculinity if they found out he added more padding to his uniform for protection, as it slowed him down on the field. In 1906, *The Independent*, a general interest weekly magazine published in New York City, claimed that only players at minor colleges, where the young men were not properly trained, received the brunt of these injuries. This statistic held true until the death of Cadet Eugene Byrne from West Point during the 1909 season. Almost two years later, journalist Arthur Benjamin Reeve (1880–1936), writing for *The Independent* in 1907, did not blame the game itself but placed the fault at the hands of the players and the manner in which they played it. Football, not a game for boys, must be played by men of seasoned age in good physical condition and according to the rules and the spirit of the rules. In *The Outlook*, Dr. J. William White (1850–1916), however, justified the injuries and deaths in 1905 by noting that every sport had inherent dangers. As the founder of the Department of Physical Education at the University of Pennsylvania, he compared the views of two football critics, President Eliot of Harvard and Professor Paul van Dyke (1859–1933) of Princeton, on college football to his own view, concluding that football was indeed a sport worth saving. While President

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7“University Football Injuries,” 115. Founded in 1848 by a group of New York businessmen and Congregational ministers, *The Independent* began as a weekly religious newspaper, filling its four pages with foreign and domestic news, missionary news, advertising, vital statistics, and articles by correspondents. It was greatly concerned with the issue of slavery and its extreme position on antislavery almost destroyed its circulation during its second year. However, it survived to publish Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, and in turn, *The Independent* made her a leading contributor. Over the next sixty-five years, it underwent a number of changes in size, ownership, and editorship, reaching its highest circulation in 1870 with 75,000. It maintained an important position among American magazines and was fundamental in pushing for women’s suffrage. *The Independent* gave attention to general events and questions of the day, and printed some fiction, comments on public affairs, and had departments devoted to the fine arts, literature, education, science, music, and farm and garden. In 1928, the magazine merged with *The Outlook* to form *The Outlook and Independent*. (Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 367-379).


9Ibid., 1348.
Eliot admitted that the risk of death during four years of college football was not as great as from horseback riding, driving an automobile, boating or yachting, he continued to be staunchly against the sport.\textsuperscript{10}

Prompted by this public outcry in the popular press and the threat of Harvard President Eliot abolishing football at his alma mater, President Theodore Roosevelt invited six tireless and influential supporters of college athletics at the so-called Big Three universities, Yale, Princeton and Harvard, to Washington, D.C. If these three universities could take up leadership against athletic dishonesty and football brutality, Roosevelt believed that other colleges would follow suit, and football could be reformed. Early in the 1905 football season on Monday, October 9, Roosevelt invited two men from each of these universities: three head football coaches, William T. Reid, Jr. (1878–1976) of Harvard, John E. Owsley (1883–1953) of Yale, and Dr. Arthur Ralph Thomas Hillebrand (1877–1941) of Princeton and three representatives, Walter Chauncey Camp (1859–1925) of Yale, Dr. Edward Nichols, the Harvard team physician, and Henry Buchard Fine (1858–1928) of the Princeton Athletic Committee, to confer about what could reduce the gridiron brutality.\textsuperscript{11} These gentlemen, several of whom were great football players in their younger years,\textsuperscript{12} issued the following signed statement at the conclusion of the meeting:

\begin{flushright}


\textsuperscript{12}William “Bill” Reid played fullback for Harvard University from 1897 to 1899 and was the head coach during the 1901 season and the 1905 and 1906 seasons. He was inducted into the College Football Hall of Fame in 1970. Dr. Arthur Ralph Thomas “Doc” Hillebrand played tackle for Princeton University from 1896 to 1899. He was the head football coach for the Navy Midshipmen from 1901 to 1902 and then back to his alma mater, Princeton, from 1903-1905. He was also inducted in the College Football Hall of Fame in 1970. John Ebsworth “Jack” Owsley played college football, principally as a left halfback, for Yale.
\end{flushright}
At a meeting with the President of the United States it was agreed that we consider that an honorable obligation exists to carry out in spirit the rules of the game of football relating to roughness, holding, and foul play; and the active coaches of our universities, being present with us, pledged themselves to so regard it and to do their utmost to carry out that obligation.13

The seeds of a regulatory body for college football were planted at that Big Three White House meeting, as the IAAUS was formed just seven months following the conferees’ intent to reform the game. However, several other issues, namely commercialism and professionalism, were festering in college athletics and were a constant focus of criticism in popular magazines.14 Although writers, educators, coaches, athletes, and college presidents differed on their approach, their cumulative voices issued a unified message within the pages of these magazines: college athletics must be reformed.

Commercialism

For decades, undergraduate students, who played various sports as a recreational activity with little interference from college administrators or faculty members, controlled college athletics.15 Realizing that their students were making thousands of
dollars from gate admission, however, college administrators soon desired a cut of the profits, leading to their direct involvement. In addition to the financial gain, it quickly became obvious that a winning team would attract incoming students.\textsuperscript{16} A 1903 editorial in \textit{The Independent} predicted the impending involvement of college administrators by writing, “Surely the time will come, as the sociologists have predicted, when the educational and moral aspects of sport will be everywhere recognized, and hence athletics will be made an integral part of the curriculum under faculty management and supervision.”\textsuperscript{17}

Writing for \textit{The Forum}, a monthly symposium-based magazine published in New York City, Massachusetts Institute of Technology English Professor Arlo Bates (1850–1918) reflected in 1901, “While sport must have a part in every well-balanced education, it very easily slips into excess, and consequently into evil.”\textsuperscript{18} Several magazines published articles framing the deplorable condition of college athletics around the dangerous combination of professionalism and commercialism. In \textit{The Outlook}, writer Clarence Deming elaborated on this tendency in July 1905:

The money power in college athletics, whether called by that name or under its more prolix titles of “professionalism” or “commercialism,” has three pretty well defined stages. It has its germ; its period of incubation and growth, when it throws

\textsuperscript{16}Deming, “Athletics in College Life: The Money Power in College Athletics.”

\textsuperscript{17}“Athletic Finances,” \textit{The Independent}, 1415-1416.

\textsuperscript{18}Arlo Bates, “The Negative Side of Modern Athletics,” \textit{The Forum}, May 1901, 291. Founded in 1885 by Isaac Leopold Rice, \textit{The Forum} existed under various names and formats until it ceased publication in 1950. It’s most influential incarnation lasted from 1885 to 1902 and was symposium based, in which articles from prominent guest authors debated all sides of a contemporary social or political issue. Its articles were of such high quality that they were often used as resources for colleges and universities with the articles studied in seminar discussions. Alongside \textit{Atlantic Monthly} and \textit{Harper’s Magazine}, \textit{The Forum} became one of the most respected journals in the United States at its apex. In several respects, it was more exceptional as it carried a more Southern emphasis and was the only journal widely accessible to African-Americans. (Patrick K. Dooley, \textit{Pluralistic Philosophy of Stephen Crane} (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993,) 21.)
off some noxious by-products; and its matured fruit in the athletic finances of the larger American society … Athletic fiscal policy tends, not toward simplicity and economy, but to greater and greater expansion.19

Similar to college athletics today, however, only a few of the elite universities, mainly the Big Three, conducted athletics for a financial gain, but all stillstrived to win and compete with the elite schools.20 Professor Ira N. Hollis, chairman of the Harvard Athletic Committee, writing in McClure’s, agreed with Deming about the evils of commercialism: “The evils of college athletics are the evils of every-day life. Commercialism is a characteristic of American life.”21 With the rise of industrialization and urbanization, the sheer amount of advertising within these mass circulation magazines was further confirmation of commercialism running rampant throughout American society.

In the great debate about college athletics in the wake of record high deaths, the same monotonous cry for rule revision and reform rose from many of these magazines; some called for committee control of college athletics although others called for university or student control with only minor rule reforms. In a Harper’s Weekly column in 1898, Camp called for purity of sport and showcased an early need for an organizing

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21Henry Beach Needham, “The College Athlete: How Commercialism is Making Him a Professional,” McClure’s Magazine, June 1905, 123. Founded by S. S. McClure, McClure’s Magazine published its first issue in June 1893 at just fifteen cents per issue and contained just fewer than one hundred pages and carried just under one hundred illustrations. Its first taste of popular approval came with Ida M. Tarbell’s “Napoleon” and the illustrations that accompanied it. By 1898, the beginning of the Progressive era, it had reached a circulation of 400,000. Largely credited with starting the tradition of muckraking journalism, the magazine helped shape the moral compass of the day. For example, it published Tarbell’s series in 1902 exposing the monopoly abuses of John D. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Company and Ray Stannard Baker’s earlier look at the United States Steel Corporation, which focused the public eye on the conduct of corporations. McClure’s featured both literary and political content, publishing serialized novels-in-progress, a chapter at a time from such writers as Rudyard Kipling, Jack London, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Mark Twain. (Frank L. Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905 vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 589-607).
athletic body. “A high standard entails not only freedom from professionalism, but also means placing the conduct of the sport in the hands of the best men, and the consequent continual elevation of the athletic organization.”

But the dispute on whom the best men were for the job continued for eight more years until the formation of the IAAUS. In a 1902 article for *Popular Science Monthly*, Professor Calvin Milton Woodward (1837–1914), dean of the school of engineering at Washington University in St. Louis, criticized the practice of several professors who allowed collegiate players to pass classes without attendance, and he saw the solution in establishing a conference of representatives from all colleges to decide on rules and regulations.

Writing for *Harper’s Weekly* in September 1904, William Rainey Harper (1856–1906), president of the University of Chicago, traced the evils of college athletics to the financial side, which led to both commercialism and professionalism in intercollegiate athletics. Following Woodward’s direction, he advocated for a reorganization of athletic work in order to secure uniformity of policy across all universities.

Just two months later, former Yale All-American fullback and football coach Frank Seiler Butterworth (1870–1950) in *Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation*, campaigned for change in 1904 but thought the principal source of evil in

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22 Camp, “Call For a High Standard in College Athletics,” 46.
24 Harper, “Shall College Athletics be Endowed?” 1358. Founded on January 3, 1857 by Fletcher Harper, *Harper’s Weekly: A Journal of Civilization* was an American political magazine based in New York City. From 1857 to 1916, the magazine provided an illustrated history of the United States, complete with foreign and domestic news, fictions, essays on a plethora of topics, and humor. The magazine was known for its extensive coverage of the American Civil War, including many illustrations of events from the war. After 1900, *Harper’s Weekly* devoted more coverage to social and political issues, featuring articles by some of the prominent political figures of the day such as Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt. Publishing its final issue on May 13, 1916, it was absorbed by *The Independent*. (Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1965* vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 469-487).
college athletics stemmed from the formation of committees, particularly the Football Rules Committee. Through committees, he argued in the popular illustrated monthly magazine, athletics would be managed as a business instead of as recreation. “There is too much red tape and too little simplicity; too much distrust and too little fair dealing.”

He continued that committees do not appeal to the good in the players for whom they endeavor to legislate. In a 1905 editorial, “The Control of College Athletics,” *The Outlook* argued for college authorities to take control of college athletics into their own hands because man’s concern should not be strictly for athletics itself, but for the social traditions and honor of the college.

Only four months later, President Roosevelt would intervene and urge the creation of the IAAUS, forerunner to the current NCAA, which initially consisted of mainly faculty representatives to maintain each institution’s tradition and honor. In fact, the IAAUS was born into trouble because the real authority was vested in the member institutions and not with the national Association. Labeled “home rule,” each institution made its own rules and dealt with rule-breakers in its own manner, so the IAAUS did not bear the responsibility of enforcing the rules and principles it

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25 Butterworth, “Honesty in Football,” 141. Originally created in the late 1970s, the Football Rules Committee had been charged with the creation of the American game of football and implemented rule changes to the game.

26 Ibid., 146. The first issue of *Outing*, dated May 1882, was a twenty-four-page quarto magazine with a price of twenty cents and was founded in Albany, New York, by young publisher William Bailey Howland (1849–1917). Its coverage included a monthly record of amateur sports and this twenty-page section became a vital part of the magazine. By 1893, the section had seven departments including one devoted strictly to college athletics, detailing football, baseball and track in their seasons. Walter Camp was a contributor to the magazine and wrote annual football reviews. By 1896, it had reached a circulation of 90,000 with around forty pages of advertising a month, but its largest circulation reached a little more than 100,000 from 1905 to 1910. It lasted until February 1926. (Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905* vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 633-638).

27 Ibid.

28 The Control of College Athletics,” *The Outlook*, July 1, 1905, 561-563.
In the years after the IAAUS was formed, popular magazine articles lamented that the problem with college sports was not their roughness or extravagance but their lack of wholesome standards of frankness and honesty. Of football reform, Caspar Whitney (1864–1929), similar to Harper’s Weekly, wrote in Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation, the troubles of football could not be eliminated by altering rules because the game itself reflected the undesirable as well as the desirable qualities of the American spirit. Under Whitney’s editorship from 1900 to 1910, Outing achieved its highest circulation and point of excellence, as the magazine was intelligent, lively, and attractive in appearance. Whitney’s editorial department, called “The Sportsmen’s Viewpoint,” occupied a dozen or more pages per issue and set the tone for the magazine. In one such editorial, he argued in 1905 that college athletics did not need rules on the field, but rather “the spirit of sportsmanship and the courage to rise above the immediate desires of the athletic field.” Winning at any cost was one of the most overpowering immediate desires and far outweighed the moral and educational benefits of sports, he complained. Whitney echoed Butterworth’s fears from two years earlier about the detrimental effects of forming a committee to regulate college athletics. He favored a chairman instead of a committee because a committee can put the blame on another

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32Ibid., 486.
man’s shoulders and rarely accomplished its goals.\(^{33}\) In a similar vein, President Eliot of Harvard severely criticized college athletics, especially football, in *The Outlook* in 1906 as unfit for college, and he called for an ethical revival in college athletics.\(^{34}\) In February 1906, the Harvard Board of Overseers decided to not abolish college football after the crisis of 1905. Reacting to the Overseers decision, Eliot concluded it “‘childish to suppose that the athletic authorities which have permitted football to become a brutal, cheating, demoralizing game can be trusted to reform it.’”\(^{35}\) He remained a severe skeptic and outspoken enemy of intercollegiate athletics, namely the sports of football, baseball, basketball and hockey, as he claimed in 1906 that the only clean sports were rowing and tennis.\(^{36}\)

At the beginning of the 1907 football season, reporter Roger Alden Derby (1883–1949), a member of the Harvard football team in 1903 and 1904, wrote an article on the true object of college athletics for *The Outlook*, which was to promote the physical welfare of all the undergraduates. This was a goal, Derby argued, that was not being met within the nation’s colleges because of the prevalence of professionalism and commercialism. Attributing these evils to an outgrowth of an exaggerated spirit of competition, he vouched they would disappear when this spirit was reduced to a normal condition and the college faculties resumed control.\(^{37}\) The commercialism in college sport was growing into a moneymaker, rather than as recreation for all of the students. He also

\(^{33}\) Ibid.
\(^{34}\) "The Ethical Revival in College Athletics,” *The Outlook*, February 17, 1906, 343-344.
\(^{35}\) Ibid at 343.
\(^{36}\) "Eliot Against Basketball: Harvard President Says Rowing and Tennis are the Only Clean Sports,” *New York Times*, November 28, 1906.
\(^{37}\) Derby, “College Athletics,” 254-255.
placed the charge of reform in the hands of college and university administrators to see that the true aim of athletics was not distorted nor its power for good restricted.\textsuperscript{38}

Progressive reformers, college educators, and magazine writers were anxious about college athletics turning into a big business as many other industries around them had been doing. For example, evidence of commercialism and the money collected from football ticket sales could be found in the construction of the new football stadium at Harvard University, wrote Henry Beach Needham (1871–1915) in 1905. Seating more than 30,000 people, the stadium cost approximately a quarter of a million dollars and opened in November during the 1903 football season.\textsuperscript{39} Several Harvard professors were outspoken on this issue, arguing that the erection of a stadium showed the wanton waste of athletic funds for the benefit of only a few students who played on the college eleven.\textsuperscript{40} Similar in shape to the Panathenaic Stadium, the site of the first modern Olympics in 1896 in Athens, Greece, Harvard Stadium is now a National Historic Landmark, as it was the first stadium to resemble a modern day stadium. It continues to be utilized for the Crimson football and men and women’s lacrosse teams.\textsuperscript{41} Because of the student control over college athletics, the college games were becoming more commercialized as students charged gate fees, and the popularity of college football continued to escalate. As athletics began overtaking the academic side of college life, reformers and educators called for reform in order to keep students and their sports in

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{38}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{39}Needham, “The College Athlete,” 269.
\item \textsuperscript{40}Ibid. The college “eleven” referred to the eleven men who played on the football field at one time.
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check.

Professionalism

During the Progressive era, a national dialogue regarding professionalism took place within the pages of popular magazines as sporting experts, educators, and other writers unanimously called for reform in this area as well. Writing for The Independent in 1900, Camp, the best authority on amateur athletics, had written that professionalism, or the collecting of expert athletes and coaches, represented the most serious abuse in college athletics.\(^{42}\) Serving as Yale’s athletic advisor and its representative on the Football Rules Committee for thirty years, Camp is widely attributed with developing the modern game of football, and as such he was a staunch advocate for the amateurism ideal in order to protect the integrity of college athletics at Yale as well as the game he spent his life to develop.

In a 1905 two-part McClure’s Magazine muckraking series on “The College Athlete,” Needham noted the growing shift from amateurism to professionalism in college athletics as well as the growing anxiety surrounding this development.\(^{43}\) Eight years before the formation of the IAAUS in 1906, the Conference on Intercollegiate Athletics met at Brown University in 1898 with delegates from most of the elite Eastern colleges, excluding only Yale University, attending to discuss questions about objectionable features of college athletics. As a result of the conference, a set of eligibility rules were adopted with the most important rule defining a college amateur.


\(^{43}\)Needham, “The College Athlete: How Commercialism Is Making Him a Professional,” 115. Several historical scholars have referred to Needham’s two-part series on the abuses of college athletics as muckraking.
According to the rule, a student becomes ineligible to compete if he accepts compensation “direct or indirect” for his athletic services. Details about these payments from alumni and overzealous “friends” of college athletic teams will be discussed in the next section on the framing of alumni issues. The Nation, America’s oldest continuously published magazine, published an editorial a week later reacting to Needham’s article, stating that he was not the first investigator to discover the college athletics had been commercialized. Nor would he be the last, as this analysis will continue to show. The Nation, however, did praise Needham for the pains he undertook to collect a large number of instances of the professional athlete, reflecting the commercialization and professionalization of not merely undergraduates and graduates, but of faculties and presidents as well. As quoted in the editorial, Professor Alfred Henry Lloyd (1864–1927) of the University of Michigan detailed just how pervasive professionalism had become in other aspects of university life: “‘Professionalism, in fact, if not in name, is constantly checking the real usefulness of all student activities, not merely of athletics. The social life is injured by it. The religious life is perverted and robbed by it.’”

Ibid. Known as the “Providence Rules,” the code defining an amateur athlete is as follows: “No student shall be allowed to represent the University in any public contest, either individually or as a member of any team, who, either before or since entering the University, shall have engaged for money in any athletic competition, whether for a stake, or a money prize, or a share of the entrance fees or admission money; or who shall have taught or engaged in any athletic exercise or sport as a means of livelihood; or who shall at any time have 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 his college organization, or from any permanent amateur association of which he was at the time a member, the amount by which the expenses necessarily incurred by him in representing his organization in athletic contests exceeded his ordinary expenses. This rule shall be so construed as to disqualify a student who receives from any source whatever a pecuniary gain, or emolument, or position of profit, direct or indirect, in order to render it possible for him to participate in university athletics.”

“Commercialized College Athletics,” The Nation, June 1, 1905, 432. First published on July 6, 1865, The Nation is a weekly periodical devoted to politics and culture. Published by Joseph H. Richards and edited by Edwin Lawrence Godkin, the magazine’s main purpose was to discuss current affairs. It is
magazines continued to frame college athletics as a distraction from the real purpose of
college life and pushed for several methods of reform.

During the Progressive era, no question about the amateur standing of college
athletes produced more intense discussion and divided opinion than the propriety of
summer baseball—an issue that was hotly debated at ten of the first eleven IAAUS and
NCAA annual conventions. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, as college became
possible for middle-class students, young men would coach sports teams or play summer
baseball to earn a few dollars to help pay their way through college. Hence, many student
athletes did not meet the amateur definition. But in the athlete’s mind, a professional was
a man who made his living by athletics, not a mere student earning money to pay his
college expenses.46 Since players made money during their summer vacation, college
players argued for their right to make their own decisions, especially considering the
summer leagues had no affiliation with higher education.47 As Needham noted in his
muckraking article in McClure’s, the practice of playing under an assumed name was
growing, making it difficult to obtain legal proof to the contrary.48 To further complicate
the problem, baseball players did not give each other up because they saw the amateurism
rule as unjust and enjoyed evading it.49 Since the managers often lied when asked for
evidence, many educators felt that summer baseball involved more lying and deception
than any other sport. Fueled by this summer baseball controversy, the IAAUS formed a

still published weekly from its home base in New York City. (Frank L. Mott, A History of American
46Mathews, “Reforming Athletics in the Central West,” 1222.
48Ibid., 261.
49Ibid., 262. To get the amateur’s perspective, see Hugh S. Fullerton, “A Revolt by the Amateurs,”
Collier’s, April 12, 1913, 24.
Committee on Amateurism during its fifth annual convention in 1910. Two years later, after much debate, the committee came to a consensus on the definition of an amateur athlete:

An amateur in athletics is one who enters and takes part in athletic contests purely in obedience to the play impulses or for the satisfaction of purely play motives and for the exercise, training, and social pleasures derived. The natural or primary attitude of mind and motives in play determines amateurism.50

Labeled as “ringers,” professional college athletes often bounced to two or three different colleges in as many years, attending school where they could exchange their commodity to their best advantage.51 Colleges and universities, however, were not founded to produce professional football or baseball players or professional oarsmen, runners, or jumpers. Professor Clarence Abiathar Waldo (1852–1926) of Purdue University, writing for *The World To-Day*, a nationally circulated illustrated monthly magazine, argued in 1908 to exclude college graduates from professional sports because a college education was wasted on such a sporting profession.52 Many educators, including Professor Waldo, believed the sole purpose of college athletics was to prepare their students for the business world, and playing sports professionally in place of a bona fide career negated all of the college student’s hard work.

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51E. P. Carnot, “Professional College Athletes as Seen By an Undergraduate,” *Outlook*, May 12, 1906, 94. Ringer is a slang term used to define an impostor, especially one who misrepresents his or her identity or ability in order to gain an advantage in a competition.
52Waldo, “The College and Athletics,” 748. Founded by William Ernst in Chicago, *The World To-Day* began as *Current Encyclopedia* in 1902, a home study periodical with information arranged alphabetically by topics, which proved to be an unsuccessful format. Ernst changed its name in 1903 and followed other successful magazine formats by increasing the illustrations, creating department and dropping the price to fifty cents. In March 1906, the editor dropped the price to fifteen cents and the circulation increased. In 1911, Hearst bought the magazine for $25,000 and moved it to New York City and changed its name to *Hearst’s International*. (Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905* vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 499-501).
This conversation within popular magazines continued on and off for years, and in contrast to Waldo, President Nicholas Murray Butler (1862–1947) of Columbia University had a different perspective on amateurism. Even as an educator, he did not object to summer baseball or professionalism. In 1915, *The Outlook* quoted Butler as saying that he wanted eligibility to be based on a player’s academic standing and performance as a student and not his extra-curricular athletic pursuits. As long as the player was a bona fide student in good academic standing, he found no harm in allowing players to help pay their collegiate expenses in any honorable means they may choose. It was unclear from the article why Butler was commenting on the baseball controversy at this particular time. However, the debate over summer baseball would continue to cause conflict in athletic circles and the NCAA would not determine a strict rule on the subject during the Progressive era, a discussion reserved for Chapter 8.

Other college representatives felt that the principle of amateurism was a luxury reserved for the rich—an ideal solely and unfairly confined to athletics and did not apply to arts or music. Sol Metzger (1880–1932), the head football coach at Washington and Jefferson College in Pennsylvania, expanded on this idea in 1916 in *The Outing Magazine* and called attention to the British standard in sport, which was a logical outcome of the English social system. Calling it “an aristocracy in sports,” British universities were attended almost exclusively by the sons of the wealthy and elite, making it easy for them to make sport for sport’s sake. When transferring this British

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54. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 336.
idea of amateurism to American soil, the reformers of college sports ignored an important factor in American college life—the self-supporting college student. Noting a double standard between athletics and other extracurricular college activities that same year, Professor Edwin J. Bartlett of Dartmouth College argued in *The Outing Magazine*, “College musical, dramatic, and debating organizations do not exclude men who have sung in choirs or played the piano in summer hotels for pay, hence college teams should not exclude athletes who have played ball for pay.”

This conflicting view of amateurism would continue to haunt the NCAA for years to come, eventually leading to the idea and legalistic term of “student-athlete.”

The hullabaloo over professional coaching was persistent throughout these popular magazines as the professional coach replaced the old tradition of alumni and team captains jointly coaching collegiate teams as a labor of love. In 1903, an editorial in *Harper’s Weekly* lamented, “Defeat in sport is only important to those who make their living by sport, for defeat impairs the market value of those who suffer it.” The market value of professional college coaches was a common complaint among educators who thought coaches were overpaid and professors underpaid, an argument still used today against big-time intercollegiate athletics. On the other hand, Metzger believed this complaint was irrelevant as both the professor and the coach received what he could command; coaches commanded more because only a few men could produce a winning...

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Beginning in 1904, magazines frequently began labeling college athletics as a “noisome” business as a result of both commercialism and professionalism. Without some sort of regulation and reform, Butterworth concluded in 1904, “It is not possible that athletics in the colleges will continue as athletics; they will become sports, and it is inconceivable that sports can be maintained under several branches with a professional at the head of each branch.” He foreshadowed the big business that intercollegiate athletics would gradually become. Describing paid coaches as the college graduate who bartered the skill taught him by his university, Needham, writing for McClure’s in 1905, clearly was advocating reform. He believed the deplorable condition of college athletics stemmed from a frenzied desire to win at any cost brought about by professional coaches and their need to win in order to maintain a job and their market value.

Echoing Needham’s sentiment one month later, Caspar Whitney reiterated in The Outing Magazine, “It is his business; it is his reputation; it is his life’s work, his success, his all in all to turn out teams that beat the combinations of a rival university.” Brought about by his desire to win at any cost, the coach promoted tricks and unsportsmanlike behavior in order to achieve that goal. An editorial in The Outing Magazine in October 1906 blamed the professional coach as the grossest violator of ethics in college

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63 Butterworth, “Honesty in Football,” 149.  
64 Needham, “The College Athlete: How Commercialism is Making Him a Professional.”  
66 Whitney, “The View-Point: Who is Responsible for the Commercialism in College Sport?” 485.  
athletics because he studied the rules with the sole purpose of evading them. “Winning teams roused enthusiasm and gave him more power, until gradually the precept was laid down that winning coaches must have no interference. Thus the coach developed from a servant to a master and athletics from a sport to a business with a hired supervisor.”

A contributor to the evils of college athletics, the professional coach knew he was not hired in the interests of justice or honor regarding the ethics of the game and sportsman-like treatment of the opponents or to aid those physically unable to make the team. His only mission was to produce a winning eleven, nine or eight. To compete with other colleges, Reid, the head football coach of Harvard during the 1901, 1905, and 1906 seasons, made it clear in *The World To-Day* that it was pivotal to secure a specialist because the rival colleges had one, and the specialist would do better than the general practitioner or college alumni.

Since games were meant as recreation and not as a business, *The Independent* asserted in 1907 that youth should go to college to develop their brains rather than their muscles. *The Outlook* and several other magazines felt that athletics had distorted the goal of colleges and introduced into college life an element of big business. A February 1908 *The Outlook* article quoted a 1907 report presented by President Henry Hopkins  

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70. Writers in the popular press often referred to college sports in terms of how many players it took to play the game. “Eleven” equated to football, “nine” equated to baseball, and “eight” equated to crew.  
71. Ibid., 484.  
(1837–1908) of Williams College regarding the fact that athletics had assumed an undue importance within college life. While the Williams College faculty rejoiced in the more general participation of outdoor sports as it developed some of the most valued traits of manhood, the excessive devotion to professionalized athletics was taking up a disproportionate amount of time in student’s lives at the cost of education. The report in part stated: “‘But here, as everywhere, there is in our National temperament much that tends to excess, if not to riotous exuberance. That which in moderation may be good, Americans are prone to push beyond bounds.’”\(^74\) Framed as a side effect of the American spirit of competitiveness, *The Outlook* still maintained the belief that intercollegiate athletics needed to be controlled and kept under check so it would not evolve into a business. As a result, the committee of the Williams trustees limited intercollegiate games to institutions within two hundred miles of Williamstown in order to take a step in maintaining standards of a liberal education.

In a 1911 article on professional coaching, journalist Ralph Delahaye Paine (1871–1925) wrote in *Collier’s* that the occupation proved that the coach only learned athletics in college and did not know where else to turn for a livelihood.\(^75\) Instead of coaching, Paine contended that these professional coaches should be trying to do a man’s work in the world and leave coaching to the captains and first-year graduates. The best thing that could happen to college athletics, therefore, “…would be to devise a style of pastime unknown to the professional talent, and thereafter keep the secret in the college

\(^74\)‘College Athletics Again,’” *The Outlook*, 347.
world." But given the prestige and money bestowed upon professional coaches, the
trend toward paid coaches, especially in football, grew rapidly. The football coach was
renowned as the most influential man on a college campus, and School and Society, an
education journal of the period, reiterated that no other educational official came into
such close contact with college students. Because of that proximity, education journals
urged college coaches to instill cultural values and ethics into their players as they had
more influence over the young men than anyone else. In that vein, writer Mack Whelan
noted in 1913 that the head coach was a “mysterious individual, a cross between Sherlock
Holmes and a professor in Advanced Geometry,”—an impossible task for most coaches,
which is why the select few best received such high pay and acknowledgment. For
example, the head football coach at Harvard University, Reid, was hired in 1905 for
$3,500 with an equal amount guaranteed by the alumni, which was greater than the
highest professor’s salary of $5,000. The coach’s salary even approached that of
President Eliot, whose salary totaled about $8,000 including his benefits.

Several articles discussed Dr. John Duncan Spaeth (1868–1954), the Princeton
rowing coach and professor of English literature, who became the most prominent
example of a new development in American university life. He forged a new connection
between the faculty and the student body by taking up the responsibility of coaching in

76Ibid.
80See Mack Whelan, “Professors In Place of ‘Pro’s,’” The Outing Magazine, February 1914, 629; “Good Sport,” Outlook, May 24, 1913, 142-143.
addition to holding a faculty position. In place of the professional coach, Spaeth coached a winning rowing crew without the incessant rule breaking attributed to the professional coaches because he valued maintaining the ethics and tradition of Princeton University. In the past, Whelan noted that college faculties had been ashamed of college athletics due to the incessant evils of professionalism and commercialism, but Dr. Spaeth was a shining example of how an athletic system can be a means of interlinking the ideas of well-rounded development, which was the foundation of every university.

Writing for The Independent on November 29, 1915, William Trufant Foster (1879–1950), the first president of Reed College in Portland, Oregon, argued that all the chief evils of intercollegiate athletics centered around the grandstand, as it symbolized commercialism and fostered professionalism. He complained that the three aims of professionals were to win, to make money, and to get advertised—all dominant aims of intercollegiate athletics and an issue within most of the nation’s colleges. Founded in 1908 explicitly in reaction to the prevailing model of East Coast, Ivy League education, Reed College’s lack of intercollegiate athletics, fraternities, and exclusive social clubs fostered a purely academic environment for its students—an environment that Foster campaigned for within popular magazines. Published the same month, Foster wrote another extended article titled “An Indictment of Intercollegiate Athletics” in The Atlantic Monthly, repeating his thoughts on professionalism and commercialism in

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81 Whelan, “Professors In Place of ‘Pro’s,’” 629.
82 Ibid., 630.
intercollegiate athletics. When they were conducted for education, the athletic aims were to develop and maintain health for all of the students and faculty; to encourage moderate exercise for joy as training for study as opposed to a substitute for study; and to shape good habits and instill ideals of healthy living. These business and educational aims conflicted sharply with each other; success in accomplishing the aims of athletics as a business were inversely proportional to success in accomplishing the aims of athletics as education.

In 1916, W. P. Bowen, chairman of the Athletic Research Society, an organization founded to study athletic problems consisting mainly of medical doctors and physical educators, aptly wrote in *The Outing Magazine*, “When a college team is coached and trained just like a professional team, when its games are advertised and staged in just the same way, and when the purpose is the same,—prestige and gate receipts,—the undergraduate, unlearned in the technicalities, sees little difference between the two except in efficiency, and this is in favor of the professional.” By commercializing its own games, colleges were fogging the idea of amateurism by assuming that its athletes were genuine amateurs after it had profited and exploited them for their athletic skills and notoriety. The use of college athletes as advertising agents for college and universities will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, *The Evils of*...
Alumni influence over college athletics was mostly due to proselytizing, or recruiting athletes from preparatory and high schools to play on their alma mater’s team. As the nation’s amateur expert, Camp echoed this opinion in 1901 in *The Independent*, writing that college abuses began with the excessive influence of preparatory and high school athletes in their choice of college or university. This proselytizing gave schoolboys an exaggerated idea of their importance, and worst of all, it led them to believe that their athletic abilities were worth monetary value, fostering a professional spirit within them. Camp believed that the key to reforming intercollegiate athletics should begin at the commencement of this evil.\(^8^9\) Writing for *The Forum* in May 1901, Bates argued that the most striking difference between modern athletics and those from a generation ago was the instigation and support given to schoolboys by college alumni. He declared, “The encouragement given to sports by men long out of college, men of affairs and so of standing in the world, is the most peculiar characteristic of the influences which affect undergraduate athletics.”\(^9^0\) Bates, much like Camp, also believed that proselytizing was the chief cause of the current college athletic problems. While college educators discussed ways to curb professionalism inside the halls of their colleges, these alumni issues preceded those efforts. Writing in particular about the professionalism in summer baseball, Camp echoed Bates’ opinions on the alumni issue. One month later in *Century Illustrated Magazine*, he wrote that schoolboys were contaminated with the touch of

professionalism by proselytism before they even reached the college campus.\textsuperscript{91}

Professionalism and commercialism, therefore, escaped the confines of college campuses and leaked into the halls of preparatory and high schools. Included in Needham’s 1905 article in \textit{McClure’s Magazine}, he argued that proselytizing was the most corrupting influence on a young man. It not only acted on a man’s athletic standards, but undermined his moral make-up by giving him false and superficial views of life and his position in the world, which may in turn crush his independence and ruin his chances for an ordinary and manly growth and development.\textsuperscript{92} As a way of eliminating this practice, Needham urged these young athletes to view recruitment as an insult to their young manhood, which was an easier task said than done for schoolboys who had no financial backing to attend college.\textsuperscript{93}

Writing in particular about threats to college athletics in the Central West for \textit{The World To-Day} in November 1905, Shailer Mathews (1863–1941) also blamed the endangering of athletics on the bad practices of enthusiastic alumni rather than on professional athletes and coaches who were making the colleges dishonest.\textsuperscript{94} In his muckraking article, Needham listed examples of the extreme measures of college alumni.

\textsuperscript{91}Walter Camp, “College Training-Tables: Their Use and Abuse,” \textit{Century Illustrated Magazine}, June 1901, 312. First published in 1881 under the title \textit{Scribner’s Monthly}, the magazine was founded by three men, Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland, Roswell Smith and Charles Scribner. In 1881, it changed its name to \textit{The Century Illustrated Magazine} until 1929. The magazine was extremely successful during the nineteenth century, most notably for a series on the American Civil War, which ran for three years in the 1880s. While it remained influential and well-regarded among the American elite, the popularity of Century began to decline in the 1890s and would never regain the prominence it held as the leading American periodical of the late nineteenth century. By 1900, its circulation was about 125,000, merely half the circulation it had in the 1880s. The magazine suffered due to competition from other cheaper magazines. It ceased publication in 1930. (Frank L. Mott, \textit{A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885} vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 457-480).

\textsuperscript{92}Needham, “The College Athlete: How Commercialism is Making Him a Professional,” 120.

\textsuperscript{93}Ibid., 123.

\textsuperscript{94}Mathews, “Reforming Athletics in the Central West.”
An example of an offer letter from the football captain of Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, written on the official stationery of the association, contained these promises in 1905:

“There are several positions for next year’s football team vacant, and I have in mind certain men to fill them. If you are in need of financial aid, there are plenty of scholarships here to be had for the asking. There are good jobs about town, and no money matters will worry anybody.”

Writing for The Outing Magazine in 1906, Paine said the head masters and principals of the leading preparatory schools across the nation blamed the “athletic graduate” for upsetting their students with arguments, inducements, and flatteries to attend a certain alma mater. These inducements and promises to young athletes showed how far the desire to win had surpassed everything else, mainly morals and ethics. Paine agreed that the alumni, who tried to recruit boys in preparatory schools to their universities with inducements, flatteries, and even empty promises, would not be able to reform college sport. In order to stomp out this practice and reform college athletics, several colleges including Yale, Harvard, and Princeton prohibited freshmen from playing on varsity athletic teams. One month later, however, Harvard football coach Reid, writing for The World To-Day, referred to the impending pervasiveness of this alumni issue, writing somewhat sarcastically, “…Proselyting (sic) by the colleges, among the larger schools; and proselyting by the larger schools among the smaller ones. It is only a question of time before the smaller schools will be at work among the kindergartens.”

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98Reid, Jr., “A Discussion of the Athletic Situation,” 485.
rule had just passed at Harvard, Reid would be unable to tell its effectiveness until the next football season. Contributing to intercollegiate athletic evils, colleges learned quickly that they needed to keep up with other colleges in order to compete on a level playing field—a phenomenon labeled as the “financial arms race” today.

Writing for *Overland Monthly*, a literary monthly magazine based in California, in January 1907, writer Arthur Inkersley highlighted the tendency of youths to treat their opportunity to play intercollegiate sports as a business by allowing managers and alumni to bid against each other until they finally went with the highest bidder.\(^9\) His solution to the alumni issue revolved around the abandonment of the sport of football, as this evil had pervaded the game. Instead, he advocated for a resurgence of Association football, or soccer, to replace the popular gridiron game within the colleges. Inkersley hoped a renewed emphasis on soccer would deter the practice of proselytizing as the sport would be relatively new and athletes would not be experts during these preparatory and high school days. Further, powerful alumni were willing to sacrifice everything, especially morals and ethics, in order to field a winning team because the alumni took natural and personal pride in the achievements of those who have succeeded them.

Over zealous alumni and “friends” of colleges reached schoolboys in various ways with offers beyond the scope of eligibility rules and violated the principles of amateur sport, as outlined in the first IAAUS annual convention on Saturday, December

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\(^9\)Inkersley, “An Attempted Massacre—or Real Football,” 80. Established in San Francisco in July 1868, *Overland Monthly*’s first editor was Bret Harte, who established it as one of America’s leading literary journals. Within six months, the magazine had a circulation of 3,000 and two years later it had reached 10,000. Authors such as Mark Twain, Jack London, and Ambrosie Bierce had their early work published in the journal. In 1912, its circulation reached 75,000 but the publishers found it difficult to make a profit and ceased publication in 1930. (Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1865-1885* vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 402-409).
Sometimes the payments were as blatantly obvious as paying an athlete for his services as a quarterback, shortstop, or oarsmen, with the payments continuing as long as the player helped win games for their alma mater. Other times, however, the payments took a demoralizing and sinister form, in which a star athlete was appointed steward of a college clubhouse on ample pay where his only duty was to sign checks once a month or his college expenses were paid in return for the labor of ringing the bell, turning out the lights, or opening the chapel door. According to the IAAUS eligibility rules, enacted during its first annual convention in 1906:

No student shall represent a College or University in any intercollegiate game or contest who is paid or receives, directly or indirectly, any money, or financial concession, or emolument as past or present compensation for, or as prior consideration or inducement to play in, or enter any athletic contest, whether the said remuneration be received from, or paid by, or at the instance of any organization, committee or faculty of such College or University, or any individual whatever.

Obviously, these inducements as cited in Foster’s article were a direct breach of the IAAUS’s third eligibility rule. Paid to win and keep silent, star athletes were hired as both an athlete and a hypocrite. The underlying catalyst for professionalism, commercialism, and proselytizing in intercollegiate athletics, according to Metzger in The Outing Magazine in 1916, was college loyalty and the intense athletic spirit of alumni and undergraduates, writing “The feeling that one’s alma mater is the best, begets the desire to get the best for one’s alma mater.”

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101Foster, “An Indictment of Intercollegiate Athletics,” 579.
103Ibid.
The New Rules

To date, no football season ended amid such a chorus of admonition regarding the game or with such a record of casualties as did the 1905 season. Immediately following the season on November 30, 1905, *The Nation* editorialized that college presidents and faculty had finally found their voices and were ready to demand a change within the game.\(^{105}\) One such authority, Professor Shailer Mathews (1863–1941), the dean of the Divinity School at the University of Chicago, stated,

“Football to-day is a social obsession—a boy-killing, education-prostituting, gladiatorial sport. It teaches virility and courage, but so does war. I do not know what should take its place, but the new game should not require the services of a physician, the maintenance of a hospital, and the celebration of funerals.”\(^{106}\)

Popular magazines contained great debate among college personnel as to whether abolition would supersede reformation of the game.\(^{107}\) Most authors advocated for rule changes to minimize the danger of the game, which should be reviewed annually by the Football Rules Committee to ensure their effectiveness, a topic covered every year by multiple magazines. In November 1905, President Roosevelt took up the reform of the game, and, in order to save it, addressed those at a Harvard alumni dinner who wished to abolish it:

“I believe heartily in sport. I believe in outdoor games, and I do not mind in the

\(^{105}\)“Football Reform by Abolition,” *The Nation*, 437.

\(^{106}\)Ibid.

least that they are rough games, or that those who take part in them are occasionally injured. I have no sympathy whatever with the overwrought sentimentality which would keep a young man in cotton wool, and I have a hearty contempt for him if he counts a broken arm or collar-bone as of serious consequence when balanced against the chance of showing that he possesses hardihood, physical address, and courage.”

However, there was reason for the public’s sympathy with the roughness and brutality, which put young men in sterilized cotton. For example, Dr. Nichols and Dr. Homer B. Smith, the medical and surgical team for the Harvard football squad, published an article in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* discussing the seriousness of the injuries during Harvard’s 1905 football season. Referencing their article in January 1906, *The Independent* detailed the causes of more than 145 serious injuries, concluding that constant medical supervision by two trained surgeons at every game was a necessity and not a luxury. Of those injuries, nineteen cases were concussion of the brain, meaning that men were injured so badly that they lost consciousness or were beside themselves and did not know what they were doing. To indicate the importance of the results, the magazine quoted directly from the medical journal:

> “Cases of concussion were frequent, both during practice and games. In fact, but two games were played during the entire season in which a case of concussion of the brain did not occur…The mental state of the players who had concussion was variable, some being highly excitable and hysterical, others merely confused, and in a few cases, knocked completely unconscious. In every case there was a certain loss of memory, both previous and subsequent to the injury.”

The authors noted that no physician knew the certainty of the subsequent effects from these concussions and concluded that the injuries received from football were much more

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109 Reeve, “Football Safe and Sane,” 1220.
110 “University Football Injuries,” 115.
111 Ibid., 116.
detrimental than generally believed.

Football apologists, therefore, encouraged rule changes, centering on opening up the play to reduce the number of injuries. Having no authority to make the colleges adopt its rule suggestions, Camp, a founding member of the old Football Rules Committee, wrote for *The Outing* in 1905 that the committee must create rules that would be sufficiently satisfactory to the players. Otherwise, if the players did not like the new rules, they could decide not to play under them.\(^{112}\) The growing need for an intercollegiate governing body was becoming apparent as Harper, the University of Chicago president, and others published articles similarly acknowledging policy rules in a large number of institutions were incapable of securing uniformity.\(^{113}\) In line with the changing ideals of the Progressive era, it made sense that college reformers would lean toward a bureaucratic organization to place the responsibility on correcting the evils of college athletics. *Outlook* believed the cure for football lay in the hands of faculty:

> A sound ethical tradition, like a sound scholarly tradition, can be maintained only by the permanent element in the college, composed of its teachers and governing boards….The injuries which have been sustained on the ‘gridiron’ this year cannot be disregarded; they are symptoms of a disease; but the disease is curable. Undergraduate opinion is fundamentally sound. It will not respond to indifference, suppression, or apology; but it will respond to direction.\(^{114}\)

The inaugural IAAUS convention recognized and addressed this problem by forming a new seven-member Football Rules Committee with the goal of merging with the old-time

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\(^{112}\)Walter Camp, “The Straight Road To An Open Game In Football,” *The Outing Magazine*, December 1905, 368-371.


\(^{114}\)“The Cure of Football,” *Outlook*, December 9, 1905, 856-857.
committee, which included the fathers of the old football rules. These reformers were charged with opening up the game to emphasize speed over brute strength, abolishing mass and unnecessarily rough plays, and ensuring a more uniform and stringent enforcement of the rules. In 1905, *The Outlook* reinforced the need to reform the rules because football remained popular and built masculinity. “The game is so firmly intrenched (sic) now in the affections and interests of students that it will not be dislodged and ought not to be dislodged; but if it is to be a game of gentlemen and not of professionals, of men who value fairness and honor more than victory, the present method of playing must be seriously modified.” Echoing this sentiment, Whitney in *The Outing Magazine* argued that it was better to cure than eliminate football as it was a healthy, manly game in the best service to the American boy and only had a small amount of evil, using the simile that it would be “like cutting off a man’s hand to get rid of a wart.”

As foreshadowed, popular magazines began covering the intricacies of the rule changes; and, beginning with the 1906 football season, *The Outing Magazine* published an annual review of how the new rules were implemented and whether the changes were positive or negative for the game. In reviewing the 1906 football season, several

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118 “Better To Cure Than Kill,” *Outlook*, 1906, 535.
articles declared that the 1905 football crisis was past, and the turmoil of that dreadful season over. The dilemma facing the Football Rules Committee, according to *The Outing Magazine*, was in trying to save the game’s best features, namely being entertaining to watch for the spectators, while simultaneously trying to eliminate unnecessary roughness and mass plays, in which players would push and pull the ball carrier through the defense allowing the tangled mob of players to engage in violence undetected by the officials. The major rule changes, as explained by *The Outing Magazine* and *Outlook* the month before the 1906 season opened, included the introduction of the forward pass, the banning of all mass formations and gang tackling, increasing the distance to be gained for a first down from five to ten yards to be gained in three downs, creating a neutral zone between the offense and defense (the length of the ball) at the line of scrimmage, and adding a third official to enforce the new rules. With the new rules in place, the death toll for the 1906 season dropped to three with approximately one-third as many injuries. Calling the new football game more American than the old football game, Reeve, a recent Princeton graduate, wrote in *The Independent*, “Every play brings the bleachers to its feet, for the new game is sensational

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in the extreme, and unlike the old football, the bleachers see almost every play.”124 Thus, the Football Rules Committee accomplished its two goals, to reduce fatalities and injuries and to increase the popularity for spectators.

During the next three football seasons, the rule changes lessened the importance of “beefy” players and allowed players of ordinary athletic build to play on teams. As a result, these changes permitted smaller colleges to compete on a more even playing field and not find themselves desperate for big, meaty players as in former years.125 In addition, the new rules emphasized brains over brawn, and victories were no longer always won by the heaviest battalions.126 But it was not a whole new ballgame.

Magazine coverage of college athletics peaked in 1910, following the 1909 season that saw the most deaths, approximately thirty, ever attributed to a single football season.127 The death of Cadet Eugene Alexis Byrne (1888–1909), the captain of the West Point football team, during the annual game between Harvard and the United States Military Academy received attention in several magazine articles; he was the first player on a “first-class” football team to lose his life.128 A week after Byrne’s death, an editorial in The Nation criticized football for returning to its former ways, when it was solely about shoving the ball forward by mass play, and it called for the elimination of all

124Reeve, “Football Safe and Sane,”1220.
125“Review of the Football Season of 1908,” Outing, 511.
127“The Abolition of Football,” The Independent, 1463. The number of deaths varied depending on the media outlet. During the fourth NCAA annual convention, the Football Rules Committee reported that the newspapers and reported a total of thirty-two deaths as a result of injuries in football games. (Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States, “Report of the Football Rules Committee,” Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States (1909), 19.)
unnecessary risk from the game.\textsuperscript{129} As with the deaths in 1905, defenders of the present game emphasized two facts: football was not a game to be played by young boys, and it was not more inherently dangerous than many other sports such as hunting, sailing, and automobiling.\textsuperscript{130} The Independent, however, argued that the difference between football and those other sports was the fact that, in football, the injuries were inflicted by the other players, often with intentional malice and as inevitable accompaniments to the game, whereas injuries in the other sports were mere accidents.\textsuperscript{131}

In the midst of this tumult, it was appropriate that the first mention in popular magazines of the fledging IAAUS occurred in the December 1909 issue of Collier’s, detailing the Association’s annual convention at the Murray Hill Hotel in New York.\textsuperscript{132} Whitney wrote that the advertised purpose of this meeting was to discuss the football situation and to revise the playing rules, again.\textsuperscript{133} Two weeks later, an Outlook article also reviewed the IAAUS meeting, providing more details about how the Association planned to implement football rule changes.\textsuperscript{134} To this point, the Association passed the following resolution:

That the Football Rules Committee of this Association be instructed to use every possible endeavor to bring about such a modification of the rules as shall, in its judgment, tend to reduce to a minimum the dangers of physical injuries to players and at the same time retain, so far as possible, the desirable, wholesome features of the game.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{129}“The Football Deaths,” The Nation, 425.
\textsuperscript{130}See “The Abolition of Football,” The Independent, 1463; “The World of Sport: The Case Against Football,” The Outing Magazine, 516;
\textsuperscript{131}“The Abolition of Football,” The Independent, 1463.
\textsuperscript{132}Whitney, “The View-Point,” Collier’s, December 1909, 19.
\textsuperscript{133}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{134}“Reforming Football,” Outlook, 104-105.
An article in the same issue of *Outlook*, titled “Who Are the Football Reformers?” highlighted the formation of the IAAUS along with the need for the major football institutions, such as Yale University and Cornell University, to join the Association if they wanted to have any influence in determining the future of college football (or intercollegiate athletics) in this country.\(^{136}\) The article contained the following observation about the new Association: “If a better spirit in intercollegiate athletics than that which prevailed a few years ago exists to-day, it is due in no small degree to the part that college presidents and professors have taken in molding undergraduate sentiment and practice regarding all athletic matters.”\(^{137}\)

In the years following the deadly 1909 season, college football continued to be criticized and an object of attack, but each year the game’s popularity only increased, as evidenced by the massive crowds, including prominent spectators, in attendance at the games.\(^{138}\) William Lyon Phelps (1865–1943), an English literature professor at Yale University, reiterated this point in *The Independent*, “Today at a great university match prominent clergymen are seen even on the side-lines; the bleachers bloom with lovely women, and in a conspicuous place stands the President of the United States.”\(^{139}\) By the close of the 1912 football season, *Outlook* claimed that the game had been freed from serious accident and placed the responsibility on every college faculty member to continue to improve and reform the game.\(^{140}\) Showing the growing influence of the

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136 "Who Are the Football Reformers?" *Outlook*, January 15, 1910, 106.
137 Ibid., 106.
139 Ibid., 666.
NCAA, *The Outing Magazine* reprinted the presidential address from its seventh annual convention by Dean La Baron Russell Briggs (1855–1934) in the February 1914 edition, which reiterated the Association’s goals of improving intercollegiate athletics and fostering in college rivals a spirit of sportsmanship and friendliness. Recognizing that NCAA members were only delegates and not plenipotentiaries, Briggs emphasized the need for members to join forces to modify American sport, “Every little we can do to make clean our national game helps our citizens to make clean the greater game of our national life, for clean sports means honest men.”

During the Progressive era and as part of the Protestant ethic, Americans formed a plethora of voluntary associations to help reform society and cure social ills, with the IAAUS being a prime example. Educators, athletic enthusiasts, college presidents, and reformers rallied around the amateur ideal in intercollegiate athletics and formed an association to maintain this ideal throughout the nation. As evident in its annual convention proceedings, the IAAUS was preoccupied with increasing its membership, as echoed by Briggs in *The Outing* in 1914. The only way to become truly revolutionary was to become completely national, which will be detailed in Chapter 7 on the *New York Times* coverage of the IAAUS.

Fueled by the death-ridden 1905 football season, the popular magazine coverage framed intercollegiate athletics in regard to its need to reform its rules and policies. Of the four media frames identified in popular magazine articles touching on college athletics from 1896 to 1916, the most frequent and prominent media frame was “call for reform.” College athletics’ coverage peaked in popular magazines in 1905 with thirty-six

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articles, eighteen of which used the “call to reform” frame. To further highlight the prevalence of this frame, the most articles (sixty-eight) pertaining to college athletics were published during the years of 1905 to 1907, which surrounded the pivotal formative period of the IAAUS, an Association formed as a result of the public outcry in the popular press demanding reform.

The “call for reform” frame highlighted the need for men’s college athletics to undergo major rule and structural changes in order to remain aligned with the nation’s colleges and universities and to prevent serious injuries and fatalities on the gridiron. Examples of this frame are evidenced in popular magazine article’s discussion of commercialism, professionalism, alumni issues such as proselytizing among the preparatory and high schools, and drastic rule changes in the game of football. As evidenced by these examples, intercollegiate athletics were slowly turning into a business instead of a leisure activity, eclipsing the educational aspects of the nation’s colleges and universities. Articles mentioning women’s college athletes never used the “call to reform” frame, as athletics in women’s colleges were designed after the intramural model as opposed to the intercollegiate model, a topic more closely studied in Chapter 5. Popular magazine articles provided proof of the anxiety felt by educators and reformers as to the evils creeping into the colleges through intercollegiate athletics by way of moral deterioration and a lapse in ethics. A constant debate within the pages of these magazines occurred about whether the benefits of competitive college athletics so outweighed their possible evils that they should be encouraged and permitted to exist as a part of the
physical education system. This debate continues to this day within the popular press and American society.

Sports, especially college athletics, have a way of capturing the attention of the American public, as evidenced by the popular press upheaval over the plight of college athletics during the Progressive era. The “call for reform” frame fully emerged after the 1905 football season and continued throughout the era. Spiking again after the 1909 football season saw an increase in the death toll, resurgence of the frame was found as the game and college athletics continued to make rules changes to improve and lessen the brutality of the game. While a few magazine articles utilized an episodic frame by only focusing on a specific event, such an individual football player’s death, the majority of popular magazines used thematic coverage of college athletics within this frame. Popular magazines highlighted player’s deaths, but overall they focused on trends over time and placed their articles in perspective as the “call for reform” frame was found repeatedly each year from 1903 until 1916.

As Hume noted, collective memory is critical to understanding the relationship between culture and media because the mass media have become an important means by which people understand their past. Regarded as the president that saved football, Roosevelt’s hand in the 1905 football crisis and subsequent reform can be found in scholarly articles and books, popular non-fiction, and even in newspaper and magazine articles today, most of which focused on the football deaths as a catalyst for the formation of the current NCAA. In her pivotal work on collective memory in magazines, Carolyn

Kitch contended that news media have become the public historians of American culture. It characterizes specific slices of the past in ways that merge the past, present and future into a single, ongoing tale, connecting the Progressive era to the present day. President Roosevelt and the football crisis of 1905 continue to be recalled by the modern day press as the catalyst for the formation of the NCAA, but, it rarely remembers the other issues surrounding college athletics. By revisiting the popular press of the Progressive era, however, it becomes clear that intercollegiate athletics confronted a multitude of problems aside from football-related deaths such as commercialism, professionalism, and alumni influence over current and future college athletes—all issues the NCAA continues to deal with today. This is not a coincidence, as the Association never fully addressed these issues.

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Chapter 5: Muscular Christianity

Around the turn of the twentieth century, native-born, Anglo-Saxon Protestant men confronted several mounting trends such as the rise of industrialization, the threat of massive immigration, the closing of the Western frontier, and the challenge of women joining the workplace and in politics, which seemed to threaten American notions of success and self-made manhood.¹ The changing job market, with the increase of subordinate white-collar occupations, reduced the opportunities for the self-made man to rise from an apprenticeship to control his own business. American men endured the hopelessness of being just another cog in the machinery. In addition, men’s work in bureaucratic business environments had become more sedentary, draining the competitiveness and companionship from most professional experiences.² A movement advocating a renewed “muscular Christianity” offered one response to this identity crisis. Coming into vogue during the Victorian era and continuing into the Progressive era, the prevailing ethos of muscular Christianity and rugged, assertive masculinity gained enormous popularity in this changing environment.³ Originating during the 1850s in England, the movement endorsed physical activity, bodily strength, and competitive


sports to cultivate a new Christian manliness in the hopes of revitalizing Protestant churches anxious about the weakening effects of urban life and the feminization of religion.\textsuperscript{4} American churches had a long-established issue with attracting an equal number of male worshippers, and thus, in many ways, church was a woman’s domain. The traditional Victorian ideals of piety, sobriety, self-control, integrity, and toughness remained respected but were reshaped into new patterns to conform to the needs of the era.

Worried about the decline of Anglo-Saxon Protestant influence and control in urbanizing, industrializing, and increasingly Catholic immigrant America and influenced by such writers as psychologist G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924), who called for drawing on primal instincts to counter enervating intellectualism, President Roosevelt and others promoted the “strenuous life” as a way of imposing self-discipline and reasserting the interests of Protestant culture in America.\textsuperscript{5} The corresponding rise of organized sport in the United States during the Progressive era developed from the muscular Christianity movement, resulting in the formation of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) on December 15, 1851, and the Boy Scouts in February 8, 1910.\textsuperscript{6} Founded in Boston, the YMCA was modeled after the London organization, and it aimed to put Christian principles into practice by developing a healthy “body, mind, and spirit,” which are reflected by the three different sides of the red triangle as part of all the YMCA logos.

\textsuperscript{4} Clark, \textit{Creating the College Man}, 82.
\textsuperscript{5} Putney, \textit{Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America}.
While its founding pre-dates the Progressive era, the YMCA’s most influential period occurred in the two decades before and after the turn of the twentieth century, as it became a truly national organization. The Boy Scouts of America is one of the largest youth organizations in the United States with more than 110 million members since its founding. Through participation in a wide range of outdoor activities and educational programs, its goal is to train youth in responsible citizenship, character development, and self-reliance.

A renewed emphasis on college athletics emerged from this movement, as indicated by the framing found in popular magazines during the years 1896 to 1916. Popular magazines reiterated the importance of college athletics as a key to defining men as men worthwhile. The “muscular Christianity” frame also included an emphasis on martial mentality, as sports provided a mechanism for young men to learn the martial values of courage, aggressiveness, and brutality without actually having to go to battle. Other examples of the “muscular Christianity” frame consisted of the oft repeated phrase “mens sana in corpore sano,” Latin for “a healthy mind in a healthy body,” as well as discussion about the benefits of college athletics within these magazine’s pages. Parallel discussions occurred throughout popular magazines during the Progressive era where on one side, a sea of critics complained about college football in the wake of deaths and highlighting all the negative and evil effects of college athletics (see Chapter 4 and 6). On the other side of the debate, as this chapter will indicate, popular magazines and authors

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defended football and college athletics as a crucial aspect of higher education, as the physical, moral and mental benefits far outweighed its negative effects.

Defining Men As Men

Popular magazines framed the importance of physical and mental well-being and fell in line with the muscular Christianity movement. Writing for *The North American Review*, America’s first and oldest literary magazine founded in 1815, Simon Newcomb (1835–1909) elaborated on muscular Christianity: “This idea is supported by modern physiological investigation, which brings out in clear relief that physical health and vigor are qualities to be cultivated, not merely from a selfish desire for amusement and to secure freedom from pain, but as a means toward the attainment of our highest ethical ends.” In response to the call for reform, Newcomb sought to bridge the gap between the two sides of the argument over college athletics: those in favor of manly sports to aid in creating manly men who would do the real work of the world and those in favor of academics instead of muscle. Such elements of manhood as fortitude, persistence, good judgment, co-operation, courage, resourcefulness, self-restraint, resilience under defeat,

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8Simon Newcomb, “University Athletics,” *The North American Review*, June 21, 1907, 353. Founded in Boston by its first editor William Tudor (1779–1830) and other members of the Anthology Club, *The North American Review* was the foremost magazine in the United States until the *Atlantic Monthly* was founded in 1857. Its founders strove to emulate and rival the leading British magazines. The magazine moved to New York City in 1878 and continued publication until 1940, when its production was stopped as a result of a scandal revolving around the wartime activities of its owner. The magazine was revived in 1964 by renowned poet, Robert Dana, at Cornell College and four years later, it was sold to the University of Northern Iowa, where it continues to be published quarterly. (Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 219-261).

9Ibid., 354.
and sacrifice of self for the common welfare were common descriptors for the moral benefits of college athletics.\textsuperscript{10}

In earlier days, the hunter, builder, farmer or soldier found abundant ways to exhibit his prowess without modern athletics. But as a result of urbanization and city life, Professor Woodward, former dean of the school of engineering at Washington University in St. Louis, argued in 1902 in \textit{Popular Science Monthly} that college athletics provided a way for young men to exhibit strength and skill in competition, as those opportunities now had to be manufactured.\textsuperscript{11} The development of college athletics at the end of the nineteenth century was “…due to no change in the mental, moral and physical tastes and appetites of young men, but to a social development which renders necessary special provision for the gratification of those normal tastes and appetites.”\textsuperscript{12} Thus, Woodward claimed, “Muscular Christianity is now the rule and not the exception,” driving the need for a robust physical culture in colleges to strengthen men’s bodies as well as invigorate their minds.\textsuperscript{13} Pushing back against the critics, Woodward detailed the reasons our country needed college athletics, as it invigorated the mind, provided physical strength to a weakening race, and contributed to moral training.

Writing for \textit{Outing}, Paine discussed the value, honor, and prestige given to college men adorned with the initial letter of his college or university. He argued in 1906 that attending college was not to make “bookish” men so much as it was to “make manly


\textsuperscript{11}Woodward, “Domestic and Intercollegiate Athletics,” 550.

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.
Intercollegiate athletics were key to defining men as men, creating an insatiable desire for young college men to make their team, “...not for notoriety nor for gain, but to be proven worthy of that select company who had earned the right to be called men worth while.”\(^\text{15}\) Making a college team and earning a varsity letter, thus, symbolized to the campus, to preparatory school boys, and to the world that the athlete had toiled, sacrificed, and been among the few chosen. This stress and obsession over making a college team is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

In 1901, John Corbin, an assistant editor for *Harper’s Magazine* from 1897 to 1900, compared and contrasted sportsmanship within American colleges to sportsmanship within British colleges.\(^\text{16}\) In England, colleges did not hold tryouts nor did they employ trainers because they had a drastically different outlook of college athletics where victory was not the goal but a pleasant possibility. Winning was not essential for self-respect nor did it prove that the victor was a man. Thus, Americans, he argued, were much more obsessed with winning as opposed to the pleasures and benefits derived from participating. Corbin urged Americans to embrace the concept that the outcome of an athletic contest did not matter, and the goal was to derive moral and mental benefits through athletic training resulting in sportsmanship and gentlemanly qualities.\(^\text{17}\)

While that may have been the initial goal, other authors argued that the win-at-all-cost mentality had overtaken college athletics and tainted the purity of amateurism and

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\(^{15}\) Ibid., 792.


\(^{17}\) Ibid.
sport. In *The World To-Day*, Dr. Joseph E. Raycroft (1867–1955), the medical examiner at the University of Chicago, detailed the ways to make a successful college track athlete as well as the overall benefits of college athletics, reiterating that they were not a fad within higher education. He enlightened his readers, including parents who were teetering between pride and anxiety at the thought of their youngster playing college football because of the heightened negativity surrounding the sport, about the overriding benefits of college sports. In his conclusion, Raycroft provided a detailed description of the ideal athlete in 1905:

“…in the great majority of cases, the making of an athlete is synonymous with the development of a man who possesses a body that is healthy and subservient to his will; who is not easily discouraged by obstacles, but is quick to see an opening and will fight to the end; and who is regardful of the rights of others—is a gentleman.”

If that was the ideal athlete, it is easy to understand why many authors and educators took offense to the corruption and evils that began to fester within college athletics, which were being discussed in newspapers, among faculty members and, as indicated in Chapter 4, within the pages of popular magazines. In part, the cry for reform stemmed from the corruption and unsportsmanlike conduct such as verbal abuse or taunting of an opponent sprouting within college athletics, which undermined this movement. In the age of muscular Christianity, the athlete became the hero of the middle class, and manliness was admired and proven compatible with virtue and industry. Winning further proved that these athletes were strong men to begin with and that their success was the effect and not the cause of their strength.\(^{19}\) As journalist Derby stated in *The Outlook*, “…it is only


\(^{19}\)Newcomb, “University Athletics,” 364.
natural, when victory is the desideratum, that the American boys should adopt the
methods that have made their fathers the most successful men in the world.”

Echoing Raycroft’s view, Professor van Dyke, who was chair of history and
political science at Princeton University, noted the prominence of athletics in higher
education, which could not be attributed to merely a fad. It was natural for athletes to
want to win, but athletics were not a matter of life and death. Thus, he criticized some
players on their response to defeat, and the common sight of players coming off the field
and throwing themselves into the arms of friends and sobbing. Such displays of emotion
hardly meshed with the best traditions of Anglo-Saxon manhood.

In line with the tenets of muscular Christianity, the inclusion of athletics into the
school created a more enjoyable environment for young men, who needed a distraction
from academic life and other worldly diversions. H. Addington Bruce (1874–1959),
writing for The Outlook in 1910, regarded athletics as the most moral way to expend
excess energy in contrast to such harmful vices as alcohol, drugs, gambling, or sex.
Despite the fact that five years earlier football was being vilified for killing young men in
record numbers, the college sport was branded as the “superb moral safety valve.”
Corbin compared the actual training of college athletic teams to religion—a matter of
loyal duty. An article in The Living Age, an eclectic weekly magazine published from
1844 to 1941 consisting mainly of British literature until around 1900, even suggested

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20 Roger Alden Derby, “College Athletics,” The Outlook, October 5, 1907, 257.
22 Ibid.
25 Ibid., 544.
26 John Corbin, “Sportsmanship in England and America,” Outing, an Illustrated Monthly
   Magazine, October 1901, 32; See also “Athletics and Religion,” The Outlook, May 23, 1914, 151-152.
that football was a religious representation of the conflict among the elemental forces before order evolved from chaos, referencing the Biblical description of creation.\textsuperscript{27}

Appealing to the best characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race, football fostered fair play, skill, and courage, rigorously testing the race’s fitness for survival.\textsuperscript{28} Popular magazines framed the value of football as an expression of Anglo-Saxon strength, and thus became the representative American college game.\textsuperscript{29} In a December 1900 article in \textit{The Living Age}, W. Cameron Forbes (1870–1959), the Harvard football coach during the 1897 and 1898 seasons, referred to the game as “…the dominant spirit of a dominant race, and to this it owes its popularity and its hopes of permanence.”\textsuperscript{30}

Advocates of the game appealed to this sense of Anglo-Saxon pride, emphasizing that no man of this prominent race would abandon a game simply because it was rough.\textsuperscript{31} Disagreeing with the contrasting movement focusing on the evils of college athletics, these authors provided an alternative voice to push back and campaign for its benefits within popular magazines. Indeed, many felt football was a great game to make great men. In his history about the beginnings of American football in \textit{Outing}, writer Dennie Myers (1882–1934) showed in 1905 that football was natural to man. But not just any

\textsuperscript{27}FJ Forbes-Jackson, “Athleticism at the Universities,” \textit{The Living Age}, August 3, 1907, 264.
\textsuperscript{28}For examples, see N.O. Messenger, “Ya Merry Game of Football: Ancient Times Till Now,” \textit{St. Nicholas: an Illustrated Magazine for Young Folks}, November 1901, 60; Lewis, “Making a Football Team,” 224.
\textsuperscript{31}van Dyke, “Athletics and Education,” 392.
man—Anglo-Saxon men—as the game had never been played by puny nations.\textsuperscript{32} St. Nicholas detailed the history of football from ancient to present times, maintaining that the Anglo-Saxon race was sturdier than and superior to others, especially coming off the nation’s victory in the Spanish-American War. The popular children’s literary magazine concluded, “There may be as many as twenty thousand spectators, and the great game of football, which began with the Greeks, was carried on by the Romans, developed by the British, and perfected by the Americans, seems to be indeed the king of autumn sports.”\textsuperscript{33} While the game of football did not begin in the United States, Americans in the end made it the perfect site for the maintenance of the best physical specimens of the greatest race.\textsuperscript{34}

Reference to Anglo-Saxon manhood was standard throughout popular magazines, as they continued to frame college athletics as in line with muscular Christianity. In 1905, however, \textit{McClure’s Magazine} published one article mentioning another race—the only article to do so in the specific context of college athletics.\textsuperscript{35} On October 24, 1903, a gridiron match between Dartmouth and Princeton had barely begun when Matthew W. Bullock (1881–1972), a star player for Dartmouth, collapsed in a fit of pain. His collarbone had snapped, and the break ended his career as a college athlete. Many Dartmouth fans felt that Princeton had intentionally hurt Bullock because he was African American. After the game, one Princeton player said, “‘We didn’t put him out because he

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{33}Message, “Ya Merry Game of Football,” 62.
\textsuperscript{34}J. William White, “Football and Its Critics,” \textit{The Outlook}, November 18, 1905, 664.
\end{footnotes}
is a black man. We’re coached to pick out the most dangerous man on the opposing team and put him out in the first five minutes of play.”

Other African Americans had played college football such as William Henry Lewis (1868–1949), Harvard’s All-American, but it was a rare sight. While many believed it was an act of racism, those who could verify did not say. In reaction to the negativity surrounding college athletics, many writers and educators voiced their opinions to the contrary, noting their ability to create and define men as men worthwhile.

Martial Mentality

Popular magazine articles often framed college football in the context of a rising martial spirit, aligned with the ideals of muscular Christianity, as the United States pursued imperialist ambitions during and following its 1898 war with Spain. Describing the intensity of a college football game for *The Outlook* in 1909, Bruce wrote, “A visitor from Mars, dropping in upon the scene, would be justified in assuming that some decisive conflict was in progress bearing vitally on the destinies of the Nation.” While written sarcastically, he made a good point. Nations had long been exposed to aggression from outside forces against which they depended on the courage and prowess of their fighting

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38 Bruce, “The Psychology of Football,” 541.
population for protection. Hence, these martial qualities were cherished above all else in young American men.\(^3^9\) In discussing the psychology of football, Bruce argued that football met basic human needs as it was the game most reminiscent of our ancestor’s early life.\(^4^0\) Athletics provided superb training for martial powers, which would win success and distinction in everyday life.\(^4^1\) While *The Atlantic Monthly* understood the general public’s questions regarding athletics, it urged readers to never forget its essential importance in education. As a result of the progress of civilization, young men were becoming lazy and depending too much on the luxuries and comforts of modern life. In 1914, the magazine claimed, “Among boys to-day athletics is the only systematic training for the sterner life, the only organized ‘moral equivalent of war.’”\(^4^2\) There was no other substitute for the hardships of the generations past, and athletics serviced as an efficient and wholesome artificial discipline for the turbulent energies of youth.

The practice of athletics also encouraged aggressiveness, brutality, and the spirit of self-advancement. But courage was valued above all else, as it was the greatest asset in life and football. In the midst of the 1905 college football crisis, G. Foster Sandford (1870–1938), the Yale football coach in 1905, reassured the women and mothers across the country that the game had many redeeming qualities, namely the ability to foster a martial mentality in young men, and should be continued in college and universities across the United States. In the *Woman’s Home Companion*, he argued the cowardly man would be shown up by football, “But like the soldier in his first battles, there are many

\(^{3^9}\)Newcomb, “University Athletics,” 355.
\(^{4^0}\)Bruce, “The Psychology of Football,” 542.
men wavering between physical fear and courage. Football makes these men for all time sure of themselves.\textsuperscript{43} Even if football players forgot their Greek and Latin, they would never lose the courage they developed on the gridiron.\textsuperscript{44} Providing another voice in opposition of athletic critics, the Reverend A. E. Colton, the father of a Boston high school football player, detailed in \textit{The Independent} in 1904 other moral benefits of the game, including patience, self-denial, self-control, submergence of self for the team, alertness, endurance, the joy of victory and sorrow of defeat, and physical perfection.\textsuperscript{45}

Writing the article just before the opening of the 1904 college football season, he concluded, “The football gridiron is no stage; it is life.”\textsuperscript{46} By playing football, young men would learn lessons on the football field that they could carry into life, including how to become a future leader of the United States. \textit{Everybody’s Magazine}, a general interest magazine published from 1899 to 1929, commissioned Dr. William G. Anderson, the director of the Yale University gymnasium, to write an article detailing the process of becoming a college athlete at Yale.\textsuperscript{47} Distributed in July 1905—just one month before the fall football season began—the article followed a Yale freshman named Jackson in his quest to become a Yale football player, succeeding in the footsteps of his famous father. Beginning with an anecdote, the famous father showed no concern for his son’s safety as

\textsuperscript{43}Sandford, “Why I Believe in College Football,” 7. Published from 1873 to 1957, the \textit{Woman’s Home Companion} was a highly successful monthly magazine. Gradually building circulation and advertising pages, it reached a circulation of one million in 1916.

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{46}Ibid., 606.

long as he played for his life and lived up to his father’s football reputation. Again, it was more important to make a college team than to be concerned about safety.

Many educators and athletic advocates saw the game of football as the best outlet for martial instincts, explaining why Mathews, editor of *The World To-Day*, referred to the sport in 1905 as “amateur war.” Referring to the early football matches played from 1884 to 1900, the sport also offered an unlimited opportunity for “‘doing up your man,’” as its rough and crude aspects were encouraged by players who baited each other on the field. The reason football demanded legislative restriction, Mathews argued, was easily understood given the encouragement its martial aspects received.

Reflecting on the 1906 college football season, which resulted in fewer deaths than 1905, *The Independent* compared the reactions to the sport by Harvard’s President Eliot and President Roosevelt. As an outspoken critic against the game, Eliot did not think it was fit for colleges as it resulted in injuries and moral decay. He said, “It therefore remains an undesirable game for gentleman to play or for multitudes of spectators to watch.” In complete contrast, President Roosevelt, an avid supporter of football and its ability to produce courageous and honorable men, deemphasized the danger and roughness of certain college sports while praising their noble vigor because he did not want a nation of “mollycoddles.” While Roosevelt called for honor in the

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49 Ibid. As played from 1184 to 1905, the game of football was crude and rough with hardly any rule restrictions. One of the major problems was the popularity of mass-formations like the flying wedge, a V-shaped formation in which a large number of offensive players charged as a unit against a similarly arranged defense. The resultant collisions often led to serious injuries and sometimes even death.
51 Ibid. A mollycoddle is a person, especially a man or a boy, who is pampered and overprotected.
game, his oft-quoted motto was, “Don’t flinch, don’t foul, and hit the line hard.”

Referencing the President’s comments a few months later, Reeve, a Princeton graduate and journalist, reiterated the fact that football was not a mollycoddle game to be played by young men who should be packed in cotton wool. Writing for The Independent, Reeve’s article summed up the deaths and casualties of the 1907 college football season, and he concluded that the game must be played under medical supervision and with physically fit young men of college age. Educational Review, a leading journal publishing a wide range of educational research and scholarship, included an article in 1911 urging the abolition of football as an impossible intercollegiate sport.

As indication of the backward nature of the sport, David R. Porter (1882–1973), a major figure in the Young Men’s Christian Association, began with an anecdote about a head master at a large American school who said, “I had much rather a boy would be killed here occasionally than to turn out a lot of mollycoddles.”

Obviously, not all educators advocated for reform of college athletics as some explained football’s ability to create rough and tough men.

Military references and war metaphors were prevalent in these magazines with authors equating football pads to armor and players to warriors, cadets, and gladiators.

In November 1902, Lewis, a Harvard football coach from 1895 to 1906 and the first African-American to be selected as an All-American, highlighted for Outing readers the

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52Ibid.
process of fielding a successful college football team, which was a year-round affair. He described for readers how to make a football team, “…its organization and development is not unlike the making of a miniature army.”\textsuperscript{56} The step-by-step process of making a football team will be discussed in Chapter 7. Much like Lewis’ description of a football team, writer Daniel Grant Herring compared football to a military campaign writing in 1910:

The advisory board is the War Office. The coaches are the officers of the General Staff. The captain and the quarter back (sic) are the commanders in the field. The players are the soldiers, and have just as much freedom of individual action and enjoyment as have common soldiers. The army—I mean the team—goes into winter quarters and takes the field in the proper season. As drill incessant is the lot of the soldier, so is it of the Varsity football player.\textsuperscript{57}

After the tumultuous 1909 football season, Herring, a Princeton alumni now studying at Merton College, Oxford, was commissioned to write this \textit{Outlook} article to discuss the present condition in American football. As the article discusses, his chief desire was to see football played in the spirit of the game and for the healthful recreation and enjoyment of the players. In defense of the violence inherent in college football, several writers stressed the necessity of football to developing the right qualities in the future soldier.\textsuperscript{58} College football was a fight as its strategy and ethics mirrored those of war, including the importance of preparing for the conflict (game) far in advance of its arrival.\textsuperscript{59} Journalist George Marvin, writing in \textit{The Independent} in 1913, described coaches and quarterbacks keeping their “council of war” long after the football season

\textsuperscript{56} Lewis, “Making a Football Team,” 221.
\textsuperscript{57} Herring, “Tendencies in Intercollegiate Football,” 501.
\textsuperscript{58} For examples, see “The Football Deaths,” \textit{The Nation}, 424; White, “Football and Its Critics,” 663-664.
ends.\(^{60}\)

Arguing against this militarization of the game, one football critic, William Everett Hicks, decried in *The Independent* the military value of football. Hicks, editor of *The Army and Navy Journal*, advocated banishing football in the military academies because it violated the fundamental principle of military athletics—the fighting efficiency of the soldier must not be impaired and the academies had too many injuries from the game. Published just a couple weeks after the death of Cadet Byrne, the West Point football captain. Hicks warned that the present type of football was “…of doubtful military value to officers and men, being opposed to the principle of physical efficiency in the soldier, and providing the cadet with no knowledge of a game which he can make use of in after life to maintain his physical vigor.”\(^{61}\) Eliot, the president of Harvard from 1869 to 1909, repeatedly denounced the theory that football was comparable to war. In war, Eliot said in 1905 in *The Nation*, foul play such as deceit, surprises, spying, treachery, and ungentlemanly tricks are desirable whereas a manly sport in which friends participated offers no justification for such methods.\(^{62}\) While the military effectiveness of college athletics was debated, most writers valued sports, especially football, as a way to entrench military values into young men.

“Mens Sana In Corpore Sano”

Educators, reformers, and writers offered “mens sana in corpore sano,” Latin for “a healthy mind in a healthy body,” as the fundamental reason for merging athletics with

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\(^{60}\)Marvin, “Building a Football Team,” 125.


academic institutions in both men’s and women’s colleges. Even though muscular Christianity primarily focused on manhood, examples of this frame applied to women’s athletics as well. Of the four media frames found to be present in popular magazine articles touching on college athletics from 1896 to 1916, the only one to highlight women’s athletics was the “muscular Christianity” frame.

Two camps swiftly emerged within these magazines: those who rebelled against the encroachment of athletics on one side and those who welcomed it enthusiastically on the other. Of the great debate between the positive and negative effects of athletics, Arlo Bates wrote, “The partisan is apt to speak with too much force, the opposition with too great rancor; so that both more often provoke than convince.”63 Van Dyke opened a 1905 article about the history of merging athletics with higher education in *The Outlook* by stating that America’s wisest ancestors, such as Plato and Socrates, have always felt that athletics should be a fundamental part of the education system. He concluded that the prominence of college athletics could not be explained by sarcastic references to the power of fads in modern American society, but rather to its importance within the education system.64 The first article written by a female author appeared in *Popular Science Monthly* in February 1897. Sophia Foster Richardson (1855–1916), an assistant professor at Vassar College, also noted the Greek influence in her article about athletics in the women’s colleges, reasoning that the idea that women should have the same physical training as men stemmed from Plato’s *The Republic*.65 As further evidence, she

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64 Van Dyke, “Athletics and Education,” 389.
65 Sophia Foster Richardson, “Tendencies In Athletics For Women In Colleges and Universities,” *Popular Science Monthly*, February 1897, 519.
reminded readers that Spartan girls were subjected to intense physical training, resulting in not only health and strength, but superior beauty as well. 66

A fundamental reason many authors gave for the benefit of merging athletics and education was “mens sana in corpore sano.” 67 This was a popular phrase echoed repeatedly within these popular magazines. 68 Many educators and advocates of college athletics believed that physical exercise was the basis of mental growth. 69 Writing for the National Education Association, the largest organization and largest labor union in the United States representing public school teachers, educator C. S. Hicks reasoned that the prime purpose of education was to make good American citizens, and to do so, required developing students mentally, morally, and physically. 70 In other words, college athletics made the body supple so the mind could be nimble, and the only way to ensure that goal was being met was for faculty control of college athletics. 71

In addition to the changing nature of work for men resulting in less physical labor than previous generations, women’s roles began changing as well, as evidenced by the increase in number of women working outside the home from four million to more than seven million between 1890 and 1910. 72 Women became less involved in the domestic sphere and entered and invaded the men’s public sphere. Between 1900 and 1910, 

66Ibid.
71Ibid.
married women working outside the home more than doubled to eleven percent of all married women and became involved in the causes of the public section, namely suffrage and temperance.\footnote{Ibid.}

Emphasizing “mens sana in corpora sano” as central to the educational mission, Walter Camp, in an article for \textit{The Outing Magazine}, discussed an emerging idea in athletics, centering on requiring physical fitness of every college student, both male and female, a concept already embraced by women’s colleges of the day.\footnote{Camp, “The New Idea In Athletics,”, 654.} As early as February 1897, popular magazines noted that women’s colleges and universities required physical education in the form of athletic games, as Richardson detailed in “Tendencies in Athletics for Women in Colleges and Universities,” published in \textit{Popular Science Monthly}.\footnote{Richardson, “Tendencies In Athletics For Women In Colleges and Universities,” 517.} Embracing “mens sana in corpore sano,” women’s colleges and private schools recognized the need for physical training to keep pace with mental training. These schools, however, viewed athletic games differently than did men’s colleges, ensuring that they remained games rather than evolving into a sport.\footnote{For examples, see Richardson, “Tendencies In Athletics For Women In Colleges and Universities,” 526; Alice Katharine Fallows, “Athletics For College Girls,” \textit{Century Illustrated Magazine}, May 1903, 58-65.} The mental and moral effects of athletics were vastly beneficial, as women took on a new healthier, heartier attitude toward life. According to a graduate of the University of California, intercollegiate athletics, as opposed to just gym time, were more important for women than men because it brought out a side of their nature cramped from childhood.\footnote{Richardson, “Tendencies in Athletics for Women in Colleges and Universities,” 520.} To that end, Dr. Sargent, writing for \textit{The Ladies’ Home Journal} in 1912, argued that women’s

\begin{footnotes}
\item[73] Ibid.
\item[74] Camp, “The New Idea In Athletics,”, 654.
\item[75] Richardson, “Tendencies In Athletics For Women In Colleges and Universities,” 517.
\item[76] For examples, see Richardson, “Tendencies In Athletics For Women In Colleges and Universities,” 526; Alice Katharine Fallows, “Athletics For College Girls,” \textit{Century Illustrated Magazine}, May 1903, 58-65.
\item[77] Richardson, “Tendencies in Athletics for Women in Colleges and Universities,” 520.
\end{footnotes}
college athletics best exemplified the correlation between a sound mind and a sound body. In “Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine?” Sargent, the director of the Harvard gymnasium, gave practical answers to the question many girls asked as he debunked the myth that athletics created coarse, muscled women. The introduction of athletics into women’s colleges provided unique health and moral benefits to the next generation of women, historically relegated to the house. Writing for Munsey’s Magazine, largely credited as the nation’s first mass circulation magazine, Anne O’Hagan, a prolific fiction writer published in many popular magazines, claimed in 1901 that women’s entrance into the realm of competitive sports was the most important development for women in the nineteenth century. As such, she charted this revolution and the positive changes it brought women in regard to their habits, dress, and health.

In “The Athletic Woman,” Anna de Koven (1862–1953), an author, socialite and amateur athlete, condoned the radical view that women should actively participate in outdoor athletic games as a way to keep themselves youthful and maintain the pace along

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78 Dudley A. Sargent, “Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine?” The Ladies’ Home Journal, March 1912, 73. First published in December 1883 by Cyrus Curtis, The Ladies’ Home Journal has a long and storied history. Beginning as a section of the newspaper Tribune and Farmer called “Woman and the Home,” Mrs. Curtis edited and wrote for the section that was to become The Ladies’ Home Journal, originally an eight-page monthly supplement in the paper. In 1889, Mrs. Curtis gave up her editorship to Edward Bok and was instrumental in improving the magazine and increasing its circulation. The Journal was one of the first magazines, if not the first, to change its cover design monthly, and in 1903, it became the first magazine to reach a circulation of one million. (Frank L. Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1885-1985 vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 457-480.)

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid. See also Anne O’Hagan, “The Athletic Girl,” Munsey’s Magazine, August 1901, 729-738. O’Hagan, “The Athletic Girl,” 729. Munsey’s Magazine, founded by Frank A. Munsey in 1889 as The Munsey’s Weekly, was a thirty-six page quarto magazine as a magazine of the people and for the people. Munsey was a revolutionist that discovered that one could achieve a large circulation by selling a magazine for much less than its cost of production and could take his profits from the high volume of advertising that the large circulation attracted. In 1893, he cut the price of Munsey’s Magazine from 25 cents to 10 cents, which drastically increased circulation to 500,000 just two years later. (Frank L. Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1885-1985 vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 608-619.)
side men in the world of work. As an expert source in her article, Dr. Thomas D. Wood (1865–1951), the physical director for Barnard College, explained the need for college athletics for young men and women as the best preparation for more serious work later in life. “Women, as well as men, need to learn through practical experience the rules of fair play, generous treatment of rivals and opponents, merging self into co-operative effort, concentration of power, and the blending of all energies toward an impersonal goal.” In addition, she advocated for women in sports to help other women reach their highest level of development and lead to mutual interest and comradeship between both sexes.

Unlike men’s college athletics, women’s college sports wholeheartedly embraced the principle of the sound body and sound mind, creating their own structure and aims for athletics that differed from those for men. Women’s athletics focused on maintaining a high general standard of health and vigor rather than seeking glory from a single brilliant achievement. Thus, moral and physical benefits outweighed the necessity to win. In “The Athletic Girl Not Unfeminine,” published in 1902 in *Outing*, Christine Terhune Herrick (1859–1944), an author and journalist who mostly wrote about housekeeping, mocked the notion that athletics created mannish, rude, or loud women. Athletics provided such mental effects as an increase in concentration and a more scientific mind. Summarizing the overall benefits of athletics, she wrote, “The woman who by her athletics has learned

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83 Barnard College is a private women’s liberal arts college affiliated with Columbia University in New York City.
84 de Koven, “The Athletic Woman,” 150.
85 Ibid.3
respect for others, and for herself logic, proportion, accuracy, self-control, patience, conscientiousness, honor, moderation, and the ability to make the best of what bodily powers she possesses, has acquired more from this method of culture than she is likely to gain from any other one branch of training." Glancing at the titles alone of these magazine articles, demonstrates that, at the turn of the nineteenth century, educators, physicians, and the public worried about the effects of athletics on women.

_The Outlook_ claimed in 1905 President Roosevelt was the soundest advocate of the concept of “mens sana in corpore sano” in the country as evidenced by his call for reform at the Big Three White House conference in 1905. _The Nation_, however, criticized college athletics, especially football, and disagreed with the defenders of the game who believed that football alone provided for the physical and moral development of the nation’s youth. College athletics did not provide a sound mind and sound body, critics asserted. During the cry for reform in 1905, an editorial in _The Nation_ stated, “We have been deluded hitherto by the Roosevelts (sic) and other worshippers of brute force into thinking that there was something noble, inspiring, and uplifting in the crashing together of twenty-two men.” Advocates of college athletics used the popular platitude, “mens sana in corpore sano,” as a fundamental reason to incorporate athletics into higher education. This concept is just one example of how popular magazines framed college athletics as embracing muscular Christianity.

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88Ibid., 721.
90“Football Reform,” _The Outlook_, November 18, 1905, 649.
91“Football In Its Proper Light,” _The Nation_, 108.
92Ibid.
Benefits of College Athletics

In addition to college athletics aiding in the muscular Christianity movement, advocates argued sports developed character and a spirit of democracy. While it was easy to see the physical benefits, the mental and moral benefits of participation in college athletics were not as tangible. As a backlash to the call for reform, popular magazine articles filled that gap in knowledge and brought some of these benefits to light within their magazines. In *The Outing Magazine*, Dr. W.R.C. Latson, a skin disease specialist who gave up his practice to write medical articles for magazines, explained in 1906 the moral and ethical values obtained from college athletics, providing a backlash to the evils of college athletics frame. In part, he wrote, “… the great thing is not the individual man, but the mass. This is the doctrine of democracy; and perhaps in no respect is athletic sport of more value than in developing this spirit of democracy.”93 Dr. Latson professed that football was the best means of developing courage, aggressiveness, and willpower in young men, revealing that courage backed by will serve as the prime secret for conquering life’s obstacles.94 College athletics drove home with compelling force the best meaning of democracy. In essence, participation in sport created and encouraged the future leaders of the United States and developed many of the manly qualities that Americans most admired, such as self-sacrifice, self-control, cleanliness of spirit, courage, obedience, patience, and chivalry.95

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94Ibid., 390.
The majority of men who would become leaders in the next generation would have a university degree, and educators and society men questioned whether their sons would physically command sufficient respect to lead the country. This anxiety led Newcomb to argue in *The North American Review* in 1907 that college men needed to engage in manly contests, the rougher the better.\(^{96}\) Oddly, though, he argued that the weakest men should fill openings on intercollegiate teams. University students most in danger of becoming the ancestors to an enfeebled race would benefit most from athletics and gain strength from training.\(^{97}\)

Other popular magazines reiterated the importance gained from football by creating lists of the benefits, concluding that the good effects surpassed the bad.\(^{98}\) During the 1905 football crisis, *The Independent* argued that football was essential and necessary preparation for the conditions of modern life: “Football is the epitome of our competitive commonwealth, the real national game, the symbol of our civilization, the rehearsal of the drama of life.”\(^{99}\) It compared aspects of the game to such career training as teaching the methods of higher finance by handling football funds and understanding the operations of the stock exchange through gambling. In line with the era’s principle of greatest good for the greatest number, *The Independent*, even claimed that the spectators shared these mental and moral effects.\(^{100}\) According to “Football as a Sedentary Exercise” published in 1904, spectators also benefited from fighting against the crowds at the entrance for

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\(^{96}\)Newcomb, “University Athletics,” 355.

\(^{97}\)Ibid., 356.

\(^{98}\)For examples, see “Football As A Training For Life,” *The Independent*, November 30, 1905, 1293-1295; See also Sandford, “Why I Believe in College Football,” 7; Reid, Jr., “Stories of Football Strategy,” 763. Reid wrote the football player “… is putting into action ideals which he could never have learned from textbooks.” Football was the capital school for the training of character.

\(^{99}\)“Football As A Training For Life,” *The Independent*, 1295.

\(^{100}\)Ibid., 1294.
tickets and seats, inhaling deep breaths of fresh air, and standing for three hours during the game strengthening the back and leg muscles. Because of the curse of city life, society now resorted to watching athletic games instead of participating in such productive forms of exercise as wood chopping or road mending.

Promoting the ethical benefits of football, Charles F. Thwing (1853–1937), the president of Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, wrote, “The gridiron is a small ethical world, marked all over with the white lines of moral distinctions….It is a moral apprenticeship, an ethical practice school.” Football made the finest gentleman in terms of ethics and conduct, he argued; and the game represented the inevitable, taught the value of the positive, illustrated the worth of compelling interest, disciplined self-restraint, and promoted self-discovery. In his 1913 Outing article “What Makes a Football Player?” Herbert C. Reed, the former head football coach for Hillsdale College in Hillsdale, Michigan, labeled football as the best game to develop traits that good Americans want to find in their sons. Emphasizing that 75 percent of football was skill from the neck up, he boasted that successful football was built on brains and courage—both worthwhile assets after graduation. Dr. White, the John Rhea Barton Professor of Surgery at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital from 1900 to 1912, in The Outlook in 1905 also contributed to the debate by insisting that exercise was one of the fundamental requirements of health, especially during youth, and its intellectual, educational, and

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101 Ibid., 1397-1398.
102 Ibid., 1398.
103 Thwing, “The Ethical Functions of Foot-ball,” 630.
104 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
physical benefits were increased by the enjoyment found in the competitive environment surrounding intercollegiate athletics.\textsuperscript{107}

Commenting on the “mushroom-like” development of intercollegiate athletics in \textit{The Outlook} in 1911, Luther Halsey Gulick (1865–1918), a renowned physical educator and international basketball official, placed the benefit on their social effect, as the current capitalistic times demanded men with higher corporate morality, which could not be obtained from books or lectures.\textsuperscript{108} Athletics were a means of forming the ethical and social relations of future leaders, creating the loyalty that was the basis of ethics.\textsuperscript{109} Similarly, a 1908 unsigned editorial in \textit{The Outing Magazine} claimed, “What the boy learns on the gridiron he remembers when the preachments of the classroom have long passed out of his head.”\textsuperscript{110} The lesson the young men should take deepest to heart was the one that teaches him to play the game fairly and to be a sportsman.\textsuperscript{111} A national conversation about the pros and cons of college athletics was debated within the pages of popular magazines, as authors voiced the educational, physical and moral benefits.

In “The New Idea In Athletics,” Camp discussed in \textit{The Outing Magazine} the recent move in some colleges to demand every student to take physical fitness classes just as every athlete was required to take academic classes. Some prominent educators such as Dr. Sargent at Harvard felt that the athlete was separated more and more from the scholar while the scholar grew weaker physically in his search for mental training. Thus, men should be made to play just as they are made to study. Further, Camp wrote in 1910 that

\textsuperscript{107}White, “Football and Its Critics,” 662.
\textsuperscript{109}Ibid., 600.
\textsuperscript{110}“Not Spirit But Rules,” \textit{The Outing Magazine}, May 1908, 255.
\textsuperscript{111}Ibid.
intercollegiate athletics proved motivational to future students and athletes: “It is the remarkable team performing in public and making a name for itself in athletics that leads every youngster to wish to excel in something similar; holds before him a goal, it may be of minor importance, but which means much to him and leads him steadily on to the full development of all his powers.”\(^\text{112}\) Athletics kept the collegiate atmosphere pure and manly, and its effects for good could be seen in almost every department. Walter Prichard Eaton (1878–1957) wrote in Collier’s three months later that eighty percent of college students participated in college athletics. He reported on the athletic statistics in many prominent universities such as Yale, Harvard, the University of Chicago, Amherst, the University of Virginia, and Vanderbilt. William L. Dudley (1859–1914), known as the father of Vanderbilt University athletics, was quoted in the article, saying that intercollegiate athletics united the student body, kept down internal dissensions, encouraged loyalty and patriotism, and developed a desire for strength in the people who will never be able to make a varsity team.\(^\text{113}\) With college athletic games preoccupying their attention, college students were no longer as mischievous in their spare time, causing the president of Colgate University to comment that it had become the ally of good order and reasonable living.\(^\text{114}\)

Another benefit of college athletics was that, as the most effective advertising available, it attracted students, money, and alumni to universities.\(^\text{115}\) While Swarthmore College, a highly selective liberal arts college in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, understood

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\(^\text{115}\)“The Olive or the Laurel,” The Independent, October 10, 1907, 887-888.
athletics to be a moneymaker and a draw for students, it decided against allowing intercollegiate athletics to creep into its academic halls in order to accept a million dollars worth of coal lands from a wealthy deceased benefactor. Thus, as the headline suggested, the college chose the crown of the laurel representing artistic and intellectual achievement instead of the olive representing the prize of athletic prowess. This free advertising issue will be discussed in Chapter 6 as magazines used it as an example of one evil of college athletics.\textsuperscript{116}

College athletics promoted confidence and pluck, as students could find themselves in the limelight more quickly on the athletic field than in the business world.\textsuperscript{117} But, according to \textit{The Outlook} in 1911, perhaps the most beneficial aspect of college athletics was the future impact athletes would have on the country. “Athletics represent the chief interest and form the ethical and social relations of the men who in their future lives are going to dominate this country.”\textsuperscript{118} Writing for \textit{Outing} in 1906, Paine understood the impact of college athletics on the development of character.\textsuperscript{119} Since courage, daring, honesty, endurance, and loyalty are the essential elements of an admirable manhood, it was only natural for the successful athlete to be admired above the scholar.

During the Progressive era, popular magazines framed college athletics as epitomizing the muscular Christianity movement. As native-born, Anglo-Saxon

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\textsuperscript{116}The idea of free advertising is now considered public relations/publicity or unpaid promotion. However, during the Progressive era, newspapers were keen on not giving away free advertising and labeled this evil as such.
\textsuperscript{117}Newcomb, “University Athletics,” 360.
\textsuperscript{118}Gulick, “The New Athletics,” 598.
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Protestant men confronted several mounting issues such as the shifting economy, the rise of industrialization, the threat of massive immigration, the closing of the Western frontier, and the challenge of women rising in the workplace and in politics, they needed an outlet to showcase and prove their masculinity to themselves and their elders. This movement endorsed physical activity, bodily strength, and competitive sports to cultivate a new Christian manliness in the hopes of revitalizing Protestant’s anxiety about the feminization of religion and the weakening effects of city life. As sociologist Gamson argued in 1989 in *American Behavioral Scientist*, “the frames for a given story are frequently drawn from shared cultural narratives and myths.”

Sports, especially college athletics, have a way of capturing the attention of the American public. With Gamson’s quotation in mind, it is easy to understand how this thematic frame emerged during the formulating period of combining athletics with the system of higher education, reinforcing and perpetuating the myth of the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideal in popular society.

In reaction to the call for reform frame, popular magazines reiterated the importance and benefits of college athletics as a key to defining men as men worthwhile. As a result of urbanization and the restraints of city life, college athletics became a way for young men to exhibit strength and skill in competition, as those opportunities now had to be manufactured. Fortitude, persistence, judgment, obedience, courage, resourcefulness, and sacrifice of self for the common good, all elements of manhood, described the moral benefits of college athletics. As college athletics provided a

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mechanism for young men to learn the martial values of courage, aggressiveness, and brutality without having to prepare for actual battle, an emphasis on martial mentality emerged from these articles, especially in regard to the game of football. While the military effectiveness of college athletics was debated, however, most writers valued sports as a way to entrench military values into young men. Other examples of the “muscular Christianity” frame consisted of the oft repeated phrase “mens sana in corpore sano,” Latin for “a healthy mind in a healthy body,” as well as discussion about the physical and moral benefits of college athletics within the pages of popular magazine. Perhaps, most importantly, advocates of college athletics believed that sports were the best way to develop character and a spirit of democracy in the future leaders of our nation.

Even though muscular Christianity primarily focused on manhood, examples of the frame, such as “mens sana in corpore sano,” applied to women’s athletics as well. Of the four media frames found to be present in popular magazine articles touching on college athletics from 1896 to 1916, the only one to highlight women’s athletics was the “muscular Christianity” frame. Articles mentioning women’s college athletes never used the “call to reform” frame, as athletics in women’s colleges were designed after the intramural model as opposed to the intercollegiate model. Educators, reformers, and writers offered “mens sana in corpore sano” as the fundamental reason for college athletics in both men’s and women’s colleges. Women’s athletics, however, took the platitude more seriously by fully embracing the spirit of a healthy mind in a healthy body. With the goal centered on gaining physical and mental benefits as opposed to winning or
bringing prestige to campus, women’s athletics provided a way for women to reach their highest level of development, creating a more level playing field with men. Just as athletics increased the beauty of Spartan women in ancient Greece, writers advocated for women to participate in outdoor games to make them more attractive, leading to a mutual interest and comradeship between the sexes. One author, O’Hagan, even went as far as to claim that women’s entrance into the realm of competitive sports was the most important development for women in the nineteenth century.

Press coverage of certain people and events in historical memory can reflect shifts in cultural and social power. During the Progressive era, the fear of feminization as well as WASP supremacy led to the construction of college athletics as a social and cultural phenomenon that quickly swept the nation as evidenced in this chapter. As Carolyn Kitch contended, the news media have become the public historians of American culture. It characterizes specific slices of the past in ways that merge the past, present and future into a single, ongoing tale, connecting the Progressive era to the present day.¹²¹ It could be argued that the NCAA, just as sport, was constructed as a homosocial world with a distinct male-dominant division of labor, which excluded women (and minorities for many years). In reality, the NCAA and sport came to symbolize a domain of men, the masculine structure of power over women.

Chapter 6: Evils of College Athletics

A 1902 article in The Independent, a general interest weekly magazine published in New York City, highlighted a growing trend with particular regard to football, stating that the public and academics vastly differed in their interpretations of the value of the game itself for the man who played it and the harm done to the reputation of the college in the process.\(^1\) Highlighting this conflict, Charles F. Thwing, the president of Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, wrote, “It is certain, too, that for a time every fall the college is placed in the public eye as the home of athletes. Its campus is supposed to be a gridiron, its lecture rooms become dressing rooms for combatants, its great men are ends and quarterbacks.”\(^2\) In Thwing’s analysis, he answered a pivotal question regarding college football, “Is the Game Worth Saving?” Acknowledging the college athletic debate among college presidents and the public at large, his review of the game concluded that the game indeed was worth saving, but its evils needed to be addressed.

To combat that point of view, popular magazines offered insight into the negative effects of college athletics with several articles categorically listing its evils.\(^3\) Many magazines blamed the sensationalism in the newspapers of the era for the prevalence of college athletic evils, namely the win-at-any-cost mentality and the hero culture surrounding popular athletes, resulting in the rise of commercialism and professionalism.

\(^1\)Charles F. Thwing, “Football: Is the Game Worth Saving?” The Independent, May 15, 1902, 1167-1174.
\(^2\)Ibid., 1168.
Before commercialism and professionalism ran rampant within college sports, academics remained first and foremost until undergraduates seized control of college athletics and discovered them as a moneymaker. During the years 1896 to 1916, examples of the evils of college athletics frame took several forms, with the most common example of this frame being the shift in focus from academics to athletics, turning the normal order of things upside down.\(^4\) Caused in part by the win-at-all-cost mentality among college administrators, coaches, and players, popular magazines framed the evils of college athletics as morally deteriorating to the undergraduate student body as well as to the athletes. Articles highlighted the prevalence of lying about players’ amateur status and cheating by ignoring and evading ruling during games. A winning college team began to symbolize a prosperous institution, and college presidents reveled in the free advertisement given to their teams by the sporting pages—another example of the evils of college athletics frame. Referring to athletes as Homeric heroes, popular magazines also emphasized the growing hero culture surrounding college athletics.

The Blame Game

Popular magazines blamed the sensationalism in the newspapers of the era for the prevalence of college athletic evils such as the win-at-any-cost mentality, the hero culture surrounding popular collegiate athletes, and the rise of commercialism and professionalism.\(^5\) Highlighting the framing of college athletic evils in the hero culture

example, writer Deming remarked in 1902 for *Outing* that during the football season the heroes of the season were compared to the gods in Homer’s Greek epic poems.⁶ Emblazoned bigger than politicians as indicated by the sheer size of their headlines and photographs in the newspapers, coverage of college athletic heroes drew hosts of reader’s eyes to the sporting pages.⁷ Thus, Thwing noted in *The Independent* that reports in newspapers were giving false interpretations and impressions of collegiate values, aiding in the evils of college athletics.⁸

Descriptions of the series of football matches played every fall were prominent features in the leading metropolitan newspapers, and the criticism in the press coverage had never been so widespread nor so strong as in the year 1905, in which eighteen young men were killed playing football. Across the nation, as is the case today, few newspapers would ignore the top sporting news. In February 1905, van Dyke commented on this tendency in *The Outlook*, drawing attention to the fact that many newspapers would report on a speech by a politician, but even more newspapers would cover a prizefight or intercollegiate football game.⁹ At the opening of every fall and spring sporting season, the columns of the daily press were filled with announcements of intercollegiate games. Reacting to this tendency, *The Nation*, a weekly magazine critical of intercollegiate athletics, one month later sarcastically noted, “The intercollegiate contests are imitated with admirable seriousness by the boys of our high schools and academies; the fashion is

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⁷Ibid.
⁸Thwing, “Football: Is the Game Worth Saving?” 1173.
forcing its way into the grammar grades: and soon we may be chronicling the muscular prowess of four-year-old Tommy and Jimmy, the heroes of an interkindergarten meet."\textsuperscript{10}

Because the unusual and sensational made a story newsworthy in the first place, a July 1905 article in \textit{The Outlook} provided a slightly different perspective on newspaper coverage. Referring to the prevalence of newspapers to accentuate the evils of college athletics, the article stated, “It is a misfortune which colleges share with the rest of the world that their normal, regular, quiet, and wholesome activities receive little public notice, but that the unwholesome and abnormal, the noisy and irregular, incidents of college life are widely published."\textsuperscript{11}

Dr. Nichols, a former Harvard athlete and medical advisor for the Harvard football team, addressed the Harvard Medical School in May 1909, discouraging the professional and graduate students’ coaching of college teams, as they aided in college evils by encouraging winning at any cost. In a brief article covering this event, \textit{The Nation} also blamed the Boston newspaper coverage for the extravagance and hype surrounding college athletics, which led to its corruption in finding its proper place in the life of the university.\textsuperscript{12} If Harvard would limit its football schedule to only a few games, then the public interest in the team would rapidly diminish, as would the newspaper coverage of the team. To further complicate matters, newspaper coverage of college athletics was often the only window into the atmosphere of a particular university, and readers learned most things about a college from reading the sports scores and stories.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10}“Handing on the Torch,” \textit{The Nation}, 240.
\textsuperscript{11}“The Control of College Athletics,” \textit{The Outlook}, July 1, 1905, 561-563.
\textsuperscript{12}“Coaching College Teams,” \textit{The Nation}, May 1909, 500.
\textsuperscript{13}“Undergraduate Athletics,” \textit{Collier’s}, June 11, 1910, 20.
The daily press was also filled with sensational stories concerning the status of prominent athletes with their pictures along with short biographical sketches, often increasing the athlete’s status to that of a popular hero or idol of the community.\textsuperscript{14}

Reacting to this in \textit{The Outlook} in 1911, Gulick, a founding member of the Boy Scouts of America in 1910, wrote, “They are made to feel, by the space devoted to them in the newspapers, that they as individuals are enormously important.”\textsuperscript{15} He contended that this dilemma led to the development of the professional athlete (and coach) and away from the educational and ethical aspect of sports. In regard to women’s athletics, Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, the director of the Harvard University gymnasium for forty years, rebuked the sensational newspapers in 1912 that disregarded the truth, causing many Americans to believe that athletics were making girls masculine. He wrote, “…we are in danger of half believing that womankind has already become a distorted Amazon creation, to be talked about and wondered at, but no longer to be loved and admired.”\textsuperscript{16} His article in \textit{The Ladies’ Home Journal} tried to dispel this myth by answering questions about the benefits of athletics, the difference between athletics for men and women, and whether women needed as much physical exercise as men.\textsuperscript{17}

It was not just the newspaper coverage of intercollegiate athletics, however, that caused corruption and disproportionate treatment of education and athletics. Professor John J. Stevenson (1841–1924) and Foster, the first president of Reed College, blamed

\textsuperscript{14}For examples, see Shailer Mathews, “Reforming Athletics in the Central West,” \textit{The World To-Day}, November 1905, 1221-1226; Derby, “College Athletics,” 255.\textsuperscript{15}Gulick, “The New Athletics,” 597.\textsuperscript{16}Dudley A. Sargent, “Are Athletics Making Girls Masculine?” \textit{The Ladies’ Home Journal}, March 1912, 11.\textsuperscript{17}Ibid. Sargent believed that women were unable to bear prolonged mental and physical strain, and, therefore, he thought that games and sports such as basketball should be modified and made easier for women.
the college newspapers of the era for the over importance placed on intercollegiate athletics. In the January 1910 issue of *The Popular Science Monthly*, Stevenson indicated that a person reading a college newspaper would be convinced that American college students thought of little aside from sports.\textsuperscript{18} Because the students edited their own publications without faculty intervention, Foster, writing for *The Atlantic Monthly*, believed that the importance of college athletics and other college issues in the minds of students was indicated by their student publications.\textsuperscript{19} For example, in *Orient*, a weekly publication at Bowdoin College, 450 inches was given to intercollegiate athletics during the first nine weeks of the 1914-1915 academic year whereas only six inches was devoted to art, ten inches to social service, twelve inches to debating, and thirteen inches to music. Thus, Foster concluded that students rated the interests of intercollegiate athletics to be nearly three times higher than the combined interests of music, religion, social service, the faculty, the curriculum, and debating.\textsuperscript{20} Popular magazines framed college athletic evils, especially the win-at-any-cost mentality and the hero culture surrounding popular collegiate athletes, by blaming the sensationalism in the popular and college newspapers of the era for their prevalence in collegiate life.

**A Shift In Focus**

In 1897, at the onset of the Progressive era, Professor J. L. Patterson expressed anxiety in the *American Magazine of Civics* over the gradual shift away from a passion

\textsuperscript{18}Stevenson, “College Diversions,” 71.
\textsuperscript{20}Ibid.
for academics to a passion for athletics within United States’ colleges and universities.\textsuperscript{21} As the organ of the American Institute of Civics, the liberal, non-partisan magazine covered free trade, labor, political corruption, and women’s rights. Digressing from its main topics, this article noted that some colleges enacted minimum grade requirements, for their athletes in order to play on their athletic teams. Patterson endorsed this also, arguing for minimum performance standards in the classroom. Describing the physical and mental exhaustion of football training, Patterson wrote, “The training is extremely severe. After a man has undergone the hard work of the afternoon on the field under the whip of the professional coach; partaken of the hearty meal served at the training table, and taken part in the discussion of the plays, which is as regular as the meals, he is in no condition to wrestle with Greek or mathematics.”\textsuperscript{22} Since students did not have enough time or energy to study after football training, this quotation clearly indicated the growing antagonism between academic scholarship and college athletics—a sentiment echoed every year in the popular magazines during the period studied.

The extravagance of modern athletics at the turn of the twentieth century aided in its corruption, and the entire spectacle allowed young men and the public at large to become enchanted with college sports. As journalist Bates argued in 1901, the public had paid too much attention to the benefits of intercollegiate athletics and not nearly enough to its evils.\textsuperscript{23} Writing for The Forum, he opined that the modern college experience had drastically changed, and the general public understood colleges to be largely identified

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\textsuperscript{21}J.L. Patterson, “College Athletics and Scholarship,” American Magazine of Civics, January 1897, 540. \\
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid. \\
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with sports, and therefore, representing ideals rather physical than scholarly. The attention given to college athletics by adults threw things out of proportion, as it was the one thing in college life that aroused enthusiasm from the outside world. There was no equivalent connection to the intellectual side of college life, leading undergraduates to believe that athletics were more important than anything else in their college career. Instead of immersing himself in an atmosphere of learning throughout his college years, Bates wrote that a young college man was “…constantly impressed through his surroundings with the idea that success is to be won rather by the body than by the mind; that popularity is of more effect than culture; and that learning may be disregarded for more showy and ephemeral accomplishments.” Concluding his indictment of college athletics, Bates wrote that when a student chose a school for its athletic standings, the institution was immediately weakened in its intellectual standings.

Writing for Outing in 1902, Deming tracked the progression of football from its beginnings in the 1850s in New England villages to the modern game as played in the great New England institutions of higher education. Describing the game’s charm, he wrote:

As a sound spectacle what is more moving than the “big” American game! In its human vastness the single units are lost and the great oblong becomes a kind of mighty organ whose quadrated keyboards render artistic studies for the ear as do its fluttering tints for the eye. It is not merely the college song, timed to a thousand waving flags, but the sharp, isolated cheer, the shout moving in crescendo from end to end of the field, merging into the pervasive roar that greets the first touchdown; and, most thrilling, perhaps, of all, the deep gulf of sudden silence at a crisis of the play.

25 Ibid., 292.
26 Ibid., 295.
An air of hysterical exaggeration surrounded college football, adding to the evils connected with the popular sport because the American appetite for success had ruined it. In February 1905, Professor van Dyke, who held the chair of modern European history at Princeton, wrote in The Outlook that the desire for glory and a sense of duty was the ruling motive instead of love for the game. He concluded: “This American desire for success which has mastered football has long been recognized as a trait which does great things but brings with it great dangers.”

The desire to win and the competitive American spirit promoted cheating and corruption in the sport. The Outlook, believed the remedy to college athletic evils could be cured by faculty intervention and control in order to correctly align them with educational and moral values. The July 1905 issue provided a list of options detailing who should take control of college athletics. Since the real control lies with college graduates and professional coaches, the magazine determined that a takeover by college authorities was the best bet, as they were the only people ultimately responsible to the institution.

College football continued to be attacked in the pages of popular magazines from all sides, especially after the deaths of the 1905 football season. One writer in May 1906 correctly stated, “Conceived as a somewhat simple method of general exercise, football has evolved into a highly complex institution specialized along numerous lines. It has passed from a game to a spectacle. Other sports are reduced to pygmy proportions in

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29. Ibid., 393
30. For examples, see “The Control of College Athletics,” The Outlook, 561-563; “The Promise of American College Athletics,” The Outlook, July 5, 1913, 506-508.
Comparison. The juggernaut rolls over them all.”

Football games, therefore, were too often the focal point of college life instead of academic pursuits. Writing in *The World To-Day*, Reid, the Harvard football coach during the 1905 season, promoted the game and college athletics as a clean, healthy outlet for young men. Echoing the Protestant anxieties of the Progressive era, sports allowed young men to work off their energy in a harmless way as opposed to expending them in harmful vices such as alcohol, drugs, or sex. Reid widely promoted rule changes to increase the safety of the game, but firmly believed that athletics and football were far too valuable to Americans to be abolished.

Articles on the evils of college athletics pervaded the education journals of the day, focusing on the proper place of athletics in education and also in whose hands athletic control should lie. Writing for *Education* in 1907, Dr. Sargent traced the cause of numerous evils to the fact that college athletics were conducted primarily as sports, spectacles, and sources of amusement as opposed to its essential complement to a college education. In the October 5, 1907, issue of *The Outlook*, journalist Derby maintained that college faculty needed to ensure the true aim of athletics were not distorted, and its

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33 Ibid., 482.
great power for good was not restricted. Continuing into 1908, several popular magazines including The Outlook had determined that athletics held an important place in the educational scheme, but it should not be first place. In February, an editorial stated, “So great has been the devotion to sport, so eager the interest in it, and so contagious the enthusiasm, that the student body has inverted the essential values of college life.” It warned of the tragic athletic hero who devoted too much time to athletics to the detriment of his academic career, and in most cases, it was too late to recover lost ground and lay the basis for a productive professional life. Hence, the magazine argued that colleges had become athletic organizations with academics placed on the back burner.

Echoing The Outlook, a 1908 editorial in Harper’s Weekly found the relationship between athletics and undergraduates disturbing, stating that college spirit was evoked most effectively in the arena of athletic games as opposed to through the curriculum or in interchange of ideas in the classroom. These editorials, therefore, highlighted the growing tendency in universities to place athletics at the forefront of academics.

As Science aptly stated in 1908, there was barely an educator who had not voiced their opinion on either side of the college athletics debate, as it was the most intricate problem facing the education system indicated by the popular magazine coverage. As further proof of college athletics’ negative effects as framed in popular magazine coverage of the day, the article revealed a study concluding that athlete’s scholarship levels were 4 percent lower than his classmates, and baseball and football player’s

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36 Derby, “College Athletics,” 254-258.
37 “College Athletics Again,” The Outlook, February 15, 1908, 346.
38 Ibid.
average scholarship standing dropped off noticeably during the terms in which they were competing. Scholarship level indicated the averaged grade of a student at the time of their graduation. To improve these statistics, Paul C. Phillips (1883–1956), director of physical training at Amherst College in Amherst, Massachusetts, and author of the study, advocated for raising scholarship standards and decreasing the number of athletic games to create better balance.

Overall, throughout the Progressive era, The Nation remained critical of intercollegiate athletics, especially football, and often advocated for its abolishment. In February 1908, President Arthur Hadley (1856–1930) of Yale University gave a lecture in Berlin on “American University Life,” comparing student life in Germany with that in the United States. Concluding that the American student life was superior, he promoted our system of the highest mental as well as physical training. The Nation severely critiqued his conclusion, noting that Hadley failed to explain the difference between the ideal of physical exercise for all students and the actual system of intercollegiate athletics for the benefit of a select minority. Further, it argued that athletics had been forced on education by undergraduates, graduates, and professional coaches who knew and cared nothing about education. Hadley’s argument was not particularly successful in Europe either as an article in the French monthly Revue des Deux Mondes wrote, “The American succeeds in college by physical skill….he learns little, and is neglectful of diplomas—of little value and easily obtained.”

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41 Ibid., 550.
42 Ibid., 553.
44 Ibid.
During the 1909 football season, approximately thirty young men died while playing the game, resulting in the deadliest football season ever by eclipsing the 1905 season by eleven deaths. Reacting to the season’s extreme brutality, Professor Stevenson of New York University noted his disgust with intercollegiate athletics, which diverted public and student attention from serious academic matters to irrelevant athletics matters.\textsuperscript{45} In his 1910 article, “College Diversions,” he complained that colleges were quickly becoming “an annex to the athletic field.”\textsuperscript{46} In December 1910, \textit{The Nation} acknowledged that athletics were the chief common bond among students, creating a great force for democracy, but at the expense of education as teachers had to compete with athletics for student’s attention.\textsuperscript{47}

College athletics continued to intertwine itself into the academics aspect of colleges and universities. By 1914, Whelan, writing in \textit{Outing}, recognized sports as entrenched into the life of the university as much as the curriculum itself.\textsuperscript{48} But college games did not merely affect the students who played intercollegiate athletics. As Foster wrote one year later in \textit{The Atlantic Monthly}, the chief complaint against intercollegiate athletics was the demoralizing and academic effect on the scholarship of entire institution. As a result of the periodic absences of the athletic teams to travel long distances to compete, academic standards for every student were lowered to meet the constraints of intercollegiate athletics.\textsuperscript{49} As detailed in Chapter 4, Foster, the first president of Reed College which was founded without intercollegiate athletics, believed

\textsuperscript{45}Stevenson, “College Diversions,” 71-75.
\textsuperscript{46}Ibid., 75.
\textsuperscript{47}“Scholarship and Athletics,” \textit{The Nation}, November 10, 1910, 438.
\textsuperscript{48}Mack Whelan, “Professors In Place of ‘Pro’s,’” \textit{The Outing Magazine}, February 1914, 627.
\textsuperscript{49}Foster, “An Indictment of Intercollegiate Athletics,” 585.
there was a disconnect between college athletics and education. Writing for The Atlantic Monthly in 1915, Foster claimed that college athletics administered for the benefit of the grandstand and spectators must be conducted as a business whereas athletics for the mental and physical benefit of students must be conducted as education. The aims of college athletics for education and the aims of college athletics for business, thus, were in sharp and complete conflict. Foster reasoned that the faculty did not control college athletics because it was run as a business, and the faculty only had control of the college as an educational institution.\textsuperscript{50} In School and Society, Dr. Raycroft, a professor in and chair of the physical education department at Princeton University, echoed Foster’s argument in 1916, noting that the constant tendency of influences such as professionalism, recruiting, and the spirit of “win at any cost” had taken college athletics from an educational factor to the level of public spectacle.\textsuperscript{51} These college athletic evils had transformed recreation for educational value into a business. Throughout the Progressive era, popular magazines framed college athletic evils by indicating the growing antagonism between academic scholarship and college athletics—a sentiment reiterated every year and with increasing vigor.

Moral Deterioration

During the Progressive era, popular magazines framed the evils of college athletics, especially college football, with regard to their effect on diminishing the moral foundation of the athletes as well as the entire student body and institution. The game of football came under vicious attack for its demoralizing effect on undergraduate life with

\textsuperscript{50}Ibid., 582.
one college president describing the game as having “all of the evils of the Roman amphitheater.” Writing for *The Independent* in 1902, Thwing, the president of Western Reserve University, consulted with many college deans and presidents, representing colleges across the United States from Maine to California, regarding the value of college football.

Writing for *Woman’s Home Companion* in 1905, Eliot, who served as Harvard University’s president from 1869 to 1909, answered one of the leading questions women, and especially mothers, across the nation desired most to hear, “Should Our Boys Play College Football?” In answering, he said his main objection was not its publicity, large amount of injuries, or the craze over the football hero but its moral quality. While played under established rules, the uniform enforcement of them was next to impossible, especially considering each game only had at most two officials to regulate the game. In addition, evading the rules by coaching from the sidelines, offside play, and holding and injuring opponents, aided teams to victory. Eliot noted football’s great evils stemmed from the profit received from the constant violation of the established rules, the misleading comparison of the game to war, and the win-at-any-cost mentality.

Eliot published an annual president’s report while at Harvard, which became landmark documents in the history of American higher education by detailing his beliefs and curricular reforms. In many of his reports, Eliot, who served the longest term as president in the university's history, decried the value of football in higher education and

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52 Thwing, “Football: Is the Game Worth Saving?” 1167.
53 Ibid., 1168.
55 Ibid.
strived to expose football in its proper light.\textsuperscript{56} Reacting to his 1904 annual report in February 1905, \textit{The Nation} agreed with Eliot’s report elaborating on the fact that football completely absorbed the undergraduate mind for the first two months of every academic year. While college presidents fully recognized the game as a source of moral deterioration, they remained muzzled on the subject in public and in the media because they believed that success on the gridiron was equated to the prosperity of the college, as a free advertising mechanism.\textsuperscript{57} One month later, an ex-football player, who played in high school, college and seminary during the 1880s, wrote an anonymous letter to the editor of \textit{The Outlook} scorning the game of football and calling it a sin to play the game because of its severe negative moral effects. In his opinion, Jesus Christ would condemn football from beginning to end—a view in complete opposite into the muscular Christianity movement.\textsuperscript{58}

As college administrators and faculty gradually gave up control of intercollegiate athletics to their students and their popularity continued to blossom throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, it was no wonder that athletics were out of control in the nation’s colleges and universities. In response, Gulick, who became the first director of physical education in the public schools of New York City, pushed for a new athletic model in 1911 in \textit{The Outlook}, which would allow more young men to get involved so more of the student body could reap the benefits. Since athletics represented the chief interest and formed the social and ethical relations of young college men who would

\textsuperscript{56}“Football In Its Proper Light,” \textit{The Nation}, February 9, 1905, 108.

\textsuperscript{57}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{58}“Football and College Life: An Ex-Football Player’s View,” \textit{The Outlook}, March 1, 1905, 655-657.
become the nation’s leaders, he argued that the demoralizing of ethics was far worse than a few deaths, writing, “…Because lives are lost in a far larger way and with far more direful results through social and moral demoralization than through the physical injury of a comparatively few men…. Every player on the field may come off unscathed physically, yet the game may have been a catastrophe of the most serious proportions—if it has set up dishonor for approbation.”59 College football as well as college athletics in general, thus, should reinforce morals and uphold gentlemanly ethics to be considered a proper aid to college students. In order to achieve that goal, The Outlook called for faculty control of athletics, which should be charged with upholding the moral traditions of an institution because it was the permanent, mature, and wise body who was already ruling those educational institutions.60 The 1913 editorial chastised the attitudes of college faculty for being indifferent and often even hostile toward college athletics, where their sole participation involved issuing rules and regulations instead of active participation in athletics.61

In an anonymous 1914 letter to the editor of The Nation titled “The Blight On Athletics,” the author, self-labeled as “Idealist,” stated the great prevailing evil connected with college athletics did not occur on the playing field, but with the moral deterioration of the whole undergraduate body—an opinion reflected in several magazine articles during the period studied.62 The efforts of the professors to instill ideals of honesty and honor in their classrooms and in their students were counteracted by the evils of athletics,

60 “The Promise of American College Athletics,” The Outlook, 507.
61 Ibid.
especially by the influence of proselytizing by the department of athletics.\textsuperscript{63} With the choice between losing fairly and winning unfairly, writer C.A. Stewart wrote in 1914 in \textit{The Atlantic Monthly} that intercollegiate athletics taught trickery and deceit because athletes and coaches justified cheating in order to win games and bring glory to their university.\textsuperscript{64} While college men were honorable in their other activities, they often saw no wrong in intentionally and subtly violating the rules of any sport, most notably the rules of eligibility and amateurism. Stewart listed several illustrations of this tendency in the college sports of baseball, football, and basketball. In football, for instance, teams would often weaken the opposing side by “putting out” its strongest players, as the Bullock example illustrated in Chapter 5. By kicking opponents in the ribs or thrusting a knee into opponents stomachs under the cover of a play, strong players would become temporarily disabled and have to leave the game. To implement higher moral values in athletics, Stewart encouraged college faculties to, “Arouse the boys to the facts; make them see that cheating in football is the same as cheating at cards or as stealing money; foster a college sentiment that says fairness first and victory second; and attach the same obloquy to lying about eligibility that is attached to any lying. Do this, and you have gone to the root of the evil, and laid the foundation for lasting reform.”\textsuperscript{65} Thus, the fault of college athletic evils lay in the hands of the faculties that allowed students to cheat and evade the rules.

Much as Gulick had opined two years earlier, this issue was not merely a question of the conduct of college sportsmen, but a question concerning the moral training of

\textsuperscript{63}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{64}C.A. Stewart, “Athletics and the College,” \textit{The Atlantic}, February 1914, 153.
\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 158.
future citizens. As advocates for college athletics, “the undergraduate loves to say that every college community is in a sense a toy world wherein the struggle for fame and influential position is waged in miniature,—the scene of a sham battle fought under the same conditions and with the same weapons as in the world at large, and fought as a preparation for that real battle.” If this mock world was going to train good citizens, he pushed for fairness first, victory second, where trickery and deceit should be outlawed.

As this analysis shows, popular magazines framed college athletics as evil by using the moral deterioration among the student body as an example. While none advocated for the abolition of intercollegiate athletics, these articles showed concern over the detrimental moral and ethical effects of their presence in undergraduate life. With the increasing presence of professional coaches resulting in desperate desire and need to win games, college athletics underwent a moral crisis that could only be solved by a change in spirit and an emphasis on fairness first followed by victory.

Win-At-All-Cost Mentality

Much of the popular magazine coverage agreed on what should be the true object of organized college athletics: to promote physical welfare of the undergraduates. However, this goal was only being accomplished with a few carefully selected and trained athletes and not with the majority of college undergraduates. Only a limited number of athletes could participate on each team, and often the same athletes played on multiple sports teams—all in the name of winning. In order to fulfill “mens sana in corpore sano,” the original reason for merging athletics into higher education was to

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66 Ibid., 157.
improve the physical health and wellbeing of every college student. President Theodore Roosevelt and other elite intellectuals did not want a nation full of mollycoddles. But even at the beginning of the Progressive era, college athletics were not meeting the goal of the greatest good for the greatest number. Labeling it “the win at any cost mentality,” popular magazines highlighted the increasing desire for victory, eclipsing the physical and mental needs of the majority of the undergraduate students. As long as colleges believed that a winning team, no matter how it was comprised, was a good advertisement for incoming students, amateur college sport would be in danger, wrote Professor Patterson in *American Magazine of Civics* in 1897.

Much as today, many college graduates and college presidents felt that a successful athletics team was a vital necessity to the future of the institution, because a winning record created more publicity for the institution. An anonymous letter to the editor in *The Nation* revealed that one college president appealed to a football team in an assembly with all the students in terms that would lead one to believe that the future of the college almost depended on winning a certain game. While the letter did not elaborate further on the specifics of the assembly or the college, the anecdote was revealing in regard to the desperation college administrators experienced in order to win

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70 Patterson, “College Athletics and Scholarship,” 541.
71 Whelan, “Professors In Place of ‘Pro’s,’” 627.
college games. Harvard’s President Eliot, an outspoken critic of football, also attributed the game’s grave evils to the desire to win games, resulting in elitist views centering on selecting only the very best to play on the intercollegiate team in keeping with the win-at-all-cost mentality. Writing before the brutality and deaths of the 1905 football season, he traced its serious evils to being taken out of its proper relation to the athletic life of the institution.\footnote{“The Evils of the Game,” \textit{The Outlook}, February 11, 1905, 355.} Eliot thought college athletics should be inclusive of the entire student body; however, the over-emphasis on competition and winning created an environment that provided athletic benefits to only a select chosen few.\footnote{Ibid.; For another example, see Paine, “School and College Outdoor World,” 368.} Considering the merging of athletics and academics stemmed from the Greeks, modern day athletics would have shocked our Greek ancestors because of its elitist nature.

However, writing for \textit{The Outlook} nine months later, Dr. White, the founder of the Department of Physical Education at the University of Pennsylvania, embraced this excessive desire to win. Referring specifically to college football, the win-at-all-cost mentality should be inspiring because the “…fierceness of the attack, the obstinacy of the defense, the earnestness of the struggle, are all inspired by loyalty to an ideal, by a feeling that is akin to patriotism.”\footnote{White, “Football and Its Critics,” 663.} By using a military metaphor and reinforcing the martial mentality, the author associated the desire to win with masculinity and a sense of nationalism.

Reacting to the deaths of the 1905 football season in \textit{The Outing Magazine} in January 1906, Paine, a newspaper journalist who turned into a prolific writer of history and fiction in popular magazines, attributed this mentality to the evils of professionalism.
and to making college athletics a means rather than an end to the development of manhood.\textsuperscript{76} Even before the IAAUS arrived on the scene in 1906, the idea of playing freshmen was regarded as perverse by some institutions, namely Yale, Princeton, and Harvard as well as many colleges in the Middle West, as Paine emphasized three months later in the April 1906 issue. As a tentative athletic reform, colleges reasoned that freshmen students needed to become acclimated to the educational demands of the institution before the fame and glory could distract them as collegiate athletes. A freshman student of uncommon physique and courage, for example, who made the football team in his first autumn, would be ambitious and try out for the spring intercollegiate teams such as crew, track, or baseball. Highlighting the elitist tendency of collegiate teams selecting only a few players who played for multiple teams, Paine wrote, “The college needs him, he thinks, and he wants double or triple honors that he may be even more exceptional for prowess. And he would be a poor American if he were not ambitious to bag all the prizes in sight.”\textsuperscript{77} The desire to prove oneself and embrace manhood was equated with being a real American man. That freshmen ineligibility sentiment found a receptive home with the IAAUS, where freshmen were not eligible for varsity intercollegiate competition except in times of war where freshmen stepped up to play when upperclassmen were drafted. Freshmen scrub teams were common, and the exceptional first-year athlete may find a spot on the junior varsity, but even that was a

\textsuperscript{76}Paine, “Aftermath of the Football Season,” 407.
The first year of college remained reserved for adjusting to college life and continuing the process of physical, emotional, and mental maturation until 1968, when the Association passed a freshmen-eligibility proposal for all sports except basketball and football. Four years later, in 1972, the Association added the two excluded sports.

Writing for *The Outlook* in 1907, journalist Derby, in agreement with several other authors, agreed that the true aim of college athletics was being distorted by the overemphasis on winning. On the other hand, he also understood that this desire to win was a natural American trait that should be fostered. “In a sense this is National, for the American boy is as much imbued with the desire to win and make good as is the American man…. it is only natural, when victory is the desideratum, that the American boy should adopt the methods that have made their fathers the most successful men in the world.”

*The Outlook* again framed winning as the ultimate demonstration of a successful man. In the same vein, Sol Metzger, the head coach at Washington and Jefferson College in Washington, Pennsylvania, discussed in *The Outing Magazine* the cures for athletic ills, concluding his study with the fact that no other phase of college life has as much influence on a man’s character. Students learned the art of living upon the athletic field, and therefore, the purpose of intercollegiate games was to win, as was the game of life.

Several letters to the editor of *The Nation* showcased a general dissatisfaction with the win-at-all-cost mentality as the general student body suffered as a result. A 1913

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79 Derby, “College Athletics,” 256-257.
letter to the editor of The Nation reasoned that college athletics were organized upon an aristocratic system, which explained why only a few students received the majority of the benefits. Charles S. Knox wrote, “This exemplifies a principle in aristocracy—developing the best-trained powers of the best for the advantage of the race, and not fretting too much about the common crowd, but leaving it to take as much as it will out of the rich opportunities offered by the system at large.”\textsuperscript{81} As this shows, the necessity of winning brought an elitist mentality to college athletics.

In 1915, Foster, an outspoken critic against intercollegiate athletics, placed the blame of the win-at-any-cost mentality on “grandstand athletics,” which could only be run for the benefit of a few.\textsuperscript{82} It was a catch-22, he wrote:

The larger the grandstand the greater the pressure. The larger the gate receipts the greater the temptation to professionalize the sport. The higher the specialization of the few who are trained to win the big games the less the incentives for all the rest to play games.\textsuperscript{83}

To further drive home his point, Foster, an advocate for intramural sports, indicated that reports from one hundred and fifty colleges concluded that at least sixty times as much money is spent by these colleges on each intercollegiate player as is spent as each intramural player.\textsuperscript{84} Therefore, the majority of college students were receiving their athletics through proxy as opposed to participation. Since the only pre-requisite for intramurals was the desire to participate, the greatest benefit of intramural athletics was the number of teams able to be fielded, allowing many more college students, both men and women, to reap the physical and moral benefits of athletics.

\textsuperscript{81}Charles S. Knox, “Getting the Best Out of the Best,” The Nation, 1913, 406.
\textsuperscript{82}Foster, “Grandstand Athletics,” 348.
\textsuperscript{83}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{84}Ibid.
Writing a letter to the editor of The Nation one year later, Foster reiterated his thoughts, writing that the real indictment of intercollegiate athletics was found in the fact that colleges were annually graduating a few men with astonishing athletic skill and many men of undeveloped intellectual ability. Thus, blaming the win-at-any-cost mentality to the deplorable condition of intercollegiate athletics was a common example of the evils of college athletics frame resurfacing within popular magazine’s pages. While magazines highlighted the evil of the win at any cost mentality, most were more concerned with the colleges’ neglect in providing athletics to the greatest number of possible students, which was the basis for their inclusion into higher education in the first place.

Free Advertising

A resounding example of the evils of college athletics frame within popular magazines was the belief that a winning team was the best form of advertisement for a college to entice future students—a belief embraced by many college presidents during the Progressive era. In this regard, Professor Waldo of Purdue University, however, held a unique opinion for his day. He went so far as to insist in The World To-Day in July 1908 that if a college was using athletes as advertising agents, student athletes should be paid for their services to the university.

If a college inserts an advertisement in the newspapers, it expects to pay for it. If it takes a lot of young men away from their legitimate work, for which alone they are spending their money and consuming their time, and makes of them advertising and recruiting agents, justice and fair play require that they should be paid for their efforts precisely as summer baseball teams should be paid when

86 Waldo, “The College and Athletics,” 748.
used by keepers of summer resorts to attract visitors, or as the band at a circus is paid which helps to draw the crowd under the canvas.87

Waldo’s thinking was a way ahead of his time, as the NCAA did not sanction athletic scholarships until 1953, after decades of institutions paying players under the table.88 Called the “full ride” grant-in-aid, NCAA member institutions could make awards for all commonly accepted educational expenses such as tuition, fees, books, and room and board.89

One year after Waldo’s article, *The Independent* published an article about the effects of the abolition of football at Columbia University after the 1905 football season, the year that saw eighteen deaths and one hundred forty-nine serious injuries.90 As further evidence that a winning football team did not increase the prestige of the institution or draw more students, college officials explained that Columbia had surpassed Harvard’s enrollment levels even though Columbia had not had a football team for four seasons and Harvard’s football team continued to remain on top of the standings.91

College presidents embraced winning as the sole goal of their teams as it provided an advertising mechanism for universities and colleges. Intercollegiate games, especially football games, attracted large crowds, resulting in sufficient revenue in order to support college athletics in general. But perhaps, the best part about this advertising, wrote Professor Stevenson for *The Popular Science Monthly* in 1910, was that it was free.

87Ibid.
89Crowley, *In the Arena*, 54.
90“Football is Abolished by Columbia Committee,” *New York Times*, November 29, 1905.
91Ibid.
Successful college teams gained free advertising when the public read the sporting pages of newspapers and became aware that the college existed. In addition, the presence of college athletics fostered a spirit of fellowship and friendship. As President Hadley of Yale University stated in The Outing Magazine in 1910, “Furthermore, the interest in these games brings the graduates back to their Alma Mater as nothing else could attract them, whereby the fraternal student-comradeship becomes not merely a thing for a few years only but lasts throughout life.” Based on this reasoning, students often chose a college based on the results of the football team on the gridiron as opposed to the results of the students in the classroom. Through this use of advertising, therefore, many members of the general public only knew about the athletic teams of colleges and nothing about the academics of the institution or its faculty members, and this, in turn, weakened the institution’s intellectual standards.

In 1915, The Nation, critical of intercollegiate athletics, continued to debunk the argument that intercollegiate athletics were necessary as an advertising agency for the institution. This type of advertising could not be justified because the expense was out of proportion to the returns, and no realistic businessman would consider such unprofitable advertising even for a moment. Further, this belief in advertising resulted in intercollegiate athletics outgrowing the narrow confines of the college curriculum, resulting in a business-like atmosphere. Foster echoed The Nation when he wrote in 1915 that this type of advertising was paid for at exorbitant rates and not worth the cost of the

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92 Stevenson, “College Diversions,” 75.
94 George Marvin, “Building a Football Team,” The Independent, October 16, 1913, 125-128.
demoralizing effect on scholarship and ethics of the entire undergraduate population.\textsuperscript{96}

While some popular magazine articles noted the effectiveness a winning team brought to an institution, others disproved the free advertising theory as not producing the desired effect—an increase in enrollment. Thus, an emphasis on this free advertising mechanism as adding to the deplorable condition of intercollegiate athletics was a common example of the evils of college athletics frame resurfacing within popular magazine’s pages.

Heroes Such As Homer Knew

The hero culture surrounding intercollegiate athletics was mentioned in the very first popular magazine article in 1896. According to \textit{The Spectator}, the great heroes of the present day were the past masters on the gridiron, on the baseball diamond, and in the boxing ring.\textsuperscript{97} When trying to land a job, the editorial stated that employers would be more interested in the athletic distinctions a man had made while in college as opposed to his intellectual distinctions.\textsuperscript{98} With specific reference to football, Thwing in 1902 wrote an article, “Football: Is the Game Worth Saving?,” in which he categorically listed ten evils of the game. Numbers nine and ten in his list referred to this hero culture. Thwing wrote in \textit{The Independent} article that the football player was too much of a collegiate hero.\textsuperscript{99} In order to show that scholarship was the chief intellectual function of the American college, he promoted a restructuring of the hero culture by urging the colleges

\textsuperscript{96}Foster, “An Indictment of Intercollegiate Athletics,” 581.
\textsuperscript{98}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99}Thwing, “Football: Is the Game Worth Saving?” 1174.
to bestow more conspicuous recognition upon the scholar as a great man instead of focusing solely upon athletes.  

In November 1903, The Independent published an interview with an anonymous player of the 1903 All-American football team, further highlighting the hero culture within undergraduate institutions. Autobiography of a Football Player provided readers with a detailed story of this famous player’s journey from age ten until he received the All-American Team honor. After playing in his first varsity football game, he recalled becoming a different man in the eye of his classmates as he was pointed out while walking on campus and was even cheered as he walked into his classrooms. He began to “taste the intoxication of fame” as he was being interviewed by reporters, making speeches at YMCA and public dinners, and enjoying female adoration and general all around college idolatry. He concluded that the sacrifices of playing the game were worth the cost since the end result was fame and glory: “And is not fame, when it is honorable and deserved, considered by all men one of the greatest prizes in life?” This football player’s story highlighted the hero culture—a phenomenon that permeated the fiction of the period as well.

100 Ibid., 1174.
102 Ibid., 2684.
103 Ibid., 2687.
104 For examples, see Paine, “School and College Outdoor World,” 366; “Football and Fiction,” The Bookman: A Magazine of Literature and Life, December 1910, 321-322. An article in The Bookman highlighted Owen Johnson’s The Varmint as a striking example of combined insider knowledge and dramatic prose in his description of the game between the Andover and Lawrenceville School football teams. Johnson introduced his fictional character, Dink Stover, in The Varmint and is most remembered for his stories and novels cataloguing his educational and personal growth. Originally serialized in McClure’s Magazine in 1911, Stover at Yale recounted Stover’s navigation through the social structure at Yale and his struggles with social pressure, culminating with his placement as an end of Yale’s scrub football team. F. Scott Fitzgerald described this book as the “textbook of his generation.”
Referencing Eliot’s annual presidential report from 1904, The Outlook noted that football had become injurious to rational college life because of its extreme publicity and its disproportionate exaltation of the football hero.105 The Harvard president expounded on his beliefs in the November 1905 issue of Woman’s Home Companion. In his opinion, the football hero was only useful in society if he illustrated generous strength and did not participate in the sport’s corruption.106 Eliot did not buy the popular notion that college football developed physical or mental character traits desirable for future service out in the world.

Writing for Overland Monthly in 1907, writer Arthur Inkersley similarly pointed out that intercollegiate athletics, especially college football, was not played for intellectual stimulation or for the love of the game. He wrote, “No one dreams of playing intercollegiate football for fun or for any pleasure to be derived from it. Boys play it because they want to get into their preparatory school eleven, and young men play it because they wish to earn their ’Varsity colors and the admiration of their fellow undergraduates and female relatives.”107 The sole goal of making the team, therefore, was to gain popularity, prestige, and the honor of being called a local hero.

Magazine articles added to the worshipping of football players as demigods and super humans by publishing “All-America” teams along with team rankings and the greatest football players—the epitome of hero worship. For example, Camp selected and highlighted players at the end of each football season, which he began in 1889 with publisher Whitney and he continued to do so for thirty-five years in Collier’s

105“President Eliot on Football,” The Outlook, February 11, 1905, 354.
107Inkersley, “An Attempted Massacre—or Real Football,” 82.
magazine. Schoolboys admired their college athlete prototypes within these magazine’s pages and looked up to them as the incarnation of successful college men.

In 1910, Camp reasoned in *The Outing Magazine* that this was due to the fact that, “From his cradle the American likes to play ball, and even as a child, he admires every boy who can play the game well.” The press, especially newspapers, interviewed players and held them just below the gods, which further fed the public’s appetite for college athletics. Players became popular heroes and idols of their community, and *The Nation* in 1911 called football players “enlarged heroes such as Homer knew,” indicating the hero culture that permeated the popular press. Because of this press coverage, the lives and personalities of every intercollegiate player became prominent and influential with every trait and routine being emulated by the youth of the nation, wrote writer L.S. Lambeth in *Outing*. Because of an athlete’s exposure, several authors, including President Eliot as one of the most outspoken voices, urged that only college athletes that led a clean life with a history of purity, loyalty, and unselfishness as well as adherence to the amateur ideal should be allowed to participate. Popular magazine articles


110 For examples, see Derby, “College Athletics,” 255; “Over-Scientific Football,” *The Nation*, October 12, 1911, 333.

111 Lambeth, “Team Membership a Privilege, Not a Right,” 460.

112 For examples, see Lambeth, “Team Membership a Privilege, Not a Right,” 460; Eliot, “The Evils of College Football,” 7.
exemplifying the hero culture abounded during the Progressive era, especially in regard to college football stars.

During the Progressive era, popular magazines framed college athletics with regard to its evils corrupting valuable aspects of college life. The shift in focus from academics to athletics was the most common example of this frame, as educators, college athletic critics, and magazine writers continuously blamed the spectacle and hype surrounding sports, especially college football, on placing academics on the back burner. Using thematic news frames to cover the evils of college athletics within this frame, popular magazines focused on these examples and trends over time and placed their articles in perspective as the “evils of college athletics” frame was found repeatedly every year from 1896 until 1916. Popular magazine’s thematic coverage of the evils of college athletics brought several issues to light including the win-at-all-cost mentality as well as the free advertising following a winning team, the hero worship surrounding popular athletes, and the moral and ethical deterioration of athletes and institutions due to rampant lying and cheating coursing through the veins of college athletics. Magazines blamed sensational newspapers of the era for the prevalence of these evils, as they highlighted and reinforced winning teams and popular athletes. For many individuals living during this era, the sporting pages were their only window into academic life. Much like today, therefore, intercollegiate athletics was the most visible face of higher education.
Chapter 7: Methods In Strategy

The final frame found within popular magazine’s pages during the Progressive era centered on the current methods in strategy within college athletics, especially regarding college football. Magazines contained articles detailing the ways in which to develop and make an intercollegiate team as well as the proper training for certain sports. Concern over proper training and making a college team started early in a young man’s life as evidenced by a 1902 article in *St. Nicholas*, a magazine targeted to children and youth. “Frequently it happens that the young athlete gets into bad habits of form that are practically impossible to overcome later on, and a first-class athlete is spoiled, and destined to remain among the ‘second-raters.’” Progressive era magazines fought that fear by providing in-depth feature articles focused on enlightening their readers on the most up-to-date and current tactics in college sports.

Coverage of strategies, tactics and formations, most notably in college football, was another example of the methods in strategy frame, as magazine articles charted the history and development of the sport from the first intercollegiate game on November 6, 1869, between Rutgers University and its neighbor Princeton in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The fifty football players and around one hundred spectators gathered on College Field at 3 p.m. on that memorable afternoon. Played under rugby-like rules with two teams of twenty-five players each, Rutgers edged Princeton 6-4. The sporting pages of newspapers showed the game scores and highlighted a couple key players in their

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coverage, but magazines had the unique ability to provide in-depth interviews and reporting from some of the most notable college athletes and coaches. Providing a glimpse into the culture and development of college football, magazines gave an insider’s perspective and knowledge of its various aspects. While the methods in strategy frame was found in fewer articles than the other three frames, this episodic frame showcased the nation’s desire for more and more football coverage and the resulting answer of increased magazine articles during each football season feeding the college football frenzy every fall.

Making A Team

Two distinct meanings surfaced from the common phrase, “making a team,” in popular magazines.\(^3\) The first meaning centered on the proper physical and mental training needed for young athletes to be selected for a college team, including distinct character qualities such as perseverance, dedication, and brains. “Making a team” also referred to the ways to build a successful squad resulting in both a winning record and prestige and honor befalling on their institution. In November 1902, Lewis, an All-American center for Harvard and the school’s football coach for twelve seasons, highlighted for Outing readers the process of fielding a successful college football team, which was a year-round affair.\(^4\) Detailing the process step-by-step, Lewis began at the conclusion of the previous football season, where the captain for the next season’s team

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\(^4\)Lewis, “Making a Football Team,” 221-222.
was chosen. The captain’s work started immediately by selecting a team manager and head coach followed by the head coach selecting his staff of coaches for each position. These coaches were usually made up of former players. When the opening day of the season arrived, around mid-September, as many as one hundred young men trotted down to the gridiron to begin try-outs for the varsity eleven—a gradual, but severe weeding out process that lasted roughly three weeks. Lewis characterized this period as the “survival of the fittest”—an expression coined by Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) as his own term for Charles Darwin’s (1809–1882) concept of evolutionary theory. Highlighting the goal of selecting the very best eleven men from the university to form the team, Lewis wrote, “The strength of the eleven depends upon the superiority of the individuals, and the superior skill in fighting these eleven best men against the best eleven of some other college or university.”

After this first stage in the development and coinciding with the first week of classes, Lewis explained the squad was reduced to the provisional varsity and substitutes and the scrub team and substitutes (who scrimmaged against the varsity in practice), and the really difficult aspect of coaching began as the hours of practice were lengthened daily and the work and stress on the body was heightened. The next several weeks of practice focused on team play and included signal drills and line-ups to test and perfect the new formations for both offensive and defensive plays. Supplementing the work on field the during the season, the head coach held numerous meetings in the evening, shortly after dinner, to review fundamentals, position playing, and offensive and defensive formations using blackboard illustrations. In the week leading up to the first

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5 Ibid., 224.
match, practices were relatively light to avoid injury and exhaustion, and the offense and defense was modified to accommodate the upcoming opponent. Lewis concluded his article with a description of the long awaited first game of the new season:

The day arrives; everything is at the highest tension—both public interest and university enthusiasm—the players themselves are keen and eager for the contest; a few final words from the coaches, and this little band of eleven men, carefully nursed and trained for the hour go forth to battle for the supremacy of alma mater upon the football field. In the brief afternoon of an autumn day the season’s work may all go for nothing or be crowned with laurel according as the Fates decree.  

Photographs from the pre-season practices, mainly picturing the varsity team scrimmaging against the scrub team in various plays and formations, accompanied the article, adding context and visual examples of the text’s details. As an African-American pioneer in sports, Lewis became the first All-American college football player and wrote extensively on the game throughout his life, developing a reputation on par with Walter Camp as one of the football’s most knowledgeable experts. In fact, Camp chose Lewis as the center in his famous selection of the eleven greatest football players in America, which was released in The Independent in 1904. Since Lewis was a football expert, Outing readers received an in-depth, unique glance into the ins and outs of creating a college football team, which would have been a highly valuable article as the game was just beginning to reach wide popularity and interest. Popular magazines offered readers an inside look at intercollegiate athletics—a look that most readers would only gain from magazines and not from an actual lived experience.

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6 Ibid., 229.
The concern over the proper training for young athletes was evident throughout these magazines. A November 1903 article in *St. Nicholas*, the popular children’s literary magazine founded by Scribner’s in 1873 and named after the mythical Santa Claus, highlighted that this concern over training started at an early age and should be discussed for its youth audience.9 Since interscholastic athletics in high schools were steadily growing in popularity and programs were broadening, William Fayal Clarke (1855–1937), editor of *St. Nicholas* from 1881 to 1925, understood the importance of explaining how to properly train for sports in order to succeed and make the team at the collegiate level. In addition, many high schools did not employ competent athletic trainers and offered no formal training, so an article entitled “Training for Interscholastic Athletics” suggested ways in which to train children, especially for track athletics.10 George W. Orton (1873–1958), a gold Olympic medal winner for the 2500m steeplechase in 1900, stressed the need to give young athletes exercises for all-around development in order to fulfill the object of interscholastic athletics, which was to send the athlete forth from high school ready for college in both mind and body. Complete with photographs of famous college track athletes serving as role models, Orton’s article also provided tips on the proper ways to train and the correct form for sprinting, middle-distance running, distance

9 Mary Mapes Dodge helped found *St. Nicholas* and served as editor from 1873 to 1881. In the first issue in November 1873, she explained why she chose *St. Nicholas* for the name of the magazine: Is he not the boys' and girls' own Saint, the especial friend of young Americans?... And what is more, isn't he the kindest, best, and jolliest old dear that ever was known?... He has attended so many heart-warmings in his long, long day that he glows without knowing it, and, coming as he does, at a holy time, casts a light upon the children's faces that lasts from year to year.... Never to dim this light, young friends, by word or token, to make it even brighter, when we can, in good, pleasant helpful ways, and to clear away clouds that sometimes shut it out, is our aim and prayer. (Mary Mapes Dodge, “Introduction to St. Nicholas,” *St. Nicholas: Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys*, November 1873, 2).

running, and high and low hurdle jumping.\textsuperscript{11} The photographs indicated the proper form, including the college starting position, how to keep form at the end of a distance race, and the position of the legs and body for the high and low hurdle jump. Geared toward young, growing children, this article reinforced the level of importance college athletics was receiving even as early as 1903, as editors understood their readers would be interested in learning tips on how to emulate collegiate athletes and follow in their footsteps by making a college team.

\textit{Everybody’s Magazine}, a general interest magazine published from 1899 to 1929, commissioned Dr. Anderson, the director of the Yale University gymnasium, to write an article detailing the process of becoming a college athlete at Yale.\textsuperscript{12} As one of the Big Three Universities, this article would be influential and helpful to many of the magazine’s readers, who desired insider knowledge on how to achieve their big dreams. Surely the masses could relate to this as a way to dig out of Progressive-era drudgery of factory work and dream of themselves as self-made men. Distributed in July 1905—just one month before the fall football season began—the article followed a Yale freshman named Jackson in his quest to become a Yale football player, succeeding in the footsteps of his famous father. The young athlete’s first stop was the University gymnasium, where Anderson gave him a physical examination, sizing up various parts of his body with a tape measure as well as measuring the strength of his grip and his lung capacity with a spirometer. These physical examinations were standard among the elite colleges as a way

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12}Anderson, “Making a Yale Athlete,” 41-47.
to ensure that young men were physically fit to endure the brutality of intercollegiate athletics, especially on the football field in light of the sport’s casualties.\textsuperscript{13}

After passing the examination, Anderson advised Jackson to try out for the football team because he had a strong, compact body with a wide waist and large thighs and legs—the perfect physical qualities for a football player. Anderson also detailed the physical and mental attributes required for other varsity sports, namely crew, track, baseball, and gymnastics. Photographs of men in their underwear complemented the article to indicate each college player’s muscular structure and what sport was best utilized by their physique. For example, the image on the title page showed a sprinter, stripped down to his underwear, in starting form with the caption underneath reading, “A typical sprinter with ‘greyhound’ structure: Long, slender limbs, slight upper physique, strong foot and ankle.”\textsuperscript{14} The captions reinforced the physique needed to be the best candidate for each given college sport. Circling back to Jackson at the end of the article, Anderson noted that the boy had realized that there was more to football than winning every game. Jackson understood that it was a privilege to undergo this discipline of both the mind and body, and he would reap the rewards for the remainder of his life.\textsuperscript{15} By illustrating the body types and builds of Yale athletes, young men could compare their own bodies in order to determine which sport they may be capable of playing at the college of their choice, and perhaps, if they were fortunate enough, even at the prestigious Yale.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 43.
\textsuperscript{14}Anderson, “Making a Yale Athlete,” 41.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 47.
The Outing Magazine added two more articles to the “making a team” example of the methods in strategy frame. Opening the November 1912 issue, Camp, who coached at Yale and Stanford University during his illustrious football career, highlighted the top football universities across the country, namely the Big Three, as well as the University of Michigan, the University of Minnesota, the University of Pennsylvania and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, discussing their development from the late 1870s until the “modern” game as played in 1912. Emphasizing the development of the football coach, Camp noted that coaches only represented the combined knowledge handed down year to year through the experience of captains and individual team members—the main reason universities relied so heavily on the expertise of older players.

As to the exact details of making or developing a college football team, Camp began the process at the conclusion of the previous football season, when football players participated in “spring practice.” Over the course of the previous ten years, the process of making a team did not change much as Camp’s article read much as had Lewis’ article from 1902, ten years earlier. Instead of only selecting a varsity and one scrub team with substitutes, however, Camp advocated for four or five scrub teams to play under a captain in order to keep men physically active in case of an injury to a varsity player. Used as feeders for the varsity team, scrub teams also aided in the “mens sana in corpore sano” effort by affording more young men with the chance for exercise and for the chance to

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16 Walter Camp, “Making a Football Team,” 131-143. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was an Indian boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and it fielded an intercollegiate football team from 1893 to 1917, when the program was discontinued. During the program’s twenty-five years, it was a national powerhouse and regularly competed against the top football school including the Ivy Leagues. The Indians compiled a 167–88–13 record, which makes it the most successful defunct major college football program.
17 Ibid., 132.
play on the Varsity team. One other major difference revolved around the rules, as he noted that the first thing a coach needed to think about each fall was the effect of the new rules on the physical condition of the players.\textsuperscript{18} As previously discussed in chapter 4, new playing rules were routinely introduced every season after the 1905 football season resulted in eighteen casualties. Camp also described the hard work of coaches, and the magazine showcased the great coaches of the modern football game with headshots, including Amos A. Staag (1862–1965), who coached at the University of Chicago from 1892 to 1932 and Harry L. Williams (1869–1931), who coached at the University of Minnesota from 1900 to 1921. After Camp spent eleven-pages describing the hard work and development that go into a college football team, he concluded by writing, “Outside the captain and a few players, they and they alone know all the work and worry that go to making a modern football team.”\textsuperscript{19} Camp’s words, then, did not do the process of making a football team justice because only a select few, privileged people, namely the coach and key players, knew the exact formula for making a successful college football team.

Timed to coincide with the opening of the 1913 college football season, \textit{Outing} published “What Makes a Football Player” in October—the first article to appear in that issue, denoting its importance among readers. Reed, the head football coach for Hillsdale College in Hillsdale, Michigan, stressed the need for courage and a great mind as opposed to mere brute strength in order to become a great football player—both qualities that were also worthwhile after graduation.\textsuperscript{20} He encouraged his readers to study the football players described in detail in the following eight pages to learn about the specific

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., 139.
\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., 143.
\textsuperscript{20}Reed, “What Makes a Football Player?” 3-11.
qualities that lifted them above their peers and landed them a uniform with the Varsity eleven. One such example was Henry Purcell. Weighing a mere one hundred forty-five pounds, this Cornell University halfback had little strength in the form of muscles, but he had an uncanny way of anticipating the exact moment the football would be snapped, which aided in his ability to get past the defense before it was alert to his movements. Reed attributed Purcell’s football achievements to his self-confidence and courage in his running abilities, writing, “So long as he could run he could gain, and no one knew it better than he.”21 While he only highlighted fifteen football players, Reed concluded that his list of brainy players could be carried into the hundreds, providing further evidence that a young man did not need to be big and muscular in order to make a college team. “In every case it will be found that whether a man weighed 125 or 240 pounds he triumphed after all through his courage and his brains, and so it will be in the future, unless the game degenerates mightily.”22

Echoing Camp’s conclusion a few weeks later, journalist Marvin, writing for The Independent on October 16, 1913, noted the growing tendency of football matches to be won by the mind rather than physical strength and endurance, fitting into the Progressive love of the modern and the strategic. He compared developing a football team to that of building a machine, a metaphor easily understood at the time period because of the massive increase in industrialization and the prevalence of factories filled with machines:

The eleven component parts, each element a separate volition, pass in and out thru their signaled evolutions, smoothly weaving the pattern of the coach’s designing.

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21 Ibid., 6.
22 Ibid., 11.
It is a beautiful moving picture, set in the crisp air and the high blue afternoons of autumn, instinct with the swiftness and vigor of youth.\textsuperscript{23}

In order to reach the highest level of efficiency, Marvin stressed to the need for extensive and repetitive practice and a unique type of coach, who is both a “gentleman and a scholar.”\textsuperscript{24} Coaches such as Percy Haughton (1876–1924), the Harvard head coach from 1908 to 1916, Dr. Albert Sharpe (1877–1966), a Yale All-American halfback and the Cornell head coach from 1912 to 1917, as well as Staag and Camp were referenced as coaches who helped produce the modern game of football, several of whom also served as members of the Football Rules Committee. The final element in the making of a football team was the vital element of spirit, as it had the ability to turn a loss into a win.\textsuperscript{25} By the 1913 football season, college football rules had gone through vast changes from year to year, leading to an almost unrecognizable game compared to the game of the 1905 season. With those changes came a lessened emphasis on brute strength and muscle, as the flying wedge and other similar formations were banned in favor of a more open-style game focused on passing and carrying the ball across the line of scrimmage. A frequent example of the methods in strategy frame was “making the team,” as popular magazines gave readers an insider look at how major football teams were developed into successful programs. Written by esteemed college players and coaches, these articles provided insight into how to properly train and detailing desirable qualities an intercollegiate athlete needed to claim a varsity letter.

\textsuperscript{23}Marvin, “Building a Football Team,” 126.
\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., 127.
\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 128.
Tactics and Formations

In the Progressive era, popular magazines demonstrated early interest in informing their readers about the methods and development in tactics and formations of intercollegiate sport, especially in the game of college football. Within two months, during the 1900 football season, *Outing, an Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Recreation*, published five articles detailing the changes in college football, tracing the history of the game including the development of tactics, the kicking game, and of football uniforms and pads as well as a manual in punting. In October 1900, William J. Henderson (1855–1937), a 1876 Princeton graduate who became the music critic for *The New York Times*, reviewed the old game of football as played with the feet twenty-five years ago. Following the development from the English style of football to the present modified rugby game originally hailing from Canada, Henderson concluded that the modern game, which infused aspects of rugby, was a much better game than the old American game because it allowed for more systematic team play with various movements and options for intricate tactics. Since it took bigger and stronger men to play the modern game well, Henderson argued it was a better game for American men. The rule changes over the past quarter century led to an increase in manliness and an improved outlet to showcase young men’s masculinity. Published in the November 1900 issue, “A Symposium of


28 Ibid., 15.
Football” included four articles, each written by a famous college football player. According to the editor’s note by Whitney, the symposium’s goal was to instruct today’s players on modern tactics as well as to entertain the old players. Similar to Henderson’s October article, Camp focused on the American development of the English game, beginning in the fall 1876 with a game against Harvard and Yale, in which the positions of tackle, guard, snapback, and even quarterback were not known yet. In the early days of football, there was no method or formation for plays, a player would simply run the ball as far as he could and nobody on the gridiron knew who was going to get the ball before it was snapped. Camp outlined several new key formations developed by football’s original tacticians, namely Lorin F. Deland (1855–1917), a military historian turned football genius. As Harvard’s head football coach, Deland analyzed football as if it were a battlefield and devised plays based on military tactics, including the legendary “flying wedge,” which he unveiled during a 1892 rivalry game against Camp’s Yale eleven.

Charles Chadwick (1874–1953), an All-American guard for Yale in 1897, provided another example of the methods of strategy frame by outlining the development of football uniforms and pads, including remedies for injuries and special pads that allowed injured players to continue playing throughout their injury. In 1893, the modern leather head gear was created, and players wore only three pads for protection: a leather-laced ankle supporter, a knee pad inside the trousers, and a shoulder pad sewn into the

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30Ibid., 173.
31Ibid., 174.
jersey, as those three body parts were the most vulnerable.\textsuperscript{33} Viewed as a handicap, Chadwick noted the era of heavy pads were on the wane as they were too bulky and heavy, causing the players to be slowed down. Chadwick’s article informed readers about the recent developments in football protection and also provided current players and coaches with suggestions on how to play through various injuries with the most up-to-date football trappings and technology. He concluded, “The plan is briefly this: Begin the season with all of the most necessary protection, and plenty of it; then, if any injuries occur, use the special appliance for that injury; finally when entering a championship match, discard everything that it is possible to discard.”\textsuperscript{34} The most interesting appliances were designed to avert further injury, which would provide extra protection without impeding the player’s movement. For example, common injury to fullbacks, who primarily performed offensive blocking and line plunges, was a bruise on the front muscles of the thigh. To prevent further injury and bruising, trainer constructed a foot-long leather or aluminum shield with padded edges to cover the thigh muscle and to distribute the blows evenly across the injury.\textsuperscript{35}

Continuing its streak on the newest strategies in college athletics, \textit{Outing} published an article posthumously by its assistant editor Leonidas Hubbard, Jr. (1872–1903), a journalist and adventurer who lost his life on an expedition to canoe the Naskaupi River-Lake Michikamau system in Quebec. During Hubbard’s freshman year at the University of Michigan, the Waterman Gymnasium opened, ushering in the beginning

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., 190.  
\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., 192.  
\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., 191.
of indoor athletics and indoor training for outdoor sports.³⁶ Hubbard outlined the benefits and drawbacks of indoor training. Since indoor training and sports were new, many of the outdoor athletes, namely the track stars, did not want to waste their energy on indoor track, which opened up the sport to new faces and a broader base of students who anxiously wanted to fulfill “mens sana in corpore sano.” The chief benefit of indoor training was the ability to develop good form, especially for the track, baseball, and crew teams, who could practice proper form inside the gymnasium during the cold winter months.³⁷ In addition, the article was replete with photographs of the various indoor sports and training methods available inside the gymnasium including baseball players hitting balls into a net, crewmembers rowing in a swimming tank, and basketball players completing a drill. Hubbard also highlighted the opportunity for new indoor sports that only took place inside the gymnasium such as wrestling, basketball, fencing, and gymnastics. As a result of this building, the University of Michigan increased its ability to provide college athletics to more of the student population.

Writing for Harper’s Weekly in 1907, J.B. Rowland placed a spotlight on J. B. Crooks, the track coach for Columbia University, and his revolutionary idea of coaching his runners from a 24 to 28 horsepower motorcar.³⁸ From the car’s vantage point, Crooks was able to keep in the immediate proximity of his squad so that he could coach and correct his runner’s form, and by using the car’s speedometer, he could control the squad’s pace and gradually increase their endurance. By overcoming these two primary

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³⁷Ibid., 412.
difficulties in the training of track runners, Rowland concluded that this experiment was a major success for the sport and believed that it would play an important part in the coaching of track teams in the future.

Former head football coach of Harvard, Reid, wrote an extended feature story for *The American Magazine* in September 1909, giving readers an insider’s knowledge and history on how several big football games were won. Founded by several famous muckraking journalist—namely Ray Stannard Baker (1870–1946), Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936) and Ida M. Tarbell (1857–1944) in June 1906, *The American Magazine* departed gradually from its muckraking style and focused more on human-interest stories, fiction, and social issues. Camp began each game’s anecdote by reiterating the massive amount of tedious hard work done by the individual player as well as the teams to achieve these wins. Harvard football player Victor Kennard, for example, spent his entire summer vacation in 1908 studying the exact details and perfecting the fundamentals of the drop kick, a new play devised by coach Haughton. As indication of his hard work, Camp noted that Kennard spent twenty minutes intervals every night standing against a wall and swinging his leg alongside of it in an effort to develop a straight and accurate leg drive. These little details might have been influential to parents, players, and young athletes who desired to learn strategies to aid them (or their children) in becoming a successful college athlete and worthwhile man.

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40 A drop kick is a type of kick that involves a player dropping the ball and then kicking it when it bounces off the ground.
During the Harvard-Yale football game on November 21, 1908, Kennard’s dedication and hard work were finally put to the test. On third down with six to go on Yale’s fifteen-yard line and the ball just a few yards from the left hand goal post, Reid described this heightened moment in vivid detail:

There is a momentary pause, a slight commotion on the side lines, something is about to happen. Kennard’s opportunity has come. Out he trots, glad of the chance, ready for it in every detail, confident and cool. He backs carefully into position, two fingers on his right hand twitch, and before the astonished Yale players realize what has happened, the ball has been sent straight and true between the cross bars, and Kennard’s year’s work is done.42

The second half of his article provided, perhaps, the best kept secret in college football: three main ways to win a football game. Winning games depended on the dedication and preparation of the team’s coach for every emergency that may arise, and the coach’s unique ability to find players that have the “it” factor and can make plays happen. A second way to win games lay in the hands of the captain or quarterback and in their individual brilliancy to recognize an unexpected weakness in the opponent’s defense and then inventing a new play or altering an old one to capitalize on that weakness. Through the skill and discrimination of the quarterback, the third way to win big games occurred when the quarterback selected the one play out of the many that exactly suited the conditions of that moment. Although his stories of football strategy highlighted individual players, Reid concluded that teamwork was absolutely essential to achieve success in football.43 A task that was easier said than done, and one which usually required the talents of a gifted and unique head coach.

42Ibid., 564.
43Ibid., 570.
Exemplifying the methods in strategy frame, Deland, the Harvard football coach, detailed the method and policy under which the game of football had been developed at Harvard and Yale since the 1889 season, complete with both of their dominating football records.\textsuperscript{44} Since the Rugby version of football was introduced in 1875, Yale and Harvard had played twenty-nine championship matches with Yale snatching victory in twenty-three and leaving Harvard with a mere four victories. Writing for November 1910 issue of \textit{Atlantic Monthly}, Deland answered one question burning within the hearts of many Americans: What determined football supremacy? Deland believed Yale’s success could be traced back to four responsible causes with the percentage of influence each exerted upon the game’s result: team (20 percent), captain (15 percent), head coach and assistants (25 percent) and coaching of the coaches (40 percent).\textsuperscript{45} As indicated by these percentages, he placed the bulk of Yale’s success upon the coaching of the coaches, which revolved around the grand tactics or methods of the game. Coaching of the coaches required analysis of the results of each football season in order to learn the correct lessons from it. Those lessons in turn would be used to better equip and improve the next season’s team as well as to improve the coordination of both the offense and defense to capitalize and to create new formations. In other words, coaching of the coaches was the regulation and control of the whole coaching policy for the season—a job performed by Camp for more than thirty years. He created and maintained the Yale football system. Since Yale had a different head coach every season, usually the captain from the previous season, Camp was the rock that held the program together, and it did

\textsuperscript{44}Lorin F. Deland, “Football at Harvard and at Yale,” \textit{Atlantic Monthly}, November 1910, 700-713.
\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., 702.
not matter who coached the team as long as he coached the coaches in the background.\textsuperscript{46}

With no figure like Camp, Harvard had a lack of method and continuity, contributing to their nearly constant defeat at Yale’s hands.

Adhering to the methods in strategy frame, writer Whelan discussed the personalities and methods of the great football coaches for \textit{The Outing Magazine} in November 1913.\textsuperscript{47} As character-shaping forces over young men, he urged readers to understand the tremendous importance of football coaches because they had the power and opportunity to influence university students unlike any professor would have. Highlighting many of the same coaches as previous articles did within this frame, Whelan advocated that great football coaches needed to contain a combination of leadership and personal magnetism in order to be successful and influence his players for good. He added that a great coach needed to bring “…his eleven through the season without letting his interest in individual players affect to the slightest degree his judgment as to what is best for the team, and yet have each member of the squad feel not only that he is playing for the honor of his college and his own reputation, but under the especial obligation of vindicating the judgment of the coach who put him in the lineup.”\textsuperscript{48} In other words, coaches needed to uplift their players to give them the necessary tools and confidence to bring glory and honor to him and the institution. In order to develop the most successful team, great football coaches aimed to achieve the three virtues for a winning team: sound

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{46}Ibid., 708.
\item\textsuperscript{47}Mack Whelan, “Football Coaches—Drivers and Diplomats,” \textit{The Outing Magazine}, November 1913, 192-203.
\item\textsuperscript{48}Ibid., 194.
\end{footnotes}
fundamentals, sufficient technical resources, and harmony of action. Similar to other articles, Whelan attempted to provide winning strategies that readers could imitate.

As indicated by the article’s title, Whelan classified coaches into two categories, drivers and diplomats. Listing examples for both types of coaches, Whelan expounded upon each coaches’ vast football knowledge and experience. Labeled as a driver, Harvard’s head football coach, Haughton, maintained absolute control over every detail concerning his team and was described as a “one of the most exacting martinet in the game to-day.” Haughton put fear into his players and demanded respect, obedience, and hard work in return. In complete contrast, Howard Jones (1885–1941), the head football coach for Yale, was labeled a diplomat, achieving success through tact, moderation, and an unassuming demeanor in his coaching and instruction to his players. Through Whelan’s detailed descriptions of coaches’ tactics and personalities, readers received a better understanding of what separated ordinary coaches from the great coaches. The accompanying photographs provided readers with a face to place with the profiles, as many readers did not have the opportunity to attend games and thus, would not be able to recognize them.

Perhaps, the best example of this frame occurred in the October and November 1914 issues of Outing. In a two-part series titled “How to Play Football,” football coaches, Reed and Herman P. Olcott (1879–1929), outlined basic formations that could be implemented successfully and easily by any football team or coach in the country. The first part, “A Sound Attack Against Any Defense,” presented readers with fifteen detailed diagrams, highlighting fifteen formations and beginning with plays to receive the kick off.
and ending with several scoring formations such as a fake short forward pass and an end or tackle run.\textsuperscript{50} In their introduction, Olcott and Reed emphasized that each formation was extremely basic and meant for the foundation of a team’s system, but that the plays could be further developed to capitalize on an individual team’s strengths or weaknesses. Each diagram, where O’s indicated offensive players, X’s indicated defensive players and the square indicated the center, provided detailed directions for each play, with arrows to indicate the direction of movement for each offensive player. The second part, “The Fundamentals of Defense,” explained the importance of a unified defense, as it continues to be the key to winning games.\textsuperscript{51} The best offense is the best defense because if the opposing offense cannot score, the worst that can happen is a scoreless tie. Since the defensive formations were not as showy and intricate with trick plays as offensive formations, the article discussed only five basic defensive formations with diagrams similar to the ones detailed above. In addition to formations, the article contained the correct principles for tackling opposing players. While this series did not reveal any deep-hidden secrets regarding a specific team, it provided a solid blueprint to lay the foundations for a successful football team and could be implemented by the magazine’s readers.

Similar to the \textit{Harper’s Weekly} article in 1907, Samuel Crowther (1880–1947), a journalist who received Varsity letters for football and rowing at the University of Pennsylvania, highlighted a new technological development in college athletics. The

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{50}Herman P. Olcott and Herbert Reed, “How to Play Football: A Sound Attack Against Any Defense,” \textit{Outing}, October 1914, 39-52.  
\textsuperscript{51}Herman P. Olcott and Herbert Reed, “How to Play Football: The Fundamentals of Defense,” \textit{Outing}, November 1914, 211-218.}

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1915 *Collier’s* article featured the Harvard’s athletic department and their use of motion pictures to assess what their players were doing incorrectly.\(^5^2\) Up until then, coaches namely Haughton of Harvard took photographs of plays that were not working properly, but it was often difficult to catch the errors at the exact moment in time required of photographs. Another advantage of the motion camera was its ability to stimulate and motivate players to give one hundred and ten percent on the practice field. While it was possible to avoid the coach’s eye, the camera lens had a relentless stare, catching an athlete’s every error. As a result of this technological advancement, Crowther prophesized that theories about athletic activity would be revamped as physical educators and college trainers pored over the films to study the human body in motion.\(^5^3\) This practice spread quickly across the nation. As indication of its impact and effect on sports in the United States, the coaches for the 1916 Summer Olympics were trained in the strategy of using motion pictures as a tool to train their athletes.\(^5^4\)

Since the vast majority of these magazine articles were published during the football season, most of the strategies focused on the sport of football. Every September through December, the nation’s attention turned toward the great American and manly sport of football. Popular magazines followed the nation’s lead, and articles highlighting the strategic development and methods of football abounded within their pages. In his 1989 chapter on the history of sports coverage in the United States, Michael W. McChesney noted in *Media, Sport, and Society* the symbiotic relationship between sports

\(^5^2\)Samuel Crowther, “Coaching College Athletes With Moving Pictures,” *Collier’s*, September 18, 1915, 32.

\(^5^3\)Ibid.

\(^5^4\)Scheduled to be held in Berlin, Germany, the 1916 Summer Olympics were eventually cancelled due to the outbreak of World War I.
and the media in American society. The staggering popularity of college sports is partly due to the massive amount of attention provided it by the mass media. On the flip side, the mass media, including the Progressive era popular mass circulation magazines, capitalized on sports to generate large sales in the form of both advertising and circulation numbers. Magazine attention to college athletics fanned the flame for sports fans and the subsequent interest in sports warranted further media attention. Historically, this cycle explains the sport-mass media relationship in the United States, as almost every surge in the popularity of a sport is accompanied by a dramatic increase in the coverage provided for the sport by the media.

While not as numerous in articles as the other three frames, popular magazines framed college athletics in regard to their most recent strategies and methods. Using episodic frames, magazines fed the college football frenzy by offering the best methods in play and providing blueprints for making a successful team to its readers. As the leading children’s magazine of the period, St. Nicholas exemplified this tendency with its concern to correctly train athletes for college at a young age. With its detailed description of how to properly train for college athletics, the end goal was the ability for young athletes to collect a Varsity letter. College sports fans attend few games, especially at the turn of the century, but read about dozens of games the next day in the newspaper and online. Thus, it is the sportswriter’s job to mediate between the athletic contest and its audience with sports writing as the text for that mediation process. The sportswriters, faculty representatives, and university spokesmen who wrote about football and college

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athletics in the popular press during the Progressive era were themselves interested followers of these games and issues, and thus to some degree representative of their interested readers, but they were unique because they had access to the most powerful media of the day: the mass circulation magazine. Therefore, those writers’ power to determine their readers’ understanding of college athletics resided in the issues they raised and the ways they framed those issues.\textsuperscript{56}

The “methods in strategy” frame indicated the public’s craving for inside knowledge on their favorite sport and its most popular teams. The Big Three, a historical term originating from the 1880s for Yale, Princeton, and Harvard, were repeatedly featured throughout the Progressive era’s magazines, as they dominated college football during this period. Historically connected with the upper class WASP establishment, admission into the Big Three indicated social status, and up until the 1920s, family lineage was a critical factor in their admission process. College football found its original home within these three institutions, and the masterminds behind the development of the game graduated and hailed from these schools, fueling an exclusive college athletic culture—one that carried into the creation of the IAAUS in 1906. Those same masterminds behind college football were also the founding members of the regulatory body created to regulate and control the development and rules of America’s favorite college game. Remnants of the WASP mentality and supremacy still remain intact through the current NCAA administration as evidenced by the selection of its five executive directors—all older white men. WASP supremacy dictated the type of

institution that college athletics became—an institution that continues to be dominated by white wealthy elitist men.
Chapter 8: The *New York Times* and *The Evening World* Coverage of NCAA

By the dawning of the Progressive era in 1896, both the quantity and quality of the football coverage in the daily newspapers in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were astounding: front-page, full-page, multi-page reports of the big games namely between the Big Three universities, complemented by a plethora of often sensationalistic illustrations. The development of these newspapers’ football coverage from brief, paragraph-length notes to multi-paged features requiring the entire staff and resources paralleled the development of college football from a strictly campus affair to a public spectacle and event.\(^1\) As former NCAA staff writer Hawes argued in 1999: “Without the sport of football there would be no NCAA, at least not as we know it today. Football was the initial reason for the Association, although the organization didn't limit itself, even from the beginning, to just one sport. But football was the seed that began it all.”\(^2\) Thus, coverage of the NCAA would be pivotal to New York newspapers that focused so much of its effort and attention on the college sport.

Articles mentioning the IAAUS and the NCAA from the *New York Times* and *The Evening World* were analyzed from 1906 to 1916. This time period represented the first eleven years of the NCAA’s existence, in which the New York press was fundamental in pushing for college football reform. Drawing a reading audience primarily from the


educated and business classes, the New York Times emphasized news over entertainment. Writing in particular about the New York Times, Jack Lule called the newspaper a “state scribe … our society’s privileged and preeminent storyteller.” In contrast, the New York World emphasized entertainment over news and thus, drew readers from the emerging less-educated middle class at the turn of the century. The New York World was also the first newspaper to feature a separate sport section, proudly labeled in the evening edition, “BEST SPORTING PAGE IN NEW YORK.” In adhering to its self-labeling as the best in the city, the evening edition of the New York World would be the first opportunity for the newspaper to report on the NCAA’s annual meetings held in New York City. As a result of the quantity and quality of its college football coverage, the New York daily press is said to have “‘created’ college football to an even greater degree, transforming an extracurricular activity into a national spectacle.”

Close examination of these two New York newspapers reveals the beginning story of the NCAA’s evolution into a dominating and powerful regulator of intercollegiate athletics. The coverage of the first eleven years of the NCAA by the New York Times and The Evening World aptly charted the progression of its growing influence over college athletics. Coverage by the Times began two months after the founding of the IAAUS, but the World did not publish its first article on the NCAA until 1911. The NCAA grew exponentially from a meager thirty institutions at the first convention in

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5 Oriard, Reading Football, 58.
December 1906. As more colleges joined and as the most prestigious institutions gave up their resistance to join, the NCAA began its transformation into the largest and most influential governing body in the field of intercollegiate sports. The struggle for power over the control of intercollegiate athletics is highlighted throughout this analysis as told through the Times and the World, with supporting documentation from the NCAA archives in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Seeking Control and Reform

On May 1, 1906, two months after its founding, the first New York Times article covering the IAAUS explained that its birth stemmed from the need to regulate college football in the face of a general public outcry against its continuation in colleges. It noted that institutions joining the Association would retain absolute independence and control of their own athletic departments and teams, which came to be known as “home rule.” The article advertised, “Its sole binding requirement, which is its reason of being, is that violations of the principles of amateur athletics shall upon honor be prevented.”^6 During the first convention, Captain Pierce, the founding president of the Association, presented the Constitution and By-Laws for the permanent governance of the IAAUS, which were adopted on March 31, 1906, after correspondence with a large number of universities unanimously agreed to its purpose and aims.^7 He emphasized the applicability of its

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^7 Proceedings of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States, First Annual Convention, New York City, December 29, 1906, 29. According to its Constitution, “its object shall be the regulation and supervision of college athletics throughout the United States, in order that the athletic activities in the colleges and universities of the United States may be maintained on an ethical plane in keeping with the dignity and high purpose of education.”
constitution to the entire country, stating that mandatory rules of eligibility on all members were impracticable because of the diverse conditions prevailing in different parts of United States. Some parts of the country had local associations and athletic unions that set high standards and enforced satisfactory eligibility rules, while others had little to no cooperation between local institutions and set their own standards. Therefore, the constitution clearly laid out the principles of amateur athletics and required all institutions joining to enforce those principles in the way that college administrations deemed best and to set up a code of eligibility rules, which could be later applied to institutions as soon as circumstances could allow.8

On December 24, 1906, one week before the first annual convention, Captain Pierce issued a call to every university and college to attend the upcoming convention in New York City at the Murray Hill Hotel. He reinforced that the IAAUS simply sought “general co-operation in an effort to so control athletic sports as to secure their advantages without their attendant evils.”9

On December 29, 1906, the morning of the first IAAUS convention, a preview article in the Times highlighted the upcoming tasks of the Executive Committee and the twenty-eight delegates in attendance.10 Two main questions were discussed at the convention: how can the membership of the Association be increased and should the Association extend its effort to control college athletics past football reform in the wake of the record high number of deaths from the year before? In desperate need of prestige

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8Ibid., 12.
and influence, the IAAUS emphasized the urgent desire to enlist the active support of the big Eastern universities such as Yale, Princeton, Harvard, Cornell, and United States Naval Academy, which had the greatest and longest college athletic traditions.\(^\text{11}\) With their enrollment in the Association, “it will then be the all-powerful association of colleges which is regarded as so necessary for the proper supervision of intercollegiate sport.”\(^\text{12}\) To this end, the IAAUS formed a Committee of Membership to actively recruit these large universities into its membership. The answer to the second question immediately became clear as the Association not only formed a new Football Rules Committee but also discussed the evils of college athletes playing summer baseball for money and the need to create uniform rules for basketball.\(^\text{13}\) The Football Rules Committee was charged with securing an open game without massive formations protecting the ball, eliminating rough and brutal play, defining the rules of play, and organizing officials.\(^\text{14}\)

In the January 27, 1907, \textit{Times} edition, an article highlighted the new football rules passed by the recently elected Football Rules Committee, which included the length of the halves increased from thirty to thirty-five minutes, the addition of an extra field official, and a forward pass penalty.\(^\text{15}\) The Football Rules Committee comprised of fourteen individuals, seven of whom were selected from the newly organized IAAUS and seven from the old, established rules committee.\(^\text{16}\) By combining these two committees,

\(^{14}\)Ibid.
\(^{16}\)The old football rules committee was represented by Professor L.M. Dennis of Cornell, John B. Fine of Princeton, John C. Bell of the University of Pennsylvania, W. H. Corbin of Yale, William T. Reid,
the IAAUS hoped to provide a more balanced, representative committee comprised of members from across the United States, as opposed to the future of football being decided upon solely by members of the few elite Eastern universities.

Fewer deaths occurred during the 1907 season, and the Association turned its attention toward the evil of professionalism. The concern of professionalism was evident in the fact that seven of thirteen articles published in the Times during the year 1907 focused on this issue. In a September 8, 1907, Times article, it stated, “the evils of professionalism, so called, are not merely the taking of money, it is the spirit which this contending for money produces, the taking advantage of every subterfuge, of every device, honest or dishonest, in order to win.” As previously detailed in Chapter 4, professionalism included the act of proselytizing, or the recruiting of players from preparatory schools, and the hiring of professional coaches and players, especially summer baseball players. The Progressive era popular magazines highlighted these same issues and were unified in their call for reform in college athletics. With the creation of the IAAUS, the New York Times believed athletic purity would gain ground, and the Association would use its influence to stomp out professionalism, according to an analysis of its coverage.

One of the most important goals to the IAAUS, however, was to control and eliminate the practice of summer baseball, as indicated by the prevalence of New York Jr., of Harvard, A. A. Staag of the University of Chicago, and Lieutenant Paul J. Dashiell (1867–1937) of the United States Naval Academy. The representatives from the IAAUS were Dr. Henry J. Williams of the University of Minnesota, C.M. Savage of Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio, Charles M. Daly (1880–1959) of West Point, William L. Dudley of Vanderbilt, John T. Lees of the University of Nebraska, and Edward K. Hall (1870–1932) of Dartmouth.

18. Ibid.
Times coverage on the issue as well as the discussion in the Association’s annual proceedings. According to Article VI of the IAAUS constitution, each member institution agreed to enforce measures to prevent the four basis violations of amateur sport including proselytizing, playing those ineligible as amateurs, playing those who were not an actual full-time student, and improper and unsportsmanlike conduct on the part of the players, coaches, assistants, or the student body. In other words, an amateur athlete could be loosely defined as someone who had received no compensation for his athletic skill. Around the turn of the nineteenth century as college became a possibility for middle-class students, a young man would play summer baseball to make a few dollars in order to work his way through college. Many student athletes, therefore, did not meet the Association’s amateur definition. But in the athlete’s mind, a professional was a man who made his living by athletics, not a man who was merely a student trying to earn money to pay his college expenses.

On December 8, 1907, the Times announced the next IAAUS meeting to be held three weeks later at the Murray Hotel with the prime purpose to settle the question of summer baseball. Since the conclusion of the previous convention, the Executive Committee had collected data and investigated the practice to show its prevalence among United States institutions as well as ways to completely end its practice. A task easier discussed than actually accomplished, as time would soon tell. Three more Times articles previewed the second annual IAAUS meeting, including details about the Association’s

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plans to pass more drastic reforms, including more football rule changes and the formation of a Basket Ball Rules Committee.²¹

In the months prior to the second convention, the Committee of Membership sent letters to seven prominent institutions specifically sought by Captain Palmer, urging them to join the IAAUS for the betterment of college athletics. It reassured them that they would not lose their independence and control over their own athletic departments and would be free to withdraw at any time. According to the committee’s report, the letters partially stated:

The idea is to make plain to you our desire to secure your membership for no other purpose than the betterment of college athletics throughout the country. There is no selfish motive, such as a desire to get control of the Football Committee. We want representation, but not control. We want the committee to be a representative one that will act for the best interests of the great body of college students of our land.²²

By the time of the second annual convention on December 28, 1907, the IAAUS membership had increased from thirty institutions to sixty, doubling in one year’s time.²³ The University of Pennsylvania and the University of Chicago, two of the seven prominent institutions, allied with the reform movement and became members. The Times detailed the excuses and reasons the other five institutions did not join the membership, but the president retained hope that they would join within the coming year.²⁴ In his presidential address, Captain Palmer detailed the Association’s origin and

²⁴The other five institutions were Harvard, Cornell, Yale, the United States Naval Academy and Princeton.
growth over the past year. He called for a national presence in its membership in order to become truly effective and to disseminate throughout the great mass of college students the motto, “sport for sport’s sake,” along with the true meaning of amateurism.

Early in its history, the NCAA leadership was aware that the media could play a role in its success. Captain Pierce suggested in 1907 that the NCAA could become “a central bureau of propaganda concerning college athletics” by using “newspaper statements of aims and policies” and “circulars and other published literature.” He called for greater use of newspapers to advance the NCAA’s purpose for higher athletic standards to the public and students by providing reports of the Association’s proceedings to local New York newspapers, namely the New York Times, as this analysis will show.

But the most important development was the passing of a resolution to maintain the highest morals within the institution’s members and consequently within intercollegiate athletics. Many members believed that, “the time had passed when it is possible to restore a healthy condition to the collegiate athletic body by the application of moderate remedy, that the only thing which can now serve to prevent the pollution of the entire body is to amputate the member which is afflicted by the disease.” Recapping the Association’s proceedings on December 29, 1907, “Colleges Assume Sweeping Control of Their Athletics” in the Times stated the Association’s radical action to stamp out professionalism, especially in summer baseball, by passing a resolution for institutions to enforce the principles of amateur sport and to report any infringement to the Association.

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26Ibid.
In accordance with its constitution, the Association pledged that all institutions needed to maintain, “‘a high standard of personal honor, eligibility and fair play and to remedy what abuses may exist.” Therefore, while the responsibility for the details of the rules resided with each individual institution, the Association expected a reliable enforcement of the principles of amateur sport. Complaints against any institution should not be based on rumors but should be factual, and the complainant should be able to prove the amateurism violation with specific evidence to the Executive Committee.

As a representative for Columbia University at the convention, Professor James Kemp spoke to the Association about the proper function of college athletics and declared the probability of Columbia never reviving its intercollegiate football program, which disbanded after the 1905 season. In the two seasons since its abolishment on campus, Kemp claimed that the scholastic achievements of its students were far superior, and he warned the IAAUS members about the dangers of the college athletic spectacle saying, “athletics were taken with enormous and supersensitive seriousness and their importance much exaggerated … Intercollegiate contests are the least important feature of the function of athletics — the recreation function can only be attained by wide and general participation.”

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greatest number, Kemp advocated for intramural instead of intercollegiate athletics to provide physical training to complement the mental training at universities.

During the nominations for officers, Captain Pierce’s name naturally headed the list for president again. He graciously thanked the Association, but explained that he had been removed from duty at West Point and would be stationed at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He tendered his resignation, but the Association unanimously elected him as its president and thus, adamantly declined his resignation. A January 12, 1908, Times article profiled Captain Pierce’s accomplishments as the IAAUS president and his relentless work for pure college sports. The Times attributed the saving of college football from abolishment in 1905 and the small successes of the Association to the personal efforts of Pierce. Prophetic of the influence the Association would hold over college athletics, it stated: “There is no likelihood now of the Intercollegiate Association ever becoming an empty form. The pregnant and pertinent questions that will always arise with the proper restrictions of intercollegiate athletics will hold it together and make it continually stronger, more powerful, and more necessary.” Just nine days later, another Times article reflected the Association’s growing power with the addition of the Big Nine, nine colleges forming the Western Intercollegiate Conference. At a recent meeting of the conference, Staag of the University of Chicago explained the purpose and

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34 Schools in the Midwest competed in the Western Conference, now called the Big Ten, consisting of Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Indiana, Northwestern, Purdue, Wisconsin and Chicago.
aims of the IAAUS and as a result, the Western Intercollegiate Conference passed a resolution, becoming the first athletic conference to endorse the work of the IAAUS.\textsuperscript{35}

In a preview article in the \textit{New York Times} on January 2, 1909, published the morning of the third annual convention, Captain Pierce further clarified the Association’s goals, “… to accomplish reforms wherever needed in college sports is not attempted by the ‘big stick’ method, but solely by education and influence.”\textsuperscript{36} The Association did not profess to be a governing body for all colleges, but some day it could become one by the process of evolution not revolution.\textsuperscript{37} While the prominent Eastern universities had still not joined, the \textit{Times} noted that the organization had fifty-seven members, and its positive influence to uphold the purity and high amateur standing in every phase of college athletics was felt throughout the country.\textsuperscript{38} Coverage of the Association’s third annual convention garnered the immediate attention of the \textit{Times’} and of the masses as indicated by the story’s front-page placement in the sporting pages along with a graphic indicating the IAAUS mission statement and a re-printing of the added resolution. Football, basketball and track rule changes, the summer baseball problem, and the broader question of the control of college athletics were the main topics at the convention. Since it was the chief source of trouble for college athletic committees, much of the debate revolved around this formally presented summer baseball question: “Should any student in good collegiate standing be permitted to play in intercollegiate baseball

\begin{footnotes}
\item[38]“Notable Educators Meet to Discuss the Uplifting College Athletics,” \textit{New York Times}, January 3, 1909, S1.
\end{footnotes}
contests?" For the affirmative, Professor Judson P. Welsh (1857–1934) of Pennsylvania State College argued that a man who needs money to attend college should be allowed to play summer baseball in just the same manner as he would be allowed to do anything else for a living as long as he was able to maintain good grades.  

Several faculty members, including Staag of the University of Chicago and Professor E.G. Bartlett of Dartmouth, had no empathy for the “poor boy,” or self-supporting college student, argument. Since the scholastic standards were not lowered for him, they advocated that the athletic standards should not be lowered to accommodate him either. One could argue this was a tactic used by some members of the university establishment to keep the immigrants and non-WASPS of society from participating in intercollegiate athletics. Bartlett viewed athletes who played summer ball as a hindrance and not an aid to the sport: “Such men feel that they must win to keep their popularity, and men in this atmosphere are a little less ready to admit that a game well lost is better than a game badly won.” The summer baseball question remained unanswered—a trend that would continue for years to come. Since the debate aroused too many diverse opinions to adopt any hard and fast amateur rule for playing summer baseball, the IAAUS formed a committee charged with drafting a law of amateurism or a definition of an amateur that would more nearly realize the ideal of the amateur concept. This

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40Ibid.
41“Ibid. “Notable Educators Meet to Discuss the Uplifting College Athletics,” S1.
conflicting view of amateurism would haunt the Association for years to come, as the definition of amateurism continues to cause conflicts for the NCAA.

Published more than two months before the next convention, the New York Times previewed the fourth IAAUS annual meeting on October 23, 1909. The Association’s motto was, “‘Victory is no great matter and defeat is less; the essential thing in sport is the manly striving to excel and the good feeling it fosters between those who play fair and have no excuses when they lose.’”44 In accordance with this motto, college sports were not about winning, but about the physical exercise and character-building qualities participation provided. As an example of the motto’s effect, the eve of the rivalry football game between the University of Chicago and the University of Illinois on October 15, 1909, the two teams dined and mingled together as if they would not be fighting one another for glory on the gridiron the following day.45

With ten minutes left to play in a gridiron battle between Harvard and West Point on October 30, 1909, the game abruptly stopped around 4:30 p.m. with the injury of Cadet Eugene Byrne, who was the West Point’s captain and left tackle. The following morning, the New York Times described the incident:

On a close formation, in which sheer weight and strength predominated, Minot, the Harvard full back, was jammed past Fish in his own line for a play between Byrne and Purnell, the Army left guard. Byrne, playing opposite the Harvard Captain, dived into the oncoming mass, holding his head up so as to pick out the man with the ball. Fish and Fisher, Harvard’s right tackle and guard, struck Byrne almost together. He was forced to the ground and the players piled over him. When the players had been disentangled two men, Minor of Harvard and Byrne of West Point, were lying helpless on the ground. Minot regained his feet after his face had been washed and a little water poured down his throat…

45 Ibid.
For fully ten minutes Byrne lay on a cot on the field, surrounded by media attendants. His white-haired father, Col. John A. Byrne, ex-Chief of Police of Buffalo, alarmed by the length of time the physicians were working over the cadet, left his seat in the cheering section and went to the cot. Young Byrne was still inert and unconscious. His lips were blue, his body relaxed, and there was practically no sign of life.\(^46\)

Fourteen hours after his collapse, Cadet Byrne died, and X-ray photographs taken after his death revealed a dislocation between the first and second cervical vertebrae, causing the first vertebrae to be thrown forward, pressing against the respiratory muscles. The natural process of breathing ceased at once after that fateful collision on the field.\(^47\) Two weeks later, a University of Virginia halfback, Archer Christian (1888–1909), also died from a concussion sustained in a game at Georgetown. As a result of these tragedies, school systems in St. Louis, New York, and Washington, D.C., suspended football, and Georgetown abolished the game. Virginia and North Carolina called off their annual Thanksgiving rivalry.\(^48\)

Resulting in twenty-six deaths, the 1909 football season had more casualties and injuries than any prior season, begging the reform of the sport once again by the Association and a public outcry from the press and certain noteworthy educators to abolish the sport at the intercollegiate level. Thus, unusual interest surrounded the fourth annual meeting of the IAAUS where the future of football would be discussed. In a November 14, 1909, *Times* article, Captain Pierce said, “The fitting of the college eleven

\(^{46}\) “Cadet Near Death From Football Hurt,” *New York Times*, October 31, 1909. On the day that Byrne was killed, two other college players died. However, these were not as well publicized, as they played for smaller colleges: one for Haskell Indian Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, and the other for the Medico-Chirurgical College in Philadelphia. *The Daily Maroon* (University of Chicago). November 3, 1909.

\(^{47}\) “Cadet Byrne Dead; No Army-Navy Game,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1909.


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for a championship contest is quite similar to the preparation of an army for a battle. In
consequence, the American game has a tinge of the gladiatorial contest, and, with its box
office receipts, of commercialism that often astonishes our British cousin." In line with
the muscular Christianity movement, some educators, namely Captain Pierce, felt that
football was a foundational aspect of character building and a way to invigorate college
youth with a martial mentality, courage, and fortitude.

Harvard University decided to apply for membership into the IAAUS “like a bolt
out of a clear sky...,” as reported by the New York Times on December 21, 1909—just
one week before its fourth annual convention. Harvard’s abrupt change of mind came as
a result of its recognition of the IAAUS as a growing influence in college athletics,
especially with regard to football rule changes after the catastrophic 1909 season. The
dominating football institution also feared that IAAUS member schools would refuse to
play intercollegiate football games against Harvard unless it adhered to the Association’s
playing rules. At the end of the article, a statement released to the Times from Captain
Pierce was quoted:

The Intercollegiate Athletic Association does not pretend to be a governing body
like the Amateur Athletic Union. Conditions do not seem to warrant an attempt to
control college athletics except by influence. The association realizes that what
would be suitable for one locality would not do for another, and what would be
satisfactory to a small college would not be at all acceptable to a large university.
The association may appear weak, but it believes in attaining its ends by
educational means.

51Ibid.
52Ibid.
Clearly, the IAAUS president was continuing his propaganda efforts to persuade the other big football universities, including Yale, Princeton, and Cornell, to join the Association. In his presidential address, Pierce reinforced the Association’s need for propaganda in order to educate the masses and the students to higher athletic ideals. A large chunk of the Association’s expenditures were spent on the printing and sending of literature through the postal service to all colleges and universities as well as publishing conference addresses in popular magazines and newspapers. In his Report of the Football Rules Committee, Chairman H. L. Williams (dates) of the University of Minnesota reminded the Association of the impact of the newspapers on public sentiment:

With some just grounds for complaint against objectionable features which then existed, the press of the country, ever ready for sensation, started a crusade that soon stirred the American public up to an excited pitch of opposition to football, as then played, so that at one time it seemed almost to threaten the very existence of this greatest of our national games as a college sport.

To a great extent, the IAAUS used propaganda to combat the sensationalism and negativity toward college athletics, especially college football, which the newspapers of the era aroused in the public.

Recapping the fourth convention on December 29, 1909, the New York Times highlighted the contentious struggle to determine the future of the popular game among

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53 President Hadley of Yale dissuaded Yale from joining the IAAUS because of its faulty constitution. Cornell did not provide the Times a reason for refusing to join. President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) of Princeton refrained from commenting on athletics at the time.


the IAAUS members. A majority of members, however, favored a radical revision of the present football rules to reduce the dangers of physical injury while retaining as much as possible the desirable features of the game and passed a resolution as such. In fact, the football debate created so much conversation that the president held an extra session in the evening where all members who had ideas or suggestions for reform could meet with the seven members of the Association Football Rules Committee.\(^{56}\) Regardless of the public’s opinion, the Association was in general agreement that football was a pivotal part of intercollegiate athletics and just needed a slight modification of playing rules. However, a few members believed the game needed spiritual and not technical changes and that this change toward fine sportsmanship should come from the athletes and not rule makers.\(^{57}\)

The *New York Times* traced the development and progress of the rule changes conducted by the Football Rules Committee. At the conclusion of the December 28 meeting, Edward K. Hall (1870–1932), chairman of the Football Rules Committee from 1911 to 1932, understood that the committee had the job of its life ahead of it, but that its members were more willing to do the right thing for the game than anyone else and held the responsibility to ensure the safety of the college sport.\(^{58}\)

Holding its first meeting on February 5, 1910, at the Cumberland Hotel in New York City, the committee spent two long days sorting, diagnosing, and eliminating the

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\(^{57}\) Ibid.

\(^{58}\) Ibid.
hundreds of proposed rule changes that had been sent to them. Dr. James A. Babbitt of Haverford College said that the committee wanted to get the public’s opinion regarding proper football rule changes, as everyone had the right to have an input in this important matter. At the adjournment of its first meeting, Secretary Hall said the injuries during the past season were largely traceable to the diving tackle, to mass offensive plays, and in some cases to the exhausted condition of the players, and the rule changes proposed by the committee would attempt to eliminate these evils. To reduce the high number of injuries, the committee advocated that every player must undergo a thorough physical examination prior to intercollegiate participation and that they should be under careful medical supervision throughout the season. From early February until late in May, the committee met in two-day sessions once a month in New York and Philadelphia, resulting in a number of revised playing rules. Many of the changes promoted more use of the forward pass with some complicated limitations, including the requirement of the offense to have seven men on the line of scrimmage at all times and the only eligible receivers were the two ends, who could catch a pass no more than twenty yards beyond the line of scrimmage and who could not be interfered with until the ball was caught. In a similar vein, the kicking team’s players could not be touched until they had advanced twenty yards on kickoffs and punts. Flying tackles were also prohibited with the

59 “Public Opinion to Aid Football Men,” New York Times, February 6, 1910, S1. The “old” committee was composed of L.M. Dennis, chairman; John C. Bell, Crawford Blagden (1881–1937), Walter Camp, Lieutenant J.D. Berrien, Parke H. Davis (1871–1934), and A.A. Staag. The elected members from the IAAUS composed of Dr. H.L. Williams, chairman, E.K. Hall, Dr. W.L. Dudley, Lieutenant H.H. Hackett, Dr. W.A. Lambeth, Dr. James A. Babbitt, and Dr. C.W. Savage.

60 A diving tackle occurs when a player leaves the ground in order to make a tackle.

61 Ibid.
requirement that the player making the tackle had to have at least one foot on the ground as well as the rule that the player carrying the ball could not be aided by his teammates.\textsuperscript{62}

To prevent players from incurring injuries because of sheer exhaustion, three additional changes were introduced. Game time was shortened by ten minutes resulting in two thirty-minute halves with an additional three-minute rest period in the middle of each half, which essentially created four quarters of play. Lastly, the committee passed a rule allowing substitutions to be made at any time in order to rest a given player and that player could go back into the game again at the beginning of any subsequent quarter. In Chairman Williams’ annual report to the IAAUS in 1910, he congratulated the committee on the successful rule changes as only one man being taken from a game because of an injury during the 1910 college football season.\textsuperscript{63} It is arguable that those specific rule changes helped alleviate a number of injuries.

Becoming A National Influence

In 1910, the Association changed its name to the National Collegiate Athletic Association to reflect its growing national influence in college sport, as detailed by Captain Pierce during his presidential address at the fifth annual convention held on December 29, 1910.\textsuperscript{64} In 1906, it began with a membership of thirty-nine colleges and universities and by 1910, the membership had grown to seventy-six.\textsuperscript{65} Since the general outcry over the physical dangers of college football had been squelched by the new rules,  

\textsuperscript{63}Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 37.
the Association focused on deciding on a uniform definition of “amateurism,” basketball and track rules, and of course, the evils of professionalism and summer baseball. As in other conventions, the Association stressed the necessity of careful faculty control over college athletics in order to better enforce the rules of amateurism. Faculty control also needed to ensure that its college teams were playing only other college teams and in accordance with the rules of the NCAA. The Association went on record as being strictly against professional coaching on college teams by unanimously adopting the following resolution:

It is the sense of the National Collegiate Athletic Association that coaching and training be confined to the regular members of the teaching staff, employed by the governing board of the institution, for the full academic year; and further that athletics be made a regular department, or, combined with physical education, constitute a regular department, and receive the same consideration and be given equal responsibility and be held to the same accountability as any other department in the college or university.

But, according to the New York Times on December 30, 1910, the passing of this resolution was not the most interesting aspect on the fifth annual convention. During 1910, the Association mailed a set of five questions to its member institutions seeking opinions about three of the hot-button issues facing the NCAA: the football rule changes, the summer baseball problem, and the proper control of college athletics. The NCAA received detailed replies to the questions from seventy-five institutions. In response to the first question, “Are the football rules in their present form satisfactory?” fifty colleges responded with a yes. Fifty colleges also reported in the affirmative to the question of

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whether the new rules had been satisfactorily enforced by the officials during the 1910 season. 68 Turning its attention to summer baseball, the Association asked, “Are the rules on amateurism in baseball enforced in your locality? and “What is your solution to the summer baseball problem?” Forty-six colleges reported that they were enforcing the rules on amateurism in some capacity, and twenty-nine colleges reported that their solution was to allow summer baseball with certain restrictions. 69 While the NCAA received answers to these highly debated summer baseball questions, it still did not decide on a universal rule to prevent professionalism from creeping into the diamonds across the country. As detailed in Chapters 4 and 6, popular magazine during the Progressive era also discussed the summer baseball question, framing it in regard to the call for reform and as an evil of college athletics.

In adhering to his propaganda policy, Captain Pierce sent a press release to the New York Times announcing the sixth annual NCAA convention on December 28, 1911, at the Hotel Astor in New York City. 70 Pierce also requested the Association’s members pay close attention to the football developments during the 1911 season and to complete the questionnaire sent by the NCAA regarding the present game. As a reminder of the NCAA’s accomplishments and growing influence, Pierce stated that the NCAA was in flourishing condition as evidenced by its growing membership to some eighty college and universities, whose students numbered more than 100,000. 71 Once again, he called for

69 For more detailed numbers and responses, see “Replies to Questions Submitted to the Colleges By the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States,” 20-24.
71 Ibid.
members to join the Association immediately as the importance of college athletics as an educational agent must be known across the entire nation.

A *Times’* article on November 17, 1911, highlighted a circular appeal sent to all of the universities and colleges not yet members of the NCAA, reassuring wavering institutions that they could maintain “home rule” and complete control over the regulation of their own athletic departments. In its concluding remarks, the Association made one more attempt to convince institutions to join: “Here is an opportunity that all should grasp who have the Nation’s welfare at heart. It is only by a National organization that anything of permanent value can be accomplished in the face of all the adverse conditions.”72 It was believed that the influence of the NCAA was directly proportional to the number of institutions belonging to the Association.

Recapping the sixth annual convention on December 28, 1911, the *New York Times’* headline read “Colleges to Boom Soccer Football.” Representatives from across the country, namely Professor Babbitt of Haverford, strongly advocated for soccer to be added to the NCAA’s list of regulated sports, as it was significantly safer to play than football and had gained considerable popularity in certain regions, especially in the Midwest. At Babbitt’s suggestion, Captain Pierce appointed a committee to take up the game and advocate for its inclusion within all college athletics departments.73 After passing several resolutions over the past four conventions with no significant changes, summer baseball was still a hotly debated issue for the NCAA. In response to a ten-question questionnaire sent out to its member institutions, almost all of the colleges

73.”Colleges To Boom Soccer Football,” *New York Times*, December 29, 1911, 12.
considered baseball to be a benefit to their institution, but many believed it could be improved by eliminating the professional element and emphasizing the idea of sport rather than contest.\textsuperscript{74} Several members remained vehemently against adopting a radical measure against summer baseball as many institutions openly allowed the players to make money and felt outlawing it would be inconsistent with the policies at several member schools.

But during the convention in 1911, the NCAA decided to change tactics by appealing to the student’s honor, and after heated and lively debate on the convention floor, it unanimously passed a resolution to govern all college athletics, especially summer baseball. This educational campaign meant to make the students believe that amateurism was a moral and ethical feature of college athletics that aligned with the values of the educational system. Further, any violation of this amateur spirit would be considered a violation of the gentlemen’s agreement and would be punishable by the faculty.\textsuperscript{75} Despite all of the arguments made against any radical actions toward summer baseball, Captain Pierce argued persistently and consistently for this resolution pointing out that the “…association had talked and talked year after year against it: had adopted resolutions which had accomplished nothing and he said it was about time for the association to show that it could accomplish something of a practical nature.”\textsuperscript{76} Pierce wanted action and not just discussion, pushing the delegates to consider a radical reform.

\textsuperscript{74}“College Baseball,” \textit{Proceedings of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States}, Sixth Annual Convention, New York City, December 28, 1911, 8-12.

\textsuperscript{75}“Colleges to Fight Summer Baseball,” \textit{New York Times}, December 30, 1911, 8.

\textsuperscript{76}Ibid.
While the *Times*’ headline highlighted the NCAA’s addition of soccer to its increasing sports lineup, *The Evening World*’s headline read, “Football Rules Go Unchanged for Next Year,” mentioning only the report by the Football Rules Committee. The *World*’s recap article on December 29, 1911, was the first article to mention the growing organization. By providing no information about the other agenda items or college athletic issues, a reader could interpret the NCAA as a regulator of college football alone and not as a regulator of college athletics in general.\(^77\) However, the two New York papers did share several similarities in their coverage, including the use of the phrase “stand pat” in their subordinate headlines to indicate that the membership advocated for no further rule changes. Several members, including Chairman Williams of the Football Rules Committee and Professor George W. Ehler of Wisconsin, outspokenly voiced their relief on the positive effects the new rules had on the game, noting that the present game was much better than the old.\(^78\) The *World* and the *Times* quoted parts of a resolution to bring to the annual Football Rules Committee meeting in February, instructing it to regulate the rules to continue the open game while minimizing the chance for injuries.\(^79\)

Much to Captain Pierce’s delight and dedication, the NCAA was growing and its influence expanding across the nation, as indicated by the drastic increase in *New York Times*’ coverage of the Association in 1912. While only one article appeared in *The Evening World*, eighteen *Times*’ articles focused on the actions of the Association beginning with coverage of the Football Rules Committee in January. Comprised of

\(^77\)^{*Football Rules Go Unchanged for Next Year,* *The Evening World*, December 29, 1911, 12.
\(^78\)^{Ibid. See also “Colleges To Boom Soccer Football,” *New York Times*, 12.
\(^79\)^{Ibid.}
mostly the everyday working class, the World’s reading audience would be less interested in the rules and regulations aspect of the NCAA and more concerned about the glory of the intercollegiate athletics and the details of the games and who’s playing on the field. College football rules came under siege again after the 1911 football season resulted in too many scoreless ties. A week prior to the Football Rules Committee annual review, a January 29, 1912, Times’ article stated that the committee remained evenly divided between the new NCAA members and the old, non-NCAA members as to whether to tweak the rules any further. For two long days in February, the committee met at the Holland House in New York City to discuss schemes to strengthen the offensive play in order for more touchdowns to be possible. A Times’ recap article on February 4, 1912, the day after the committee’s deliberations, announced sweeping changes passed by the Football Rules Committee in an attempt to provide spectators with a faster, livelier and more open game and to provide the offensive teams with more opportunities to score points. These twelve new rules were highlighted in a pull out box at the top of the article. The 1912 rule changes, including shortening the length of the field by ten yards to one hundred yards, eliminating the onside kick and the twenty-yard zone restriction on the forward pass, and allowing four downs to gain ten yards instead of three downs,

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80 “Committee Divided,” New York Times, January 29, 1912, 9. The old committee consisted of Walter Camp of Yale, Dr. Carl F. Williams of Pennsylvania, Percy Haughton of Harvard, F. D. Berrien of the U.S. Naval Academy, Parke H. Davis of Princeton, A.A. Staag of the University of Chicago, and Joseph Beacham of Cornell. The seven members from the NCAA are Dr. Harry L. Williams of the University of Minnesota, Dr. Hames A. Babbitt of Haverford College, E.K. Hall of Dartmouth, Lieutenant V.W. Cooper of West Point, Professor W. L. Dudley of Vanderbilt, Professor C.W. Savage of Oberlin College, and Professor S. C. Williams of the University of Iowa.


brought college football into the modern era and closely resemble the rules governing college football today.\textsuperscript{83}

On the same day in January 1912, the \textit{Times}’ sporting pages published a full-page feature article complete with photographs of a few of the leading football players of the day and with a large headline across the top of the page posing this question: Does athletic training shorten college men’s lives? Physicians identified with the leading universities of college athletics, including Dr. Anderson, the director of the Yale gymnasium, Dr. Sargent, the director of the Harvard gymnasium, Dr. William L. Estes (1855-1940), consulting physician and lecturer at Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Dr. Babbitt, medical director for Haverford College, offered their opinion in response to this question.\textsuperscript{84} Aside from Dr. Estes, all of these men were representatives of their institutions in the NCAA and thus, all pushed the physical and health benefits of college athletics while also calling for reforms to ensure the continued safety of all players, especially in college football.

On May 18, 1912, a \textit{Times}’ article announced the resignation of Major Pierce, the elected NCAA president for six years, due to his recent promotion from captain to major, who would join his regiment in Tien-Tsin, China, for three years on July 1.\textsuperscript{85} In a tribute to the influential leader, the \textit{New York Times} chronicled Pierce’s contribution to college

\textsuperscript{83}Other changes included allowing the forward pass over the goal line for a distance of ten yards, counting touchdowns as six points instead of five, reducing the intermission between first and second and third and fourth periods to one minute instead of three, kicking-off from the attacking team’s forty-yard line instead of at midfield, playing the ball on the twenty-yard line instead of the twenty-five yard line after a touchback, dropping the field judge from the list of officials, allowing only one coach on the side lines during the game, and making field goals which first hit the ground and bounce over the cross bars illegal.


athletics, the man who first conceived of the idea of the national organization after a
general outcry against football occurred in 1905.\textsuperscript{86} During his terms as president, Pierce
watched the Association grow from thirty-nine institutions at the first convention in 1906
to ninety-five institutions at the time of this article’s publication in 1912. The \textit{Times’}
attributed Pierce’s success to his personality, as he was not a radical reformer and instead
advocated for change, control and discipline in college athletics through educational
methods. Before sailing for China, Pierce voiced his regret at being forced to leave the
Association, but hoped “to see a closer affiliation of all the amateur sporting interests in
this country” upon his return to the United States in three years.\textsuperscript{87}

Two preview articles in the \textit{New York Times} announced the seventh annual
NCAA convention on December 27, 1912, at the Hotel Astor in New York City, where
representatives from more than one hundred universities and colleges gathered to discuss
summer baseball, amateurism, training, coaching and other areas of intercollegiate
sport.\textsuperscript{88} After the resignation of Major Pierce, the Association elected Dean Briggs of
Harvard as the second president of the NCAA, who was a strong advocate for faculty
control at Cambridge. As his first act, Briggs appointed a three-man committee to draft a
letter of appreciation for Pierce’s efforts over the past seven years. Professor Frank W.
Nicolson of Wesleyan, the NCAA’s secretary, paid tribute to the former president, saying
“Major Pierce is a man of the highest ideals of sportsmanship, clear in his views, and firm
in carving them out, withal a man of the nicest courtesy and tact, the best type of

\textsuperscript{86}“Athletic Leader Will Be Missed,” \textit{New York Times}, September 1, 1912, S3.
\textsuperscript{87}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{88}For examples, see “Collegians Will Discuss Athletics,” \textit{New York Times}, December 26, 1912,
American gentleman. Major Pierce has been an ideal President.” Reporting for the Football Rules Committee, Chairman Williams said that the 2012 radical rule changes were highly popular with the players, spectators and colleges, resulting in the best game of football ever played by American colleges. Most importantly, as indicated by the large block letter, two-column headline, “Not a Single Fatality Mars Football Season,” on the front sporting page of the *World*, the rule changes resulted in no fatalities in 1912—marking the first season in NCAA history with no deaths attributed to college football. Following Professor Ehler’s announcement, the membership loudly applauded and relished in this accomplishment. The *World* called the 1912 college football season the most successful to date, resulting in record-breaking attendance at all the big games and few injuries. In addition, it noted the growing interest and participation in college athletics across the country, drawing particular attention to the report of the soccer committee. As chairman of the committee, Professor George L. Meylan of Columbia reported soccer as the fastest growing sport in the United States, believing it would soon replace football as the college favorite.

Professional coaches and players in collegiate baseball produced heated debate for the sixth consecutive convention, as members continued to be divided on the topic. After three years of debate, the Committee on Amateurism reported its consensus on the definition of amateur and professional athletes stating:

89.“College Coach Too Much In Spotlight,” *New York Times*, December 28, 1912, 8.
92.Ibid.
An amateur in athletics is one who enters and takes part in athletic contests purely in obedience to the play impulses or for the satisfaction of purely play motives and for the exercise, training, and social pleasures derived. The natural or primary attitude of mind and motives in play determines amateurism. A professional in athletics is one who enters or takes part in any athletic contest from any other motive than the satisfaction of pure play impulses or for the exercise, training, and social pleasures derived, or one who desires and secures from his skill or who accepts of spectators, partisan or other interest, any material or economic advantage or reward.93

As detailed in Chapter 6, the NCAA’s definition of amateurism was rooted in the “a healthy mind in a healthy body” platitude. The committee recommended that all acts in violation of the amateur definition should render the athlete ineligible for further participation in intercollegiate contests. Since the NCAA continued to rely on “home rule,” it could not adequately enforce this amateur definition across all universities, deterring any real solution to the summer baseball problem.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that the first Times’ article on the NCAA revolved around the sport of baseball. On January 14, 1913, Glenn Warner (1871–1954), most commonly known as Pop Warner, publicly stated his strong arguments against college baseball. As head football and baseball coach at Carlisle, Warner said that summer baseball had the tendency of making “bums” out of his students.94 Many educators expressed similar sentiments throughout Chapter 6 in their discussion of the evils of college athletics, namely the increasing practice of students placing athletics over academics. In order to properly address this issue, Dean Briggs, the newly elected NCAA

president, sent out pamphlets to the one hundred and eight colleges and universities of the organization outlining the most important task the NCAA needed to tackle at its next convention: professionalism in baseball. Briggs appointed a committee of three college professors to investigate the problem and it was expected that the body would come to a radical decision to either prevent students from playing for money or permit them to do so at the eighth annual convention. The NCAA was divided along regional lines as to a proper solution to the problem, where colleges of the South and West strongly favored permitting students to play for money during the summer while the larger Eastern colleges strongly disfavored this professionalism.95 The March 2, 1913, Times’ article concluded, “many believe that the influence of the association is so far-reaching that it will eventually succeed in stamping out the professional feature of college baseball, while others say that colleges will always allow their policies to fit local conditions and that a sweeping rule against the practice will be ineffective.”96

As the Times’ predicted, the eighth NCAA annual convention on December 30, 1913, focused on the summer baseball problem, with delegates again voicing strong opinions on both sides of the issue. Held at Hotel Astor in New York City, the convention drew more than one hundred delegates representing one hundred and twelve institutions and a student population of 142,000—a number that consistently increased every year.97 According to the convention proceedings, of the ninety universities in the United States that had a student population of more than 1,000 students, thirty-six institutions, or 40

96 Ibid.
percent, belonged to the NCAA, a noteworthy accomplishment for the nine-year-old organization.\textsuperscript{98} Professor E.H. Nicols of Harvard spoke most vehemently against summer baseball and called for its prohibition, with the backing of many of the other NCAA delegates. Clarifying his views, Nicols said he had no objection with boys playing for money, but they should not tarnish the spirit and amateur ideal by also participating on college baseball teams. He believed that the longer a man plays baseball the worse he becomes, and when he can no longer physically play the sport for money (around age thirty-five), he had to start his life all over again, with no business or professional experience.\textsuperscript{99} While delegates provided solutions for eradicating the evils of professionalism from the sport, the lively discussion and debate provided no unanimous answer, and thus, for the seventh consecutive convention, the question about summer baseball remained unanswered.

On September 24, 1913, Norwich University located in Northfield, Vermont, battled College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, for glory on the gridiron—a fateful day for Norwich player Verner S. “Jim” Belyea (1894–1913). According to the \textit{Norwich University Record}, the alumni magazine of the university, the Norwich football coach gave the following description of the accident:

Holy Cross punted to Norwich. Belyea caught the kick near the side lines and ran it back seventeen yards when he was hurled out of bounds by an ankle tackle. At the moment of being tackled Belyea, in an attempt to fall forward rather than to be forced back, crouched and threw himself towards his opponent’s goal. In order to accomplish his purpose, he was obliged to throw all his weight from his waist up as far forward as possible, thus shaping his body in a half circle with his chin placed well down on his chest. Just before his body reached the ground another

\textsuperscript{98} Proceedings of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, Eighth Annual Convention, New York City, December 30, 1913, 7.

Holy Cross man threw himself on Belyea from the rear, forcing him forward and down at the same time. As a result, he landed on the back of his head with his face pressed against his chest, forcing his shoulders up over his head, fracturing the fifth and sixth vertebrae, and completely crushing the spinal cord.\textsuperscript{100}

Three other college players died during the 1913 college football season, begging the question of more rule revisions to the present game by the Football Rules Committee. Professor Ehler of the University of Wisconsin, chairman of the fatalities committee, inquired into the deaths of each student by contacting the president of each institution.\textsuperscript{101} After reviewing each case, Ehler concluded that the new rules were not at fault. Belyea’s death was the result of a not uncommon but reprehensible practice that the football rules prohibit, which could only be made less common by greater enforcement of the rules by the officials.\textsuperscript{102} The only way to completely eliminate the practice, Ehler advised, was to maintain a higher standard of sportsmanship by the athletes. The other three deaths were caused by improper medical attention given to the injury.\textsuperscript{103} As a result, the Football Rules Committee decided to let the rules stand in order to give the players, coaches, and officials more time to master them and develop new tactics and strategies.\textsuperscript{104} \textit{The Evening World} reiterated this conclusion in its preview article, writing “The football doctors will find a pretty healthy patient when they hold their annual meeting to-night at the Astor to


\textsuperscript{101}Ibid. The gridiron’s toll for 1913 included Verner S. Belyea from the Norwich University in Northfield, Vermont; Homer H. Wray from Gettysburg College in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Charles Schweitzer from Hamline University in St. Paul, Minnesota; and Edward Morrissey from St. Ambrose Collegiate Academy in Davenport, Iowa.


\textsuperscript{103}Ibid, 31.

formulate plans for the 1914 season."\textsuperscript{105} Williams, chairman of the committee, said the greatest benefit of the present rules was the fact that teams could no longer win based on physical weight and strength alone, as the game required light men with brains and courage to make plays.\textsuperscript{106}

Many educators and college athletic advocates believed that physical exercise was the basis of mental growth, and thus, a desirable and an absolute necessity to the best development of the student and student life. The control and regulation of intercollegiate athletics remained a popular topic within the NCAA, as indicated by several speeches given at previous annual conventions including the 1913 convention.\textsuperscript{107} Published the night of the convention, \textit{The Evening World} solely focused on a speech by the Reverend Endicott Peabody (1857–1944), founder of the Groton School for Boys in Groton,

\textsuperscript{105}“’Let Well Enough Alone’ Policy to Prevail at Football,” \textit{The Evening World}, February 6, 1914, 10. The article also listed the members of the each football rules committee. The NCAA committee consisted of Lieutenant D. L. Sultan, Army; Hall, Dartmouth; Prof. Babbitt, Haverford; Professor S. C. Williams, Iowa College; Professor C. W. Savage, Oberlin; Harris Cope, Sewahsee, and Dr. Williams, Minnesota. The “old” committee consisted of Professor Staag, Chicago; Captain Joseph W. Beecham, Cornell; Blagden, Harvard; Professor Paul J. Dashiell, Navy; William N. Norice, Pennsylvania; Davis, Princeton, and Camp, Yale.


Massachusetts, where he compared the purpose of athletics between England and the United States. Concluding that British standards were much higher, he opined:

The American system of athletics is demoralizing and aristocratic, and against the ideals of the nation. Students are chosen for athletics in the colleges not because they need the exercise but because they are physically fitted. Participation in the games should not be limited to only the healthy.

As expected, some of the NCAA membership vocally rejected Peabody’s blanket statement. Most notably, William F. Garcelon of Bates College retorted that students are encouraged to participate in college athletics at all of the American colleges and thus, his information was not accurate. As the framing by popular magazines indicated, many educators and advocates of college athletics believed that physical exercise was the basis of mental growth and vastly encouraged the participation of all students to reap their moral and physical benefits, as reiterated in Chapter 5.

Two weeks after the convention, the New York Times highlighted the regulation of college sport, reprinting parts of a speech Professor Ehler of the University of Wisconsin gave to the NCAA membership at the previous convention. He advocated for the NCAA and college faculty to concentrate on the moral effects and ethical value of college athletics instead of its evils and offered seven suggestions to aid in that construction. In the January 11, 1914, article, Ehler was quoted in the New York Times as saying:

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108 “English Athletic Standard Higher Than Ours, Opinion of College Professor,” The Evening World, December 30, 1913, 10. The Groton School is a private, Episcopal college preparatory boarding school, which enrolls approximately three hundred and seventy five boys and girls from the eighth through the twelfth grades. A member of the Independent School League, it is universally recognized as one of the most selective and elite boarding schools in New England.

109 Ibid. See “Oppose College Summer Baseball,” New York Times, 6. The exact quote was printed in both papers.
The regulation of intercollegiate athletics must cease to be negative, and must become positive and constructive. Instead of repressing and restricting, it must encourage and promote. Regulation of athletic sport must be designed to secure the values of athletics rather than to waste time and energy in the endeavor to prevent their abuses and vices—an exploded pedagogic error.110

His first suggestion was for intercollegiate as well as intramural athletics to become an essential part of the system of physical education at each institution.111 In effect, Ehler called for the NCAA to be aggressive in its campaign to control athletics and to focus on the true goal of athletics, which was to promote the physical welfare to every undergraduate student and not a select few. As highlighted in Chapter 6, much of the popular magazine coverage also agreed that the true object of organized college athletics should be to promote physical welfare of all the undergraduates. In the name of winning, however, this goal was only being accomplished with a few carefully selected and trained athletes and not with the majority of college undergraduates.

In a March 22, 1914, *Times*’ article, a NCAA committee reported that less than 40 percent of the students in colleges engaged in any kind of organized sports while institutions affiliated with the NCAA spent more than $2 million a year for varsity intercollegiate athletics.112 Harvard provided a striking example of the enormous price tag of intercollegiate athletics, reporting that it spent $100,000 a year on varsity teams with only approximately four hundred men reaping those benefits each year. Thus, the cost of perfecting the Harvard athletic man cost $400 per year—the top figure for any American

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111For his entire speech and list of suggestions to the NCAA’s eighth convention, see Ehler, “The Regulation of Intercollegiate Sport,” 56-62.
112“$2,000,000 a Year for College Sport,” *New York Times*, March 22, 1914, S3.
university. This research pointed to the fact that institutions were straying from the fundamental reason for college sport, which was to aid the entire student body in the development of character and mental growth. Since the report indicated that there was sufficient interest in college athletics from the students, the NCAA resolved to encourage intramural sports and to push faculty members in physical training departments to increase the number of students active in sports to 90 percent.

Following in Major Pierce’s propaganda footsteps, the NCAA issued an article to the New York Times titled “Right and Wrong Views of Athletics Sports,” which maintained that its main goal was to maintain high ideals and amateurism in college sports, tying into the framing analysis of popular magazines in Chapters 5 and 6. But the only way to accomplish that goal was to administer college athletics according to its suggestions. Appealing to the virtues of masculinity, the article stated:

Rightly administered, it strengthens the weak, improves the weak places in the strong, clears the brain, teaches boys and young men to respect their bodies, and to know the relation of a clean, vigorous body to an active mind and an honorable life. Rightly conducted, it is a school of manly skill, courage, honesty, self-control, and even of courtesy; wrongly conducted, it is a school of bad manners, vulgarity, tricky evasion, brutality—the ideals not of a sportsman but of a sporting man.

In an attempt to instruct the public of its purpose and procedures, it listed the number of colleges in its membership, the dates and process of its annual meetings, and the different types of membership available to institutions of higher education. While the NCAA

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113 High expenditures at other universities included Cornell ($75,000), the University of Minnesota ($30,000), the University of Wisconsin ($45,000), the University of Pennsylvania ($24,000), the University of California ($35,000), and Leland Stanford University ($35,000).
114 Ibid.
116 Ibid.
continued to have no power or control over the colleges it represented, the discussions of athletics and its opinions found expression in the various rules committees and the standards for games and sports throughout the country. Those ideals were perpetuated through the media, both newspapers and magazines, as part of the NCAA’s considerable propaganda machine, thus finding a foothold in America’s collective memory.

Coverage of the NCAA’s ninth national convention was sparse compared to past years as the New York Times and The Evening World published only a brief recap on December 30, 1914, the day after the Chicago meeting. After a few minor rule changes and only one death of a college football player during the 1914 season, the Football Rules Committee again suggested that no further changes in the rules be made. Camp, the representative for Yale on the old Football Rules Committee for the past thirty years, regretfully announced that he would resign his position on the old committee after its meeting in February 1915. Attending the convention for the first time since Yale continued to refuse NCAA membership, Camp stood by the Association’s decision to stand by the current rules saying in the New York Times:

The present rules have developed a game which allows full scope for individual excellence in the player. They are well understood by the public, they are thoroughly understood by the players, and the sporting writers have grasped their

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117 The NCAA had formed rules committees for football, basketball, track athletics, and soccer.
118 For examples, see “No Changes To Be Made In Football,” New York Times, January 30, 1915, 7; “There’ll Be No Radical Change In Gridiron Code,” The Evening World, December 30, 1914, 10.
119 George W. Ehler, “Fatalities Among Football Players,” Proceedings of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, Ninth Annual Convention, Chicago, December 29, 1914, 28-29. On December 11, 1914, John Albert, a guard on the University of Chicago football team, died at the Battle Creek Sanitarium from a complication of an abdominal disorder. A report on the case stated that “‘from the medical point of view it is possible that his death was caused by an injury received in football, but as yet we have no direct evidence either in the history or pathology of the case to indicate as the cause.’”
every detail. Under those circumstances there seems to me to be no good reason for any material change.\textsuperscript{121}

The NCAA began its work of radically changing the game of football just ten years before, and after many revisions and additions, the present rules were not perfect but were stable and safe enough to where only slight changes would be anticipated in the future.

Before retiring as advisor of athletics at Yale, Camp strongly urged Yale to ally with the NCAA as noted in a \textit{Times}’ article on January 19, 1915—just three weeks after he returned from the NCAA convention.\textsuperscript{122} Widely known as one of the most widely accomplished people in the early history of college football, his opinion was significant and showed approval of the control the NCAA had on college athletics. A mere eleven days later, Yale voted to join the NCAA membership, adding further distinction and dignity to the Association—a dream finally fulfilled for Major Pierce and the NCAA.

The Association’s growing control across amateur sports was further evident in its planning of a meeting on December 27, 1915, with fifteen of the amateur sports-governing bodies in order to decide on a universal definition of an amateur athlete.\textsuperscript{123} In order to guarantee large attendance by the NCAA membership, this significant meeting was held the day before its tenth annual convention in New York City. Throughout the years, the NCAA held to the constant belief that, “The necessity for true amateurism will be patent to any one who seeks to prevent college sports from degenerating into mere

\textsuperscript{121}See “No Changes To Be Made In Football,” \textit{New York Times}, 7; “There’ll Be No Radical Change In Gridiron Code,” \textit{The Evening World}, 10. Both New York papers noted Camp’s attendance at the convention and provided readers with the same quote.


business and to preserve the true spirit of play.”¹²⁴ In the “call for reform” frame, popular magazines also illustrated the increasing prevalence of professionalism and commercialism within college athletics. Published on November 22, 1915, a Times article stated that defining a blanket amateur rule across all of the governing bodies was not the sole goal of the meeting, as that would be difficult to accomplish.¹²⁵ More importantly, the meeting hoped to establish a working relationship between the various bodies where each organization could be a sponsor for the amateurism of a competitor in its own division if he was competing in another sport. However, another Times’ article on December 24, 1915, and a World article on December 27, 1915, previewing the meeting stated the exact opposite.¹²⁶ As the question of amateurism was a national problem, it stated that the meeting’s goal was to help the Intercollegiate Association of Amateur Athletes of America in its endeavor to adopt a universal and clear definition of an amateur athlete.¹²⁷

During the first ten years of its existence, the New York Times traced many of the improvements in college athletics directly to the NCAA.¹²⁸ The tenth NCAA annual convention offered another surprise to its members with a special presentation by former President of the United States William Howard Taft (1857–1930) who had never openly discussed his views on amateurism and college athletics.¹²⁹ Both New York newspapers previewed the upcoming convention, and the Times’ drew attention with its headlines and

¹²⁶ For examples, see “General Plan to Define an Amateur,” New York Times, December 24, 1915, 10; “Rule Makers Of Many Sports Meet This Week,” The Evening World, December 27, 1915, 10.
¹²⁷ The Intercollegiate Association of Amateur Athletes of America, the nation’s first national athletic group, held the first track and field collegiate races in 1873.
subordinate headlines to Taft’s principal speech. In the closing session of the convention, Taft took center stage as silence fell over the convention floor in anticipation of his first public utterance regarding college athletics—marking the first time in the history of sport that an ex-President addressed an athletic body. The majority of his address called for the eradication of the two principal sources of evil in college athletics, and more specifically summer baseball: proselytizing and professionalism. Popular magazines also framed college athletics in regard to reforming these two evils. While the former president acknowledged the work of the NCAA in curbing many of the abuses in college athletics, he saw room for improvement and encouraged the NCAA to enforce strict rules of eligibility and to safeguard its purity. Although he admitted the benefits of athletics as a way to instill a rugged manhood and a spirit of democracy, Taft said, “I believe in athletics, I agree they may become so absorbing in the lives of a number of the students as to blind them to the real purpose of a college education.” Making comparisons to the evils in his day, he reiterated that the regulation of college athletics by the NCAA, especially by placing athletic control in the hands of faculty members, has had a positive effect on students and the public, concluding that college athletics were much cleaner now than ever before in history. During the convention, it was also decided that the rules of football were working and no further amendments were needed.

In regard to the evolution of football, Chairman Williams of the Football Rules

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131Taft Advocates Drastic Rule to Prohibit Summer Baseball,” The Evening World, December 29, 1915, 10.


133Both the World and the Times focused its articles on Taft’s speech and used much of the same quotes from his NCAA address.
Committee said, “Brains, tactics, and strategy are the keynote of success in the game as played today.” An evolution also traced in the popular magazines that framed college athletics in regard to its methods and strategies. As football rules developed and changed during the Progressive era, the game no longer could be won based on the team with the heaviest battalion, but required courageous and smart players.

More than two hundred institutions had a voice in the eleventh NCAA annual convention held on December 28, 1916, marking the first time every district in the United States had a representative in attendance. Again, the need for continued reform was the dominant theme, but in this instance, the NCAA as an organization wanted to initiate reform from within its own body. As indicated by its use of headlines and subordinate headlines, the World’s coverage of the eleventh convention revolved around the NCAA’s desire to modify sections of its constitution and by-laws—a topic never mentioned in the Times’ coverage. This finding is surprising given the fact that the Times usually covered the inside, governance issues rather than the World. In its preview article on December 11, 1916, the World outlined several changes in its by-laws to be presented to the membership by Professor Nicolson of Wesleyan University, secretary of the NCAA and chairman of the Committee on the Revision of the Constitution. Most notably, the article highlighted the proposed change to Article IX Section B, which detailed the principles of amateur sport. Before defining the violations of amateur sports, Article IX

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stated: “Each institution which is a member of this association agrees to enact and enforce such measures as may be necessary to prevent violations of the principles of amateur sports.”

By amendment, Nicolson proposed to strike out Section B, reading: “The playing of those ineligible as amateurs.”

The World noted its frustration in no explanation given to explain this wanted deletion, but surmised that the Association may finally be taking a definitive side on the summer baseball question as this change would allow for professional athletics to play collegiate baseball.

Just over a week later, the World announced that Cornell, the only prominent institution not aligned with the NCAA, would likely join if the Association passed a proposed amendment to Article II of its constitution. Fearing outside control of its athletic programs, Cornell’s chief objection for joining resided in its disagreement with the stated purpose of the NCAA. Although the Association developed along different lines than those outlined in the constitution, Cornell administrators saw a danger if the organization came under the control of an executive committee that would demand enforcement of the constitution to the letter. The principal revision was the replacement of the clause vesting power in the membership to regulate and supervise college athletics to power merely to formulate rules and recommend their adoption within member schools. The proposed change read:

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138 Ibid.
139 “Colleges Will Recognize Summer Ball New Change In the By-Laws Indicate,” The Evening World, 14.
140 According to Article II in its Constitution, “its object shall be the regulation and supervision of college athletics throughout the United States, in order that the athletic activities in the colleges and universities of the United States may be maintained on an ethical plane in keeping with the dignity and high purpose of education.”
Its object shall be to study various important phases of college athletics, to formulate rules governing athletics, and to promote the adoption of recommended measures, in order that the athletic activities in the colleges and universities of the United States may be maintained on an ethical plane in keeping with the dignity and high purpose of education.\footnote{\textit{Committee on the Revision of the Constitution}, \textit{Proceedings of National Collegiate Athletic Association}, Eleventh Annual Convention, New York City, December 28, 1916, 52.}

This amendment would align more closely with the Association’s accomplishments, eliminating the inconsistency between fact and theory. According to a \textit{World} article on the evening of the convention, this proposed constitutional change was the most important issue to be settled.\footnote{\textit{National Collegiate Athletic Association Now In Session}, \textit{The Evening World}, 12.}

But the \textit{New York Times} never even mentioned the proposed amendments in its coverage of the eleventh convention and focused solely on college evils. As M.R. McDaniel pleaded to the convention, “The whole present system of athletics needs to be reorganized. The idea that victory, gate receipts, and giving spectators what they want, are the chief ends of athletics must go and and (sic) the idea of athletics for their educational value must come to the front.”\footnote{\textit{Urges Probing of College Athletics}, \textit{New York Times}, December 29, 1915, 10.} In order to pinpoint these evils, Stagg, the football coach for the University of Chicago for forty years, offered a resolution to enlist the aid of the Carnegie Foundation, the Sage Foundation, or the General Education Board to conduct a survey of conditions and establish a standard in college athletics that all institutions could follow. The resolution was passed enthusiastically, and many college educators predicted that if the investigation were taken up by one of the foundations, it would have a purifying effect on college athletics that the NCAA had been striving to
achieve.\textsuperscript{144} In NCAA investigations into athletic evils, the Association had been hindered by the unwillingness of many college officials to admit the existence of alleged conditions, which made it difficult to enact change. An outside assessment, however, would be unbiased and expose concrete cases before the faculties of different colleges and universities, resulting in valuable change for the future of college athletics.\textsuperscript{145} The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching sponsored a number of studies on intercollegiate athletics during the 1920s, culminating in \textit{Carnegie Foundation Bulletin Number Twenty-Three: American College Intercollegiate Athletics} published in 1929. Popularly known as the “Carnegie Report,” it is the most comprehensive and most significant historical document on intercollegiate athletics in the United States. It condemned professionalized and commercialized athletics that had developed during the previous eight decades in United States colleges, and its findings mirror the problems that continue to exist today.\textsuperscript{146}

Formed in 1905, the IAAUS was organized to consider football reform in order to save the sport in colleges. Since its inception, the NCAA’s aim has been to emphasize physical education as an important aspect of higher education as it stimulated mental as well as physical growth. However, it slowly began to extend its scope into all branches of intercollegiate athletics activity and into all phases of reform. The coverage of the first eleven years of the NCAA by the \textit{New York Times} and \textit{The Evening World} aptly charted the progression of its growing influence over college athletics. The NCAA grew

\textsuperscript{145}Ibid.
exponentially from a meager thirty institutions at the first convention in December 1906 to more than two hundred institutions in December 1916. As more institutions joined and as the most prestigious institutions gave up their resistance to join, the NCAA began transforming into a dominating and powerful regulator of college athletics, and the struggle for power over college athletics is highlighted throughout this analysis.

Edy argued that collective memories “become a kind of common cultural currency,” including a common language that must be repeated and used even if challenging the validity or accuracy of a shared memory. Since memory is located in products of the mass media, it is a site for cultural conventions and imagery to be continually reconstructed and reused. This was evident in the New York Times coverage of the NCAA, where the newspaper covered the NCAA’s conventions and goals with extreme interest and vigor. Each article about the annual conventions listed the number of institutions in attendance, the names of the committee members, the presentations and agenda items. Perhaps, most importantly, many articles stated what the NCAA was, its reason for existence, and how it was founded. Close examination of these articles revealed evidence of the NCAA using the New York Times as a public relations mechanism to increase its membership and to call attention to the benefits and the necessity of the fledgling Association. Its recaps on each NCAA convention were taken almost verbatim from the NCAA convention proceedings, proving that the organization fed the Times propaganda as its first president, Captain Pierce advised.

In contrast, The Evening World’s coverage was sparse with its first mention of the

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Association in a recap of the NCAA’s sixth annual convention in 1911. Its coverage tended to highlight only one agenda item for each convention, often centering on the fate of college football and the rule changes. Known for its sensationalism, the World showed excitement over college sports through its flowery and dramatic language. Unlike the Times, the World never mentioned the purpose of the NCAA and never mentioned any statistics, such as the number of members. While some coverage of the conventions by the Times and World overlapped, more often the two papers focused on different aspects, catering to each paper’s intended audience. The Times’ articles were longer and broader, covering the entire convention in a business-like fashion whereas the World’s articles were succinct, sensationalizing one particular topic.

The Progressive era was plagued with cultural anxieties and a shifting definition of masculinity. The growth of modern competitive sport and the NCAA was tainted by these anxieties because sport blossomed during a time when hegemonic masculinity appeared to be threatened by changing social and economic forces. Sport as well as the NCAA is a gendered, social institution constructed by white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant men, largely as a response to the crisis of gender relations around the turn of the twentieth century. The dominant structures and values of sport came to reflect the fears and needs of a threatened masculinity. The New York Times’ and The Evening World coverage lends support to the fact that modern sport is a “gendered institution,” reflecting a constant need to reform sports and especially college football, as football offered an unlimited opportunity for “‘doing up your man.””


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values of aggressiveness, brutality, and the spirit of self-advancement. Many saw the
game of football as the best outlet for martial mentality, which is why Shailer Mathews
referred to it as “amateur war.”¹⁴⁹ It was easy to understand why football demanded
legislative restriction as its brutal aspects were vastly encouraged, and this is exactly why
the forerunner to the NCAA was born.

During its first ten years, the *New York Times* wrote extensively on the fact that
the Association did not profess to be a governing body for all colleges, but this profession
came with a warning sign: some day it may become one by the process of evolution not
revolution. It could be argued that the NCAA, just as sport, was constructed as a
homosocial world with a distinct male-dominant division of labor, which excluded
women (and minorities for many years). In reality, the NCAA and sport came to
symbolize a man’s only domain, the masculine structure of power over women. The
NCAA as a dominating power is still seen today and diversity and inclusion remains a
hot button issue.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.
Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusion

During the two decades adjacent to the turn of the twentieth century, Progressive spokesmen urged participation in sports as one of the principal ways to reinvigorate a declining sense of manhood in a rapidly changing and challenging world. The muscular Christianity movement coupled with the glorification of an aggressive, martial spirit and the rise of college athletics all exemplified this trend toward a new celebration of masculine passions. Unmistakably, the college man as an athlete and in particular, as a football player, took center stage within popular magazines and the New York press, namely the *New York Times* and *The Evening World*. Athletic events emerged as a new way to forge martial values as well as Christian character through physical exertion and competition. The editors and writers of popular magazines certainly followed suit and framed college athletics in four distinct ways: Call for Reform (Chapter 4), Muscular Christianity (Chapter 5), Evils of College Athletics (Chapter 6), and Methods in Strategy (Chapter 7). American popular magazines along with the *Times* and *World*, therefore, spearheaded a cultural reconstruction of college athletics and American notions of masculinity, as these mediums emerged as a central national cultural forum—the nation’s first truly national media. Throughout the Progressive era, a national debate occurred within the pages of popular magazines and the sporting pages of New York newspapers detailing the pros and cons of college athletics.

Fueled by the death-ridden 1905 football season, the popular magazine coverage framed intercollegiate athletics in regard to its evils and the need to reform its rules and
policies. Of the four media frames identified in popular magazine articles addressing college athletics from 1896 to 1916, the most frequent and prominent media frame was “call for reform” followed by the “evils of college athletics.” Both frames highlighted the need for men’s college athletics to undergo major rule and structural changes in order to remain aligned with the missions of the nation’s colleges and universities and to prevent serious injuries and fatalities on the gridiron. Examples of these frames are evidenced in popular magazine article’s discussion of commercialism, professionalism, alumni issues such as proselytizing among the preparatory and high schools, and drastic rule changes in the game of football. As evidenced by these examples, intercollegiate athletics were slowly turning into a business instead of a leisure activity, eclipsing the educational aspects of the nation’s colleges and universities. Popular magazine articles illustrated the anxiety felt by educators and reformers about the evils creeping into the colleges through intercollegiate athletics by way of moral deterioration and a lapse in ethics.

Sports, especially college athletics, have a way of capturing the attention of the American public, as evidenced by the popular press upheaval over the plight of college athletics during the Progressive era. Both the “call for reform” and “evils of college athletics” frame fully emerged after the 1905 football season and continued throughout the era. Spiking again after the 1909 football season saw an increase in the death toll, resurgence of the frame was found as the game and college athletics continued to make rules changes to improve and lessen the brutality of the game. While a few magazine articles utilized an episodic frame by only focusing on a specific event, such as an individual football player’s death, the majority of popular magazines used thematic
coverage of college athletics within this frame. Popular magazines highlighted player’s deaths, but overall they focused on trends over time and placed their articles in perspective as these frames were found repeatedly each year from 1903 until 1916.

As sociologist William Gamson argued in 1989 in *American Behavioral Scientist*, “the frames for a given story are frequently drawn from shared cultural narratives and myths.”¹ As evidenced by the plethora of popular press coverage, the public demanded constant information of college athletics. With Gamson’s quotation in mind, it is easy to understand how the “muscular Christianity” thematic frame emerged during the formulating period of combining athletics with the system of higher education, reinforcing and perpetuating the myth of the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideal in popular society. Popular magazines reiterated the importance of college athletics as a key to defining men as men worthwhile. As a result of urbanization and the restraints of city life, college athletics became a way for young men to exhibit strength and skill in competition, as those opportunities now had to be manufactured. Fortitude, persistence, judgment, obedience, courage, resourcefulness, and sacrifice of self for the common good, all elements of manhood, described the moral benefits of college athletics. As college athletics provided a mechanism for young men to learn the martial values of courage, aggressiveness, and brutality without having to prepare for actual battle, an emphasis on martial mentality emerged from these articles, especially in regard to the game of football. While the military effectiveness of college athletics was debated, however, most writers valued sports as a way to entrench military values into young men.

Other examples of the “muscular Christianity” frame consisted of the oft repeated phrase “mens sana in corpore sano,” as well as discussion about the physical and moral benefits of college athletics within these popular magazine pages. Perhaps, most importantly, advocates of college athletics believed that sports were the best way to develop character and a spirit of democracy in the future leaders of our nation. A constant debate within the pages of these magazines, therefore, evolved over whether the benefits of competitive college athletics so outweighed their possible evils that they should be encouraged and permitted to exist as a part of the physical education system. This debate continues to this day within the popular press and American society.

While popular magazines rarely mentioned the NCAA (or its forerunner), parallels existed between the popular magazine and New York newspaper coverage. In fact, the first mention of the IAAUS in popular magazines occurred a few weeks before the 1909 annual convention, which was appropriate considering the tumultuous 1909 football season resulted in approximately thirty deaths. Both mediums, however, traced the evils pervading college athletics, namely professionalism and commercialism along with the excessive involvement of over-enthusiastic alumni. Given the space allotted to magazine articles, they were able to go more in depth with their coverage and brought examples of these evils to life whereas the New York Times and The Evening World merely summarized and highlighted the NCAA annual conventions and a few noteworthy events throughout the year.

As the American mystery novelist, Cara Black, so aptly wrote in her bestselling book, Murder in the Bastille, “The past informs the present. Memory makes the map we
carry, no matter how hard we try to erase it.”

Hence, historical memory matters to those living in the present. Through texts, bodies, and celebrations, collective memory takes shape. Social memory is inscribed and performed within these arenas of human life. As Zelizer noted in her review of memory studies, space has held an essential function in the construction of collective memory particularly “mnemonic sites …which embody concrete traces of the past.” The word “arena” can also be taken literally. The gridiron can be considered a mnemonic site, which binds the trauma of football brutality resulting in deaths and injuries with the redemption of creating muscular Christians and courageous future American leaders.

In recalling its own past and history, NCAA officials entitled the organization’s 2006 book *In The Arena: The NCAA’s First Century*. With a large photograph of President Roosevelt taking up a quarter of the front cover, the title’s origin is no surprise given the large pullout quotation on the entire first page. On April 23, 1910, the former president gave one of his most renowned speeches entitled “Citizenship in a Republic” at the Sorbonne in Paris, France. The speech emphasized his belief that the success of a country rested not in the brilliance of its citizens but on disciplined character and work, and the quality of its people. On page seven of the thirty-five-page speech, Roosevelt expressed the standard by which he judged himself and others:

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5 Often referred to as the Sorbonne, the University of Paris was a famous university located in Paris, France, and was one of the earliest to be founded in Europe. It was established in the middle of the 12th century and was officially recognized as a university from 1160 and 1250. After many changes, including a century of suspension from 1793 to 1896, the university closed its doors in 1970, and thirteen autonomous universities were created at the same time to succeed it.
It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, who comes short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcoming; but who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who neither know victory nor defeat.⁶

Referred to as “The Man in the Arena,” the NCAA reproduced this famous passage on the first page of its century review book, denoting the importance of Roosevelt to the Association. Communication is a vital element of collective memory, and it makes possible the unique capacity of collective memory to preserve pasts older than the oldest living individual. In this case, the NCAA is remembering Roosevelt’s impact on the world of intercollegiate sports and bringing it to the forefront of Americans’ consciousness today.

As Hume noted, collective memory is critical to understanding the relationship between culture and media because the mass media have become an important means by which people understand their past.⁷ By revisiting the popular press of the Progressive era, however, it becomes clear that intercollegiate athletics confronted a multitude of problems aside from the deaths and injuries caused by the violence and brutality of football such as commercialism, professionalism, and alumni influence over current and future college athletes—all issues the NCAA continues to deal with today. This is not a

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coincidence, as the Association never fully addressed these issues. In fact, in recalling its own history in its book, *In the Arena*, the NCAA fails to remember these athletic evils and excludes discussion of these frames during its formative period. Failing to acknowledge such, at least publicly, it continues to repeat its mistakes.

Currently, the NCAA is tackling several lawsuits dealing with the commercialism of its student-athletes. Former Arizona State and Nebraska quarterback Sam Keller filed a class-action lawsuit in May 2009 against Electronic Arts, Collegiate Licensing Company and the NCAA, claiming that they unlawfully used player likenesses in their NCAA football and basketball video games and in archival footage, photographs and promotions. For example, although Keller’s name was omitted, the quarterback for Arizona State University in NCAA Football 2005 wore jersey number nine and shared his weight, height, hair color, skin tone, and home state. The virtual quarterback even had the same playing style, as a pocket passer. Since then, athletes and former student-athletes have sued the NCAA for being exploited without permission and compensation. According to NCAA’s official website, it objects to the claims put forward in the lawsuit, but a jury trial is scheduled for February 2014.

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10 Ibid. Later, the lawsuit was consolidated with separate cases filed by former student-athletes, including UCLA basketball player Ed O’Bannon, Cincinnati basketball player Oscar Robertson, San Francisco basketball player Bill Russell, Connecticut basketball student-athlete Tate George, and Ohio State football student-athlete Ray Ellis.

11 NCAA Legal Issues, “Student Athlete Likeness Lawsuit Timeline,” National Collegiate Athletic Association,
After the 1905 football season, the medical community began investigating the seriousness of football injuries, noting the causes of more than one hundred and forty-five serious injuries. Two Harvard medical doctors discovered and detailed the frequency of brain concussions in college football. Although physicians at the turn of the twentieth century did not know the subsequent effects from these concussions, they concluded that the injuries received from football were much more detrimental than generally believed.\textsuperscript{12}

The concussion controversy in football continues today as newspaper and TV coverage of head injuries in the National Football League (NFL) has drastically increased in recent years, especially regarding the issue of Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy (CTE).\textsuperscript{13} Resulting from repeated head injuries, CTE is a degenerative disease that can cause dementia, memory loss and depression and can only be definitely diagnosed postmortem. As of January 2013, dozens of former athletes, including thirty-four who played in the NFL, have been diagnosed posthumously with CTE, and it was discovered in the brain of former Chargers linebacker Junior Seau, who suffered from depression and committed suicide in May 2012 by shooting himself in the chest.\textsuperscript{14} To make the game more safe for players, reminiscent of the Progressive-era governing body’s actions, the NFL passed rule changes at the owners meeting in March 2013, barring ball carriers from using the

\textsuperscript{12}University Football Injuries,” \textit{The Independent}, January 11, 1906, 115-117; 127


In a sense, college football is struggling with another football safety crisis similar to that of 1905—the issue of brain trauma. If the NCAA’s television commercials about student-athletes going pro in something other than sports and justification for its tax-exempt status are to be believed, intercollegiate athletics are expected to aid in developing young minds, not damaging them. Since 2010, the NCAA has required schools to have a concussion management plan that informs athletes about the signs and symptoms of concussions, removes athletes who show signs of a concussion from play and prohibits athletes with concussions from returning to play the same day they were initially injured. In addition, the Association has donated more than $400,000 to research head trauma in sports and appointed a neurologist as its first chief medical officer.\footnote{“Concussions,” National Collegiate Athletic Association, October 29, 2012, \url{http://www.ncaa.org/wps/wcm/connect/public/NCAA/Health+and+Safety/Concussion+homepage/Concussion+Landing+Page} (accessed April 7, 2013).} Given that making football acceptably safe was the NCAA’s original reason for existence, one would assume, however, that the Association’s muscle memory would prompt it to adopt a more aggressive approach to this issue. In March 2013, the NCAA made one stride toward concussion safety when the Playing Rules Oversight Panel approved a rule automatically ejecting players who target and contact defenseless players.
above the shoulders. The ejection will be added to the fifteen-yard penalty already in place in cases of targeting and will mirror the existing penalty for fighting.

While the media serve to help the public remember information, the media can also serve to obscure memory and help people forget, as the brain trauma issue illustrates. Many people do not know that these college athletic issues such as commercialism, professionalism, and alumni over-involvement have been hashed out since before the formation of the NCAA. Today, the media drown its audience in information, data and statistics, leaving out the historical and critical information about the fundamental issues of college athletics. The media, therefore, pick and choose parts of historical memory to highlight, framing college athletics in particular ways. But the frames found within Progressive era popular magazines continue to be functional to this day, and journalists would do well to remind audiences that we have been here before.

During the Progressive era, the fear of feminization as well as WASP supremacy led to the construction of college athletics as a social and cultural phenomenon that quickly swept the nation as evidenced throughout this dissertation. As Carolyn Kitch contended, the news media have become the public historians of American culture. It

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17 According to the NCAA, a defenseless player is one who because his physical position and focus of concentration is especially vulnerable to injury. Examples include a. A receiver whose focus is on catching a pass; b. A player in the act of or just after throwing a pass or kicking a ball; c. A kick returner whose focus is on catching or recovering a kick in the air; d. A player on the ground at the end of a play; and e. A player obviously out of play. (“NCAA Changes Penalty for ‘Defenseless Player’ Hits,” Associated Press, March 7, 2013, http://www.kcrg.com/sports/hawkeyes/NCAA-Changes-Penalty-For-Defenseless-Player-Hits-196040681.html?m=y&smobile=y (accessed April 22, 2013).

characterizes specific slices of the past in ways that merge the past, present and future into a single, ongoing tale, connecting the Progressive era to the present day. Muscular Christians continue to be highlighted in the popular press, as indicated by a New York Times feature story, “Manliness Is Next To Godliness,” centering on Tim Tebow. According to one modern day interpretation of muscular Christianity, sport participation can be used as a form of religious witness, and Tebow, former quarterback for the University of Florida, is a prime example of a modern muscular Christian, a player who freely shares his faith throughout the press in order to witness to his fans. Further exemplifying the movement, in the preamble to his 2011 autobiography, Through My Eyes, Tebow wrote, “Christians don’t have to be weak, either in mind, body, or soul.” Combining elements seen in sports with desired characteristics of Christianity, muscular Christianity made exercise, fitness and sport compatible with the Christian life as sport produced manliness, courage, patriotism, moral character, and team spirit.

Even though muscular Christianity primarily focused on manhood, examples of the frame, such as “mens sana in corpore sano,” applied to women’s athletics as well. Of the four media frames found to be present in popular magazine articles touching on college athletics from 1896 to 1916, the only one to highlight women’s athletics was the “muscular Christianity” frame. Articles mentioning women’s college athletes never used the “call to reform” frame, as athletics in women’s colleges were designed after the

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intramural model as opposed to the intercollegiate model. Educators, reformers, and writers offered “mens sana in corpore sano” as the fundamental reason for college athletics in both men’s and women’s colleges. Women’s athletics, however, took the platitude more seriously by fully embracing the spirit of a healthy mind in a healthy body. With the goal centered on gaining physical and mental benefits as opposed to winning or bringing prestige to campus, women’s athletics provided a way for women to reach their highest level of development, creating a more level playing field with men. Just as athletics increased the beauty of Spartan women in ancient Greece, writers advocated for women to participate in outdoor games to make them more attractive, leading to a mutual interest and comradeship between the sexes. One author, O’Hagan, even went so far as to claim that women’s entrance into the realm of competitive sports was the most important development for women in the nineteenth century.

When female athletes wanted to participate in tournaments and intercollegiate play, they had to form their own league and organizations since the NCAA would not accept women’s teams. In 1941, women’s intercollegiate athletics was first organized on a national scale when the first national collegiate championship was held in the sport of golf by the Division for Girls’ and Women’s Sports of the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation. Formed in 1971, the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) was the first widely recognized organization. Completely separated from men’s athletics even when men and women’s colleges combined, women’s athletics continued on this same path until the early 1980s. Although Title IX was passed in 1972 making gender-based discrimination in education
programs and activities that receive federal financial assistance illegal, the NCAA did not oversee women’s athletics until the 1980s — almost 80 years after it had been founded.\textsuperscript{22} The AIAW discontinued operation in 1982 following a one-year overlap in which both the NCAA and AIAW staged women’s championships.\textsuperscript{23} The AIAW was reluctant to grant the NCAA control of women’s collegiate athletics, but could not compete against the NCAA when it set its agenda toward housing all college athletics under its influence and direction. It could be argued that the NCAA, just as sport, was constructed as a homosocial world with a distinct male-dominant division of labor, which excluded women (and minorities for many years). In reality, the NCAA and sport came to symbolize a man’s only domain, the masculine structure of power over women. The NCAA as a dominating power is still seen today and gender equity and racial diversity and inclusion remains an issue of concern.

Throughout this analysis, Progressive era educators and writers noted their disgust with intercollegiate athletics, which diverted public and student attention from serious academic matters to irrelevant athletic matters. While athletics were the chief common bond among students, creating a great force for democracy, it came at the expense of education as teachers had to compete with athletics for students’ attention. Paralleling Murray Sperber’s 2000 book, \textit{Beer and Circus: How Big-Time College Sports Is Crippling Undergraduate Education}, generations of college students have been deprived

\textsuperscript{22}Welch Suggs, \textit{A Place on the Team: The Triumph and Tragedy of Title IX} (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005).
\textsuperscript{23}Ibid.
of the education they deserve through obsession with intercollegiate athletics as a way to
distract students from awful classroom conditions.\textsuperscript{24}

Fast-forward one hundred years from the Progressive era and the “evils of college
athletics” frame comes full circle, as indicated by the formation of the Knight
Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics in 1989 and a January 2013 report by the Delta
Cost Project at the American Institutes for Research. The Knight Commission is a panel
of members of athletic, academic, and journalism communities, with the goal of
reforming college athletics in regard to emphasizing academic values and policies that
ensure athletic programs operate within the educational missions of their colleges and
universities.\textsuperscript{25} While it has no official connection to governing bodies such as the NCAA,
it serves as an advocacy group, which seeks to reform college athletics by promoting
policies that treat athletes as students first, strengthen academic standards for athletes,
and ensures financial integrity. Because of its high profile within the news media, the
commission’s work carries influence within college sports as a whole, as demonstrated
by the adoption of a number of Knight Commission recommendations by the NCAA.

The Knight Commission highlighted a 2013 report by Donna M. Desrochers
revealing that public colleges and universities that competed at the Division I level spent
three to six times as much on each athlete as they did to educate each of their students
between 2005 and 2010.\textsuperscript{26} Much of the American public and spectators of men’s football

\textsuperscript{24}Murray Sperber, \textit{Beer and Circus: How Big-Time College Sports Is Crippling Undergraduate

\textsuperscript{25}“About,” Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics, April 2013,
\url{http://www.knightcommission.org/about/about-background} (accessed April 25, 2013).

\textsuperscript{26}Donna M. Desrochers, “Academic Spending Versus Athletic Spending: Who Wins?” Delta Cost
Project at American Institutes for Research, January 2013, \url{http://deltacostproject.org/} (accessed March 26,
2013), 2.
and basketball believe that intercollegiate athletics are a lucrative business because of the widespread television coverage, multimillion dollar coaching contracts, and endorsement deals. But Desrochers is quick to point out the participation in the NCAA Division I athletic programs, the highest level of intercollegiate athletics in the United States, comes with a hefty price tag. With declining state support and endowment revenue as well as spiking tuition costs, the rising athletic costs are rapidly spiraling out of control, leaving the burden to usually be paid in part by institutions and students. As discussed in the free advertising example found within popular magazines in Chapter 6, college athletic advocates are quick to point out the nonfinancial benefits of these programs. A winning football team, as repeatedly referenced, often improved name recognition and institutional prominence, resulting in the belief that enrollment numbers and donations also increase. Trickling through the popular press over the past century, this narrative continues to be used as a mechanism to sell intercollegiate athletics to the public across the United States.

By employing the concept of collective memory, these examples lend understanding to the ways the popular press informed the modern demand for intercollegiate athletics and shaped their governing body, the NCAA. By shedding light on the history of journalism and sports, namely college football and the origins of the NCAA, the past can inform the present. If scholars do not know the history of their field and sports, they cannot truly understand the present media and sporting landscape. This research, therefore, can be instructive and helpful to scholars across a variety of disciplines, including sports administration and sports information, communication, and
disciplines.

27 Ibid., 1.
journalism professors, who teach and inform the next generation of college students. This transfer of knowledge can result in better-informed leaders.

Most of the popular magazines as well as the *New York Times* and *The Evening World* expressed the need for college athletics as a means to build character and as a way to instill a rugged manhood in young men. Success in athletics defined men as worthwhile. It infused the college experience with manly qualities and attracted more men as a way to prove their masculinity in front of thousands of spectators in the bleachers. In essence, these young men were under extreme pressure to prove themselves like their ancestors (and fathers) had during the war years on the battlefield. This was their underlying motivation for playing their hearts out on the gridiron and diamond since there was no war to prove and showcase their manhood. Thus, articles in the popular magazines reinforced the cultural anxieties of the time.

By repeatedly highlighting the benefits of sports, the popular press also influenced the culture’s thoughts toward college athletics. Even if articles were critical of college athletics and its place within higher education, they usually at least mentioned the other side, especially the ability of sports to turn boys into men. In addition, by placing so much attention on reforming college athletics, it was clear that they believed the sports were worth saving rather than abolishing altogether. Several authors and experts in the field put forward their individual suggestions on rules, regulations, and changes, which aided in the understanding that sports needed to hold an important place in society with only a few minor revisions. Holding true to the beliefs of social Darwinism (anxieties about a cultural and racial declension) and the muscular Christianity movement,
intercollegiate athletics were also a respectable way to exclude minorities (and women) because higher education was mainly a white, middle and upper class institution. It was easy to argue, therefore, that college athletics were beneficial and a stepping-stone on the way to success for the future leaders of America. Although a handful of articles mentioned women in relation to college sports, they did not focus on intercollegiate athletics, but on games women could play within their own college to increase their beauty. Women’s college athletics, therefore, kept them healthy and in shape for the men they would meet in college and then one day marry.

In line with the concept of collective memory, these magazines defined American’s expectations of the future. For example, the framing of college athletics in popular magazines showcased the hero culture associated with sports. By adorning the letter on his sweater, the young college athlete could immediately increase his social status on campus and among his peers. It symbolized that the man beneath the letter was a man worthwhile. In March 1907, Paine was prophetic when he wrote in *The Outing Magazine*, “But you will have to make the average youth all over again to convince him that the valedictorian is to be more envied than the captain of the eleven.”²⁸ During the Progressive era, popular magazine articles added to the worshipping of football players as demigods and super humans by publishing “All-America” teams along with team rankings and the greatest football players—the epitome of hero worship. For example, Camp selected and highlighted players at the end of each football season, which he began in 1889 with publisher Whitney and he continued to do so for thirty-five years in

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This tactic continues to be used to sell magazines and draw traffic to websites today with annual All-American features in *Sports Illustrated* and *ESPN*.

Young people wanted to emulate their favorite collegiate star featured in the pages of the popular magazines and inside the newspaper’s sporting pages, as larger than life, sensational photographs complemented these articles. Camp’s legacy lives on in the form of the Walter Camp Player of the Year award, given annually to the college football player of the year as decided by a group of NCAA Division I head coaches and sports information directors. Over the years, journalists have recalled and repeated this athletic hero culture, and in turn, have entrenched it into American culture today.

Not only is this hero culture still intact, but also the place college athletics holds within the media and American society has only continued to increase over the last century. Hero worship permeates intercollegiate athletics today, as evidenced by the Jerry Sandusky and Penn State University scandal in 2012. Echoing the popular press from the Progressive era, NCAA President Mark Emmert, in response to the scandal, said: “One of the grave dangers stemming from our love of sports is the sports themselves can become too big to fail and too big to even challenge. The result can be an erosion of academic

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values that are replaced by hero worship and winning at all costs.”

Since the school neglected honesty, responsibility, and integrity in favor of a winning culture, the NCAA fined the university $60 million and voided its football victories for the past fourteen seasons (1998 to 2011), stripping coach Joe Paterno of one hundred and eleven wins and demoting him from the sport’s all-time leader to twelfth place, for the school’s failure to stop Coach Sandusky’s sexual abuse of children.

College athletics operated as a business and the win-at-all-cost mentality parallels contemporary issues as well, as indicated by several college football scandals in recent years. A 2012 scandal within the Auburn football program further illustrates that winning reinforces college football’s culture of corruption. Under former coach Gene Chizik, Auburn violated NCAA recruiting rules, offered money to players with NFL draft potential so they would return for their senior seasons, and changed players’ grades to maintain academic eligibility. A scathing report by former New York Times and Sports Illustrated writer Selena Roberts revealed that at least nine players’ grades were altered to ensure their eligibility in the 2011 BCS national championship game, in which the Tigers defeated the Oregon Ducks 22-19.

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34Ibid.
The over-involvement of alumni and boosters is exemplified by the University of Miami booster scandal in 2011, where Nevin Shapiro orchestrated a $930 million Ponzi scheme. According to interviews with Yahoo! Sports, Shapiro provided thousands of illegal benefits to at least seventy-two Hurricanes’ athletes from 2002 to 2010, engaging in rampant NCAA rule violations.\textsuperscript{35} Shapiro’s benefits to athletes cost him millions of dollars and included cash, jewelry, entertainment in his multi-million dollar homes and yacht, prostitutes, bounties for on-field play (including bounties for injuring opposing players), travel and, on one occasion, an abortion. He also donated thousands of dollars to the football and basketball programs during those years, which Shapiro claimed is why the University of Miami turned a blind eye to Shapiro’s actions.\textsuperscript{36} The resulting NCAA investigation has been ongoing for two and a half years, and the University of Miami finally received the Notice of Allegations from the NCAA on February 19, 2013.\textsuperscript{37}

College sports fans attend few games today, and this was especially the case at the turn of the century, but they read about dozens of games the next day in the newspaper and online. Thus, it is the sportswriter’s job to mediate between the athletic contest and its audience with sports writing as the text for that mediation process. The sportswriters, faculty representatives, and university spokesmen who wrote about football and college athletics in the popular press during the Progressive era were themselves interested followers of these games and issues, and thus to some degree representative of their


\textsuperscript{36}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{37}To read Miami’s response to the NCAA’s notice, see “Statement from UM President Donna E. Shalala on NCAA Notice of Allegations,” University of Miami, February 19, 2013, \url{http://www.miami.edu/index.php/ncaa_investigation/} (accessed April 25, 2013).
interested readers, but they were unique because they had access to the most powerful media of the day: the mass circulation magazine and New York newspaper. Therefore, those writers’ power to determine their readers’ understanding of college athletics resided in the issues they raised and the ways they framed those issues.

In particular, the “methods in strategy” frame indicated the public’s craving for inside knowledge of their favorite sport and its most popular teams. The Big Three, a historical term originating from the 1880s for Yale, Princeton, and Harvard, were repeatedly featured throughout the Progressive era’s magazines and the *New York Times* and *The Evening World*, as they dominated college football during this period—much like the Southeastern Conference dominates college football today. Historically connected with the upper class WASP establishment, admission into the Big Three indicated social status, and up until the 1920s, family lineage was a critical factor in their admission process. College football found its original home within these three institutions, and the masterminds behind the development of the game graduated and hailed from these schools, fueling an exclusive college athletic culture—one that carried into the creation of the IAAUS in 1906. Those same masterminds behind college football were also the founding members of the body created to regulate and control the development and rules of America’s favorite college game. It is easy to understand why the vast majority of magazine and newspaper articles highlighted and focused on those three teams, as readers desired insider information on their success and aspired to make a college football team themselves.
Formed in 1905, the IAAUS was organized to consider football reform in order to save the sport in at the college level. Since its inception, the NCAA’s aim has been to emphasize physical education as an important aspect of higher education as it stimulated mental as well as physical growth. However, it slowly began to extend its scope into all branches of intercollegiate athletics activity and into all phases of reform. The coverage of the first eleven years of the NCAA by the New York Times and The Evening World aptly charted the progression of its growing influence over college athletics. Close examination of these newspaper articles revealed evidence of the NCAA using the New York Times as a public relations tool to increase its membership and to call attention to the benefits and the necessity of the fledgling Association. Its recaps on each NCAA convention were taken almost verbatim from the NCAA convention proceedings, proving that the organization fed the Times propaganda as its first president, Captain Palmer E. Pierce advised. Considering the Times’ readership consisted primarily of the educated and business classes, WASP society would be interested in the NCAA’s growing influence and evolution, especially as the big Ivy League schools began to take up membership. The NCAA grew exponentially from a meager thirty institutions at the first convention in December 1906 to more than two hundred institutions in December 1916—now the Association boasts a membership of 1,066. As more institutions joined and as the most prestigious institutions gave up their resistance to join, the NCAA began transforming into a dominating and powerful regulator of college athletics, and the struggle for power over college athletics is highlighted throughout this analysis.
Remnants of this WASP mentality and supremacy still remain intact through the current NCAA administration as evidenced by the selection of its last five presidents or executive directors—all older white men. In fact, every finalist for the position has been a white male except for two women, Judy Sweet and Beth Brooke, who were finalists during the 1993 and 2009 searches. WASP supremacy dictated the type of institution that college athletics became—an institution that continues to be dominated by white wealthy elitist men. The NCAA’s mission was to instill a rugged manhood into young American men by reforming and regulating men’s college athletics—a mission that continues to be prevalent. The analysis of the popular press coverage and the theory behind collective memory lends understanding as to why the NCAA’s legacy as a powerful, dominating exclusionary presence is still intact in intercollegiate athletics today.

38 The NCAA had no full-time administrator until 1951, when Walter Byers was appointed executive director until he retired in 1988. The title was then changed to President and have included Dick Schultz (1988–1993), Cedric Demsey (1994–2002), Myles Brand (2003–2009), Jim Isch (2009–2010), and Mark Emmert (2010–present).

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