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GAMESMANSHIP AND SPORTSMANSHIP IN  
THE RISE OF AMERICAN FOOTBALL:  
FROM PLAY TO PERFORMANCE TO ENTERTAINMENT

1869-1969

by

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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The populist moment of 2016 drove multiple academic disciplines together in a Kierkegaardian way. They realized that complacently living life forward in liberal democracies now required an understanding life backwards of in terms of tribalism and identity. An emerging consensus—that multiple *ethnic identities* should be contained within a greater single *civic/creedal identity*—highlighted an enduring tension between two ready components in sports: *gamesmanship* (the tribal reality of winning, mostly through professionalism) and *sportsmanship* (the rule-of-law ideal of playing well, ideally through amateurism). American football's unique provenance as a highly commercial and physical game within higher education's ideals of intellectual and noncommercial educational excellence, offers a unique study of the power of *gamesmanship* to shape *sportsmanship* while illuminating its realistic and historic contained boundaries. This study anchors the

conceptual underpinnings of this *gamesmanship* | *sportsmanship* dialectic to Henri Tajfel's empirical development of social identity and Hannah Arendt's theoretical construct of political action. It demarcates a three-fold "changing landscape" of stadiums through *Play* | *Performance* | *Entertainment*, reflected in the systemic power of gamesmanship to define sportsmanship. This occurred as temporary wooden structures, with questionable seating and standing arrangements (1869-1918-*play*), gave way to massive concrete bowls with reliable and egalitarian seating (1919-1945-*performance*), and finally created a demand for indoor fan friendlier seating, including luxury boxes and video scoreboards (1946-1969-*entertainment*). This process was personified by a *gamesmanship* | *sportsmanship* heuristic employed within each period respectively, by three prominent football coaches, each with a distinct rationalizations of gamesmanship in the name of sportsmanship, as the game grew. These include first, football's formative development and promotion by Yale's Walter Camp, second, its spectacularization by Notre Dame's Knute Rockne, and finally its full commercialization as an entertainment product by the championship success of Green Bay's Vince Lombardi, itself quickly superseded in 1969 by the entertaining persona of Joe Namath. This serves as a useful end point of this study, when professional football finally and enduringly overtook its collegiate antecedent to produce America's single largest entertainment and commercial vehicle—its annual championship game, the Super Bowl. Entertainment became the new sportsmanship.

The historic *gamesmanship* | *sportsmanship* lessons of the game for populist reform is clear. Collegiate football has been locked in a Sisyphean cycle of abuses followed by piecemeal reforms, with all attempts to remedy its gamesmanship abuses condemned to failure, for they are based on a sportsmanship ideal that never was. Only when gamesmanship is acknowledged as the catalyst for entertainment, can it then productively define a

sportsmanship able to contain it. Sports can be an exemplar of politics at its best, when participants can experience the intensity of joy and despair without the risks that generate such feelings in real life.

## **Acknowledgement and/or Dedication**

I wish to express the sincere appreciation to the following persons: my wife Laura E.

Lenhart, who made certain that her marriage survived the decades long protraction and eventual production of this dissertation; my children, who wondered whether “dissertation” was a euphemism for a white whale; my parents, who never lived long enough to see it to its completion but believed in me to the end; my initial advisor William O'Neill, whose sound advice of never letting the best get in the way of the good worked wonderfully once I finally followed it; my final advisor David Greenberg, who took patient pity on a grandfather by letting him finish what he started without compromising standards; and finally all my colleagues in the History Department at BYU Idaho, who patiently reminded me that a dissertation is a paper, not a book.

As William James wrote to psychologist Carl Stumpf on the first day of 1886, “Nothing is so fatiguing as the eternal hanging on of an uncompleted task.”

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

*"Football bears the same relationship to education that bullfighting does to agriculture."*<sup>1</sup>

~Thorsten Veblen (1899) and Elbert Hubbard (1910)

*"Nobody Ever Died for Dear Old Rutgers"*<sup>2</sup>

~Sammy Cahn (1947)

Since the *anno populi* (2016) surprise of the British exit from the European Union (Brexit) and U.S. presidential election, tribalism and social identity have become the academic explanations of choice.<sup>3</sup> A post-communist information age was supposed to have relegated tribal behavior and social identity to the benign peripheries of leisure and entertainment as we transformed ourselves into advanced global economic "virtual communities." But this presupposed a post-1945 democratic liberalism baseline that is no

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<sup>1</sup> This is variation Thorsten Veblen's pithy "the relationship of football to physical culture is much the same as that of the bull-fight to agriculture," *The Theory of The Leisure Class: An Economic Study in The Evolution of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 255-6; Elbert Hubbard and Felix Shay, eds. "An Exploded Idea," *The Fra: For Philistines and Roycrofters*, Volume 5, September 1910, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Broadway Musical *High Button Shoes* (music Jule Styne; lyrics Sammy Cahn, 1947) set in 1913, looks at the lop-sided Princeton | Rutgers collegiate football rivalry in which Rutgers had only twice defeated Princeton between 1869-1947. The joke is on the fatalistic do-and-the-always-die spirit of Rutgers football which con man Harrison Floy is trying to cash in on by further fixing the results of the game. And so he addresses the Rutgers players in the locker room at halftime with the satirical, "Nobody Ever Died for Dear Old Rutgers." The spirit of Sportsmanship has been embodied in the collegiate vaunt: "I'd die for dear old Rutgers." According to legend, they were uttered after he had broken his leg in the annual Rutgers-Princeton game by Philip M. Brett, Rutgers football captain in 1891. But apparently the legend was incorrect. In Feb 1927 the *Rutgers Alumni Monthly* robbed Mr. Brett of his glory. Legend was wrong, said the Monthly, in a few particulars. Mr. Brett did not break his leg. Mr. Brett said nothing about dying for dear old Rutgers. It was the late Frank Kingsley Grant, '95, whose leg was broken in the Princeton game of 1891. Mr. Grant was stoical. Calling for a cigarette before they carried him from the field, he simply said: "I'd die to win this game." "Sport: Dear Old Rutgers," *Time*, Feb. 14, 1927, 24.

<sup>3</sup> "During the past 35 years, economic growth continued, but virtually all of the gains went to those at the top; the less-educated experienced declining existential security, fueling support for Populist Authoritarian phenomena such as Brexit, France's National Front and Trump's takeover of the Republican party." Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump and The Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse," *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 2 (2017): 443-454; Prebble Q. Ramswell, "Derision, Division-Decision: Parallels Between Brexit and The 2016 US Presidential Election," *European Political Science* 16, no. 2 (2017): 217-232. John Allen Hendricks and Dan Schill, "The Social Media Election of 2016," in *The 2016 US Presidential Campaign* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2017), "The election inspired more than the usual amount of tribalism online, and citizens' trust in traditional media fell to an all-time low: just 32 percent told Gallup they have a great trust...The authors caution that although social media and digital communication were critical in the 2016 contest, it would be an overstatement to claim that social media elected Donald Trump." 121-150. Matthew Norton, "When voters are voting, what are they doing?: Symbolic selection and the 2016 US presidential election," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 5, no. 3 (2017): 426-442. For a list of representative literature see citations in Diana Weinhold, "Class and Cultural Conflict in America Today: Lessons from the 2016 Presidential Election." July 4, 2018. <http://personal.lse.ac.uk/WEINHOLD/Trumpocalypse1.pdf>. Prominent public academics on the classical liberal right historian, Niall Ferguson and law professor Amy Chua from left, weighed in with popular books in which tribalism is given starring roles. Chua has a well-established expertise in international trade law and globalization from her perch at Yale Law School, producing widely used works, *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations* (New York: Penguin, 2018), *Day of Empire: How Hyperpowers Rise to Global Dominance--and Why They Fall* (New York: Anchor, 2009), *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability* (New York: Doubleday Books, 2002). Recently public historian Niall Ferguson (Oxford/Harvard/Stanford), in his familiar role as an agent provocateur, after a sweeping historic examination of networking, lashed social networking to global political tribalism so as to claim that without the social media platforms, Brexit would have failed June 2016 and President Trump would not have been elected five months later. *The Square and the Tower: Networks, Hierarchies and the Struggle for Global Power* (London: Penguin, 2017), 11, 385-7; Diana Weinhold, "Class and cultural conflict in America today: Lessons from the 2016 Presidential election." (2018); Similarly Eastern European historian Timothy Snyder has made a one-man cottage industry relating the lessons of Eastern Europe to nascent populist authoritarianism in the US. Snyder holds the creedal identity driven "politics of inevitability" and the ethnic identity driven "politics of eternity" are equally responsible for the current outbreak of authoritarianism in Eastern Europe. See Timothy Snyder, *The Road To Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America* (New York: Crown, 2018); Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2017); "Trump's Putin Fantasy." *The New York Review of Books* (2016); *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Random House, 2011).



longer a given.<sup>4</sup> Presumably antiquated by modernization, tribalism was relegated to straggler developing nations by scholars who, Judith D. Toland writes, “generally wish it away through the silence of such organizations as United Nations.”<sup>5</sup>

It turns out we had not outgrown it after all. As public intellectuals such as Amy Chua now remind us, “humans are tribal. We need to belong to groups. We crave bonds and attachments, which is why we love clubs, teams, fraternities, family.” We Americans must thus acknowledge, she continues, that “in our foreign policy, for at least half a century, we have been spectacularly blind to the power of tribal politics.” We must also recognize that “the dynamic new forces shaping [our world] are nationalist or religious parties and politicians, the two faces of identity politics, rather than the class-based left-wing parties that were so prominent in the politics of the twentieth century.”<sup>6</sup> In such a climate, it is not surprising that tribal identity as a grand historic narrative is also making a comeback.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Anthony Giddens, “Globalization,” in *Sociology of Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 19-26. Among the most optimistic at the beginning of the post-Cold War was MIT’s Howard Rheingold, *The Virtual Community: Finding Connection in a Computerized World* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1993). In a twist to Neil Postman’s, classic thesis “that we are not so much amusing, as trolling ourselves to death,” *Amusing Ourselves to Death* (New York: Penguin, 1985) see Jason Hannan, “Trolling ourselves to death? Social media and post-truth politics,” *European Journal of Communication* (2018). Among the popular academics contributing a discussion of the loss of technocratic and ideological authority of elites are Steve Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown, 2018); Tom Nichols, *The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why it Matters* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2017) As told from a the traditional right see Jonah Goldberg, *Suicide of the West: How the Rebirth of Tribalism, Populism, Nationalism and Identity Politics Is Destroying American Democracy* (New York: Crown Forum, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> Judith D. Toland, *Ethnicity and the State* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 4. Standard texts just assumed overt tribalism was something liberal democracies “had sent into a latency by 1990s with the collapse of Communism. Previously the concept of political tribalism was disproportionately confined to discussions of African political structures.” Derek Roberts and Simusa Silwamba, “Ethnicity, Politics and Zambian Youth,” *Contemporary Social Science* 12, no. 3-4 (2017): 189-201. John Lonsdale, “Moral ethnicity and political tribalism,” *Occasional Paper* 11 (2014): 131-150; Jacqueline M. Klopp, “Can Moral Ethnicity Trump Political Tribalism? The Struggle For Land And Nation In Kenya,” *African Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): 269-294;

<sup>6</sup> Chua, *Political Tribes*, 4; chap. 8. It has been a long accepted truth among anthropologists “that human nature is fundamentally tribal.” Robin Fox, *The Tribal Imagination: Civilization and the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 1. Francis Fukuyama, *Identity: The Demand For Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018), Chap. 8, Kindle. Benjamin Barber presciently anticipated the persistence of tribalism in his 1992 response to Francis Fukuyama’s prematurely optimistic Hegelian “The end of history?” *The National Interest* 16 (1989): 3-18, after the collapse of Communism. See “Jihad vs. McWorld,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 269, no. 3 (1992): 53-65. Thomas L. Friedman tempered Fukuyama’s optimism but nevertheless took up the triumphal torch of globalization in *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Macmillan, 2005). In fairness to Friedman he did anticipate a regional tension between tribalism and globalization *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York: Straus and Giroux, 1999), just a not a global persistence.

<sup>7</sup> The international praise that met Yuval Noah Harari’s two sweeping histories of humanity, *Homo Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* (New York: Random House, 2014) and *Homo Deus* (New York: Random House, 2016) with their inherent assumptions of biologically rooted tribalism, suggests that Harari has tapped a macro-historical fountainhead. Implicit in both works is a tribalism that stubbornly remains lodged in such high-stakes activities as commerce and politics, demanding we take it seriously; *Sapiens*, intro. Much of Harari’s appeal rests in his perspicacious ability to synthesize sweeping trends and perspicuously present them. “For the first time in history more people die today from eating too much than from eating too little; more people die from old age than from infectious diseases; and more people commit suicide than are killed by soldiers, terrorists, and criminals combined.” Through this and similar claims, conventional thought leaders no less than Bill Gates and Barack Obama were taken by the book with its sweeping, provocative thesis. Less than 70,000 years ago, triggered by an inexplicable verbal/language revolution, *homo sapiens* developed a relatively sudden and overwhelming capacity to physically dominate their environment on an unprecedented scale. This capacity was not enabled by the normal genetic development that

Most scholarship does not attempt to offer solutions and instead focuses on the tribal elements of populism. For example, political scientist Liliana Mason writes, “When people feel links to a party, they tend to more often participate in politics, just like sports fans attend games and cheer.”<sup>8</sup> Yet this seemingly superficial explanation of political tribalism also hints at a vague cultural anxiety at the heart of the political question, “Why is the populist authoritarian vote so much higher now than it was several decades ago in high-income countries?” Ronald Inglehart’s answer is a cultural transformation rooted in migration and “declining existential security.” Conditions are much more stubborn and resistant to the simple explanations of and responses to what normally would have been an economic anxiety in the wake of a widening post-Great Recession income disparity.<sup>9</sup>

The historians and political scientists prepared to offer a response to 2016 populism have eventually settled on a variation of the same generic prescription for the chronic political tribalism that ails us: a cautious cocktail of civics that simultaneously acknowledges the tribal reality of multiple *ethnic identities* (the *pluribus*) while enlisting them in the service of a

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accompanied all previously dominant species over millions of years of evolution. *Homo sapiens* effectively short-circuited evolution when they extended tribalism far beyond its bounded genetic parameters to function in groups up to 120 members. Instead they learned to construct “intersubjective realities” or compensatory myths such as countries, borders, religion, money, and leverage small-scale tribalism into a large-scale, flexible, super-tribal, cooperation between unseen human beings. Harari essentially appropriated the mythic elements of Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1981) and reconfigured them into “intersubjective realities.” In Harari’s speculative denouement, the inability of this evolutionary compensating mechanism could doom *Sapiens*, unless they hurry up and master *dataism*: the algorithms that are the coded building blocks of all organisms. This existential imperative of *Sapiens* to synch up with this *dataism*, is the thesis of *Homo Deus*. September 10, 2016. <https://nyti.ms/2ll0Qd2>; <https://www.gatesnotes.com/Books/Sapiens-A-Brief-History-of-Humankind>. Harari posted Obama’s review on the web video-sharing site YouTube, accessed Jan 3, 2017, <https://youtu.be/AnPs8vnZ0I4>.

<sup>8</sup> Liliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (University of Chicago Press, 2018), 5, 45, 60. Mason concludes that the need to win is the single most driving tribal motivation. 2, 3, 11-12, 15, 23, 47-48, 59, 76, 80, 122, 126, 138, 141. Mason has systematically probed the phenomenon well before the 2016 election. See Liliana Mason, “‘I disrespectfully agree’: The Differential Effects of Partisan Sorting on Social and Issue Polarization,” *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 1 (2015): 128-145; Leonie Huddy, Liliana Mason, and Lene Aaroe, “Expressive partisanship: Campaign involvement, political emotion, and partisan identity,” *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 1 (2015): 1-17. Leonie Huddy, Liliana Mason, and S. Nechama Horwitz, “Political identity convergence: On being Latino, becoming a democrat, and getting active,” *RISF* (2016). Liliana Mason, “A Cross-Cutting Calm: How Social Sorting Drives Affective Polarization,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80, no. S1 (2016): 351-377.

<sup>9</sup> Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris are typical in that they are loathe to offer a simple economic solution. “(1) ‘What motivates people to support Populist Authoritarian movements?’ and (2) ‘Why is the populist authoritarian vote so much higher now than it was several decades ago in high-income countries?’ The two questions have different answers. Support for populist authoritarian parties is motivated by a backlash against cultural change. From the start, younger Post-materialist birth cohorts supported environmentalist parties, while older, less secure cohorts supported authoritarian xenophobic parties, in an enduring intergenerational value clash. But for the past three decades, strong period effects have been working to increase support for xenophobic parties: economic gains have gone almost entirely to those at the top, while a large share of the population experienced declining real income and job security, along with a large influx of immigrants and refugees.” “Trump and The Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse,” *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 2 (2017): 443.

greater single *civic/creedal identity* political ideal (the *unum*).<sup>10</sup> Those familiar with academic sports literature recognize in this American *e pluribus unum* the essential reality of a tribal identity subservient to and subsumed by a civilized rule-of-law ideal.<sup>11</sup> The tribalism manifests itself in the sports equivalent of what can loosely be called *gamesmanship* (winning isn't everything, it's the only thing; show me a good loser and I'll show you a loser) while the rule-of-law expresses itself in *sportsmanship* (it's not whether you win or lose, but how you play the game).<sup>12</sup> Because an equipoise between gamesmanship | sportsmanship (i.e. gamesmanship bounded by sportsmanship) is integral to every organized sport, they naturally achieve an ideal a polity can only aspire towards. Political theorist and sports fan Michael Mandelbaum offers some reasons why. He suggests that modern sports duplicate,

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<sup>10</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *Identity: The Demand For Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018), chap. 14, Kindle. Amy Chua, *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations* (New York: Penguin, 2018), chap. 8; John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck, *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle For the Meaning of America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Steven Levitsky, and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die. What History Tells Us About Our Future* (New York: Penguin Books, 2018); Lilliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How politics Became Our Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018). For political psychologist Jonathon Haidt, tribalism is one of the three persistent and pervasive untruths ailing our post-millennial culture: i.e. its always us vs them. In the most widely disseminated article in the long history of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Greg Lukianoff and Jonathan Haidt, first promulgated their thesis in the lengthy title, "The Coddling of the American Mind: In the Name of Emotional Well-being, College Students Are Increasingly Demanding Protection from Words and Ideas They Don't Like. Here's Why That's Disastrous for Education—And Mental Health," *The Atlantic* 316, no. 2 (September 2015): 42-52. Later this became an equally widely discussed book. Greg Lukianoff and Jonathan Haidt, *The Coddling of the American Mind* (New York: Penguin Book, 2018). This is also functionally the "American Creed" of Gunnar Myrdal's classic *An American Dilemma* (1944) with its unifying conservation of a multiplicity of liberal even radical principles Myrdal correctly predicted would address pending civil rights issues. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Volume 1*. 1944 (New York: Routledge, 2017), 7.

<sup>11</sup> The tribalism of sports has long been a staple post-colonial African studies or even a fad in marketing departments. Yet it took the international populist backlash of the global recession in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, compounded with immigration to revive tribalism as a once familiar component in the pioneering ethnicity and nationalism studies of the 1980s. The two standard works were Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups In Conflict*, Updated Edition With A New Preface (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1981). Until recently most of the sports literature conjoining tribalism involved African experiences, e.g. David Bogopa, "Sports Development: Obstacles and Solutions in South Africa," *African Anthropologist* 8, no. 1 (2001): 85-95, and Bea Vidacs, "Through The Prism of Sports: Why Should Africanists Study Sports?" *Africa Spectrum* (2006): 331-349. The exception were studies in the aftermath of military engagements, e.g. Michael A. Malec "Patriotic Symbols in Intercollegiate Sports During the Gulf War: A Research Note," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 10, no. 1 (1993): 98-106. Meanwhile marketing was increasingly drawing on anthropology and tribalism, e.g. Rudi Meir, and Don Scott, "Tribalism: Definition, Identification and Relevance to the Marketing of Professional Sports Franchises," *International Journal of Sports Marketing and Sponsorship* 8, no. 4 (2007): 43-59; Bernard Cova, Robert V. Kozinets, and Avi Shankar, "Tribes, Inc.: The New World of Tribalism," *Consumer Tribes* (2007): 3-26. Pedro Dionísio, Carmo Leal, and Luiz Moutinho, "Fandom Affiliation and Tribal Behaviour: A Sports Marketing Application," *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal* 11, no. 1 (2008): 17-39. Cleopatra, Veloutsou and Luiz Moutinho, "Brand Relationships Through Brand Reputation and Brand Tribalism," *Journal of Business Research* 62, no. 3 (2009): 314-322; Harry A. Taute and Jeremy Sierra, "Brand Tribalism: An Anthropological Perspective," *Journal of Product & Brand Management* 23, no. 1 (2014): 2-15.

<sup>12</sup> The distinction between the gamesmanship and sportsmanship finds expression in differentiation between partisan vs the purist sports fan. See Stephen Mumford, *Watching Sport: Aesthetics, Ethics and Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2013), chap. 2. According to Smith the "sport for sport's sake," of sportsmanship is inherently flawed because "external judges can never prove the motives, the state of mind or attitude, of the amateur...there is no evidence that an amateur is more virtuous than a professional." As gamesmanship makes a shame of amateurism because financial aid received on the side promotes a "hypocrisy, the situation in collegiate sport since the 1880s." Ronald Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 167. In social psychology, attaching yourself to another's success and vicariously appropriating it is known *Basking In Reflected Glory* (BIRG) while the opposite is *Cutting Off Reflected Failure* (CORF) or distancing yourself from another's failure. Norbert Boen Filip Vanbeselaere, and Jos Feys, "Behavioral Consequences of Fluctuating Group Success: An Internet Study of Soccer-Team Fans" *The Journal of Social Psychology* 142, no. 6 (2002): 769-781.

with almost Platonic precision and political purity, the Rules of Law foundational to all successful modern nation-state building: 1) *Universality*: its rules apply equally to all players and citizens; 2) *Transparency*: they are equally known; and 3) *Legitimacy*: their adjudication is accepted as binding.<sup>13</sup>

### Statement of Purpose

It is the purpose of this study to offer the history of the most popular American sport, football, as a model of how to simultaneously acknowledge the reality of the often-grubby rivalries between *ethnic identities* (the *pluribus*) while enlisting them in the fierce service of a greater single *civic/creedal identity* political ideal (the *unum*). An examination of the development of football from 1875-1970—through three key coaches, (Walter Camp, Knute Rockne, and Vince Lombardi) within three distinct eras punctuated by war (1875-1918; 1919-1945; 1946-1970), using a Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship heuristic—can help us appreciate the fact that while gamesmanship certainly seems to be driving the current social identity and political tribalism, there is always a nearby sportsmanship containing it more than we realize.

In his cultural history of American football, Michael Oriard highlights the development of an American “dependence upon rules in the absence of tradition yet also a celebration of the national genius for circumventing them.” This is expressed in a “democratic ethos, a dialectic of ‘fair play’ (embracing both ‘sportsmanship’ and ‘gamesmanship’).” Most interesting is what “this rule making and rule breaking tells us about the relations of culture and power.”<sup>14</sup> However, recent transnational scholarship comparing, for the first time, the exceptional rule-making (and breaking) of American football with a

<sup>13</sup> Michael Mandelbaum, *The Meaning of Sports: Why Americans Watch Baseball, Football, Basketball and What They See When They Do* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004), 23.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created and American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 27-28.

very similar codification in the game of rugby in Great Britain, suggests it was a less a “national genius” and more of an “unexceptionalism.” Rather than telling us less about the “relations of culture,” the codification tells us more about the power of profitability and gamesmanship and rising professionalism in both sports.

Underappreciated in American football scholarship is the fact that professional rugby developed in industrial cities concurrently with its rural amateur cousin and it was the amateurs themselves who ultimately adopted the more exacting gamesmanship codes of the professionals.<sup>15</sup> Thus it is problematic to make the case, as did sociologist David Riesman in his 1951 classic “Football in America: The Study Culture Diffusion,” that because rugby was played in the spirit of sportsmanship by amateur “British players, according to tradition as well as according to rules, [they] could be expected to tolerate such ambiguity [in the rules of rugby, whereas] in America it was quite another matter to solve such problems,” with the scientific precision inherent in gamesmanship.<sup>16</sup> By contrasting the unique gamesmanship development of American football with the sportsmanship of only one strand of rugby and neglecting the other professional counterpart that actually shared most of the footballs of codified gamesmanship, sports historians have a beguiling but ultimately incomplete narrative, carefully charted by the “Father of American football” Walter Camp beginning in the 1880s. Walter Camp had more to do with the codification of football’s rules than any other single individual and his reason will help shape the rationale this study.

In *Sports and Freedom* (1988), the first comprehensive history of American collegiate sports, Ronald Smith has identified the foundations of a gamesmanship | sportsmanship

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<sup>15</sup> That all transnational sports scholarship automatically assumes global transcendence is dispelled by a transnational exceptionalism staked out by Mark Dyreson, “Prologue: The paradoxes of American insularity, exceptionalism and imperialism,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, no. 6 (2005): 938-945, 942. By comparing the parallel codification of football and rugby Tony Collins convincingly makes the case that professional rugby was dealing the very similar codification issues. See “Unexceptional exceptionalism: the origins of American football in a transnational context,” *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (2013): 209-230, 227.

<sup>16</sup> David Riesman and Reuel Denney, “Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion,” *American Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1951): 309-325. Riesman grapples with the gamesmanship | sportsmanship dialectic by maintaining, “the paradoxical belief of American that competition is natural— but only if it is constantly re-created by artificial systems social rules that direct energies into it.” 320.

dialectic from at the moment of creation of American intercollegiate competition. In the summer of 1852, a railroad superintendent, determined to develop a New Hampshire resort on Lake Winnepesaukee, instigated, promoted, and bankrolled an eight-day all-expense paid Harvard-Yale boat race (a “jolly lark” according to one student athlete). Although the newspaper coverage was enormous and the crowds responsive, there were doubts among the eventual Yale losers already before the competition began about whether Harvard’s coxswain was even a legitimate student. And so began a long-term pattern that could be expressed as Smith’s corollary to his *Sports and Freedom*: the habitual American tendency to **publicly** promote *sportsmanship* (amateurism) while privately seeking success through *gamesmanship* (professionalism).<sup>17</sup>

This study will seek to build on this basic tendency by addressing the natural outgrowth of gamesmanship success. What follows when this gamesmanship becomes undeniable in the collegiate setting and ineluctable in the formation of a professional game? The Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic of this study addresses this question as follows: There is an habitual American tendency to **publicly** promote *sportsmanship* (amateurism) while privately seeking success through *gamesmanship* (professionalism). When then the inevitable gamesmanship undeniably takes root, it can be justified by appealing to sportsmanship in the guise of an entertaining patriotism. A simpler imagery would be perhaps hitting the wall with gamesmanship and then drawing a sportsmanship target around the spot. This formulation is a heuristic in the sense that, when practiced by those promoting sports, it was “a practical method, not guaranteed to be optimal, perfect, logical, or rational,

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<sup>17</sup> Smith’s threefold leitmotifs of American sport are: 1. Intercollegiate sport was a commercial enterprise from the beginning with professionalism quickly homing in. 2. The “powerful American belief in freedom” found collegiate expression in intercollegiate sport as students sought to free themselves from a rigid curriculum and suffocating college life. 3. The continual influence of British sport especially from Oxford and Cambridge. This “Oxbridge” model was copied by Harvard and Yale who themselves were copied American universities as they adapted the British conventions of written rules and ideals of amateurism. Smith lists the factors in heuristic in adjudging *gamesmanship* 1. Competition for valuable, non-cash prizes; 2. Competition for money prizes; 3. Competition against professionals; 4. Charging money at the gate; 5. Costs of a training table not borne by the athlete; 6. Payment of athletic tutors by others than the athlete; 7. Recruitment and payment of athletes; and 8. Payment of a professional coach. *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) ix-xi, 28, 168.

but instead sufficient for reaching an immediate goal.”<sup>18</sup>

As we will discover throughout this study, the promotion of collegiate sports was neither optimal, logical, nor rational, but mostly rationalized by university administrations upon reaching an immediate goal. To be fair, the administrators only made a virtue of necessity—students were organizing intercollegiate competitions already. In the message he telegraphed to his victorious rowing crew of the 1874 intercollegiate boat regatta (successor to the 1852 “jolly lark”), Columbia President Frederick Barnard congratulated them on the “splendid victory you have won, and the luster you have shed upon the name of Columbia College...convinced that in one day or in one summer, you have done more to make Columbia College known than all your predecessors have done since the foundation of the college by this, your great triumph.” In the unambiguous assurance that followed, Barnard revealed what would develop into the single greatest driving force behind the gamesmanship of one- and three-quarter centuries of collegiate sports: “I assure you in the name of the Faculty and the Board of Trustees, whom I represent, that whatever you ask in the future you will be likely to receive.”<sup>19</sup> Behavioral economics and mathematical psychology has long confirmed what economist and public policy professor Charles Clotfelter saw in the actions of the typical university’s board of trustees. In his recent comprehensive assessment, the economics of big-time collegiate sports influenced the board of trustees in developing their “predictably irrational” determination to keep up with their institutional rivals through the gamesmanship of sports.<sup>20</sup>

The U.S., according to the writer Diane Roberts, is the only nation to make “a life-

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<sup>18</sup> Heuristic,” noun, 1; accessed Jan 1, 2019, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/heuristic>.  
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heuristic>

<sup>19</sup> Cited in Andrei S. Markovits, et al. *Gaming the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 227.

<sup>20</sup> Charles T. Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 218.

and-death matter of college sports” with the inmates distracting the asylum.<sup>21</sup> This distinctive gamesmanship (professionalism) driving what should be the sportsmanship (amateurism) in higher education, is, according Clotfelter, “an authentic case of American exceptionalism: in no other large country in the world is commercialized athletic competition so closely tied to institutions of higher education.”<sup>22</sup> And yet it has not been the subject of much introspection in Clotfelter’s judgment as a public policy professor. Rather, “It is as if scholars of American higher education were living in a parallel universe, completely missing the reality that these universities are in the entertainment business and that this business is the principal thing most people know about their institutions.” Clotfelter--the economist-- has quantified this disparity with some stark results. The *New York Times* (no entertainment rag) mentions the average coach of a typical big-time sports programs seven times as often as its university president. The total time fans dedicate to big-time sports is twice what all those affiliated with its university commit to their education mission, if simply measured by the total man hours attending and viewing a season of football and basketball versus the total number of students and employees times a very generous 50 hours a week per person of activity.<sup>23</sup>

### Why Football?

This brings us to the subject of this study, the development and evolution of collegiate and professional American football from 1869 to 1970, beginning with the first game between Rutgers and Princeton and ending with professional football’s Super Bowl III. As the game evolved from its unexceptional collegiate origins into the phenomenally popular

<sup>21</sup> Diane Roberts, *Tribal: College Football and the Secret Heart of America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2015), 2.

<sup>22</sup> Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports*, 6. Clotfelter has had a distinguished career as Professor of Public Policy Studies and Professor of Economics and Law at the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University and has had his research interests in the economics of education, the nonprofit sector, tax policy and public finance, widely disseminated by influential academic presses. See *Unequal Colleges in the Age of Disparity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), *After Brown: The Rise and Retreat of School Desegregation*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). *Buying the Best: Cost Escalation in Elite Higher Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. with Ronald G. Ehrenberg, Malcolm Getz, and John J. Siegfried, *Economic Challenges in Higher Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991)

<sup>23</sup> Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports*, 30. Even the newspaper of record, *The New York Times*, mentions athletic coaches on average seven times more often than the college presidents at the same institution. Less than 10 percent of the top 58 big-time sports universities acknowledge sports in their mission statements.. Football has such a grip on its institutions only two of the top 100 programs in 1920, have since abolished the game (although a quarter have down-graded) Even assuming an ideal of 50 hours per person per week. Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports*, 58, 65, 107, 227, 229, 235, 239.



professional game, it experienced the most severe vetting of any single undertaking in American history for it ran through every conceivable probing, investigative, extra-curricular, non-governmental gauntlet on every institutional level, whether, public or private, political or economic. Inter-collegiate football (it had been played intra-collegiate, between freshman-sophomore classes for decades) originated as a sloppy but enthusiastic soccer-like college rumble—student players forgot to bring a ball for the first game in 1869—and once started, a passing professor cursed the participants with, “You will come to no Christian end.”<sup>24</sup> Depending on one’s take, he couldn’t have been more right or wrong.

Instead, the game is the most salient entertainment entity in the nation today and the greatest single window into how Americans choose to express their non-political identities. Sports as an institution, and football as a game are, writes sociologist and cultural critic Ellis Cashmore, “just too economically big, too politically important, too influential in shaping people’s lives not to be taken seriously as a subject for academic inquiry.”<sup>25</sup> And it is more than just sports-reporter hyperbole to say that “football is the most popular thing in America,” given that single greatest leisure activity in the nation, by far (56%), is television viewing, and that 45 of the 50 top broadcasts in 2014 were professional football games.<sup>26</sup>

College football (with its vestigial sportsmanship in the student/athlete) remains the

<sup>24</sup> On November 6, 1869, in New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers hosted Princeton for the first inter-collegiate football game—intra-school/collegiate rumbles between freshman and sophomore classes had been disapprovingly reported since the 1840s. “Massachusetts common schools/new England bigotry,” *The North American Review*, April 1837, “Riot and excitement at New Haven,” *The Experimenter* (Norwalk Ohio) November 24, 1841; “Yale Football Game,” *New York Times*, October 15, 1852; “The Annual Foot-ball Game at Harvard College,” *New York Times* September 8, 1854, in The Lost Century Sports Collection, *The Lost Century of American Football: Reports from the Birth of the Game*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: 2011), 2. The November 1869 issue of *The Targum*, Rutgers’ school paper, describes a game as “headlong running, wild shouting and frantic kicking” led by two men named Big Mike and Large. The students sat along a wooden fence in silence, probably stunned by the brutality, until Big Mike and Large careened into them. While they were startled into laughter and cheers, a passing but horrified Rutgers professor waved his umbrella toward the two teams on the field and cursed, “You will come to no Christian end!” Digby Baltzell, E. “Goodbye to all that” *Society* 31, no. 2 (1994): 62-71. Ryan McGee “Sonic Youth” ESPN, August 25, 2008, accessed August 2, 2016. <http://www.espn.com/espnmag/story?id=3531112>.

<sup>25</sup> Ellis Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sports* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 3.

<sup>26</sup> ESPN’s reporter Scott van Pelt as quoted in Almond, *Against Football*, 165. Given the fact that almost 56% the 5.08 hours of daily American leisure is spent in front of the television (vs only 17 minutes actively participating in sports or exercising) and 37% of all broadcast television advertising is sports related it is no surprise that, “NFL games *alone* (original emphasis) accounted for 45 of last season’s 50 most-watched broadcasts.” “American Time Use Survey,” U.S. Department of Labor, *Bureau of Labor Statistics*, <http://www.bls.gov/TUS/CHARTS/LEISURE.HTM>, and “Sports Now Accounts for 37% of Broadcast TV Ad Spending,” *Advertising Age*, September 10, 2015, <http://adage.com/article/media/sports-account-37-percent-all-tv-ad-dollars/300310/> accessed August 4, 2016. In 2014 National Football League claimed the highest average attendance rate per event at over 68,776. The German Bundesliga is (Soccer league) is a distance second per event at 43,501, Statistik: Zuschauerzahlen (Statistics: Number of Spectators), accessed July 16, 2016, <http://www.dfb.de/bundesliga/statistik/zuschauerzahlen>.

uncontested king of stadium sports spectatorship, not just in the US, but the world. The second to the ninth largest stadiums on the planet all host capacity college football crowds, and these eight are only unfairly bested by a North Korean behemoth with dubious attendance policies.<sup>27</sup> Combined, collegiate and professional football's fan base is also the most politically crosscutting and demographically representative of all American sports.<sup>28</sup> That this entertainment form was finally breached politically is no accident.

The remainder of this introduction will begin with the 2016 populist winner, Donald Trump, as *Der Spiegel* introduced him via American football to a German readership in January 2016 cover story. Here Germans meet Trump, the ultimate *gamesman* (for whom winning is both everything and the only thing) and probably the only president who has never bothered to invoke sportsmanship. This will be followed by a conceptual discussion of the gamesmanship | sportsmanship heuristic through the tribal strains of gamesmanship identified by social identity theory pioneer Henri Tajfel and the civic footings of sportsmanship elaborated by political theorist Hannah Arendt. This will be followed by a brief introduction of the Carnegie Foundation's 1929 Report on gamesmanship in collegiate sports, followed by explanation of the three-part structure of the study's core chapters as explored through evolution of stadiums from 1875 to 1970. This introduction will conclude by addressing the populist moment and the place of sports in society

## Populist Moment

In late January 2016, on the eve of the first U.S. presidential primary, *Der Spiegel*,

<sup>27</sup> Jonathan Watts, "Despair, hunger and defiance at the heart of the greatest show on earth," *The Guardian*, May 17, 2002; North Korea's Rungrado 1st of May Stadium, the product of a retrograde regime with Stalinist priorities, at 114,000 edges out Michigan and Beaver Stadium coming in a virtual tie at 107,500 each. "Biggest Stadiums In The World By Capacity." July 12, 2017. <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/50-largest-stadiums-in-the-world.html>.

<sup>28</sup> According to a June 2017 Marist and HBO's Real Sports Poll, tennis fans are most likely Democrats with a correlation of 42% while 38% of NASCAR fans are most likely to be Republican. They are also the most likely to approve of President Trump handling of the economy while basketball fans favor Obamacare the most. On the other hand Tennis fans are most likely to disapprove President Trump's travel ban; NASCAR fans are the most likely to favor. Political alignment follows major sport fandom. Basketball fans are most likely Democrat and live in a major urban or suburban center. Conversely NASCAR fans form President Trump's base likely to live in rural, southern, or conservative America. The most representative sport is football, reflected in by the fact that it commands the broadest fan base. It slightly leans Democratic mirroring Hillary Clinton 2 % the popular vote. "Meet the Press," NBC, April 23, 2017. Transcript. Accessed July 7, 2017, <http://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/meet-press-april-23-2017-n749866>.

Germany's (and one of Europe's) most widely circulated newsmagazines, renowned for its thorough investigative journalism, offered a comprehensive cover story that mapped out a highly improbable path towards an, at the time, "insane" (*Wahnsinn*) Donald Trump Presidency. As such, it was one of the few publications that correctly called the 2016 election before a single primary vote had been cast. *Spiegel* introduced Trump *in media res*, on stage at a political rally in Reno, Nevada, pontificating on the state of American football—the touchstone sport, *Spiegel* reminded its German readers, that most "fully embodies the American character." In keeping with his "America in decline" shibboleth, Trump lamented, "the whole game is all screwed up" with rules that no longer permit "what used to be considered a great tackle, a violent head-on tackle," which he demonstrated by slamming his fists together. He confessed football was for him now unwatchable because it had "become soft like our country has become soft." "Believe me, I'll change things!" he promised, stabbing his index finger in the air to cheers and banners of support reading, "The Silent Majority stands with Trump."<sup>29</sup> Candidate Trump was conjuring up and channeling the ghosts of an election past.

Twenty months later, well into his presidency in late September 2017, Trump revived his golden oldies football lament almost verbatim at a special election rally in Huntsville, Alabama. This time he offered a bonus: contempt for former NFL San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick's protest against the police killings of African Americans in which Kaepernick had taken a knee during the previous season's pre-game national anthems. If any player, Trump raged, copped to the good-for-nothing Kaepernick, his team owner

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<sup>29</sup> The article further describes Trump and repeating himself and "vulgarily pursing his lips as he said the word 'violent.'" And rhetorically engaging an enthusiastic audience with "you used to see these tackles and it was incredible to watch, right?" And today? 'Bing! Flag! The referees, they want to all throw flags so their wives see them at home. Believe me, I'll change things. And again, we're going to be so respected. I don't want to use the word 'feared,' he told the audience. But that is precisely what Trump wants: to be feared. His bid for the White House, long ridiculed, is a fight for a ruthless, brutal America. Behind his campaign slogan 'Make America great again!' is the vision of a country that no longer cares about international treaties, ethnic minorities or established standards of decency." Markus Feldenkirchen, Veit Medick and Holger Stark "America's Agitator: Donald Trump is the World's Most Dangerous Man," *Spiegel Online*, January 31, 2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/donald-trump-is-the-most-dangerous-man-in-the-world-a-1075060.html>

ought to “get that son of a bitch off the field” and fire him and others of his ilk. The highly patriotic but scrupulously apolitical NFL found itself uncomfortably polarized at next Sunday’s games. Players and team owners were forced into a Hobson’s choice of either expressing a default solidarity with a divisive president by standing at the anthem, or with Kaepernick, alternatively locking arms, kneeling, or waiting to enter the field after the anthem. Soon players from other sports weighed in. President Trump had triggered the largest single demonstration of athletic social activism in American history.<sup>30</sup>

Never inconvenienced by a depth of historic understanding, President Trump demonstrated an instinctive awareness of the unique piece of ersatz political real estate the NFL occupies as cable news and sports channels increasingly share production values in their presentation of both.<sup>31</sup> This reflects the NFL’s extraordinary capacity to purvey a shared national experience. Brian Rollap, chief operating officer of NFL Media, accurately if not somewhat crassly, explained the gamesmanship power and objective of pro football:

<sup>30</sup> Howard Bryant, *The Heritage: Black Athletes, A Divided America, and the Politics of Patriotism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018), 3-15. Ironically, Kaepernick had softened his protest of just sitting out the anthem to “taking a knee” at the suggestion of former Green Beret and teammate Nate Boyer who told him that kneeling was a military show of respect for fallen comrades. Alexander H. Updegrave, Maisha N. Cooper, Erin A. Orrick, and Alex R. Piquero. “Red States and Black Lives: Applying the Racial Threat Hypothesis to the Black Lives Matter Movement,” *Justice Quarterly* (2018): 1-24. “This was a watershed moment,” said Harry Edwards, a University of California, Berkeley, sociologist of the widening protest. Edwards had helped organize the 1968 sports protest that culminated with U.S. track stars Tommie Smith and John Carlos raising their black-gloved fists on the medal stand at the Mexico City Olympics.” Alex Altman, Sean Gregory, “Inside Donald Trump’s Latest Battle Against the NFL,” *TIME*, Sept. 28, 2017; <http://time.com/magazine/us/4960617/october-9th-2017-vol-190-no-14-u-s/>, accessed Oct 3, 2017. The term “Trump and NFL Protests” yielded over 23,000,000 search hits on Google, Sept. 30, 2017, <http://tinyurl.com/yag3orp6>.

<sup>31</sup> The NFL provides a model for politics-as-sport in one of the few shared national experiences outside of politics. Jeff Zucker, the president of Cable News Network (CNN) Worldwide and a sports fan, freely employed politics-as-sports during the 2016 campaign. “The idea that politics is sport is undeniable, and we understood that and approached it that way.” Both the future president and news networks were so successful in their treatment of politics-as-sport they probably cannibalized the NFL’s viewership which dropped 10 percent during and immediately after the 2016 election. As for the shared production values, CNN has built “pregame” sets complete with excited crowds in the background set against commanding views of the White House and the Washington Monument no different than those the sports network ESPN builds weekly on site at an appreciative university campus for its traveling Game of the Week. CNN achieved its politics-as-sport apotheosis as an on-screen countdown clock ticked down to Nov. 8, 2016, as trash-talking/tweeting underdog, future President Trump, attracted supporters and detractors alike, completing the classic sports narrative of epic conflict. CNN is not alone in not deviating from this sports coverage mode ever since. Media-measurement firm *media Quant* estimated that Trump received \$5.8 billion in free media equivalent of paid advertising throughout the 2016 campaign, almost twice that of his opponent Hillary Clinton and most of it the form of faux sports fashion. The other major cable-news networks MSNBC and Fox News, contributed to this total. While the high cable news ratings climbed 50 percent since the election, those of actual televised sports, particularly football, have dropped 10 percent annually since 2015. Jonathan Mahler, “CNN Had a Problem. Donald Trump Solved It,” *New York Times Magazine*, April 4, 2017, accessed January 6, 2018, <https://nyti.ms/2nSpBg1>. For an examination of the NFL ratings loss see, Christian J. Bunce, *The Effect(s) of Media on the National Football League* (Rochester: Rochester Institute of Technology, 2016), Academics quickly weighed in with their analysis of this tribal politics sports coverage. See Pablo J., Boczkowski and Zizi Papacharissi, *Trump and the Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2018); Joshua Nicholas, *From Trump Tower To The White House, In 140 Characters: The Hyper-Mediated Election of a Paranoid Populist President* (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2017). The most probable explanation is a clear long term shift away from pay TV to mobile devices, which are able aggregate football highlights, stats, and fantasy scores, allowing fans to follow the sport without actually having to watch it live televised. Derek Thompson, “Why NFL Ratings Are Plummeting: A Two-Part Theory,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 1, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2018/02/super-bowl-nfl-ratings-decline/551861/>.

“We’re really in the business of aggregating America around events and around our game. There are fewer and fewer places that can do that. If you can aggregate audiences you’re going to be more and more valuable.”<sup>32</sup> As the NFL remains one of the few national gathering places, it fulfills a basic need articulated by leading family historian Stephanie Coontz, “People need shared stories and rituals to bring them together and reinforce social solidarity.”<sup>33</sup>

This football-based social solidarity is so prototypically American that the US State Department presents the Super Bowl, the NFL’s annual championship game, as an “unofficial national holiday” abroad.<sup>34</sup> Since 1967 and Super Bowl I, the game has become the slickest, most packaged and lucrative spectacle in American history. Almost as many Americans watched the Super Bowl XLIX as voted that same year in the 2016 U.S. presidential elections.<sup>35</sup> The NFL has historically proven itself to be nothing if not resilient, for it has learned over the years to package its violent elements to aesthetic perfection. Despite concerns of flagging ratings, overwrought anthem controversies, and persistent attention to degenerative brain diseases definitively linked to concussions, those ratings have rebounded largely through the NFL’s no-nonsense management style that limits the pre-game anthems broadcast and has on-field injuries treated in sideline tents.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Steve Almond, *Against Football: One Fans Reluctant Manifesto*, (Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2014), 85.

<sup>33</sup> Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 1.

<sup>34</sup> As reported by the State Department International Information Services, if food consumption is an indicator of conviviality then the Super Bowl is only exceeded only by Thanksgiving. The first Super Bowl Broadcast on January 15, 1967 attracted combined viewership of over 51 million viewers or almost 80 percent of the television viewing audience. “Super Bowl Sunday: An Unofficial Holiday for Millions,” IIP Digital: US State Department’s Digital Information service, <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/pamphlet/2014/01/20140130291861.html#ixzz4Ikxcl6iA>, accessed November 24, 2015.

<sup>35</sup> 120.8 Million Americans viewed Super Bowl XLIX in 2105 and 136.6 million voted in 2016. Rick Kissell, “Update: Super Bowl on NBC Draws Record U.S. Television Audience,” *Variety*, February 2, 2015, accessed July 15, 2016, <https://variety.com/2015/tv/ratings/super-bowl-ratings-hit-all-time-high-with-patriots-win-on-nbc-1201421267/>

<sup>36</sup> The NFL simply keeps the controversial and unpleasant out of sight and out of mind. Pre-game national anthems are no longer broadcast (except on requisite holidays) and on-field injuries are treated in special tents, out of newly discovered “privacy concerns.” Chris Barton, “How does the NFL keep ratings up despite on- and off-field issues? Like the top players, it moves quickly,” *LA TIMES*, Dec. 30, 2018, <https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/tv/la-et-st-nfl-viewing-20181229-story.html>. Accessed Dec. 30, 2018. In a previous worrying trend, NFL attendance was down for the first time in 2016. “NFL Attendance Report – 2014,” [http://espn.go.com/nfl/attendance/\\_/year/2013](http://espn.go.com/nfl/attendance/_/year/2013), In the words of a media executive, “for so long that the NFL was unstoppable...It just felt untouchable. The NFL’s sudden vulnerability is one of the more shocking media phenomena that I’ve seen in my career.” “The NFL Was a Sure Thing for TV Networks. Until Now,” <http://tinyurl.com/NFL-until-now>, accessed November 24, 2016; “Why Has NFL

It is not surprising that Donald Trump has demonstrated a greater proclivity to politically charge this and others sports than any other president since Richard Nixon. While they both share the same raw instinct to win that got and has gotten each into political hot water, Trump clearly lacks Nixon's strategic discipline, geopolitical skills, and genuine love of sports. In 1972, journalist Stewart Alsop expressed an understanding already shared by many others. Nixon was so skilled at politicizing sports because he "knew the political usefulness in being recognized as sports fan...[yet] his football obsession, like his true blue Whittier-style patriotism, comes entirely natural to him."<sup>37</sup> It would be difficult to make a similar case for President Trump.

Tony Schwartz, coauthor of Trump's *Art of the Deal*, after working intensively with Trump for eighteen months, recognized Trump's raw gamesmanship in that his "most abiding passion was proving to others that he was a winner."<sup>38</sup> Soon into their presidencies, a recognition of Nixon's and Trump's unrelenting drives to win invited psychological studies in which they were both seen as compensating.<sup>39</sup> Nixon's pathology was seen as some variation of a masculinity threatened by not making a first-string football team, while Trump simply tipped his psychological hand by constantly referencing his own hand size.<sup>40</sup> Nixon's capacity for self-reflection, however, was an order magnitude higher than Trump's manifestly non-existent one. In his 1974 farewell speech to his cabinet and staff members, Nixon concluded with a *l'appel du vide* that revealed arguably the most hard-won bit of self-

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Attendance Declined by Over 2 Million Fans in the Last 36 Months?" <http://tinyurl.com/NFL-Decline>, accessed July 16, 2016.

<sup>37</sup> Stewart Alsop, "Nixon and the Square Majority: Is the Fox a Lion?" *The Atlantic Monthly* 229 (February 1972): 41-47.

<sup>38</sup> Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump and The Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse," *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 2 (2017): 443-454. Tony Schwartz: The Truth About Trump | Oxford Union Q&A, accessed Oct 30, 2016. <https://youtu.be/18IkS56UREk?t=1150>

<sup>39</sup> Nixon frequently quoted his college football coach, Wallace Newman, (who in his 1968 Republican Convention acceptance speech was the greatest influence in his life aside from his parents) "show me a good loser, and I'll show you a loser," cited in Jesse Berrett, *Pigskin Nation: How the NFL Remade American Politics* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 110. Richard Nixon, Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach, Florida, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, accessed Jan 1, 2019, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/256650>.

<sup>40</sup> A Google search of terms "Donald Trump pathology" yielded over a million hits <http://tinyurl.com/trump-pathology>; "Trump Hands" on other hand, yielded over half a billion hits, <http://tinyurl.com/trump-hand>, accessed December 30, 2018; Nixon invited a similar wave of psychoanalysis. The most prominent Nixon psychoanalysis remains Bruce Mazlish's never out of print, *In Search of Nixon: A Psychohistorical Inquiry*, 1972 (New York: Routledge, 2017), see Chapt. 3.

knowledge in presidential history, especially when considered within a gamesmanship | sportsmanship heuristic. He grappled with the dangers of gamesmanship (hate and winning) followed by a shared hope of sportsmanship (high hopes, many faiths, same God). He advised, “Always give your best; never get discouraged; never be petty. Always remember others may hate you, but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them, and then you destroy yourself.” While this statement of gamesmanship is well known, Nixon’s forced attempt at sportsmanship that followed is now mostly written off as a bromide and forgotten: “And so we leave with high hopes, in good spirits and with deep humility and with very much gratefulness in our hearts...We come from many faiths. We pray, perhaps, to different gods, but really the same God in a sense.”<sup>41</sup>

Then as now, Nixon was very American in his appeal to a spirit of competition and invoking faith in almost the same breath. In this is an unspoken acknowledgment of unusually competitive (by industrialized nation standards) competitive free market in religion and commerce. Americans are much more likely to attend church than their European counterparts and incur more consumer debt.<sup>42</sup> Unlike the historically more static institutionalized social structures in Europe, in the U.S. religious sects and institutions of higher learning were much more easily founded but also subjected to market forces.

According to comparative politics/German studies specialist and sports fan Andrei Markovits, these market forces expressed themselves in every competitive advantage colleges and universities grasp at. Once it was clear that students were hell-bent on playing football, with few if any concerns about coming “to no good Christian end,” university officials co-

<sup>41</sup> “Transcript of Nixon's Farewell Speech to Cabinet and Staff Members in the Capital,” Aug 10, 1974 *New York Times*, 4, accessed Jan 1, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/08/10/archives/transcript-of-nixons-farewell-speech-to-cabinet-and-staff-members.html>.

<sup>42</sup> In 2010 Americans were five to ten times more likely to attend church weekly than their Western European counterparts, all the while working longer hours and still leading them in spending and indebtedness. There is a populist breakdown of what Robert Putnam defined as “bridging capital,” the integrative force among different groups and their cultural boundaries. Robert D. Putnam, and David E. Campbell, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2012), 7, 550. “People in the U.S. are in debt and terrible at investing—but so is nearly everyone else.” Even so, the US easily leads in the industrialized OECD nations in credit card and household debt. Joe Pinsker, “Are Americans Really That Bad With Money?” *Atlantic Monthly*, March 8, 2016, accessed Jan. 2, 2019, <http://tinyurl.com/atlantic-debt>.



opted the game so thoroughly **that** it became “the most efficient prestige making machine for America’s institutions of higher learning...[and] also its most potent equalizer.”<sup>43</sup>

Because **of** its elite schools pedigree, football could claim a set of involved godfathers interested in its prestige making qualities. Football interest manifested by Presidents Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft or the industry-leading Rockefellers meant its development was “one of the most revealing cultural phenomena of its time.”<sup>44</sup> As cultural historian Michael Oriard noted, college football teams “became public symbols of universities, communities, and entire regions in a hugely publicized national drama.”<sup>45</sup> In the end, the reason all sports are so interesting is their naked ability, through gamesmanship and sportsmanship, to reveal, according to Andrei Markovits, all the possibilities of “a community in the context of competition, of fostering solidarity in the framework of contestation.”<sup>46</sup>

### **Departure from the usual football studies**

Typically scholarship on collegiate sports ranges from a wide array of topics that reflect the Sisyphean struggle to resist gamesmanship: reform (or lack thereof) and higher education in society its organizing agency, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), regionalism, commercialism and the media spectacle, industrialization, masculinity, and race.<sup>47</sup> As an unspoken gamesmanship began to overwhelm sportsmanship from the beginning, intercollegiate football has been rife with abuses ranging from preferential admissions to watered down academic rigor, improper and unethical recruiting, and

<sup>43</sup> Andrei S., Markovits and Lars Rensmann, *Gaming The World: How Sports are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 229.

<sup>44</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 312-313.

<sup>45</sup> Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 7.

<sup>46</sup> “Yet, in the very process of doing so, sports also conjure up forces that reaffirm emotions and identities akin to Putnam’s ‘bonding capital,’ a hardening of boundaries among different constituencies and their cultures. And sure enough, his seminal book’s main concern is central to all sports: that of creating a community in the context of competition, of fostering solidarity in the framework of contestation.” Andrei S. Markovits, et al. *Gaming the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 224. See Robert Putnam’s *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001).

<sup>47</sup> Kurt Edward Kemperer, “Reconciling the Consequences of Modernity: College Football as Cultural History,” in Riess, Steven A., ed., *A Companion to American Sport History* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2014) 202-220; 203. In a critical vein of collegiate sports in general and football specifically, see Murray Sperber, *College Sports Inc.: The Athletic Department vs. the University* (New York: Henry Holt and Company: New York, 1990) and *Beer and Circus: How Big-Time College Sports Is Crippling Undergraduate Education* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2000).



commercial excesses.<sup>48</sup> While these issues certainly will arise, this study will treat them within the context of the gamesmanship | sportsmanship heuristic, i.e. the tendency to publicly promote *sportsmanship* (amateurism) while privately seeking success through *gamesmanship* (professionalism). When then the undeniable gamesmanship takes root, it can be justified by appealing to sportsmanship in the guise of an entertaining patriotism and exceptionalism. Such heuristic within sports is not new, but typically has been expressed in terms of developing a sports consumer identity towards the larger definition of citizenship or the “American Imagination.”<sup>49</sup>

Throughout most of its sesquicentennial history, intercollegiate football has been the subject of periodic studies, reports, and commissions which almost always highlighted its rampant gamesmanship. These reports, which appeared roughly every two decades, generated sound and fury, hand-wringing and soul-searching, but not much else. The first of these major reports was the famous and exhaustive 1929 Carnegie Foundation for the Advance of Teaching.<sup>50</sup> This report, the culmination of three and half years of investigation and hundreds of visits to 130 higher and secondary institutions, was the most in-depth examination in the previous six decades of futile attempts at collegiate sport reform. The

<sup>48</sup> Howard P. Chudacoff, *Changing the Playbook: How Power, Profit and Politics Transformed College Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 3; Charles T. Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 207-8.

<sup>49</sup> More typical is the dissertation that examines “relationship between fans and sports...mediated by rituals of consumption in order to affirm a particular identity, similar to the ways that citizenship in America has become defined by one’s ability to consume under conditions of neoliberal capitalism.” Cory Hillman, *The Sports Mall of America: Sports and the Rhetorical Construction of the Citizen-Consumer* (PhD diss., Bowling Green University, 2012) Abstract. Stephen W., Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 18-19, and *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996). For recent overview collegiate football see Steven A., Riess, ed., *A Companion to American Sport History* (John Wiley & Sons, 2014) Chapter 10. The scholarship on intercollegiate athletics in general and collegiate football specifically, has its 1875 starting point of a Harvard-Yale rivalry in imitation of the British Oxford-Cambridge. However most of the smaller and less prestigious American colleges and universities enjoyed an unfettered cultural and structural freedom to imitate these two institutions in ways unimaginable by their British counterparts. Ronald Smith was the first to pursue this theme in *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3-12, and it has since been prominently contextualized by Andrei S., Markovits and Lars Rensmann, *Gaming the World: How Sports are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton University Press, 2010), Chapter 6. Or as Ronald Smith claimed compared to Britain America had less entrenched social classes and certainly no formal aristocracy and there was “too much competition, too strong a belief in merit over heredity, too abundant an ideology of freedom of opportunity for the amateur ideal to succeed,” *Sports and Freedom*, 174.

<sup>50</sup> Howard James Savage, Harold Woodmansee Bentley, John Terence McGovern, and Dean Franklin Smiley, “American College Athletics,” No. 23. *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*, 1929. The others were reports compiled by or for special commissions of higher-education groups for the expressed aim of reforming big time college athletics. Spaced on average, at roughly two-decade intervals, these reports were issued in 1953, 1974, and 1991. The first two were sponsored by the American Council on Education (ACE), and the last was supported by the Knight Foundation. Charles T. Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 211.

349-page finding confirmed what many within the academy had long suspected: that gamesmanship was rampant in American higher education and football was the primary culprit. Because winning was everything, gamesmanship effectively and easily overwhelmed sportsmanship, the report concluded. Universities “have permitted the youths entrusted to their care to be openly exploited. At such colleges and universities, the primary emphasis has been transferred from the things of the spirit or the mind to the material.”<sup>51</sup>

This dialectic between the mind and the material in stretches back the contradictory stands of the classic Toquevillian American exceptionalism. The temporary triumph of a 2016 populist *gamesmanship* over a liberal democratic *sportsmanship* appears to imbalance the equipoise of the American exceptionalism of Alexis de Tocqueville. His Americans were in a position “quite exceptional...[in] their strictly Puritanical origin, [and] their exclusively commercial habits,” or a “People of Paradox” both “puritanical and hedonistic, idealistic and materialistic, peace-loving and war-mongering” in the formulation of historian Michael Kammen.<sup>52</sup>

## Core Values

In order to appreciate the sustaining values within gamesmanship and sportsmanship, it is necessary to review the contributions of Henri Tajfel to social identity theory and Hanna Arendt to political theory as charted in Table 1.1

Table 1.1

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### GAMESMANSHIP

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### SPORTSMANSHIP

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<sup>51</sup> Savage, *Carnegie Foundation*, 306–7.

<sup>52</sup> Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 10. (New York: Regency Publishing, 2003), 418; Michael Kammen, “The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration,” *American Quarterly* 45:1 (Mar., 1993): 1–43, 7. Michael Kammen’s 1973 Pulitzer Prize Winner, *People of Paradox: An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization*, (Cornell: University Press, 1973, 1990). xviii.

Professional	Amateur
Tajfel—Social Identity/Tribalism	Arendt—Action/Politics
<b>Ethnic Identity</b>	<b>Civic/Creedal Identity</b>

As a Jewish survivor a series of French Nazi prisoner-of-war camps, Polish-born Henri Tajfel was sensitive to the arbitrary nature of his captor's tribal behavior. He consequently dedicated his life to a discipline he helped found, social identity theory—one that has been revived by political theorists since 2016.<sup>53</sup> In a landmark 1971 study replicated over the decades since, Tajfel was able to clinically determine a minimal threshold in which a “mere division into groups [was] enough to trigger discriminatory behavior.” He concluded, “outgroup discrimination is extraordinarily easy to trigger.” Tajfel quickly understood the implications and suggested, in gamesmanship terms, that “perhaps those educators in our competitive societies who from the public schooling are so keen on ‘teams’ and ‘team Spirit’ could give some thoughts to the operation of these side effects.”<sup>54</sup> As others replicated his experiments, Tajfel's place as the founder of the emergent field of social identity theory was secure. It was only a matter of time before his theory helped political scientists confirm what is now the prevalent willingness to punish political opponents tribally in a high-stakes gamesmanship.<sup>55</sup>

The populist moment of 2016 also inspired a revival on the theoretical side, where political theorist Hannah Arendt and her 35,000-foot vantage point were suddenly relevant

<sup>53</sup> Reintroduction of Tajfel in popular post 2016 election works include are Amy Chua, *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations* (New York: Penguin, 2018), 4-6, and Lilliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 34-39.

<sup>54</sup> In a first of a series of experiments, 14 and 15-year-old boys were separated into teams by the flimsiest of bases—whether they over or underestimated the number of dots posted on a wall chart. Without even meeting any members their over or underestimating team, the boys were separately given the option of distributing a cash amount “not trivial for them” equally to both teams or a lesser amount to their in-team with an even lesser amount to their out-team. All the boys opted, without fail, to receive less cash as long as the outs received even less. Tajfel was stunned, and convinced even further that power of social identity required the field he helped found. Henri Tajfel, “Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination,” *Scientific American* 223, no. 5 (1970): 96-103; 103; Henri Tajfel, “Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice,” *Journal of Biosocial Science* 1, no. S1 (1969): 173-191, Henri Tajfel, Michael G. Billig, Robert P. Bundy, and Claude Flament, “Social Categorization And Intergroup Behavior,” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1, no. 2 (1971): 149-178.

<sup>55</sup> Yarrow Dunham, Andrew Scott Baron, and Susan Carey, “Consequences of “minimal” group affiliations in children,” *Child development* 82, no. 3 (2011): 793-811; Mina Cikara, Emile G. Bruneau, and Rebecca R. Saxe, “Us and Them: Intergroup Failures of Empathy,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 20, no. 3 (2011): 149-153.

in explaining what could go wrong with the big picture.<sup>56</sup> Arendt and her construct of Action offer a philosophical, formal, and rational conceptualization of sportsmanship: i.e. how you play the game and simply maintain process is more important than a single outcome. This was animating idea behind Arendt's landmark theory of political *action*, "one the most original contributions to 20<sup>th</sup> century political thought," according to the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Similar to Tajfel's survival of the Holocaust, Arendt's briefer but equally traumatic encounter with totalitarianism propelled her lifetime quest to offer a fundamental reconceptualization of civic and political engagement as a solution.<sup>57</sup>

Best known for her incisive and systematic thinking concerning power, authority, democracy, and the nature of totalitarianism (*The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1951) Arendt offered an equally methodical antidote in the form of an authentic, unpredictable engagement in the realm of (political) *action* (*The Human Condition*, 1958) all the while broadening her understanding of totalitarianism in *Eichmann in Jerusalem: a Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963).<sup>58</sup> If totalitarianism coupled with modernity revealed a world "without a bannister" that exploded the inherent decency of the liberal Enlightenment project, then a fundamental reappraisal of Western

<sup>56</sup> The rising number of refugees and populist regimes in the west with authoritarian tendencies was reflected in the 16,700 new citations appeared Google Scholar between in 2017-18; when narrowed down to authoritarianism over the same years there were almost 3000 references. This is an increase of almost a previous decade, accessed July 3, 2018, <http://tinyurl.com/Arendt-Authoritarian-2017-18>; <http://tinyurl.com/Arendt-Authoritarian-2017-18>. The wide variety works include the wide spectrum of everything from reissued works by and about Arendt to updated interpretations of her theoretical relevance. For a collection of relevant essays, see Mordechai Gordon, *Hannah Arendt and Education: Renewing Our Common World* (New York: Routledge, 2018), Ari-Elmeri Hyvönen and Charles Barbour, "In the Present Tense: Contemporary Engagements with Hannah Arendt," *Philosophy Today* 62, no. 2 (2018): 299-317; Hannah Arendt, and Mahatma Gandhi. "Beyond Violence: A Comparative Analysis of," in *The Global Gandhi* (New Delhi: Routledge India, 2018), 33-44. For representative reissued reexamination, see Irving Horowitz, *Hannah Arendt: Radical Conservative* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>57</sup> "Arendt's theory of action and her revival of the ancient notion of *praxis* represent one of the most original contributions to twentieth century political thought," Maurizio Passerin d'Entrevès, "Hannah Arendt," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta, ed., accessed September 1, 2018, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2018/entries/arendt/>.

<sup>58</sup> Arendt first became widely known for her groundbreaking *Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1951) with a universal diagnosis of structural and systemic anti-Semitism, racism and imperialism as a systematized unthinking. Her follow up book *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958) offered a solution through active thinking. The three elements of the *vita activa* are: *labor* encompasses the unending, repetitious tasks necessary for maintaining life; *work* the creation of tangible products or tasks with beginnings and ends; *action* is where humans disclose themselves to each other through speech and action, developing relationships while striving towards potentially unbounded goals. *The Human Condition*, 50-3, followed by *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Penguin, 1963); the success of the American Revolution contingent upon an idealized council system; *On Revolution* (New York: Penguin, 1964); comments on Vietnam in, *Men in Dark Times* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1970). Arendt also reexamined the relationship between war, politics, violence, and power in *On Violence* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1970); Watergate and *Crises of the Republic: Lying in Politics, Civil Disobedience on Violence, Thoughts on Politics, and Revolution*. Vol. 219 (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1972). For judgment of the spectators in the active setting, see Hannah Arendt, and Ronald Beiner, *Lectures on Kant's political philosophy* (University of Chicago Press, 1989).

thinking was in order.<sup>59</sup> Although Arendt's understanding of totalitarianism evolved over the years, her cure remained consistent and centered on spontaneous, evanescent political *action* through discussion and engagement and then the necessity of preserving it through storytelling. The spontaneity that also makes sports so appealing—an agent does not know in advance what her actions will reveal, for example, and action requires courage—also makes political action so intriguing.<sup>60</sup>

The conceptualization of sport above the routines of ordinary life relates well to Arendt's notion that action has a separate activity beyond labor and work.<sup>61</sup>

Initially Arendt believed the best response to totalitarianism simply lay in a return to the Greek polis as a universal site of action where, heroic and otherwise forgotten, spontaneous deeds could be organized and remembered.<sup>62</sup> This action reveals to its actors who they are and those with worthy deeds become the inspirational subjects of stories for future generations.<sup>63</sup> Power and legitimacy rest solely in the very process of the actors having

<sup>59</sup> In the words of Arendt “with eyes undistorted by any tradition, with a directness which has disappeared from Occidental reading and hearing ever since Roman civilization submitted to the authority of Greek thought.” Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future* (New York: Viking Press, 1961. Revised edition, 1968), 28–9.

<sup>60</sup> “Although nobody knows who he reveals when he discloses himself in deed or word, he must be willing to risk the disclosure.” In the end action, “always establishes relationships,” “On Humanity in Dark Times,” in *Men in Dark Times* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1970), 20. Also *Human Condition*, 180, 190.

<sup>61</sup> According to Arendt, the superior *vita contemplativa* (contemplative life) of ancient philosophers was enabled by the *vita activa* (active life) relegated to a lower status as it merely provided necessities. After the fall of the Roman Empire, feudal lords ran their lands and holdings as private realms and it wasn't until and with rise of modern state that the private and public realms was complicated by the rise of modernity and the gradual destruction of the distinctive public and private realm through “the rise of the social realm” or a social realm. Marx responded by reversing the status with the *contemplativa* the superstructure to the *activa*. In this both the Ancients and Marx erred as neither was superior nor were they the same. John McGowan, *Hannah Arendt: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 59; *The Human Condition*, 38, 180, 190. Commenting on Arendt's fear of the populist identity politics James Livingston maintains, “Arendt's fear was that when liberated from the constraints of laboring, we would waste our time — leisure would corrupt us, make us the dupes of televised ambition and rural idiocy, which have converged in our own time as reality TV. She never considered the possibility that we would know better than to retreat to the idiotic, inarticulate state of worldlessness.” *No More Work: Why Full Employment is a Bad Idea* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 2016), 60.

<sup>62</sup> “The polis, properly speaking, is not the city-state in its physical location; it is the organization of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be.” *Human Condition*, 198. Speech and action would entail and necessitate each other in a discourse “where deed and word of have not parted company.” In the process the actors reveal who they are to themselves to each other as they become the subject of the story. The frustration of the action is that the web of relations does not become clear until the actors have exited the stage. Unlike routine of labor and the fabricated process of work. the only basis on which an action is judged is greatness. Evanescent actions, “tell us more about their subjects, the ‘hero’ in the center of each story, than any product of human hands ever tells us about the master who produced it” *Human Condition*, 184; 178–9, 184–6, 199–200. “only where word and deed have not parted company, where words are not empty and deeds not brutal, where words are not used to veil intentions but to disclose realities, and deeds are not used to violate and destroy but to establish relations and create new realities,” *Human Condition*, 192, 200; *Between Past and Future*, 63–75.

<sup>63</sup> *Human Condition*, 180; Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, *Why Arendt Matters*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 88. Though all actions are evanescent and political power “springs up between men when they act together and vanishes the moment they disperse,” the mere act having gathered, if remembered through storytelling generated the necessary power for heroic future political acts. “Power is what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking men, in existence.” “a power potential and not an

come together around politics.<sup>64</sup>

Arendt came to appreciate the messiness of political discourse with the confidence that it would resolve itself —the actors and spectators eventually coming around and buying into a consensus.<sup>65</sup> Understanding how over caution could hamper the spontaneity necessary for action, Arendt detailed how forgiveness (in sports terms: another season) could temper the fear of irreversibility and promise (rules and referees) and mitigate unpredictability.<sup>66</sup> In fact, Arendt scholar John McGowan offered an extended analogy: pure action as a pick-up basketball pickup game.<sup>67</sup>

Even when former allies abandoned Arendt after the Eichmann trial, she appeared to attribute his actions to the essential power of totalitarianism to generate unthinking human beings (the “banality of evil” as embodied in Adolf Eichmann) and maintained her focus on *action*.<sup>68</sup> Only now she discriminated further between the spectator and actor in rendering judgment on the value of their actions. Near the

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unchangeable, measurable and reliable entity like force or strength ... [it] springs up between men when they act together and vanishes the moment they disperse,” *Human Condition*, 200, *Concerning Revolution*, 143-55.

<sup>64</sup> Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, *Why Arendt Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 84, 89; John McGowan, *Hannah Arendt: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 73.

<sup>65</sup> It is at this point that *actor* and *spectator* become united; the maxim of the actor and the maxim, the ‘standard,’ according to which the spectator judges the spectacle of the world, become one” *Lectures on Kant’s Political Philosophy*, 75.

<sup>66</sup> Just as in sports “the remedy for unpredictability...is contained in the faculty to make and keep promises,” where rules of play are transparent and their adjudication by game officials is agreed upon or as in Arendt’s chapter subheadings, “The irreversibility and the power to forgive.” “Unpredictability and the power of promise” “Without being forgiven, released from the consequences of what we have done, our capacity to act would, as it were, be confined to one single deed from which we could never recover; we would remain the victims of its consequences forever.” On the other hand, “without being bound to the fulfillment of promises, we would never be able to keep our identities; we would be condemned to wander helplessly and without direction in the darkness of each man’s lonely heart,” *Human Condition*, 237, 236-47.

<sup>67</sup> According to McGowan, “players are judged solely on their performance in the game. And that performance has no reality apart from its appearance. It’s what you do on the court that matters...A basketball game is a structured world. The rules of the game are what is held in common, and those rules both ‘relate and separate’ players.” “Just as the only thing the basketball players lose is the game itself, so participants in the political lose the space of appearances if the intersubjective agreement that constitutes that space (an intersubjective agreement enacted through the ongoing activities that keep that space alive— an enactment that Arendt designates “power”) breaks down.” Any backstory of how they got there and are going afterwards is ultimately irrelevant to the actual play while certainly enhancing the spectators’ enjoyment. McGowan goes to far as to suggest judgment exercised by the spectator (as opposed the actor) is based on Kant’s notion of the beautiful in his *Critique of Judgment*, McGowan, 61, 73. Hannah Arendt, and Ronald Beiner, *Lectures on Kant’s political philosophy* (University of Chicago Press, 1989), 68, 69. The course of judgment incumbent upon a spectator and whose feelings pleasure or displeasure are based upon the *sensus communis*, or the common sense of the community which Arendt appropriated from Kant’s *Critique of Judgment*. Karin A Fry, *Arendt: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Continuum, 2009), 98.

<sup>68</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Recovery of the Public World*, Edited by Melvyn A. Hill. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1979), 336. It was Eichmann’s “thoughtlessness,” that struck Arendt the most. “It was this absence of thinking that awakened my interest. Is evil-doing ... possible in default of not just ‘base motives’ ... but of any motives whatever ... Might the problem of good and evil, our faculty for telling right from wrong, be connected with our faculty of thought?” Hannah Arendt, *The Life of the Mind* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 4-5.

end of her life Arendt wrote that the capacity and necessity to act politically was through lively informed opinion not overwhelmed by factual truth, but nevertheless set against a backstop of expertise (the game must be played).<sup>69</sup> In any event it was the venue that mattered.

## The Place of Stadiums

Allen Guttman and his Neo-Weberian model of sports modernization and rationalization has, if not dominated, at least been the point of departure in the sports history field for four decades. Set against this backdrop, he concludes not surprisingly, “Games like [American] football provide Saturnalia-like occasions for the uninhibited expression of emotions which must remain tightly controlled in our ordinary lives.”<sup>70</sup>

Another way to approach Guttman’s process of rationalization is to take into account the venues, the sites of that saturnalia of emotion, and consider the “stadia, and the way they are built and used, [how they] always reveal something about the condition of a society.”<sup>71</sup> Or to put it in Durkheimian terms Guttman’s Weber would understand, they are a place of consecrated spectacle with a simple demarcation from the profane world of daily life.<sup>72</sup>

Admittedly the three periods of this study are convenient and artificial in

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<sup>69</sup> “The trouble is that factual truth, like all other truth, peremptorily claims to be acknowledged and precludes debate, and debate constitutes the very essence of political life. The modes of thought and communication that deal with truth, if seen from the political perspective, are necessarily domineering; they don’t take into account other people’s opinions, and taking these into account is the hallmark of all strictly political thinking,” *Between Past and Future*, 241.

<sup>70</sup> Allen Guttman, *A Whole New Ball Game: An Interpretation of American Sports* (UNC Press Books, 1988), 8. Guttman’s oeuvre is as wide and theoretical as it is compendious and respected starting with, *From Ritual To Record: The Nature Of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978) in which Guttman developed a neo-Weberian theory of the origins and expansion of modern sport, in which the informal sporting custom and habits of the past became formalized and codified through a now familiar checklist—secularism, equality, specialization, rationalization, bureaucratization, quantification, and the quest for records. *The games must go on: Avery Brundage and the Olympic movement*, (Columbia University Press, 1984); *Sports spectators*, (Columbia University Press, 1986), *Women’s sports: A history*, (Columbia University Press, 1991); *Games and empires: modern sports and cultural imperialism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); *Japanese sports: A history*, (University of Hawaii Press, 2001); *The Olympics, a history of the modern games*. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002) and *Sports and American Art from Benjamin West to Andy Warhol* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2011).

<sup>71</sup> “In the rational, civilized and strictly regulated society of (Western) modernity they are places where excitement is released; in countries in which the political system has traces of totalitarianism, they can be places of dissidence and, in the confusion of war, places of a brutal prison order.” Sybille Frank and Silke Steets eds., *Stadium Worlds: Football, Space and the Built Environment* (Oxford: Taylor and Francis, 2010), 281.

<sup>72</sup> Sybille Frank, and Silke Steets, eds, *Stadium Worlds: Football, Space and the Built Environment* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 285.



their precision, but they are rooted in cultural geographer Karl Raitz's "changing landscape" chronicle of the sports spectator experience in mostly college football stadiums (eighteen of the top twenty capacity stadia in the US remain collegiate football venues).<sup>73</sup> The structure of these stadia evolved from wooden structures, with questionable seating and standing arrangements (1869-1918-*play*), into massive concrete bowls with reliable and egalitarian seating (1919-1945-*performance*), and finally into even fan-friendlier seating, including luxury boxes (and later video scoreboards) to compete with television (1946-1970-*entertainment*). Raitz is careful to point out that the categories are never exclusive—elements of all three periods are present at any given period—one merely predominates.<sup>74</sup> The same relationship applies to each period's respective media—magazines, radio, and television. The effect is cumulative. As a new medium appears, it tends to predominate within a period until a new one augments and eventually supplants it.<sup>75</sup>

As seen in Table 1.2 below each stadium-based period will also loosely be characterized by three historic sports traditions and three major coach contributors.

<sup>73</sup> If measured by stadium size, college football fans are the most ardent—The University of Michigan Stadium in Ann Arbor tops the list at 107,600 capacity. By contrast, the top professional venue at # 16 is the MetLife Stadium in New Jersey that at 82,500, jointly hosts the New York Giants and New York Jets. "List of US stadiums by capacity," accessed January 3, 2016.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_U.S.\\_stadiums\\_by\\_capacity](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_U.S._stadiums_by_capacity).

<sup>74</sup> In Karl Raitz's, ed. *The Theater of Sport*. (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Press, 1995) collection of essays dealing with the "Theater of Sport" the contributors trace an increasingly controlled authenticity culminating in the controlled experience. As sport evolved from "pure play" to "performance" to "entertainment," the venues where sport took place evolved as well to become more complex, adding more elements with which a spectator or participant could interact. As Raitz notes, "sports places are really complex landscape ensembles, and the sporting experience, therefore, is not simply the playing or viewing of an athletic event but an interaction with the sports landscape so that both the game and the place contribute to the experience." While a blend of these three aspects have always been present, any one has always predominated at a given phase. The game's current spectacular appeal as an authentic form of entertainment while being driven by a world of sponsorship and "pseudo-events" not only does not preclude, but actually assumes the presence of elements of performance and especially play. That is, "the sporting experiences may even include the past environments retained nostalgic memory, upon which expectations for future experiences are built," ix.

<sup>75</sup> Raitz's categories coupled with changing media have gained currency in prominent sports texts as they attune to the role of entertainment. Benjamin Rader's, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Television* (1990, 2nd Ed.) long a standard sport history text, has been revised to acknowledge the power of the electronic consumer as a spectator. Rader spawned a forth period out of his three initial ones by shifting the emphasis to the influence of television. Last two periods--(The Age of the Player: 1850-1920) and (The Age of the Spectator: 1920-present) expanded to three (The Ascendancy of Organized Sports: 1890-1950) and (The Age of Televised Sports: 1950-present). Mark Dyreson presents a similar periodization in "Scientific Habits of Mind, Technological Revolutions and American Sport," in Steven A. Riess, ed. *A Companion to American Sport History*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2014. Chapter Five.



Table 1.2

PERIOD	1869-1918	1919-1945	1946-1970
SPORTS VALUE	PLAY	PERFORMANCE	ENTERTAINMENT
Tradition	British	Greek	Roman
Coaches	Camp	Rockne	Lombardi
New Medium	Magazines	Radio	Television

Commenting on the Carnegie Report's conclusions, Harvard historian and four decade observer of intercollegiate sports, Albert Bushnell Hart quipped, "The Greeks made it a cult; the English a spectacle; the Americans have made it a business."<sup>76</sup> He was mostly right.

There are three major sports traditions that roughly align with the prevalent culture in each of the periods.<sup>77</sup> In 19<sup>th</sup> Century Britain, sport (singular) was synonymous with leisure, fair play, gentlemanly ease, and the capacity to win and lose with grace. Clearly, as Richard Holt has written, "hard training was bad form, practicing too much undermined natural grace and talent."<sup>78</sup> Within a well-structured, sturdy social order, elites could afford to indulge sportsmanship. Chances were they might find themselves in far-flung lands with the need to maintain good order through a portable code of honor. With their emphasis on team play they were justified in "sublimating sexuality, counteracting Romantic *Weltschmerz*, and producing what Thomas Hughes in *Tom Brown's School Days* called muscular Christian gentlemen."<sup>79</sup> The out-of-sight/out-of-mind workers never took to this sportsmanship ideal and instead professionalized with gamesmanship whenever they could as a sensible alternative to their previous rural, preindustrial rootedness. In a direct expression of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic, the father of American football, Walter Camp

<sup>76</sup> A. B. Hart, "Evils of Organized Athletics in American Colleges," *Current History* 31 (December 1929): 558. Cited in Ronald A. Smith, *Play-by-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sport*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 2.

<sup>77</sup> Michael Allen Gillespie, "Players and Spectators: Sports and Ethical Training in the American University," in Noah Pickus and Julie A. Reuben, *Debating Moral Education: Rethinking the Role of the Modern University* (Duke University Press, 2010), 296-316.

<sup>78</sup> Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 98-100.

<sup>79</sup> Gillespie, 30. Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History*. New York: Routledge, 2013). Nancy Anderson, *Victorian Sports and Games*. ABC-CLIO, 2010, Chapters, 2-3.

idealized this British sportsmanship all the while justifying an American gamesmanship he maintained was actually American sportsmanship exceptionalism.

In direct contrast to the team-oriented Brits, the ancient Greeks games were mostly individual affairs associated with religious festivals—the Olympics first honored the earth goddess Gaia and then Zeus. In fact, the term athletics (*athlêsis*) denotes a contested struggle in which the Greeks were expected to individually aspire towards excellence except in the rare team competition of Sparta. To the extent that they might “threaten to undermine the social fabric of the Polis,” the victor’s accolades could be downplayed.<sup>80</sup> In any event, the heroes were no amateurs, but rather gamesman who were venerated and well remunerated by hometown spectators and honored by the poet Pindar. In applying the heuristic, Knute Rockne, the first celebrity collegiate coach, never presumed gamesmanship was not real. Like the Greeks, he accepted hero worship, honors, and especially remuneration, from the hometown—only for himself, rather than for any players if he could avoid it. The Sportsmanship remained for his amateur students.

Sports in Classic Rome were all about a producing a spectacle to the glory of Rome. Arising out of Etruscan funeral customs, they carried an element of sacrifice—for the state. Although Romans adopted much of creative energy of the Greeks, they remained suspicious of elevating the heroism of individualistic Greek sports as they considered this a neglect of teamwork associated with military service. The purpose of sports was to entertain, while reminding the spectator of the raw power of the state to protect and execute judgment. This was necessarily reflected in competition by trained slaves and criminals who were generally the only ones permitted in the arena, locked in life and death struggles that often blended

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 299, Donald G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. Vol. 5. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2014). Chapter 6. For the more typically individualistic Athenians differentiated from the more team oriented Spartans, see Chapters 8 & 9. And Waldo E. Sweet, *Sport and Recreation in Ancient Greece: A Sourcebook With Translations* (Oxford University Press, 1987), chap. 29.

entertainment with executions.<sup>81</sup> Vince Lombardi coached the professional football teams that won the first professional championships, the spectacular Super Bowls (Roman numerals mandatory). Like Roman athletes, Lombardi's professional football players had no concerns about the character building qualities of sportsmanship (though they later elevated as them preconditions to their gamesmanship success and often patriotically). The ultimate expression of gamesmanship is misattributed to Lombardi's, "winning isn't everything, it's the only thing" (this sentiment was famously appropriated by the Nixon reelection committee on a sign hanging in its headquarters).<sup>82</sup> Any deficient sportsmanship is more than compensated by the patriotism NFL actively courts as embodied in its logo.<sup>83</sup>

## Chapter Outline

Here then is a chapter summary with the coaches who will be the subjects of each chapter augmented briefly by a non-sports contributor.

**Chapter 2: Standardize Play with the scientific (1869-1918):** a British Ideal of Amateurism. Heroic spectacle in a transient stadium venue—stabilizing rules and developing professional coaches in whatever venue brings in the most revenue, reported on sports pages in newspapers/magazines. Exemplar Coach: Yale and Camp and All-American teams. Non-coach contributor: Frederick Taylor and *Scientific Management*

**Chapter 3: Sell Performance with the Spectacle of Sportsmanship (1919-1945):** A Greek Ideal of celebrity. Spectacle in a dedicated stadium venue—the golden era of hype, a celebrity coaches in concrete bowls, a reported in play-by-play radio broadcasts. Exemplar Coach: Notre Dame and Rockne. Non-coach contributor: Grantland Rice and commercialized Sportsmanship

**Chapter 4: Celebrate Entertainment with patriotism (1946-1970):** Roman Ideal of media spectacle in an entertainment stadium venue—era of televised sports in indoor stadia with athlete entertainers the subject of specialty magazines, NFL films, and ultimately sports channels; Branding the NFL. Exemplar: Green Bay and Lombardi. Non-coach contributor: Richard Nixon and football as his bridge to the Silent Majority.

<sup>81</sup> Kyle, Chapter 15.

<sup>82</sup> UCLA Bruins football coach Henry Russell ("Red") Sanders is the first to expressed variations of the sentiment to *LA Times* reporters in 1950 with regards to defeating USC. Lombardi later said striving to win is all that mattered, though he never actively sought to dispel the false attribution. David Maraniss, *When Pride Still Mattered: A Life of Vince Lombardi* (Simon & Schuster, 2000), chap. 21. Kindle.

<sup>83</sup> Itself a variation of the patriotic 1888 Union Pacific shield. Accessed Jan 2, 2019.  
<https://www.up.com/heritage/history/uplogo/logo02/index.htm>

This brings us to the concluding perils and promise of identity politics and how an appreciation of Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic can help. Perhaps this study's approach will have a short shelf life as the populist moment runs its course—or perhaps not. Whatever the solution, it will necessarily need call up what German-Arab political scientist Bassam Tibi conceptualized as a *Leitkultur* or “leading culture,” which Tibi initially applied to the absence of an European Union-based liberal Enlightenment rule of law anchored on belief in equality and democratic values.<sup>84</sup> An American *Leitkultur* would have to take into account Mandelbaum's level playing field, in which rules apply equally. In this way the sportsmanship of Arendt's action and engagement contains the gamesmanship of Tajfel's social identity.

The most prominent town crier is Francis Fukuyama. It was in *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) that he first elevated the third Socratic component of human nature (next to emotion and reason) to the notion of *thymos*, or need for respect and dignity. As Fukuyama saw it, *thymos* is a primary driver of history and thus, a critical component in the triumph of liberal democracy over communism and its residual “thymotic anger.”<sup>85</sup> Similar to the dynamics within Tajfel's social identity theory, Fukuyama's *thymos* is the recognition from others within a group that enables individuals to self-identify maintaining self-esteem. Failure to extend mutual recognition—or *isothymia* in Fukuyama's neoclassical compound formulation—creates a powerful sense of injustice that is the inharmonious source of grievance in populist politics. In this *thymotic* vein, those possessed with outsized egos and the need to be recognized as superior to others, exhibit *megalothymia*. They often become the charismatic leaders who claim they alone can right a perceived injustice. Whenever critics

<sup>84</sup> Bassam Tibi, *Europa ohne Identität, Die Krise der multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, (1998), cited in Fukuyama, *Identity Politics*, 315.

<sup>85</sup> “We cannot understand the totality of the revolutionary phenomenon unless we appreciate the working of thymotic anger and the demand for recognition that accompanied communism's economic crisis,” *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 179.

raise the blindingly obvious, namely that Fukuyama was overly eager to declare the lasting victory of liberal democracy, he points them to the end of *End of History*. There, as Exhibit A of *megalothymia*, he presented a certain real estate developer, Donald Trump, a “hugely ambitious individual whose energies had been (it seemed at the time) safely diverted into entrepreneurship.”<sup>86</sup> Although Trump’s energies could not be diverted, Fukuyama is not alone in his call for a the elevation of creedal identity that can corral the ethnic identities running herd on American politics.<sup>87</sup>

Almost a quarter century ago, sports historian Elliott Gorn and sports culture professor Michael Oriard suggested historians take a serious look at sports, precisely because they “are essentially ‘unscripted.’ This makes sports different from the other forms of entertainment, which are packaged by their creators.”<sup>88</sup> Sports are a proven authentic vehicle into which much of instinctive political tribalism/identity could be sublimated, though not—and this is important—without substantive follow up. Nelson Mandela could rally his vision of a rainbow South African nation around a Rugby World Cup championship, but the more difficult work of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission needed to follow.<sup>89</sup>

If nothing else we need to be reminded not to take ourselves too seriously, as the political finds non-threatening expression in sports. Consider Tajfel’s social identity theory,

<sup>86</sup> Francis Fukuyama, “For The Record: Identity and the End of History,” *American Interest*, August 23, 2018, <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2018/08/23/identity-and-the-end-of-history/>; *End of History*, 328

<sup>87</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *Identity: The Demand For Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018), chap. 14, Kindle. Amy Chua, *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations* (New York: Penguin, 2018), 317-320.

<sup>88</sup> Elliot Gorn and Michael Oriard, “Taking Sports seriously,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 41 March 24, 1995. A52. An ad promoting the National Football League’s championship game, the Super Bowl, once featured film director Francis Ford Coppola celebrating its authenticity—“you are really seeing something alive, that hasn’t been prepared... and you don’t know how it’s going to turn out.” Jennifer Mann, “Their Big Breaks are Finally Here,” *Knight Ridder*, January 30, 2000. Throughout his career Michael Oriard has made a valiant attempt to liberate literary constructs in his *Sporting with the Gods: Rhetoric of Play and Game in American Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Oriard is careful to distance his understanding of play from Johan Huizinga’s classic, highly Platonic construct of play in his *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1949). Until Oriard, the typical exploration made either perfunctory or elegiac references to the element of play, e.g. Paul Weiss, *Sport: A Philosophic Inquiry* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969), 23-25 and Michael Novak, *The Joy of Sports* (NY: Basic Books, 1976). Similarly sports have either been dismissed as frivolous or driven by consumer historians who assume “culture industry” of the consumer producers successfully operating with the capacities described in a promotional pamphlet from the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, that in 1909 proclaimed, “The chief work of civilization is to eliminate chance.” There ought be, “no room for the randomness of unpredictability.” Cited in Jackson Lears, “Playing with Money,” *Wilson Quarterly* XIX (Winter 1995): 20.

<sup>89</sup> For the promise and peril of restorative justice see its founding in Howard Zehr, *The Little Book of Restorative Justice: Revised and Updated* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2015), and Daniel W., Van Ness and Karen Heetderks Strong, *Restoring Justice: An Introduction to Restorative Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2014)

which has a long, perhaps even ironic provenance. It was Yale Coach Walter Camp's brother-in-law (whom he greatly admired), the classical liberal American social scientist William Graham Sumner, who was among the first to put a scientific spin on the social identity of the in-group and towards the out-group:

Loyalty to the group, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for outsiders, brotherhood within, warlikeness without,—all grow together, common products of the same situation. It is sanctioned by connection with religion. Men of an others-group are outsiders with whose ancestors the ancestors of the we-group waged war.<sup>90</sup>

This contempt for outsiders became the animating force of Fascism. German political theorist and Nazi jurist Carl Schmitt was clearly at odds with the French Enlightenment and the project of the perfectibility of man, when he tapped into political tribalism and bluntly declared, “Tell me who your enemy is, and I will tell you who you are.”<sup>91</sup> Yet as primitive as this may appear politically it becomes the grist for great humor when applied to sports. In a well-known episode of his eponymous show, comedian Jerry Seinfeld got at the heart of sports tribalism by pointing out that fans are so passionately committed to team identity (a secular *bigas solus*?) that when a favorite player is traded to rival team he is automatically booed by his once loyal fans, at the next game. And so “you’re actually rooting for the clothes when you get right down to it.”<sup>92</sup> Tajfel could not have put it better.

Finally, sports are with us to stay, especially the gamesmanship of big-time collegiate sports. In the past century only two big-time programs have succeeded in banishing football. President Maynard Hutchins became one of the two when he abolished intercollegiate football at the University of Chicago in 1939, and in the process became the puritan scold at

<sup>90</sup> William Graham Sumner, *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals* (New York: Ginn, 1906), 12-13.

<sup>91</sup> Carl Schmitt, *Theory of the Partisan: Intermediate Commentary on the Concept of the Political* (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2007), 85.

<sup>92</sup> “Loyalty to any one sports team is pretty hard to justify. Because the players are always changing, the team can move to another city, you’re actually rooting for the clothes when you get right down to it. You know what I mean, you are standing and cheering and yelling for your clothes to beat the clothes from another city. Fans will be so in love with a player but if he goes to another team, they boo him. This is the same human being in a different shirt, they “hate” him now. Boo! Different shirt!! Boo.” Episode no. 98 pc: 611, season 6, episode 11 Broadcast date: January 19, 1995 <http://www.seinfeldscripts.com/TheLabelMaker.html>. “Seinfeld-American sports fan,” accessed Jan 6, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6WSD6Y2YWj4>.

every sports fan's party. Thorsten Veblen's tart assertion, "Football bears the same relationship to education that bullfighting does to agriculture," has readily been misattributed to Hutchins ever since.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> This is a variation of Thorsten Veblen's pithy "the relationship of football to physical culture is much the same as that of the bull-fight to agriculture," *The Theory of The Leisure Class: An Economic Study in The Evolution of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 255-6; Elbert Hubbard and Felix Shay, eds. "An Exploded Idea" *The Fra: For Philistines and Roycrofters*, Volume 5, September 1910, 168. This witticism makes the periodic rounds among journalists looking for colorful characterizations by egghead sports killjoys. See Alex Beam in the *Boston Globe*, 11 June 2007, [http://archive.boston.com/ae/media/articles/2007/06/11/umass\\_ready\\_to\\_tackle\\_big\\_boys/](http://archive.boston.com/ae/media/articles/2007/06/11/umass_ready_to_tackle_big_boys/) and Barry Bearak, "Where Football and Higher Education Mix," *New York Times*, Sept. 16, 2011. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/17/sports/ncaaf/football/at-the-university-of-chicago-football-and-higher-education-mix.html>

## Chapter 2: Standardize Play Scientifically

*"It makes one exceedingly weary to hear people object to football because it is brutal. So is Homer brutal, and Tolstoi."*<sup>1</sup>

**Willa Cather (1894)**

*"The games of our college days and sports of our manhood are too often viewed in light of mere athletic spectacles, where victory is the sole desideratum. Those who give the subject a little serious consideration, however, recognize the lessons of the play-ground as having most lasting and most beneficial effects."*<sup>2</sup>

**Caspar Whitney (1895)**

*"More people march together contentedly and in democratic spirit along that broad folk highway of American sports than any other of the roads tried by human mankind."*<sup>3</sup>

**Walter Camp (1921)**

This chapter is the first of three in which the development of stadiums (play|performance|entertainment) provides the conceptual backdrop for the efforts of three coaches. The first of the three, Walter Camp, modeled his efforts to develop and standardize American Football on a British ideal of amateurism and sportsmanship. As the game Camp was shaping attracted increasing numbers of paying spectators and newspapers/magazines eagerly reported the games nationwide, the pressures to win mounted. Camp was confronted with the professionalism of gamesmanship: whether to pay coaches to win games in the bigger, permanent stadiums that would need to be built and funded and whether to shape the rules in a way that benefitted his team. Throughout his life Camp had to grapple with three hazards of football gamesmanship: physical violence to players, moral violence to students' characters, and ethical violence to institutional norms.

This chapter begins with an introduction that includes a conceptualization of the Gamesmanship|Sportsmanship Heuristic followed by a quick historical overview of football's early roots. It will then trace, over five periods, Camp's lifetime effort to

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<sup>1</sup> Willa Cather was at the University of Nebraska in 1893, while football was under fire and she took up its cause. By 1894, she claimed football, "is one of the few survivals of the heroic...there must always be a little of the barbarian lurking....When the last trace of that vital spark, that exultation of physical powers...that fury of animal courage dies out of the race, then providence will be done with us." She even collaborated with a classmate to create a literary piece won a title prize and was a place in a campus magazine, entitled, "The Fear that walks by Noonday." It is probably the first and thankfully the last of a genre, gothic horror football. Stephanie Vaughn, intro. Willa Sibert Cather, *My Antonia* (NY: Bantaam Classic, 2005), xii.

<sup>2</sup> Caspar W. Whitney, *A Sporting Pilgrimage* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1895), v.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Camp, "The Broad Folk Highway of American Sport," *American Scandinavian Review* 9(1921): 257, 271.



“scientifically” standardize and promote the sportsmanship (how you play the game) of American Football without overdoing the gamesmanship (whether you win) of Yale.

1875-1892 marks the formative years of the game when Camp was able to introduce “scientific” rules, and in an effort to reconcile sportsmanship and gamesmanship, helped introduce the amateur ideal in his annual selection of All-Americans for the rest of his life.

Between 1893-1904 Camp was forced to confront football’s first violence crisis as critics called for serious reforms or outright bans. He was able avert these by publishing the selective results of a study on football violence he headed, acknowledging gamesmanship while proclaiming sportsmanship.

1905 was the year of the second violence crisis, which again provoked calls serious reforms or bans, but this time it was serious enough for the White House to get involved. The rules committee was reconstituted and the forward pass introduced, opening up the game away from the mass plays that had wreaked violence in the past.

Between 1906-09, on the heels of the reforms, most West Coast schools abandoned American Football for rugby, or British Football. Another violence crisis looms but the reform efforts from the previous help mitigate it.

Finally, 1910-1918: Sadly, when Yale opened largest stadium in the nation, the team was already in a slow state of decline. Camp finally steps aside as Yale’s unofficial coach and directs his efforts towards the sportsmanship of fiscal fitness as a contribution to the war effort.

### **A Member of Every Rules Committee From 1879 to 1925.**

On the morning of March 15, 1925, Walter Camp never showed up for a final round of Football Rules Committee meetings in the Hotel Belmont in downtown Manhattan. Some of the concerned committee members went up to his room and after their knocking met no

response, broke through a door panel to discover a pajamaed Camp lying comfortably dead from what later was determined to have been a stroke. As reported in the *New York Times*, “Walter Camp [who] founded All-American Eleven selections and originated the Daily Dozen was always an innovator, continually making up new rules for his game. Among other things, he added such fundamental aspects as the play from scrimmage and the forward pass. He was a member of every rules committee from 1879 to 1925. Camp died during a recess in the 1925 meetings.” Apparently the creator of the Daily Dozen exercise routine and founder of the Senior Corps, a fitness organization for men aged 45-65, had his “Own Medicine Fail” according to one editorialist. Compared with front page coverage [of](#) the deaths of fellow master football coaches Knute Rockne and Vince Lombardi garnered six and thirty-five years later, Walter Camp’s page 20 honorable mention was anticlimactic considering his formative role in shaping the game. The obituary made a glancing note of his contributions to the game (incorrectly crediting him the forward pass), leaving the impression Camp played a technical support role, or as the *Daily Princeton* reported, “a great and generous sportsman and a lover of all amateur sport.” Camp, who had written nearly 30 books and contributed more than 250 magazine articles on sport and football, was no less important to the game and certainly not the unsullied sportsman he portrayed himself as. But by 1925, the spectacle of the game and its heroes, as embodied by the gamesmanship of superstar collegiate coaches like Knute Rockne, had simply become more important to Americans. Professional Coach Vince Lombardi would complete the process towards the unalloyed gamesmanship of a patriotic spectacle by winning professional football’s first two Super Bowls two years before his death in 1970.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> “Death of Walter Camp,” *American Physical Education Review* 30 (April 1925): 244; “Top ten moments in 20th century Yale athletics,” *Yale Daily News*, December 8, 1999, “Walter Camp Founded All-American Eleven Selections and Originated the Daily Dozen,” *New York Times*, March 15, 1925. 1. “Camp Rites Today, Will Be Private; Only a Few Friends and the Family to Attend Funeral at New Haven Home,” *New York Times*, March 16, 1925, 20. “Sporting World mourns the death of Walter Camp,” *The Princeton Daily*, March 16, 1925, 3; Julie Des

Ever since a teenager, Camp's life had been dedicated to developing and promoting football and working through the creative tension it brought with it: how to promote the sportsmanship (how you play the game) of American Football without over doing the gamesmanship (whether you win) of Yale Football. In many ways Walter Chauncey Camp, born the only child to schoolteacher parents in New Britain Connecticut in 1859, was born for football. When he was five, his small family moved to New Haven, home of Yale University. He resided there the rest of life. As they arrived, Yale, like most of her elite sister schools, was at the tail end of a long transition away from theology and literary societies towards business, secret societies, and especially athletic teams.

In 1873 a 14-year-old Camp witnessed twenty men in stately white flannels and blue trim jackets from Eton, England, introduce Rugby to Yale. The game, which featured players carrying an oblong ball rather than kicking a round one, had been the subject of Thomas Hughes wildly popular novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.<sup>5</sup> When it became available United States in 1857 it sold a phenomenal 225,000 copies its first year. Clearly the fictional Brown embodied what was for Americans, a very appealing Christian manliness and athletic heroism on the playing fields of Eton. Camp recalled years later being in such awe of these Eton men in a theatre after the game, he hardly noticed the play.<sup>6</sup>

Two years later Camp witnessed another formative Yale football game. The visiting Harvard team thoroughly dominated while playing under the modified rugby rules it had eagerly adopted from McGill University after a respectable showing at Montreal. The game was widely covered in the press as the show of an inferior hosting the largest and most prominent University in the country. "And since Yale needed Harvard more than Harvard

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Jardin, *Walter Camp: Football and the Modern Man* (New York: University of Oxford Press, 2015), 305.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's School Days*, No. 85 (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1895). Teddy Roosevelt believed that *Schooldays* was one of two books that every American should read. At a pilgrimage to Arnold's tomb in the school chapel, Pierre De Coubertin, the creator of modern Olympics, over romanticized both Arnold's contribution to Rugby football and sport's contribution to Imperial Britain when he commented that he was at "the very cornerstone of the British empire." See Collins, "Unexceptional Exceptionalism," 213.

<sup>6</sup> Des Jardin, *Walter Camp*, xi, 9, 11.

needed Yale,” Yale had been forced to give up its familiar kicking game to play on Harvard’s terms.<sup>7</sup> When Camp was invited to join the Yale team the next season, he joined a squad with a chip on its shoulder; they would only lose three times to Harvard over the next three decades. This was no accident.

On November 1877 morning, when an 18-year-old Walter Camp first entered the Massasoit House, Springfield Massachusetts—deemed a neutral meeting ground for the four members of the Intercollegiate Football Association (IFA), Princeton, Harvard, Yale, and Columbia—he was confronted with a basic problem: how do you standardize and promote American football in general (sportsmanship) without appearing to advantage your own team in particular (gamesmanship)? By 1889 he would publicly offer an idealized annual dream-team, the All-American Eleven, yet this patriotic ideal in the name of sportsmanship only masked the continued gamesmanship he would privately cultivate for his team. Only after 1910, once Yale football was in clear decline and he could no longer function as its informal coach, would Camp honestly be the sportsman and advocate for fitness he had always been.

College football for Yale (and all the Yale imitators over the years) “not only become the most efficient prestige making machine for America’s institutions of higher learning, it also developed at the same time into its most potent equalizing agent.”<sup>8</sup> In 1910, when Camp concluded the last of his four books on football with, “make it your sport to win,” he put gamesmanship ahead of sportsmanship. Little could he know at the time that he and Yale were at their zenith. He had participated as a Yale football player and coach for 34 years, won ninety-five percent of the time and was only defeated in 14 of over three hundred games. Much of this success went back to the 47 years he labored on football rules

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<sup>7</sup> Smith, *Freedom and Sports*, 76.

<sup>8</sup> Andrei S. Markovits and Lars Rensmann, *Gaming The World: How Sports are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 237.

committees (most of the time as editor of the annual official Spaulding copyrighted rulebook) and Camp's masterful ability to codify football rules that played into Yale's strengths.<sup>9</sup>

Until Julie Des Jardin's (2015) long overdue biography, the single previous academic study of Walter Camp in the last half century had correctly, but incompletely, summarized his contribution "[H]e helped change an informal interschool based game into a highly specialized, victory oriented spectacle."<sup>10</sup> While acknowledging this basic arc, Des Jardin has richly added to Camp portraits from her vantage of gender studies, examining the "brand of manhood he cultivated...[and] just how much the developments of football and American manhood have cut across races and classes and been indelibly intertwined."<sup>11</sup> But where Des Jardin sees Camp positioned at the eye of a perfect post-war storm around which a crisis in masculinity, the rise of college sports, American global economic preeminence and the archetype of the collegiate manhood all swirled, this study seeks to situate Camp's life within a larger American tradition.

Perhaps the vivid religious imagery cultural historian Jackson Lears has often employed can help visualize the dynamic relationship between gamesmanship and sportsmanship for both sports, as religion address the same human need for identity,

<sup>9</sup> Walter Camp, *The Book of Foot-Ball*, (New York: The Century Co., 1910), 258. Camp's passive-aggressive way of almost always having the final say in the many years of tense rule deliberations, was his discipline to sit back until someone invariably uttered, "well, let's see Walter thinks about it." Cited in Des Jardins, *Camp*, 7-8

<sup>10</sup> Until Julie Des Jardin's *Walter Camp: Football and the Modern Man*, the only academic study of Camp (aside from Harford Willing Hare Powell's celebratory, *Walter Camp: The Father of American Football: an Authorized Biography* (Freeport N.Y.: Books for Library Press, 1926) was Richard Borkowski's dissertation. Borkowski fell victim to a biographer's common tendency to elevate the unique elements of his subject over social context. Yet at the rare times that Borkowski was critical of Camp, he touched on all the soft spots of Camp's gamesmanship. Did Camp "legislate only to enhance the Yale position, did he accept credit for establishing the annual All-America team when credited belonged to another?" Furthermore, how does one reconcile Camp's life-long insistence that all aspects of collegiate sport remain amateur, when in fact he was equally insistent that he be paid for his coaching services, usually behind the scenes and under the table? Richard Patrick Borkowski, "The Life and Contributions of Walter Camp to American Football," (PhD diss., Temple University, 1979), ix, x; The Walter Camp Papers archived at Yale University (<https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4436>) make clear that not only is Camp the self-appointed guardian but also clearinghouse for all things football: much as consumers would expect a correspondence with Mr. Sears personally asking for unrealistic attention. Camp's inattention is as interesting as his attention as he often allows himself a cooling off period before responding to irate writers Des Jardins, *Camp*, xiii. 41.

<sup>11</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 5, 35

belonging, and unity in a shared quest.<sup>12</sup> For Lears, “regeneration was the molten core of American Protestantism—the fluid desire for immersion and divine grace...[This] molten core of conversion needed to be encased in a solid sheath of prohibitions, rules, agendas for self-control—the precisionist morality” or familiar Protestant ethic. This ethos of disciplined action was “counterbalanced by another Protestant ethic that sought ecstasy and celebrated free-flowing sentiment.” When the two ethics converged in a “cultural program that was, if nothing if not capacious: it encompassed spontaneity and discipline, release and control.”<sup>13</sup>

“Fluid desire” or “molten core” are apt descriptions of competitive gamesmanship “encased in a sheath” of sportsmanship’s evolving rules and codes. The capacious cultural program describes well a necessary plasticity in the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic: a spontaneously competitive gamesmanship actually shapes the sportsmanship’s discipline while still contained within its structure. The process of rationalizing an undeniable gamesmanship in the name sportsmanship in the form of patriotism (or a higher good) functions like an ever-accommodating shell, rather than a sheath, around a molten core.

This study will take Lears’ tension of spontaneity and discipline, release and control, into a new conceptual area. His tension, which he maintains is at the root of all American experience, was “translated at various times in secular, public terms,” most conspicuously into prominent consumerism and imperialism. He has yet to pluck the low hanging fruit, the

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<sup>12</sup> “For all their differences, religion and sport seem to have been made in the image of each other. Both are bathed in myth and sustained by ritual; both reward faith and patience; both thrive on passion tempered with discipline.” Thorstein Veblen suggested that “religious zeal” and “the sporting element” were different manifestations of the same need for humans to distinguish themselves and to believe in divine beneficence or mere good luck. As Veblen viewed the world on the eve of the twentieth century, “the habitation to sports, perhaps especially to athletic sports, acts to develop the propensities which find satisfaction in devout observances.” William J. Baker, *Playing with God: Religion and modern sport* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 2. Two telling examples: there are almost half a million mentions of Alabama “Crimson Tide” loyalty in obituaries. Accessed Jan 2, 2019, <http://tinyurl.com/Crimson-Tide-Obituaries>. In a typical season, according an article in a thought journal, “Pro sports teams are like what religion and sociology scholars call “totems”—symbols of greater entities that communities gather around for identity and unity.” Emile Durkheim revealed in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*—“Whenever a society (or, here, sports subculture) worships a divine form, it is, in fact, also simultaneously worshipping itself.” Michael Serazio, “Just How Much Is Sports Fandom Like Religion?” *The Atlantic*, Jan. 29, 2013., <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2013/01/just-how-much-is-sports-fandom-like-religion/272631/>.

<sup>13</sup> Lears traced the same lively/playful force binding an inherent yet creative tension throughout American history between a “culture of control” versus a “culture of release” the scrupulous ant versus the devil-may-care-grasshopper, or Main Street versus the Las Vegas Boulevard. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009), 5-7; Rick Lyman, “Luck and Pluck,” *New York Times*, December 18, 1999, B9, B11.

grace of place and belonging at the heart of gamesmanship.<sup>14</sup> Sports are after all, a unique form of entertainment in that they offer an immersive emotional experience of belonging—there is always a home team—in which spectators so identify with a team or player, they can experience the intensity of joy and despair of competition, shared win or loss, without the risks that generate such feelings in normal life.<sup>15</sup>

This chapter begins conceptually with an issue John Higham addressed in his seminal essay “Reorientation in culture in the 1880s” (1965). Why were Americans relatively content in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, to submit “docilely enough to the gathering restrictions of a highly industrialized society,” suddenly aroused out of this torpor in the last decade?

Higham answers:

A rage for competitive athletics and for out-of-doors activities of all kinds was sweeping the campuses of the nation. A combative team spirit became virtually synonymous with college spirit; and athletic prowess became a major determinant of institutional status. Football made the greatest impact. Sedulously cultivated by Yale in the 1880s, it expanded into a big business after Walter Camp in 1889 named the first All-American team. [This] transformation of colleges into theaters of organized physical combat...illustrates a master impulse that seized the American people in 1890s.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Lears, *Rebirth*, 7. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a rationalizing Protestant/Weberian marketplace (a “culture of control”) attempted to contain these lingering “subcultures of fantasy and sensuality.” Not surprisingly, this tension also played itself out in the consumer culture. Early 20<sup>th</sup> century advertisers realized that the irrepressible *carnavalesque* (through “the sorcery of the marketplace”), could be stabilized “by containing the dreams of personal transformation within the broader rhetoric of control.” The success of such an effort meant stabilizing the emergence of “a developing world of free-floating, shape-shifting selves” persistent in “a society where all meanings, values and identities seemed subject to change.” Jackson Lears, *Something For Nothing: Luck In America*, (New York: Viking, 2003), 4, 20, 38, 10, 9, 69.

<sup>15</sup> Similar to a religious revival experience unlike the rest of “the technological entertainment revolution, the cinema and popular music, the sport spectator’s experience is not passive – fans can participate in the events they witness, whether through gambling, identification with the participants or simply by contributing to the atmosphere at stadia. Because it offers the opportunity for personal identification with a player, team or sport, it provides a social significance magnified beyond that of other forms of entertainment.” Collins, *Capitalist Society*, 127.

<sup>16</sup> Within two years, John Naismith, a physical education instructor in what later became Smith College in Massachusetts, quickly introduced basketball as a winter off-season alternative to football, James Naismith, *Basketball: Its Origin and Development* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1941), 5. John Higham, “The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1880s,” in John Weiss, ed., *The Origins of Modern Consciousness* (Detroit, Wayne State Press, 1965), 26, 42. Higham took his inspiration from “the doctrine of the strenuous life” articulated and preached by Theodore Roosevelt before the Hamilton Club of Chicago in April 1899. Roosevelt admonished Americans to disdain the “the soft spirit of the cloistered life...the base spirit of gain” and instead, “boldly face the life of strife” for it is “only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.” Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life*, Vol. 12. *Review of Reviews*, 1904, 1, 21. Higham notes that hardy heroes in every genre from frontiersmen to Napoleon captivated American readers. William James, Frank Lloyd Wright and Frederick Jackson Turner each responded to the increasing constraints of positivism. They drew their inspiration from the scale of the country plumbing the “breadth” of American where comparable Europeans intellectuals probed the “depths” in their reaction to a fixed positivism. “James, Wright and Turner were in their own ways hardy, fighting men, full of the zest for new experiences, in love with novelty and experiment...eager to adapt philosophy, architecture and history to the ever changing needs of the present hour. 42. This quest and zest for sporting life both among participants and paying spectators amazed contemporary observers in what Higham surmises was a profound reaction to the “discipline of machinery” manifested in the time clocks introduced into offices and factories in the early 1890s which “signaled an advanced stage in the mechanization of life.” “Recording Time

Camp biographer Des Jardins assumes that this “master impulse” was a part of his “embrace of a new ideal of manhood, wholly unlike the Victorian ideal of old” that could help men harden themselves against degeneration.<sup>17</sup> In this she sees Camp addressing the 1890s anxieties Gail Bederman maintains prompted a wholesale shift in middle-class ideals of male identity.<sup>18</sup> In her highly influential collection of essays, *Manliness and Civilization*, Bederman examined a crisis born out of a threat. There was a serious middle-class concern that “teeming masses” of more physically active, primitive, non-white, non-Protestant immigrants threatened “over-civilized” traditionally restrained white Anglo-Saxon Protestant manhood with depletion. The only way for these overwhelmed, over-civilized men to counter this primitive threat was to fight fire with fire and meet it head on with a hyper “primitive masculinity” of their own. An earlier Victorian culture had valued high-minded self-restraint, chiefly expressed in manliness, a quality that distinguished men from boys. By the end of the nineteenth century, such moderation was not just effeminate but dangerously irresponsible given the threat. And so a new term, masculinity, was born, an attribute that distinguished men from women instead of boys, a strength associated with new, socially accepted, aggressive behaviors.<sup>19</sup>

What did this crisis of masculinity mean to most men? Rather than the aggressive, violent, body-to-body contact that Camp advocated and Bederman accepts as requisite to

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of Employees," *Scientific American*, LIX (August 12, 1893), 101, cited in Higham, 27.

<sup>17</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 41.

<sup>18</sup> The long standing argument that manhood seemed particularly threatened by what came to be called "over-civilization." Scientists believed the male body was more prone than the female to neurasthenia, a neurological illness discovered by physician George M. Beard and defined by him in 1881 as "a lack of nervous force" caused by modern civilization. More generally, over-civilization was linked to effeminacy and racial decadence, prompting intellectuals throughout Europe and Anglo-America to worry about the 11 emasculating tendencies of excessive civilization." On the relationship between neurasthenia and manliness, and on turn-of-the-century ideas about masculinity, see Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, 1995), 10, 16-23, 84-88.

<sup>19</sup> The term "overcivilization," was reintroduced in E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York, 1993), 251-55. George M. Beard presented a contemporaneous account of the same phenomenon in, *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York, 1881). Bederman's widely adopted periodization has an older manliness of self-restraint, control and responsibility giving way to a "primitive masculinity" as forces were "converging to make the ongoing gender process especially activity American middle-class." Although this is a variation of the larger "Strenuous Age" of the 1890s formulation popular with historians, Bederman rests the tension on the continuity of a dominant gender discourse, while allowing each of her subjects to shape it in their own way. *Manliness & Civilization*, 11. It still remained unanswered why the tension between manliness and civilization lost its appeal in the 1920s, 167. On those terms John F. Kasson, takes up Bederman's construct in, "Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man," *The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill & Wang (2001).



primitive masculinity, most men vicariously experienced football as spectators or joined the fraternal orders that were springing up in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. An 1897 estimate held that 10-20 percent of all adult American males belonged to a fraternal order, likely more than ever, set foot on a playing field. Following the fortunes of a team or enjoying the membership in an order, served the purpose of facilitating reconciliation to "a remote and problematic conception of manhood in Victorian America." What loyal fans and fraternal members all shared were "'corporate' idioms, rituals, proprietorship, and masculinity" whether experiencing an "ersatz mysticism" in the "spiritual oasis" of the lodge or a collective "endocrine system response" in the "liminal space" of a stadium.<sup>20</sup> An overview of the history of football suggests that a vicarious masculinity has long been the norm.

Most modern versions of football, or a ball primarily moved by kicking, originated in England. After the Roman Conquest in the first century, a free-for-all game very much like the Greek *harpaston* took root. A small, military-scale mob football evolved by the 12<sup>th</sup> century into fifty-man teams who played day-long matches, usually on Shrove Tuesday, moving balls across fields stretching for miles between villages.<sup>21</sup> Football was just one of

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<sup>20</sup> W.S. Harwood, "Secret Societies in America," *North American Review* 164 (May 1897): 620, cited in Marc Carnes, *Secret Ritual: Manhood in Victorian America*, (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 1. ix, 3, 11. A quarter of century earlier, Joseph Week, a conscientious census clerk by day and an effusive Knight's of Pythius historian at night had described his lodge as a "mystic wonderland" where a fantasy world was fused into the "small prosed domain of sense." Joseph D. Weeks, *History of the Knights of Pythius* (Pittsburgh: Joseph Weeks and Co., 1874), 284; cited in Marc Carnes, 158; Mary Ann. Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism*. Vol. 1024. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 4. Eric Simons, *The Secret Lives of Sports Fans* (New York: Gerald Duckworth & Co, 2013), 30. Victorians were not only attracted to Neo Gothic Medieval Mysticism, Teutonic and Arthurian Legends and masculine codes of chivalry but to Orientalism and eastern mysticism. In 1875 Col. Henry Steel Olcott founded the theosophical society for the promotion of esoteric and religious knowledge of spiritualism and eastern religions Five years later he traveled to Ceylon where he embraced a malleable, disjointed Buddhism which he quickly appropriated to found the Young Men's Buddhist Association. This Orientalist alternative to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) published the first "Buddhism Catechism" a western attempt to unify diverse eastern traditions. Buddhism held a special attraction as the "blank screen on which anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic Europeans could project their own desires," Donald S. Lopez Jr, *The Story Of Buddhism: A Concise Guide To Its History And Teachings* (San Francisco: Harper, 2001). 10.

<sup>21</sup> The ancient Greek game *harpaston* the earliest known forerunner of football was structurally little more than play/mayhem with a hint of rules. There was no limit to the number of players and the object was simply to move a ball across a goal line by kicking, throwing, or running with it with all the inherent risks of uncontrolled violence. Classical literature contains detailed accounts of the game, including its rougher elements, such as ferocious tackling and occasional gauging and biting. Antiphanes a comic poet of the fourth century B.C.E. depicts the game of harpaston as follows: "He caught the ball and laughed as he passed it to one player at the same time as he dodged another. He knocked another player out of the way, and picked one up and set him on his feet, and all the while there were screams and shouts: 'Out of bounds!' 'Too far!' 'Past him!' 'Over his head!' 'Under!' 'Over!' 'Short!' 'Back in the huddle!'" Stephen G. Miller, *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2004), 120. The long-standing account is Francis Peabody Magoun,

many sporting *recreations* colonial Americans imported from British commercial fairs that featured horse racing, animal baiting, stick fighting, cockfighting, and an occasional round of informal football. At annual fairs, weekly market days, or wherever business was transacted with any regularity, these rough and ready, mostly male competitions seamlessly supplemented the commerce with rounds of drinking, wagers, prizes, swearing, and brawling. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century both boxing and horse racing had been standardized and codified, primarily to stabilize betting odds.<sup>22</sup>

Although a form of the football using a blown-up bladder had been played in the colony of Virginia as early as 1609, it was the version played at elite early 19<sup>th</sup> century American colleges (which at the time young teenagers could attend) rather than public schools, which would define the game. For decades these institutions walked a thin line between attracting and retaining students, earning the respect of parents, and securing the accreditation of the colonies and later the state. By 1820 students at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) played a soccer-like game, called balloon, in which they advanced the ball by punching it with their fists. These contests soon devolved into popular mob-like interclass freshman-sophomore shoving matches that happened to involve a ball. Three decades later the interclass rivalry had spread to other campuses. By the middle of the 19th century a “muscular Christian” football with sportsmanship beginnings was popularized at the progressive public (private) Rugby prep school and fictionalized in the *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* that inspired Camp. This Rugby football soon bifurcated into two distinct

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"Football in Medieval England and Middle-English literature," *The American Historical Review*, 35 (October 1929): 33-45. In the following centuries football became so popular that various English monarchs banned the game outright as it diverted interest from the more martially useful sport of archery. Scottish monarchs attempted to squelch the emerging game of golf for the same reason, while Renaissance Florentines took the opposite tack, reviving the *harpastum* in the no-holds-barred *calcio storico* still played annually. "Acts of Parliament banning golf," *National Library of Scotland*, <http://digital.nls.uk/golf-in-scotland/banned/1457-act.html>. Accessed August 17, 2015; Sam Borden, "A Most Dangerous Game," *New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/01/sports/the-most-dangerous-game.html>, accessed July 1, 2015.

<sup>22</sup> Among the many overviews maintaining the staying power this interpretation of middle class contribution to sports development are Elliot Gorn, "Spectator Sports" in Eric Foner and John Garraty, eds., *The Reader's Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991), 1017-1020; and most recently Steven A. Riess, ed., *A Companion to American Sport History* (John Wiley & Sons, 2014), Chapter 9.

competing visions of play and tolerances of physicality and potential violence.<sup>23</sup>

On October 15, 1852 (three months after the first Harvard-Yale boat race) “an interested looker-on” in New Haven, Connecticut, reported, “in almost every University in America there is some contest to decide the strength and agility of the freshman and sophomore classes.” This football “trial of strength” was witnessed by hundreds of spectators and was a sport in which “combatants manifested as much interest and invincible courage as was ever exercised upon the plains of Mexico by the American soldiers,”<sup>24</sup> and it was this variant of football Civil War troops played, along with baseball, driving both closer towards standardization.

The first American football game is traditionally the 1869 intercollegiate match Rutgers challenged Princeton to in a series of three games of which only two were played. Although the soccer-like game would have been mostly unrecognizable to football spectators today, the participation of four Rutgers players who were failing their math classes, would not.

Four years later graduate student advisors from Harvard and Princeton, Columbia and Yale met to coordinate the sportsmanship of the game. Even this informal cadre were forced to resolve gamesmanship issues so intractable they’ve vexed rules committees since (i.e. what are the rules on and off the playing field; who is eligible to play and/or coach and how long; and the radioactive issue of amateurism, what if any kind of compensation should

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<sup>23</sup> In 1823, in Rugby, England, according to an unfounded legend, William Webb Ellis “with a fine disregard for the rules,” as inscribed on the monument at Rugby Public School commemorating the moment, picked up a soccer ball and ran with it. “Fine disregard” wonderfully captures the dual complicity in the founding of the game both on the part of Ellis who blatantly ran with the ball and the participants who didn’t punish him. This was a “manly” body contact sport, where kicking, punching, and tackling opponents should be legal. Those who didn’t pick up the ball preferred a courtly, “civilized, gentlemanly” game, focusing instead on contact with the ball. During the 1860s, the proponents of both the “manly” physical football (played with both hands and feet) and traditional “civilized, gentlemanly” football (played exclusively with feet) met and codified their respective rules. The former became “Rugby” while, the latter with its gentlemanly association, keen to preserve the “sacred foot game” became known as “association football”, or “assoc football”, or finally “Soccer.” Ever since the first contest at Harvard in 1874, when rugby diverged from football, it has remained a polite staple in the Ivy League well in the shadows of American football. “Ragged Glory,” *Rolling Stone*, January 24, 1991, 33-38. Unlike baseball, the origins of football were already reported to Americans before the game had fully developed into its American variation. “Foot-ball” *Harper’s Weekly*, December 20, 1879, 986; Harry Beecher, “American and English Foot-ball,” *Harper’s Weekly*, November 16, 1889, 905-8, 922. For the evolution of Rugby from a Figurational Sociological perspective see Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (New York: New York University Press, 1979).

<sup>24</sup> “An interested looker-on,” reported “Yale Foot Ball Game,” in *New-York Times*, Oct. 18, 1852.

players and coaches receive especially from winning teams flush with gate receipts?). This gamesmanship has never ended and probably never will as long as universities continue to engage in the time-honored American tradition of using sports to jockey for institutional legitimacy.<sup>25</sup> Thus when Harvard and Yale played football for the first time in November 1875—the game Camp witnessed—it was unequivocally on Harvard's terms, played by its rules and with its ball, shaping the game and Camp forever.<sup>26</sup>

The following November, representatives of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia answered an invitation from Princeton to attend a conference. After some “self-interested politicking,” that would become the staple of almost all future intercollegiate conventions, the schools chartered a new set of football rules and the formation of the Intercollegiate Football Association (IFA). Although the Rugby-like rules of Harvard prevailed, certain soccer rules were also incorporated. So it was settled. By the end of 1879, a commentary in *Harper's Weekly* prematurely proclaimed football, “of all the athletic games,...perhaps the easiest to comprehend.”<sup>27</sup>

### 1875-92: Yale to crisis in terms of Camp?

1875-1892 marks the formative years of the game when Camp was able to introduce “scientific” rules, and in an effort to reconcile sportsmanship and gamesmanship, helped reinforce the amateur ideal in his annual selection of All-Americans for the rest of his life. Football was spreading across the nation especially via magazines to which Camp often

<sup>25</sup> In the 1890s, a period when more institutions of higher education were founded than any other before the post-World War II boom, it was necessary to establish an institutional aura of inevitability and tradition. Aside from erecting Oxford-style neo-gothic quads, the best way to create such legitimacy was to field a football team that could challenge any of the big three Harvard, Princeton and Yale. John Hopkins (1876) and the University of Chicago (1892) are exemplars of this formula. Hugh Hawkins, “The University,” in Kutler Stanley I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 4. (New York: Scribner's, 1996), 1820.

<sup>26</sup> The first matchup in New Haven in 1875 between the victorious Harvard and host Yale, the Harvard “adapted rules were not fully understood by either team” A year later when 18-year-old Walter Camp joined the Eli team, “beating Harvard any costs as the primary goal.” They practiced two hours before after class and ran 3 miles afterwards. “The Harvard–Yale football game— Harvard's Victory” *Boston Daily Globe*, Nov. 14, 1875, 5. Twenty years later the profits from an 1894 overflow crowd at a game hosted by Harvard were almost \$11,000 for each team. When adding in \$75,000 railroads charged the 15,000 spectators who arrived at Springfield by train, The *New York Times* calculated that gross revenues at \$119,000 or \$2 million in 1990s dollars. Watterson, *College Football*, 17.

<sup>27</sup> “Foot-ball,” *Harper's Weekly*, December 20, 1879, 986; Oriard, *Reading Football*, 26.

contributed background pieces, explaining the annual rule changes. From the beginning his greatest nemesis and critic was the formidable Harvard President Charles Eliot who never missed an opportunity to denounce Camp and his rules committee for the manner in which their game sullied universities. When the committee fractured in 1889, Camp responded with the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic by cocreating the annual list of All-American teams. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School football team, that literally consisted of Native All Americans, some of whom made it on Camp's list, demonstrated how quickly and how high gamesmanship could catapult an obscure vocational school, especially if they defeated Harvard as they did.

Since the 1980s scholars have widely accepted the fact that sportsmanship was “sodden” (to borrow the phrase from the 1929 Carnegie Report) with gamesmanship.

Ronald Smith summarized the collegiate Sportsmanship dilemma well: "If a college has truly amateur sport, it will lose prestige as it loses contests; if a college acknowledges outright professional sport, the college will lose respectability as a middle-class or upper-class institution."<sup>28</sup>

After graduating in 1880, Camp entered Yale medical school so he could continue to play on the team and figure out a way to remain associated with it. And so began a lifetime of moonlighting as Yale football's unofficial advisor/coach and its standing representative at the annual intercollegiate rules conferences. Within two years he introduced the game's system of downs, created the position of quarterback, set the number of players at eleven and instituted a game clock that stopped between plays. By his third year he abandon<sup>ed</sup> medicine, picked up a clock sales job in Manhattan, quit and joined the sales team the New

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<sup>28</sup> Smith's eight markers of professionalism are the standard: 1. Competition for valuable, non-cash prizes; 2. Competition for money prizes; 3. Competition against professionals; 4. Charging money at the gate; 5. Costs of a training table not borne by the athlete; 6. Payment of athletic tutors by other than the athlete; 7. Recruitment and payment of athletes; and 8. Payment of a professional coach. *Sports and Freedom*, 168.

Haven Clock Company, the nation's fourth largest timepiece manufacturer. Two more years and Camp was able to get back to New Haven and company headquarters as he slogged up the ranks of the company, assistant treasurer, treasurer and finally president by 1902.

In 1888 he married his favorite Yale Professor's much younger half-sister Alice. William Graham Sumner was a prominent libertarian voice within the fields of political economy and sociology and his "root, hog or die" philosophy was wildly popular with the many future business leaders among Yale students. Alice proved to be a very compatible partner as she became Walter's eyes and ears at games and practices when business took him away, becoming the informal coach's informal coach, the go-between the team captain and her husband.<sup>29</sup>

Camp never considered himself a coach and only started using the term—as a combination trainer, strategist, father figure—in connection with Amos Alonso Stagg, the most successful of his many former Yale players who fanned out over the Midwest and South and spread the gospel of football by offering their services almost always at Camp's behest. Students and faculty at colleges across the nation had a high level of awareness of life on other campuses as they eagerly gleaned each other's student newspapers and academic journals for the latest trends. A new football team, especially a successful one, coached by a former Yale player, *vanquishing* a nearby rival, sent a frisson across many campuses. When students began wearing their school colors on campus and at games, administrators and trustees realized a valuable gamesmanship (of totemic identity and belonging) was mushrooming before them. The Trustees of the University of North Carolina were typical new converts when they testified football has "grown to be not only a means of physical and moral culture but a great source of strength to the university and a great rallying point for

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<sup>29</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 29, 43, 63.

college enthusiasm.”<sup>30</sup>

In considering the allure of the most potent and portable intercollegiate trend it is necessary to sort for the best historic approach. Since the 1980s three schools of sports history have emerged to explain the rise of modern sports. Given Camp’s predilection for rationalization, the most widely accepted Weberian modernization school i.e. that ritual play was progressively systematized into organized sport, would appear to be the logical fit.<sup>31</sup> The school at a distant second, a cultural off shoot of modernization, is based on Figural Sociology whose central tenet is the civilizing process: play was increasing civilized into modern sport as the more violent elements were systematically delegitimized, a focus that makes sense in explaining the development of rugby.<sup>32</sup> The third school rests on Eric Hobsbawm’s “long 19<sup>th</sup> century” that insisted that organized “sports are capitalism at play,” i.e. the competitive binary mindset of play became commodified as it aligned itself with the winning and losing intrinsic to capitalism.

Because of the strong emphasis this study places on gamesmanship and its conceptual drive to win, while belonging to and identifying with a tribe, the third school makes the most sense. Its most prominent proponent is British sports historian Tony Collins, whose transnational examination of sport development opens the traditional, nationally bounded sports studies to rich and fresh insights, especially when it comes to Camp’s efforts to reconcile the gamesmanship drive to win, however imperfectly, with the very norms of sportsmanship he initially identified with the British amateurism.

<sup>30</sup> “Trustee Minutes,” Vol. 8, 459-61, University of North Carolina Archives, cited in Gerald R. Gems, *For Pride, Profit and Patriarchy: Football and the Incorporation of American Cultural Values* (Latham, MD and London, The Scarecrow Press: 2000), 89.

<sup>31</sup> Allen Guttmann’s *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978) is a development of a neo-Weberian theory of the origins and expansion of modern sport, in which the informal sporting custom and habits of the past became formalized and codified through a now familiar checklist— secularism, equality, specialization, rationalization, bureaucratization, quantification, and the quest for records.

<sup>32</sup> Raymond A. Morrow, *Norbert Elias and Figural Sociology: The Comeback of the Century* (2009): 215-219. Eric Dunning and Kevin Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Study of the Development of Rugby Football* (2nd edition. London: Routledge, 2005). Eric Dunning, and Rojek, Chris. eds., *Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process: Critique and Counter-Critique* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1992); Eric, Dunning, Dominic Malcolm, and Ivan Waddington, eds., *Sport Histories: Figural Studies in the Development of Modern Sports* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Eric Dunning, *Sport Matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence, and Civilization* (New York: Psychology Press, 1999).

In the past, historians have taken Camp at his word when he described his role in the development of American football as a uniquely scientific American undertaking apart from the other developing strands of international football. It is clear that Camp enjoyed an informed understanding of these strands in other English speaking nations especially when Collins examined Camp's claim closer Camp's selective understanding. If Camp overestimated the sportsmanship within the various strands of British amateur football while overlooking the gamesmanship within a growing professional sector, did he then have more license to underplay and rationalize away the gamesmanship within the sportsmanship rules he so successfully shaped? And how much sportsmanship should one realistically expect as long as it is able to contain the fiercest elements of gamesmanship?

Collins recent transnational scholarship comparing the parallel development of variant 19th century football (Rugby, Soccer, American Football, Canadian and Australian variations) and Camp's place in it, makes something eminently clear. Camp promoted a game with a rationale within his narrow understanding of British amateurism, a natural oversight considering his university affiliation and that of his British counterparts. In Britain he saw and admired a global empire, well managed in the spirit of "football only as it was played at Oxford and Cambridge universities by upper middle-class young men schooled in the codes of amateurism." In reality there was a growing gamesmanship in both Camp and the "men who ran professional soccer and rugby leagues in industrial Britain [who] were often no less managerial or technocratic than Camp and his fellow American football coaches."<sup>33</sup>

As will also become clear in this chapter, in the name of the scientific progress, Camp modified his game in much the way a lobbyist (for Yale in his case) progressively crafts an annual, never-ending tax code in the good name of the American people. In so

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<sup>33</sup> Tony Collins, "Unexceptional Exceptionalism: The Origins of American Football in a Transnational Context," *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (2013): 209-230, 226;



doing Camp had much more in common with the gamesmanship of the British professional football model he was unwilling and unprepared to recognize, especially when he institutionalized an idealized sportsmanship of his creation of All-Americans,<sup>34</sup> In this way he acted on this study's *Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic: pursue gamesmanship while claiming sportsmanship, then when the gamesmanship is undeniable reconfigure it as a new sportsmanship in the form of patriotism (or any other good)*.

Camp was hardly alone his ability to pursue a gamesmanship in the name of sportsmanship. Of the one to two hundred books on American collegiate football that appear every year, few situate it within the longer story of higher education seeking to define its role in a competitive and diverse society.<sup>35</sup> Among the best is Brian Ingrassia's *Rise of Gridiron University* that places the game squarely within the Progressivist project to contain socio-economic uncertainties with scientifically based reforms as its leaders saw it. They thought they could channel the popularity of football to their own nobler ends. And yet "ironically at the same time scholars were creating reforms that would make the cultural ritual of sports safe for the Academy, they were also crafting professional safeguards that would protect them from a disorderly sort of the society that embraced football."<sup>36</sup>

Then there is also the subject of Camp's affections on whose behalf he was willing to employ unrelenting gamesmanship. The New Yale. The Yale "spirit" (versus the Harvard "reserve") in the 1880s was more than met the eye and ear on the playing field. From 1876-

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<sup>34</sup> Tony Collins, "Unexceptional Exceptionalism," 225, and *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), chap. 4. *How Football Began: A Global History of How the World's Football Codes Were Born* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2018), chap. 15; Des Jardin, 22, 27.

<sup>35</sup> On a typical year 150 plus books of varying quality on college football appear, <https://www.goodreads.com/shelf/show/college-football>. Included in this yearly crop are those on the origins of collegiate football in which the author typically rediscovers a variation of the archeology truism, "they were much more sophisticated earlier than we thought." See Dave Revsine, *The Opening Kickoff: The Tumultuous Birth of a Football Nation* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2014); typical are lists of hagiographic lists starting with Walter Camp's *Football* (1892), Josh Martin, "College Football: The 50 Greatest Books on the Sport," *Bleacher Report*, February 9, 2011. The most significant is Tony Collin's transnational account of American football within the context of global football development, *How Football Began: A Global History of How the World's Football Codes Were Born* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2018). Accessed July 2, 2018, <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/600607-college-football-the-top-50-greatest-books-on-the-sport>

<sup>36</sup> Brian Ingrassia, *Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance With Big-Time Football* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012), 5-11,

1910 the Yale Bulldogs went 315-14-18 and claimed 19 national titles. Behind Camp's gamesmanship "football factory," an ethos of rationalization and commercialization predominated that reflected the broader industrial values at Yale confirmed in the fourfold increase in business majors between 1849 and 1891.<sup>37</sup> It was at these cultural crossroads at Yale that Walter Camp directed the development the game. In 1891 he could confidently assert, "If ever a sport offered inducements to the man of executive ability, to the man who can plan, foresee and manage, it certainly is football."<sup>38</sup> Harvard, by way of contrast, was still dominated by a Boston aristocracy that had more in common with a British landed gentry.<sup>39</sup> She was still drawing students from a traditional, old-moneyed class that could afford to distance itself from the hugger-mugger elements of society and make a better show of honoring sportsmanship's amateur ideals.<sup>40</sup>

Given Yale's more aggressive business orientation and Camp's profession as a watchmaking executive, it is unsurprising that most serious studies of football have noted direct parallels between "the father of American football's" efforts to break down the randomness of football into quantifiable manageable parts and what Fredrick W. Taylor "the father of scientific management" called the "one best way." Between 1880-82 Camp broke down the randomness of rugby in the same manner Taylor did the workplace--he studied, timed, quantified, graphed, plotted, and rationalized it. Taylor eventually identified the four

<sup>37</sup> The perfect year was 1909 in which Camp's teams scored 209 points with 0 against. When Camp actively "advised" them they won 285, lost only 14 and tied 12 from 1883 to 1910. Valenzi, xi. Whereas only 9 percent of the students in the class of '49 had gone into business in 40 percent did in 1891, Des Jardins, *Camp*, 41, 145. The two standard texts of the history of higher education echo a similar theme. See Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 289. Lawrence Vescey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 440 and Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976.), esp. chapters 3 and 8. For a study in the contrast in the between Harvard and Yale Universities and their demographic makeup and how this was reflected in their respective promotion of football see Allen Sack, "The Commercialization and Rationalization of Intercollegiate Football: A Comparative Analysis of the Development of Football at Yale and Harvard in the Latter Nineteenth-Century" (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1974.) A scholar of this phenomenon has suggested it acted as a "perfect storm" in which all the critical elements converged: the professional and collegiate merged on one level while a working class physicality blended with a self conscious middle class commercialism on another and at the vortex was pseudo-religious spectacle. Gems, 139.

<sup>38</sup> Walter Camp, "Team Play in Foot-ball," *Harper's Weekly*, October 31, 1891, 845.

<sup>39</sup> Sack. vii, 25, 143-144. According to one of the earliest sports sociology studies in the early 70s, this success was perhaps socio-economic. Yale's student body drew in a greater diversity of students, one predominated by a modern, nouveau-riche class with professional ideals that richly rewarded a win-at-all-costs ethos on and off the field. Borkowski, nt. 1, 27. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 23.

<sup>40</sup> Robert Shaffer "Walter Camp, Brutality, and Mass Momentum Plays in College Football: 1874-1905" (MA Thesis: Penn State, 1976), 37-47.

precepts of scientific management as: a.) Science, b.) Harmony, c.) Cooperation and d.)

Maximum output. According to cultural sports historian Michael Oriard each have

identifiable cognates in football in a.) development of plays b.) appropriate player/position

assignments and training, c.) cooperation between captain, coaches and quarterbacks and d.)

logical delineation of responsibilities, respectively.<sup>41</sup> However Taylorism as a science ran

afoul of workers wherever it was applied and scrutinized and as Tony Collins has discovered,

Camp's predilection towards industrializing the playing field would hardly have been new to

an industrialist in Northern England trying to professionalize Rugby.<sup>42</sup>

*Table 2.1 | Camp Chronology in early American Football*

**1873** Yale defeats Eton under hybrid rules

**1875** Yale defeated under Harvard rules

**1876** Camp scores in first Thanksgiving Day game

**1880** Camp introduces rules to reduce the number of players to eleven, the snapback and scrimmage

**1881** Annual Thanksgiving Day Princeton-Yale game attracts 5,000 spectators

**1882** Camp introduces downs for possession

**1888** Full body tackles and blockers lead to mass plays

**1889** All-American Team introduced

**1890** Annual Thanksgiving Day game attracts 35,000 spectators

<sup>41</sup> Frederic Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911), 25. Oriard 45-8; Smith, 87-9. Frank Gilbert a Taylor acolyte helped and fine-tune the center snap to economize on his movements at Brown University. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 80. Whitney, Caspar, ed. "The Sportsman's View-Point," *Outing*, Monthly Department, 1900-1905.

<sup>42</sup> After the scientific soundness of Taylor's one best way was questioned he was subject to a series of Congressional hearings and public criticism after his scientific management was applied to the notorious inefficient Watertown Arsenal with worsening results. The U.S. House of Representatives authorized a "Special Committee" chaired by Congressman W. B. Wilson (a former miner eager enough to make a name he later became President Wilson's Secretary of Labor), to investigate "Taylor and Other Systems of Shop Management." When the workers struck, the hearings took on urgency and suspicions rose that Taylor's system had contributed to the mess. "House Congressional Hearings Watertown Arsenal," Oct. 4 1911, *United States Congress*, House, Special Committee, "Hearings to Investigate Taylor and Other Systems of Shop Management," 3 vols. (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1912.). It was the testimony of Abraham Jacob Portenar, fifty-year-old Brooklyn typographer, who got right down to the heart of the Taylorism. "You tell the manager over and over again that he shall do such and such things to enable him to fix a fair wage. But you make one party to the agreement the sole judge of what is fair and thereby show that you have not comprehended human nature." United States Congress, House, Special Committee. Hearings to Investigate Taylor and Other Systems of Shop Management. 3 vols. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1912): 1388. Ray Stannard Baker, "Frederick Winslow Taylor: Scientist in Business Management," *American Magazine* 71 (1911): 564-70. "Answer to criticism of Mr. Upton Sinclair." Taylor, F.W. - Articles "The principles of scientific management." *The American Magazine* March - May, 1911. The Frederick Winslow Taylor manuscript collection. Stevens Digital Collections Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/Stevens-Digital-Collection-FT> In his manuscript response Taylor emphasizes that it's not just a matter of the employer and employee contract but also the consumer benefits and therefore "the greater part of the benefit coming from all industrial improvements. (Taylor inserted all in the manuscript). He notes Schmidt/Noll was not exceptional—"He is merely a man more or less of the type of ox, heavy both mentally and physically." Besides the productivity was not "due to this man's initiative or originality that he gave his big days work, but the knowledge of pic are handling and developed and taught him by someone else." Although he initially writes "this system"—And crosses it out and adds "scientific management." For the standard work biography see Robert Kanigel, *The One Best Way: Frederick Winslow Taylor and the Enigma of Efficiency* (New York: Viking, 1997). Collins, *How Football Began: A Global History of How the World's Football Codes Were Born* (New York: Routledge, 2019), chap. 10; *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 33.

In a 1951 seminal article, "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion"

sociologists David Riesman and Reuel Denney offer an interpretation few if any in sports history have questioned, namely "that Walter Camp was the single individual responsible for the development of American football from its rugby origins." While Camp was certainly a football innovator (and perhaps monomaniac), as Tony Collins notes "he was also an adept publicist for his chosen sport...It is not unrealistic to suggest that Camp used national identity as a way to legitimize the rule changes that he promoted."<sup>43</sup> This is a fundamental component of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic Camp: claiming sportsmanship in a form of patriotism.

Collins undertook a detailed analysis of Camp's 1886 recollection of his rationale behind of the significant rule changes (scrimmage, snapbacks, and downs) he had codified just 3-5 years earlier. Camp offered reasons for the changes that usual meant putting national distance between his more scientific American football and a sloppier British rugby. What Camp could not or would not appreciate was how at the time, all variations of football were at a shared intersection of development with internationally fluid rules. For example, Camp was not the only one concerned with scrimmage (how the ball was put into play) for in 1875, five years prior to Camp, the Australians and Canadians had addressed similar concerns. This casts doubt on the standard history of American football that Camp's introduction of the scrimmage was his "newest and most revolutionary proposal."<sup>44</sup> Also all roads to football innovation did not have to go through Yale and Harvard; other schools hosted international competitions as an early visit by the University of Toronto to the University of Michigan in

<sup>43</sup> David Riesman, and Reuel Denney, "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion," *American Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1951): 309-325. Collins, "Exceptionalism," 224.

<sup>44</sup> In 1886 Camp offered a detailed explanation of where he saw the divergence between the rugby and American codes of football. He credited the British Rugby Football Union (RFU) for offering 59 initial codes that American Intercollegiate Football Association (IFA), in its first meeting in 1876, were forced to rectify rules eight and nine because of their "ambiguities" about when a ball was dead. In actuality the IFA changed neither of the two rules but instead standardized the field and reduced team size to 15 players something the RFU later adopted. For an in depth discussion of the rule selection see Collins, "Unexceptional Exceptionalism," 214-216. William Baker, *Sports in The Western World*, rev. edit, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 129,

1879 attests.

Collins suggests that Camp's abolition of the scrum for the scrimmage was actually part of a larger trend among all the developing strands of football to reduce the number of players to eleven and thereby reduce the "monotonous shoving matches." In fact, the term *scrimmage* was not an American development as Camp later claimed, but rather a variation of *scrimmage* in use in rugby until the beginning of the 1900s.<sup>45</sup> Even the forward pass, the truly distinguishing American game feature, finally adopted in 1906 (ironically against Camp's objections), had its antecedents in lateral and rear passing, now staple in Rugby but also once with Harvard before 1880.<sup>46</sup>

**Table 2.2 | Chronology of British Football**

<b>1870</b>	<i>Blocking used in rugby</i>
<b>1871</b>	Princeton Football Association <i>rules similar to current Australian Football</i>
<b>1875</b>	The American Intercollegiate Football Association (IFA) <i>reviews the British Rugby Football Union (RFU) rules</i>
<b>1875</b>	<i>Canadian and Australian football clubs review and revise scrum rules</i>
<b>1879</b>	RFU <i>adopts IFA rule standardizing field size</i>
<b>1879</b>	<i>University of Toronto visits the University of Michigan and plays under RFU rules</i>
<b>1888</b>	<i>Blocking banned by RFU</i>
<b>1890</b>	<i>Positions quarterback, half-back and full-back used in Scottish and Irish Rugby</i>
<b>1892</b>	RFU <i>adopts select IFA rule reducing team size</i>
<b>1893</b>	<i>Blocking goalkeeper banned in Association Football (Soccer)</i>
<b>1895</b>	RFU and Northern Rugby Football Union <i>split over issues of professionalism and fan-friendly scoring rules</i>
<b>1928</b>	<i>Canadian Football introduces forward pass</i>
<b>1960</b>	RFU <i>finally clears up ball retention rule</i>

<sup>45</sup> In controlling the volatility of scrum in which the ball might shoot out in any direction and more importantly, offered a competitive advantage as teams used to playing with eleven member teams tended to defeat those used to fifteen. *Bell's Life in London*, October 16 1875 cited Collins, "Unexceptional Exceptionalism," 218. The international play between Canadians and Americans involved a transnational exchange more extensive than the familiar Harvard and Yale narratives. In 1879 the University of Toronto visited the University of Michigan and played under RFU rules but with eleven players. "The success of the game was such that at the return match in Toronto the following year the Canadians opted for eleven-a-side rather than fifteen. The efficacy of the open-formation scrum tactic could also be seen in 1885, when Michigan visited Ontario to play against Windsor and recorded an 8–2 victory despite playing under fifteen-a-side rugby rules," *Detroit Free Press*, November 2, 1879; *Michigan Argonaut*, November 14, 1885. Collins, 219.

<sup>46</sup> In the 1870s Harvard employed lateral passing with such precision against Canadian teams the latter complained of its "almost monotonous success" against them. *Montreal Gazette*, November 2, 1880. For an admiring description of the lateral pass in action, see "The American game of foot-ball," *Century Magazine*, October 1887, 890, cited in Collins, "Exceptionalism," 221.

Much of Camp's powerful narrative is based on the fact that he was an inveterate publicist for football and his version of it. His contributions found a ready space in the growing number of weekly and monthly magazines. Between 1870-1900 the US population doubled while the urban population tripled and newspaper circulation rose from 2.6 to 15 million. During this time, shared enjoyment of sports pages was busy breaking down class boundaries. There were no modern monthly mass-circulation magazines until 1885, but by 1900 there were about twenty. Their total circulation soared from 18 million in 1890 to 64 million in 1905, easily exceeding daily papers and weeklies, becoming "the major form of repeated cultural experience for the people of the U.S."<sup>47</sup> The increasing sports coverage was reflected in the first comprehensive sampling of advertising in these monthlies published in 1905. Between 1890-1904 alone advertising pages increase and average 6 fold between.<sup>48</sup>

According to consumer historian James Twitchell, the structural history of magazines and newspapers in general and their formatting in particular, were driven by their advertisers. This tail wagging the dog, interestingly enough, is similar to the manner in which the rules of sportsmanship were often shaped by the competitive gamesmanship they contained.

Camp's competitors also actively contributed to magazines. Many educators, such as

<sup>47</sup> "Not only did the daily press create football as an American spectacle, then, it created sport as an American institution that dismantled class boundaries" The role of newspapers in the propagation of football's popularity is the leitmotif of the first in-depth cultural analysis of the game. See Michael Oriard's *Reading Football*, 446. The US Postal Service, 1879 gave magazines low-cost mailing privileges with unintended consequences-national brand awareness. Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*. (London: Verso, 1996), 29. Though often associated with the introduction of especially of household labor saving devices of the 1920s consumption patterns and consumer consciousness were transformed so substantially that a new kind of consumer society came into being," the reached back to the 1890s. Labor saving devices and paid entertainments all to be enjoyed, "within the privacy of your own home." Susan Strasser, "Consumption," in Stanley Kutler I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 3 (New York: Scribner's, 1996), 1017. Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press in America*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1984), 201. Most historians have used a small sample of important papers as representative of a larger selection of mass-market magazines at the turn of the twentieth century. Christopher P. Wilson, "The Rhetoric of Consumption: Mass-Market Magazines and the Demise of the Gentle Reader, 1880-1920" in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880- 1980*, ed. Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 39-64.

<sup>48</sup> All the familiar features of magazines were advertiser driven. Appearance of ads throughout the pages, the "jump" or continuation of a story from page to page, the rise of "sectionalization" (as with news, cartoons, sports, financial, living, real estate), common page size, halftone images, process engraving, the use of black-and-white photography, then color, sweepstakes, and finally discounted subscriptions were all forced on publishers by advertisers hoping to find target audiences. James Twitchell, "But first, a word from our sponsor," *Wilson Quarterly* 20 (Summer 1996): 68-81, 75. The average increase 623 percent with a mean of 323 percent. Earnest Elmo Calkins and Ralph Holden, *Modern Advertising* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1912), table, 48, first published in 1905, cited in Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, And Class At The Turn Of The Century* (London: Verso, 1996), 84. Although there is wholesale evidence of wholesale advertising and consumption of newly commercialized products, leisure and politics in an industrializing Great Britain at the beginning of the 19th century followed several decades later in Antebellum United States, a critical element was missing from this strain of consumerism—it was not yet contained within branded products or specific identities. See Tom Pendergast, "Consuming Questions: Scholarship on Consumerism in America to 1940," *American Studies International*, 36 (June 1998): 23-43.

Cal-Berkeley President Benjamin Wheeler or Michigan President James Angell; professors, such as Wisconsin historian Frederick Turner or Chicago sociologist Thorsten Veblen; or journalists, such as *Collier's* Henry Needham, the *Nation's* E.L. Godkin, publically and persistently opposed Yale's gamesmanship. Even envious coaches such as Harvard's William Reid and Chicago's Amos Stagg tried to surpass that gamesmanship but no one opposed it more implacably and longer than Harvard's President Charles William Eliot. Eliot served for a record four decades between 1869-1909, the entire period of Yale's dominance, and was a thorn in Camp's side the entire time.

In preparation for his post, Eliot, a trained chemist, had spent two years in Prussia and in several other German nations (this was shortly before unification) examining their education systems at all levels and especially how they coordinated their advanced scientific research with their growing industrial sectors so efficiently and effectively. He came home, published a long-term plan for the US, landed the Harvard presidency and then spent the rest of his life implementing it. His signature innovation was the introduction of an elective system that diversified course offerings in keeping with his understanding that "the college or university is primarily a place for training men for honorable, generous, and efficient service to the community at large." Needless to say he was completely impervious to Camp's as well as Harvard alumni claims that intercollegiate football was "scientific." Football's gamesmanship was, in Eliot's sober thinking, "an unwholesome desire for victory, [that] by whatever means, in collegiate football has preferred of the judgment of the players and the college public considering the propriety of tricks surprises, and the visual violations of the rules of the game as means of winning a victory,"<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> After two years minutely examining the industrial-scale interface between various German, and especially Prussian, schools at all levels and disciplines and the growing business sector, Eliot came home and penned "The New Education" his vision of higher education's future in America. He managed to get it published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, quickly landed the presidency of Harvard. And spent the rest of his life implementing it. At 36, he was the youngest president ever and for four decades he held the post longer than any other president



One of the remarkable and valuable features of football has always been its academic pedigree. This meant its development would be deliberated, documented, and shaped by educated elites, who usually lashed the game's promotion and codification to their own narrow institutional advantage. Camp had only mastered this better than the rest.<sup>50</sup> An early telling example of one of many exchanges with his numerous peers was Camp's brief but intensive 1886 correspondence with Princeton's Alexander Johnston. Johnston was not only a promising young professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy, but as a member of Princeton's Faculty Athletic Committee, also Camp's football advisory counterpart. Three years before Camp introduced the annual All-American selection in 1889 in an attempt to reconcile gamesmanship with sportsmanship, Johnston not only addressed a series of gamesmanship | sportsmanship concerns the game would be confronting over the next quarter century, but also outlined probable solutions with an uncanny prescience.

Johnston wondered who should structure the game, the players or the coaches? Could dispassionate men with "no axes to sharpen," codify the game's rules? What lessons could football's inevitable codification learn from baseball's "comparatively scientific arrangement?" Although Johnston couched these concerns within a legal framework of states' rights vs federal jurisdiction (similar to gamesmanship | ethnic identity vs

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before or since. Along with a welter of reviews, reforms and restructuring proposals for Harvard, he spent one fourth of the 18-page report on the admirable but dreaded prospect that Yale was now moving beyond its influential *Yale Report of 1828* in defense of the classic liberal arts. Instead Yale's newly renamed Sheffield Scientific School was in a Germanic full-steam ahead mode, fueled by a wealthy railroad magnate. Charles W. Eliot, "The New Education," *Atlantic Monthly* 23 (1869): 203-8. "Eliot's election to the presidency of Harvard came to be a struggle which arrayed those who favored institutional autonomy -- the churchmen, classicists, and scientific Lazzaroni -- against those who favored institutional accountability, particularly accountability to the business community." Peter Dobkin Hall, "American Colleges and the American Public: Higher Learning & the Reform of Organizational Governance," accessed July 2, 2018, <http://tinyurl.com/Peter-Dobkin-Hall>. Charles W. Eliot, "The Evils of College Football," *Woman's Home Companion* (November 1905), published in *Charles W. Eliot: the Man and His Beliefs*, William Allan Neilson, ed., (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1926), 119. Dealt with the tribalism of Alumni, "so although nothing seems to evoke college loyalty so much as a football game with Yale and the many of his friends and hundreds of loyal and generous alumni who devoted to the game, he did not hesitate to say what he thought about it." "The Evils of College Football," *The Man and His Beliefs*, ed. William Allan Neilson (New York: Harper, 1926), Eliot, "Report for 1892-93," 14.

<sup>50</sup> This was especially true between 1882 and 1912 when its foundations were laid. Reforms attempted to tweak the rules over the next couple of decades: trying to achieve the optimal balance between offense and defense, tinkering with a point system that underwent the most radical changes—touchdowns becoming more valuable, and the point-after less, until the current system was finally reached in 1912. For reasons discussed later in this chapter, the most significant changes took place in 1906 when the forward pass was legalized, albeit with many more restrictions than it has today. The number of yards required to keep possession was changed from five to ten as were the number of downs to achieve that yardage changed from three to four and the counterproductive reward for maintaining possession by losing ten yards was revoked. Smith, *Freedom and Sport*, chap. 5.



sportsmanship | civic identity), he told Camp it was imperative that he endeavor to "make the game one in which the spectators will find pleasure not horror." Johnston wished to "make the game an opener one, to introduce more individual playing, and less of this team interference, blocking, general personal contact, and apparent fighting" and concluded there is a "need for some kind of International law among the colleges."<sup>51</sup>

By 1889 the earlier solidarity of schools participating in rules conventions had become fragmented and for the next five years engaged in disputes leading to the breakup of the Intercollegiate Football Association. The time was ripe for Camp to participate in offering something. Since the selection of the top three All-American collegiate teams and the All-Pros, consisting of a selection of the top players in the nation, are now staple of any sport (and the start of any fantasy league team), it is difficult to imagine what a novelty the first All-American Eleven selection was. They were first hand-picked by Camp's sportswriter and editor friend Casper Whitney in 1889 in *This Week's Sport* with Camp's imprimatur as the high priest of football. The two collaborated from 1891 to 1896 in their selection until they parted company over their conflicting priorities, Camp the gamesman, Whitney the sportsman.

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<sup>51</sup> Johnson tragically died within a two years. Johnston, as did Princeton's football promoters, had an interest in shaping the rules away from what they saw as playing into Yale's strength and predominance. A. Johnston to Walter Camp, November 29, 1886. Box 15, Folder 400, WCP. Johnston's legal approach would correctly anticipate football's ultimate gamesmanship course. In response to Camp's seven page reply, Johnston addressed the current rules changes as he would any legal issue especially, states rights vs. federal jurisdiction in which he identified Camp with the former and himself with the latter. Thus when Camp insisted that, "the graduates are not competent rules makers," in need of occasional oversight, struck Johnston as a "heterogeneous mass" on par with antiquated states rights. Johnson offered professional baseball's code "comparatively scientific arrangement" as a model derived essentially "from the old Amateur conventions" of which Johnston in his youth was a member--one of the "few clear-headed men who were not players and had no axes to sharpen." Johnston lectured Camp, "You might argue till you are black in the face" or demonstrate how a particular "practice was running the game straight onto a reef, but the undergrad is so short-sighted he would only concern himself for the immediate advantage." In effect Johnston admonishes Camp to have football emulate the oversight baseball developed and to take control away from the players, otherwise the game will devolve into something "abolished as too bad for decent society." There is "no middle ground." Camp's recommendation that better professional officiating would go a long way was for Johnson a dead letter, for at its heart control of the game was a matter of authority. Camp's *primus inter pares* claims to authority found no purchase. Johnston could easily point to instances in which Camp had, "been compelled to treat as dead letter [rules] which [Camp] could not possibly enforce." Johnson's position could be summarized in a follow up letter when he concluded that there is a "need for some kind of International law among the colleges." A. Johnston to Walter Camp, January 28, and March 14, 1887 Box 15, Folder 400, WCP. While Camp privately resisted, an energetic Johnston publicly pulled out the stops in spectacle-rich pre-game descriptions for a *Century* magazine audience. Imagine, he wrote, "an enormous crowd, coaches filled with men and horns, the masses and shades of color among the spectators, the peculiar roar of the cheers, including the peculiar slogans of most of the Eastern colleges, combine to make up a spectacle such as no other intercollegiate game can offer." Alexander Johnston, "The American Game of Football," *Century* 12 (1887): 888-898. Johnston unfortunately was never able to witness his entertainment-based vision come to fruition because of his untimely death two years later at age 40. "The Late Professor Alexander Johnston," *Century* 38 (October 1889): 948.

The actual term, all-American, had been used earlier in Lacrosse and football by others, though it was the Whitney and Camp duo that popularized it.<sup>52</sup> For both Whitney and Camp, the annual All-American selection was more a coherent whole greater than the sum of its heroic parts, the collective embodiment of a sportsmanship ideal. Football fans, however, had always wanted gamesmanship heroes. Camp initially agonized over the unseemliness of singling out the eleven top players of the year as a violation of football's essential team spirit, but football fans soon worshipped the idea of "All-Americans." It should come as no surprise then that the first professional football game in the United States was played in 1895 was heavily staffed by them.<sup>53</sup>

At first things were going well when Camp and Whitney coauthored the definitive gridiron guidebook, *American Football* (the banal title was meant to distinguish it from its British variants). Yet Camp's gamesmanship in the form of competitive American business analogies always seemed to step on Whitney's sportsmanship narrative and they left a greater impression on the readers. And Camp did not stop there. In a typical Camp gamesmanship *bon mot* in *Harpers Weekly* he declared, "If ever a sport offered inducements to the man of executive ability, to the man who can plan, foresee and manage it is certainly modern American Football." Whitney should not have been surprised at Camp's ability to assert his version of football, for it was Whitney *who* had first dubbed Camp "the father of American football."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Walter Camp or Caspar Whitney were not the first to use the term "All-American" in a sports context for an All America lacrosse team had already been selected and assembled from collegiate teams for an 1884 tour of exhibition games in England. Similarly, "in 1888 Albert Spalding arranged a world tour of professional baseball players that involved two clubs. One was the Chicago White Stockings of which Spalding was president; the other was called 'the All Americas'" It was composed primarily of players from other National League teams, but also included players from the American Association. The tour, which began in October, 1888 and ended in March, 1889, is chronicled in the 1889 Spalding Baseball Guide. And Camp was not the first even in football as an "All America" football eleven is mentioned in an 1888 issue of the *Yale Daily News*. Henry Bryan, "The All-America Team," *College Football Historical Society Newsletter* IV (August 1999): 17.

<sup>53</sup> Smith, *Sports and Freedom*, chap. 5. Oriard, *Reading Football*, chap. 1.

<sup>54</sup> For Whitney's *The Week's Sport* he would implore Camp with, "I want you to put more vinegar in your stuff. I do not care whose toes we step so long as we are right. As far as that goes we will make more readers by vinegar than sugar." Make each submission," bristle with comment and in caustic criticism!" C.W. Whitney to WC October 9, 1890, Box 26 Folder 738, WCP. "Live Tips and Topics, Sportsman" *Boston Daily Globe* 07 Nov 1925: 9. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 74-77; Walter Camp, "Team Play in Foot-ball," *Harper's Weekly*, October 31, 1891, 845. Camp develops cold feet on a joint magazine venture with Caspar Whitney with the claim, "I told you I was without funds to take any

After a falling out with Whitney (the amateur purist, self-styled keeper of the sportsmanship flame, preferably an American one adopted from a British ideal) over Camp's increasing gamesmanship and a petty dispute over claims to All-American paternity, Camp went his own football fatherly way. He published his own selections, mostly in *Collier's*, from 1897 to 1924, which his reputation assured would be the authoritative ones. By the early 1920s not just *Collier's* but virtually every wire service, feature syndicate, and major metropolitan daily was selecting an All-America team.<sup>55</sup> Whitney continued to promote amateurism and sportsmanship in his *Outing Magazine*. "The dirty players in football are the thugs of society, and the disgrace of the university that tolerates their presence on the team," he declared after watching at Yale player literally throttling a Harvard player until he dropped the ball in their 1903 matchup.<sup>56</sup>

Yet Camp could play the sportsmanship card when it suited his larger gamesmanship purposes—controlling the game in behalf of Yale. In 1889 Camp proposed banning all forms of payment to players and to forbidding any former or current professionals from ever participating in college football. Notes Collins, "Despite the rhetoric of science and modernity, Camp and his followers were as committed to amateurism as the most hidebound member of the RFU or the Amateur Football Association in England."<sup>57</sup> In 1891 Camp publically recognized a shared threat of gamesmanship and tendered a vague alliance offer. "[T]here is one common ground between the English rugby unionist and the American, and that is the amateur status of the sport. Both are going to be menaced by

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stock, my money being locked up in a certain manufacturing plant." He extricates himself with the same attention to detail as if scouting a game. WC To C. Whitney Jan. 15 and 26, 1900, Box 26 Folder 750, WCP. Whitney comes back sorting out contingencies of third party involvement, stock exchanges and matching investments. C. Whitney to WC Sunday [Jan 28, 1900?] and Jan. 30, 1900 Box 26 Folder 750, WCP

<sup>55</sup> Camp even confronted the neo-nativism of the 1920s through his All-Americans. A patriotic American complained that published All-American teams, "may be mistaken for All-Soviet teams." Charles Johnson to Walter Camp Nov. 25, 1924, Box 15 Folder 401, WCP. After Camp died in 1925, sportswriter Grantland Rice, continued the annual selection in *Collier's* continued in this role until 1948 when he moved to *Look*. Oriard, *King Football*, 54.

<sup>56</sup> Casper Whitney, "The Sportsman's View-Point," *Outing*, 41 (1903): 100.

<sup>57</sup> Meeting of the IFA Graduate Advisory Committee, 4 November 1889, reprinted in Davis, *Football*, p. 478. See also Parke H. Davis, "The two problems of amateur athletics," *Outing*, 19, 3, December 1891, 197–200, cited in Collins, "Exceptionalism,"

professionalism in the near future, and if they could unite upon rules there is no doubt that an international assistance might be rendered.”<sup>58</sup>

As Collins points out, the amateur regulations initiated by Camp and adopted by the IFA in 1889 went so far as to demand that an athlete accused of professionalism prove his innocence, a clear violation of the principle of ‘innocent until proven guilty.’ In 1894, even the RFU shrank from adopting Camp’s harsh terms in the middle of the professionalism crisis that led to the 1895 Rugby rupture.<sup>59</sup> Collins concludes that whether “consciously or not, Camp’s writings helped to invent a creation myth about the origins of American football that had little or no justification in reality.”<sup>60</sup> Here Camp was acting on the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic, for he consistently overlooked the gamesmanship seeping into the idealized sportsmanship he conveniently attached to a limited British amateurism. He then claimed his American game transcended that amateurism with scientific innovations not much different than those adopted by the very British professionals he decried. When it gradually became clear that his scientific football was a gamesmanship enabling Yale’s football dominance, he participated in offering an annual All-American Team on paper that would appeal [to](#) patriotism in the name of sportsmanship.

The best example of how football and All-Americans “become the most efficient prestige making machine for America’s institutions of higher learning [and] developed at the same time into its most potent equalizing agent, was the unique status of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.”<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Walter Camp, “College Football,” *Outing* 17 (February 1891): 384-90.

<sup>59</sup> Tony Collins, *Rugby’s Great Split* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 116–17. As part of the furor even a respectable albeit bizarre attempt made to create hybrid between football and baseball and synthetic game to be known as “Universal Foot Ball” Progressive fantasy with all manner of didactic devices included the introduction street slang to describe and proscribe undesirable behavior within the game. Continued to be revised two years later into “Universal Foot Ball and Hand Ball.” “Football: Rules, Research Notes 1896-1909, N.D.” Box 41 Folder 148 WCP

<sup>60</sup> Collins, “Exceptionalism,” 228. What can be said about the fact the normally meticulous Camp let nothing slide neglected to date hundreds of documents pertaining to rules “Football: Rules, n.d.” Box 40 Folder 138 and Box 41 Folder 147.

<sup>61</sup> Andrei S. Markovits and Lars Rensmann, *Gaming The World: How Sports are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton University Press,

## Never, Under Any Circumstances, Slug

When Capt. Richard Pratt, the first superintendent of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, founded the first Federal vocational training and boarding school for Native Americans in 1879, he was approached by some of his students about starting up their own team. He agreed on two conditions: “first, that you will never, under any circumstances, slug” and that if you follow those rules within 2 to 4 years “you will whip the biggest football team in the country.” Camp helped Pratt get started, as he would any other fledgling football program, sharing practical advice as well as sending him a steady stream of coaches including their eventual permanent coach Warner. But they could win only by touring and playing most of their games on the road. Yet by emphasizing sportsmanship while winning, the team won the trust of nearby townsfolk and there were no more “badly scared women.”<sup>62</sup>

Clearly Carlisle had no educational business playing Harvard as a vocational school, but since Carlisle kept their games close, they were often considered the Indian’s Harvard.<sup>63</sup> They kept their promise to Pratt and always made a point of exercising the best sportsmanship by playing clean football. The game, however that put their sportsmanship to the test was their infamous encounter with Yale in Oct 1896 in which the Yale’s gamesmanship was in full display. William Hickok, Carlisle’s Yale alumnus coach, acting as umpire, called back Carlisle’s game tying touchdown. The injustice became the story: “It was

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2010), 237.

<sup>62</sup> Pratt’s plan for football was part his aggressive assimilationist program. “When it comes to the Indian I am a Baptist, because I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization, and when we get them under, holding them there until they’re thoroughly soaked,” Carlisle had adopted football red white and gold colors in 1896 when they would meet Princeton, Harvard and the defending national champion Pennsylvania within three weeks. Railroad magnet and philanthropist Russell Sage who quickly adapted the school colors in the form of gold chrysanthemums. Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and classroom: Four decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904*, Vol. 6. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 43, 140, 316–8. 335. The Carlisle Indians compiled a 167–88–13 over 25 years, with record and winning percentage “makes it the most successful defunct major college football program.” Sally Jenkins, *The Real All Americans: The Team that Changed a Game, a People, a Nation* (New York: Random House, 2008), 25. After defeating Cornell, Pratt address the school and took the opportunity to remind them how far they have come in public estimation—at the Indians taking to the streets a few years earlier, the residence of Carlisle, Pratt proudly notes the change in perception when successfully playing by the rules, “Would have been badly scared the women...to lock the cellar doors and the man would’ve had their guns ready to shoot... but now our friends and neighbors the white people, joining in our rejoicing when we succeed even though those we overcome are of their own race,” David Wallace Adams, “More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893–1917,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (2001): 25–53 cited in Jenkins, 195.

<sup>63</sup> The Indians both admired and resented the Crimson and loved to sarcastically mimic the Harvard accent; even players who could barely speak English would drawl the broad Harvard a. But Harvard was also the Indians’ idea of collegiate perfection, and they labeled any excellent performance, whether on the field or in the classroom, as “Harvard style.” Jenkins, 198.

characteristic of nearly all the crimes committed against the Indians by the whites, for it was accomplished by the man of all men who should have looked out for their interests and rights.” They perhaps recalled four years earlier when Carlisle had almost defeated Harvard with clever trick play that involved hiding the ball in a specially designed jersey.<sup>64</sup>

In 1898 Carlisle Quarterback Frank Hudson became the first of many Native Americans to become an All-American.<sup>65</sup> Carlisle was also well known for its openness to innovation, especially as one of the first teams to systematically use the forward pass. Although the pass was first used in September 1906 by Univ. of St. Louis against Carroll College, it wasn’t until 1907 that the forward pass consistently deployed by Carlisle (though credited later for years) went to the 1913 Notre Dame team and Knute Rockne. After Carlisle The *New York Times* concluded that the October 26<sup>th</sup> 1907, 26-6 drubbing of the University of Pennsylvania Quakers in Philadelphia at the hand of the Carlisle Indians through the use of the forward pass "put all the coaches at the large universities at sea." A student commented in a letter home, “maybe white man better with cannon and guns, but Indian just as good in brains to think with.”<sup>66</sup>

On train ride home from West Point the 1912 Carlisle Industrial School team received Camp’s congratulations well. According the *New York Times* they had just outclassed

<sup>64</sup> “these Indians, who are usually cold savages, behave like the men of breeding. In the heat and excitement of the game they gave the many lessons and politeness.” “seldom has there been such dissatisfaction shown by the spectators at a football game.” “Close decision loses the red man attach town and makes the results 12 to 6,” *New York World*, October 25, 1896, 4; “Carlisle Indians should have been given a draw— Palpably wrong decision by Hikoock,” *Boston Sunday Globe*, October 26, 1896, 73; *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 25, 1896, 4. Earlier in 1902 when Carlisle had met Harvard they carefully planned and deployed a trick play in which they hid the football in a specially designed jersey. Carlisle coach Pop Warner had warned the officials in advance, assuring the legality of the play. The touchdown stood despite protest from Harvard’s players and laughter from a large number of fans. Jenkins, 201, 203.

<sup>65</sup> Gems, 119; This included Thorpe on three teams. Even Richard Pratt believed that the possibility of, “Indians competing against the best college teams in the country would advance the school’s assimilationist vision.... he was unable to control the meaning that journalists, spectators, and players read into Indian-white football.” Adams, 26; Sally Jenkins, attempts to recreate the Carlisle contribution to football in *The Real All Americans: The Team That Changed a Game, a People, a Nation* (New York: Doubleday, 2007). However the Jenkin’s title oversells the impact of institution in which the real story is how an ambitious, creative coach, Pop Warner catapulted his career off the promising but ultimately tragic efforts of native American athletes. See John R Thelin’s review of “The Real All Americans: The Team That Changed a Game, a People, a Nation” in *Journal of College Student Development*. Washington: 49 (Sep/Oct 2008): 513-5.

<sup>66</sup> “INDIANS HUMBLE PENNSY’S ELEVEN; Carlisle Deals a Crushing Blow to Quakers’ Football Aspirations. REDSKIN OUTPLAYS PALEFACE Forward Pass, Perfectly Employed, Used for Ground Gaining More Than Any Other Style of Play,” *Special to The New York Times*, October 27, 1907. S5. Warner kept copies of the more interesting Carlisle student letters home he was required to monitor. Glenn Warner, “Heap Big Run-Most-Fast,” *Collier’s* 88 (1931): 26, cited in Jenkins, 172. Once they started defeating the IVs, Carlisle came in the same degree of scrutiny as other teams, 244-5.

the “cadets as they might have expected to outclass a prep school.” Their coach, Glenn Warner, had reminded them that the soldiers they were about to meet on football field were the grandsons of the soldiers who massacred their grandparents battle field just 20 years earlier. That was motivation enough for the team led by “Thorpe and his redoubtable band” to crush “the “moleskin gladiators of Uncle Sam’s Military Academy” 27-6.<sup>67</sup> There could not have been a finer example of the rules of sportsmanship containing the literal tribal identities of gamesmanship. Unfortunately it was Warner’s shady financial gamesmanship that doomed Carlisle—a school that had striven for so hard for on-the-field sportsmanship—to closure in 1917 after a series of congressional hearings.<sup>68</sup>

As with Carlisle, one of the narrow benefits of gamesmanship was the capacity it brought with it to overlook racism as teams sought any advantage they could. White players did not make it easy, but if that rare and gifted athlete persevered, he could earn a place on an All-American team. In 1916 Camp named the first African American, Fritz Pollard of Brown, to the first All-American team followed the next two years by Rutgers’ Paul Robeson. Soon the model of ideal manhood expanded to include a handful of Jews, Catholics, and ethnic whites, such as when Knute Rockne made the team.<sup>69</sup>

### 1892-1904 First Scandals gamesmanship

Between 1893-1904 Camp was forced to confront football’s first violence crisis in the midst of Yale’s complete dominance of the gridiron. From its final 1890 game to the ninth of 1893

<sup>67</sup> “Thorpe’s Indians Crush West Point: Brilliancy of Carlisle Redskins’ *The New York Times* .Nov 10, 1912, S1. The Army team boasted new future generals including Dwight Eisenhower. Unfortunately the team lost to an inferior Univ. of Penn team the following week Thorpe quit for good. “Athlete Thorpe To Quit Indian School: World’s Champion Does Not Like to Remain in Spotlight of Fame,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1912, 13.

<sup>68</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 213, 227, 230. Sadly Warner’s shady ways caught up with him. Engulfed in an investigation after members of the team turned on Warner with the final straw wagering and game with Dartmouth The Indian student body president Gus Welch organized a petition drive for an investigation, by the Secretary of Interior overseeing the school. He responded with a joint Congressional Committee that found the students in open rebellion against Coach Warner and Pratt’s successor, Superintendent Friedman. Though exonerated from criminal wrongdoing, both reputations were irreparably damaged and both soon resigned. Carlisle Indian School: Hearings Before the United States Joint Commission To Investigate Indian Affairs, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session, on Feb. 6-8, Mar. 25, 1914.

<sup>69</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 235, 242, 245.



Yale racked up a crushing 1,265 points to 0 and over the next decade would lose only 4 times. In the Midwest, Alonzo Stagg, a Yale All-American in Camp's inaugural selection, one of the first professional coach hired anywhere, was building a newly founded University Chicago's team into a powerhouse. In the fall of 1892 another newly founded University, anxious to duplicate Chicago's success, hoping to coach their team to a victory over a nearby rival in their inaugural season, invited Camp to spend a mild Fall on the foothills west of Palo Alto at Leland Stanford Jr. University. This Stanford game against cross-bay rival Cal-Berkeley quickly developed into a "profitable semi-professional spectacle."<sup>70</sup>

While Camp was on the West Coast, Harvard would spring a surprise formation on Yale team at their annual showdown and set in motion football's first violence and existential crisis. Responding to these and other the other blatant acts of gamesmanship violence would soon occupy Camp's full time and energy. The center was collapsing the IFA rules committee, yet a cat-like Camp managed to get himself placed on competing rules committees. By 1894, many questioned whether the benefits of intercollegiate football outweighed the increasing risks. Harvard faculty voted to cancel the following season, and President Grover Cleveland abolished the Army-Navy game after the 1893 contest resulted in an unacceptable number of game injuries. Camp would head a commission and conduct a survey that would get to the bottom of football violence. All the while Camp could keep the gamesmanship in behalf of Yale alive and publicly promote the larger sportsmanship of the game with the massaged survey results he published as *Facts and Figures*. His mission was to convince critics scientifically, that while tough, football would make men, but not break them.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> John Craig, "Football on the Pacific Slope," *Outing* XXII (September, 1893): 448-459.

<sup>71</sup> Walter Camp, "Football; Retrospective and Prospective," *Outing*, XXIII (November, 1893): 119-128. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 171.



It all began at the opening of the second half of the scoreless 1892 annual Harvard|Yale matchup as fans experienced the surprise and delight of creative gamesmanship in action. Harvard sprung a play that Lorin F. Deland, an advertising consultant and voluntary Harvard coach with an abiding fascination for Napoleonic military tactics, had been conjuring for months. Why not apply the maximum concentration of force against the weakest point in the line in the form of a full motion, protective V-shaped wedge around a ball carrier, he reasoned? This flying wedge was, according to the *New York Times*, “a grand play! Half a ton of bone and muscle coming in collision with a man weighing 160 or 170 pounds” Needless to say it was brutally effective, but also resulted in a high rate of injury on both sides. After reportedly watching the Harvard Yale game World Heavy-weight boxing champion John L. Sullivan said, “Football there’s murder in that game.”<sup>72</sup>

Although Cambridge’s delegate to the Massachusetts House introduced a draconian bill that failed at the next legislative session fining anyone who played football before anyone who paid, Harvard’s team captain defended the Deland’s efforts noting, “the game of football...is coming to represent more of science, of skill, of careful forethought, and theoretical and practical study, than any other American game.”<sup>73</sup> Even after the wedge was sensibly banned before any one was killed, Camp could still appreciate the cold science behind it as he mused out loud in a column worthy of a French revolutionary, “Deland’s momentum mass plays

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<sup>72</sup> In an oft-cited declaration, John L. Sullivan, heavyweight-boxing champion from 1882-1892 offered to Paul Dashiell prominent football official rules committee member, who later proposed the forward pass. ‘Football. There’s murder in that game. Prizefighting doesn’t compare in roughness or in danger with football. In the ring, at least you know what you’re doing. You know what your opponent is trying to do. He’s right there in front of you. But in football - there’s 11 guys trying to do you in! ‘The Sullivan quote is part of standard football narratives Bernard M., Corbett, and Paul Simpson, *The Only Game That Matters: The Harvard/Yale Rivalry*, (New York: Crown, 2007), 111; and is increasingly enlisted to build up a case against football concussions and chronic encephalopathy. Linda Carroll and David Rosner, *The Concussion Crisis: Anatomy of a Silent Epidemic* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2012), 49.

<sup>73</sup> Volunteer Harvard football coach Lorin F. Deland a chess aficionado and self-styled expert of the game who had such a fascination with military theorist Antoine-Henri Jomini’s studies of Napoleonic tactics that he added one to his team’s playbook. Watterson, *College Football*, 12-13. Yale was concerned enough about the flying wedge to engage in a little bit of skullduggery behind the scenes. Plans “very such are safe” on line wedge. In serious cloak and dagger charge, “please destroy this immediately and mention to no one the source of your information.” H. Williams to McCormick, November 6, 1892, H. Williams to Hinckley, November 3, 1893, Box 27 Folder 755, WCP. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 103. In Napoleons military campaigns, “mass a large proportion of his troops and throw them against a weak point of the enemy,” could then “easily defeat that portion, and gaining their rear, create havoc with the rest.” do so with player movement. J.H. Sears, “Modern Coaching of American Football,” *Harper’s Weekly*, November 11, 1893. Sears, J. H. “Football Scientist,” *Harper’s Weekly*, December 2 1893. 1147.

were guillotined by the legislators. I suppose that was necessary. The latent power in them was developed to a man-killing degree, but just the same they were highly scientific."<sup>74</sup>

Harvard President Eliot saw in his own team's wedged gamesmanship, the competitive intensity of business and a regrettable descent into primal warfare. This made football "more and more dangerous, without making it more skillful or more entertaining," something its proponents claimed. And it degraded the very qualities most beneficial to sportsmanship, for it "cultivates strength and skill kept in play by all the combative instincts, whereas the strength most serviceable to civilized society is the strength which is associated with gentleness and courtesy."<sup>75</sup>

All the while Camp projected a serene sportsmanship, the whiff of feigned gentlemanly disinterest perfected by America's early presidents. With the eye of novelist, trend-setting magazine reporter Richard Harding Davis brilliantly captured this gentlemanly technique Camp perfected over a lifetime. Davis shadowed the Yale team for an entire day in the fall of 1893, and then related how, after a day in the executive office of New Haven Clock Company that just happened to be conveniently located nearby, Camp accidentally slipped in the back door of the locker room, "as though he had wandered in by mistake and was surprised to find an entire football eleven occupying the premises...He stood modestly out of sight and suggested...quite as though it was a matter of which he could not be expected to know much, that the ends seemed to him to be bending back in half circle as this tended to shut rather than assist the backs, it would be perhaps a good thing if..." The following week Davis was in New York City peeling back the gamesmanship that

<sup>74</sup> "Extract from Walter Camp's syndicate article," n.d. Box 32 Folder 12, WCP.

<sup>75</sup> President Eliot may have spoken nothing but the truth in his report for 1892-93: "There is something exquisitely inappropriate in the extravagant expenditure on athletic sports at such institutions as Harvard and Yale, institutions which have been painfully built up by the self-denial, frugality, and public spirit of generations...how repulsive, then, must be foolish and pernicious expenditures on sports!" the public was part of the problem since the willing finance since the players who are "swayed by a tyrannical public opinion" to which the worst "gamblers and rowdies" have contributed. And then there is always the lure death "the throngs...enjoy the prizefight, cockfight, or bullfight, or which in other centuries, delighted the sports of the Roman Arena." Eliot, "Report for 1892-93," 15, 20; Eliot, "Report for 1893-1894," *Harvard Graduate's Magazine*, volume 2, 1893 - 1894, 377.

surrounded the championship game between Yale and Princeton. After Davis dutifully described the ephemera of the spectacle, the bunting, banners, college trinkets, and photos of football heroes lining 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue, he got to point: for one small moment "the legitimate gambling of Wall Street was neglected for the greater interest in gambling on the game."

Some devoted fans had traveled across the country to wager as much as \$2,000-3,000, the income equivalent of six figures today.<sup>76</sup> Davis knew well enough to report on the activity in the stands as much if not more than the playing field. If a collection of 19<sup>th</sup> century football newspaper illustrations from 1857-1899 is representative, twice as many illustrations depict the activity in the stands than that of the arena.<sup>77</sup>

About the same time that Davis was reporting on sportsmanship and gamesmanship, the greatest expansion of universities in the history of the United States, except for the post-war boom, was taking place. Industrialist John D. Rockefeller donated \$600,000, and railroad tycoon Leland Stanford \$20,000,000, to jump-started universities in Chicago and Palo Alto while states like Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota pumped resources into public colleges. Both the private and public universities had a mutual goal to "teach students to share knowledge, sponsor social settlements, pioneer university extensions and fill the state government with experts." These centers of specialized intellectual culture in a booming economy were also conscious of how they were constructing new hierarchies of class, race, and gender. Although they anticipated the academic knowledge emanating from their centers of learning would certainly be socially useful, pure academia would not be nearly as accessible or as visible as commercial spectacles. Big-time football could fill the breach "by making

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<sup>76</sup> Richard Harding Davis, "A Day with the Yale Team," *Harper's Weekly*, November 11, 1893, 1110; Richard Harding Davis, "The Thanksgiving Game," *Harper's Weekly*, November 25, 1893, 1170

<sup>77</sup> Classic Football Art: Originally Published in 19th Century Newspapers. The Lost Century Sports Collection. 2013. See end of chapter appendix.

universities appear meaningful to the public.”<sup>78</sup>

After Yale Divinity Professor William Rainey Harper jumpstarted the University of Chicago with Rockefeller money, he set about recruiting a football coach and other faculty members who embraced new Progressive ideas such as extension courses and especially athletics. Alonzo Stagg remembers Harper charging him “to develop teams we can send around the country and knock out all the colleges.” By appointing Stagg as department head and tenured faculty member, Harper avoided the informal czar system Camp had set up. But like every other Progressive educator, thinking Harper thought he could keep athletics in check. Instead Stagg would “create 41 years of headaches for the president of the rest of the faculty.”<sup>79</sup> Camp could not be as transparent as Stagg in his ambitions, as he struggled for years to reconcile the gamesmanship drive to win, however imperfectly, with the very norms of sportsmanship he was shaping: the norms, or traditions, that enabled their competition in the first place. Des Jardins admits this was a problem in that “for years he spoke out of both corners of his mouth.”<sup>80</sup>

In consciously promoting sports and applied science in the name of public outreach, these institutions participated in their own Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic. Their strategy was to sponsor foundational scientific research, as long as it stayed away from the commercial marketplace, they could claim the both public good and good will. Additionally, they would still benefit from its semi commercial nature, including revenue from all urban spectators. Some, like Wisconsin’s E.A. Ross, even made a “prophylactic” argument: that by

<sup>78</sup> Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 3, 40.

<sup>79</sup> Watterson, *College Football*, 41. For his progressive and experimental embrace of new ideas such as extension and how they evolved see William Rainey Harper, *The Prospects of the Small College* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900), *Religion and the Higher Life: Talks to Students* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904), *The Trend in Higher Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905); Des Jardins, *Camp*, 73-5. Progressives thought they could prepare spectators for successful and scientific football. See Amos Alonzo Stagg with Henry H. Williams, *Simple Explanations of the Great Game of Football, with Diagrams for Spectators* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood & Branard, 1893). Among the innovations credited, though not all accurately, to Stagg are the tackling dummy, the huddle, the reverse and man in motion plays, the lateral pass, uniform numbers, and awarding varsity letters.

<sup>80</sup> Julie Des Jardins interview, *New Books Network* Podcast. Accessed April 5, 2015. <https://newbooksnetwork.com/julie-des-jardins-walter-camp-football-and-the-modern-man-oxford-university-press-2015/>

exposing students to the rougher elements of society attracted to football, students would be able to learn to discern the mob mind, resist cultural tricksters, and protect themselves from the “sweep of popular delusions.” Many of these progressives who embraced regulated football at the beginning of the century began to question their stance after World War I.<sup>81</sup> Some already sooner. Albert Shaw, a Johns Hopkins PhD and municipal reformer, complained already in 1909 that universities, by promoting big time football, had contributed to rise in “social clubs and luxurious cliques” where students frittered away their fathers’ hard earned money for cocktails and gambling, turning football into a “network of commercialism that so thoroughly Tammy-izes what ought to be decorous and fine like the contests in the English universities”<sup>82</sup>

In 1894 when Camp was commissioned by the Harvard Board of Overseers to form a blue-ribbon fact-finding committee of six to conduct the first survey of football violence, they were attempting head off unwelcome calls for rules changes. When Camp originally instituted football’s defining rules in the early 1880s he had proudly declared a gamesmanship whose effects he was now trying to staunch: “Rules in American sport exist to be exploited as much as followed.”<sup>83</sup> The best sportsmanship case was now being made by *The Nation’s* longstanding editor, E.L. Godkin, who wondered, if football is so character building, how come “it is not also available for everyone?” Instead there was an “increasing vulgarity of college sports” in which the gamesmanship motto has become: “Nothing succeeds like success.” “It is a question of savagery versus civilization,” for the screams to take the wounded athlete off the field “might well have resounded through the Roman

<sup>81</sup> Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 52, 54, 101, 107.

<sup>82</sup> Albert Shaw, “College Reform—And Football,” *American Review of Reviews* 40 (1909): 726-728.

<sup>83</sup> “Foot-ball” *Harper’s Weekly* November 5, 1881, 746. In an assessment that presaged future problems for Camp, the same editorial concluded with one objection to the game, “it requires too much exertion. It is really dangerous.” Walter Camp, “The Current Criticism of Foot-ball,” *Century* 47 (February 1894): 633-34.

amphitheater two thousand years ago."<sup>84</sup> Others were more sanguine. Gamesmanship should be a minor concern, wrote in New York City Police Commissioner Theodore Roosevelt, because "professional sports are of small consequence" since they merely "excite those who look on" and serve no character building function of "manly and robust qualities" and besides, professionalism puts off its own repellent stench as a Roman "symptom of national decadence"<sup>85</sup>

**Table 2.2**

**Table 2.3 | Basic Chronology of Camp addressing Violence Crises**

<b>1892</b>	<i>The Flying Wedge introduced and soon banned</i>
<b>1894</b>	<i>Violence Crisis I—Camp responds with Facts and Figures</i>
<b>1903</b>	<i>Harvard constructs first reinforced concrete 30,000 seat stadium</i>
<b>1905</b>	<i>Violence Crisis II—White House responds with conference, football governance realigned, Intercollegiate Athletic Association formed, rugby introduced on West Coast as alternative</i>
<b>1906</b>	<i>Forward pass introduced over Camp's objection</i>
<b>1909</b>	<i>Yale's last season of dominance Another potential ban; National Collegiate Athletic Association formalized</i>
<b>1914</b>	<i>WWI and Camp's Daily Dozen, Rugby fades as alternative, Yale constructs first 70,000 seat "bowl" stadium</i>
<b>1917</b>	<i>Camp introduces Senior Corps</i>
<b>1920</b>	<i>Camp's influence overshadowed on the Rules Committee</i>

Camp dug in and did the lion's share of the committee's work. He had close to one thousand questionnaires sent out to former players, coaches, and administrators of private and public secondary schools. They were asked about any injuries they may have incurred, their severity, and suggestions for improving the game (here is where Camp left himself open as the returns furnish a fascinating snapshot of gamesmanship | sportsmanship tension in football of those other than Camp.) Although all the players were limited to the elite schools of Harvard, Princeton, Yale, and Penn, Camp got more than he bargained for in the

<sup>84</sup>E. L. Godkin. "The New Football." *Nation*, November 29, 1894, 399-400. Editorial, *Outlook*, December 1, 1894, 897; December 8, 1894, 973 and. Editorial, *Outlook*, November 13, 1897, 644.

<sup>85</sup>Theodore Roosevelt, "Value of Athletic Training," *Harper's Weekly*, December 23, 1893, 1236. Roosevelt elaborates on in 'Professionalism' in Sports" *North American Review* 151 (August 1890): 187-91. For further descriptions of professionalism as Roman spectacle see John Dinan, *Sports in the Pulp Magazines* (New York: McFarland, 1998); Elliott J. Gorn, "The Wicked World: The National Police Gazette and Gilded-Age America," *Media Studies Journal* 6 (Winter 1992): xviii-xxiii; Joseph Valente, "The Novel and the Police (Gazette)," *Novel* 29 (Fall 1995): 8-16.

nearly 900 responses (90 percent response rate), some within weeks.<sup>86</sup>

This survey is unique for any sport, because the participants were the founding elites who were asked to assess the fundamentals of a sport at its formative stage. The manner in which Camp discriminates and disseminates the ir responses is a telling documentation of his integrity; the very scientific objectivity he claims for the game is another example of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic.<sup>87</sup>

A fascinating parade of comments by past players and future coaches crossed Camp's desk in the spring of 1894 as he was compiling his study, which was to include the survey responses. How should he report the potentially systemic dangers of the game? Would the sportsman Camp be willing to reform the rules even if they disadvantage gamesman Camp and Yale, which have been benefiting from the more violent mass plays? Fortunately for Camp, the comments of former teammate and western artist Frederick Remington seemed to set the tone: "Camp, you are not going to civilize the only real thing we have left are you? It is the only game left for a man to play"<sup>88</sup>

Camp biographer Des Jardins makes a fine distinction between the administrators' and players' responses. While the administrators are generally chary about the long-lasting benefits of the game, the players are virtually unanimous in their enthusiasm. 328 of the 337 Big Three (Harvard, Princeton and Yale) participants responded positively, as did 354 of the 364 from other colleges, usually pointing out how the game had steeled them up with the resiliency and constitution to get things done.<sup>89</sup> Some did however point out that they were not pleased with the gamesmanship direction football was going in since the introduction of

<sup>86</sup> Smith, *Freedom* 92; Des Jardins, *Camp*, 115.

<sup>87</sup> For a broader overview of injuries Roberta J. Park, "We're Killing Ours Sons - But We're Making Men: A Tolerance for "Football" Injuries in Britain and America, 1873-1914," Prospectus. Des Jardins makes a distinction between administrators and players responses point out that 328 of the 337 of Big Three participants.

<sup>88</sup> Frederick Remington to Camp, April 3, 1894; Box 60 Folder 436 WCP.

<sup>89</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 115, 117.

the wedge and increasing reliance on mass plays Yale had been using with such success.<sup>90</sup>

Camp's Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship priorities come to light when comparing what was published in *Facts and Figures* with what was redacted. Naturally, the comments by former Yale All-American Alonzo Stagg who "had a reputation for cheap shots" were included unedited. Chicago trustees were plainly pleased with Stagg's gamesmanship, because as Stagg submitted, "football has done a great deal toward arousing college spirit where little or none existed...[and] is at its best and at its worst--to be Irish."<sup>91</sup> Also included was the charge that "every boy should be induced, almost compelled to take part in the game."<sup>92</sup>

Camp often selectively edited the comments of a single respondent, including the favorable at the expense of the unfavorable. The comment of a once a sympathetic football promoter was excluded when he raised the gamesmanship of brutality and winning at all costs: "As long as a number of players feel that there is nothing more disgraceful than to lose a game, they will seek to win by unfair play."<sup>93</sup> Similar gamesmanship comments by Harvard's William Tyler, who had been at football's ground zero as halfback in the first rugby game against McGill 1874, while included, were edited out of recognition.<sup>94</sup>

Camp gladly published any comments that noted the scientific efficiency and mental and physical discipline inherent in the game.<sup>95</sup> The responses redacted typically suggest Yale

<sup>90</sup> George Carpenter to Camp, March 10, 1894; Box 4 Folder 124, WCP.

<sup>91</sup> Alonzo Stagg to Walter Camp, March 14 1894 Box 23 WCP; *Facts and Figures*, 180; Des Jardins, *Camp*, 110.

<sup>92</sup> P. Trafford to Walter Camp, April 21, 1894. Box 24 Folder 686, WCP; included in *Facts and Figures*, 191.

<sup>93</sup> Glowing with positive support, Trinity College Math professor, F.S. Luther was initially a football enthusiast. In answer to the Camp 1894 survey, Luther responded that he witnessed football players of character policing themselves off field. His sympathetic advice was, "keep the rules, keep the game tight, all the injuries occur when out in the open. [There is] nothing wrong that can't be solved with "good umpires and referees." Naturally his detailed descriptions were published in *Football Facts*, 123-125. A follow-up a year later is telling. Luther feels that Camp and the committee disregarded his advice and Luther's tone changed diametrically, "Men like myself...feel beaten and ashamed." as long as this behavior is "whitewashed" you'll foster brutality. Need to revive "elementary notions of fairness morality and honor...merely to tinker with the rules seems...idle. The rules are still, "well enough" but "what is needed is an immediate and thorough reformation of the players, the coaches and the public. F.S. Luther to Walter Camp Sept. 15, 1890. March 7, 1894 and March 7, 1895 Box 16 Folder 439, WCP.

<sup>94</sup> Tyler was less upset about the violence than the trickery engendered by the, "anything to win" spirit the game had taken on. Forced to "conclude that football is not a fit game for young [grown men] men to play." too much of a spectacle, placing too many "physical and mental strains" on the players, and if it must be played, get back to the original off-side rules, which goes even beyond the no interference aspect to the violation introduced by the snap-back. The game has become "utterly illogical" William Tyler to Walter Camp, March 18, 1894, Box 25 Folder 692, WCP, 69.

<sup>95</sup> "If you had a machine [on the field] for measuring the quickness of mental perception I will guarantee...with the game of football" the player will "have greater improvement...[than] any other mental process." "We all know that we can take any of our well trained foot-ball



was taking the game into a self-serving gamesmanship direction and that they longed for the open, freer game before blocking and mass plays that now serve Yale so well, even suggesting Camp go back to the game's rugby roots and play in the current Canadian style.<sup>96</sup>

The responses also make clear that the football in the respondent's earlier era was hardly more wholesome. Camp had tried to add credence to his study by including the research of surgeon Dr. John E. Loveland, something he privately regretted. Publicly Loveland was quite quotable and probably shared Camp's class-consciousness when he testified that football was invaluable to "the man of the future [who] must be able to elbow his way among rough men in the foul air of primary elections; he may need courage enough to take his part in vigilant and safety committees and the like; he may need to 'tackle' an anarchist now and then and perhaps oftener."<sup>97</sup>

Loveland culled the medical records of men who had played in the big three and Wesleyan between 1881 in 1890, surveyed the subjects, and 187 men answered (a respectable 75 percent response rate). Loveland's survey determined that over 20 percent of the respondents experienced some permanent injury in the game which, "cripples over nine percent of its devotees from five to ten years, if not for life" and thus the "surgeon

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men and order them to do anything on earth and they will do it without thinking twice." Ray Tompkins to Walter Camp, January 23, 1894, Box 24 Folder 682, WCP; included in *Facts and Figures*, 143.

<sup>96</sup> George Warren, declared, "the fact that it is only a game is entirely lost sight of" today. "The greatest evil of the present game is the interference." Follow-up letter. "I would sacrifice the scientific maneuvers which however much skill and team play them may call for and produce, detract a great deal" from the naturally continuous flow of the game. George Warren to Walter Camp March 14, 1894 and March 12, 1895 Box 26 Folder 732, WCP. Ralph Warren a former Princeton Captain, who later responded to Camp's selective use of his letter, rebuffed Camp's technocratic narrative. Before "a man of ordinary intelligence had an abundance of time," to play the game well and make a respectably class ranking be as well "developed as man's dodging, light running and clean tackling powers." [Now] "a large proportion of the time is spent off the field in learning the plays and combinations." Though this might train the player's mind it is "always at the expense of his studies," and "is not the best mental training." "...colleges should legislate away as far as possible the machine order of things in our game and give the players more leeway to use his own judgments as to his choice of play...That he should have a variety of action to choose from and should learn to decide quickly and on his own responsibility...." "is desirable. The flying wedges " are quite as objectionable in learning the different combinations and the fact that the runners have practically no choice of action, as from the danger to life and limb. Team work is certainly one of the desirable features of our game..." But the machine like play "is not the most desirable kind of team-work. This team-work [is] planned before the match and to extent independent of the quickness and judgment of the...players. Why not give the runner greater latitude and give the rest of the team the general lines on which their team work is to be based; then the...player will have to decide quickly on the best way to being in the play. The Canadian game is an example of this and this principle is at the bottom of all out-of-door sports in which a number of players participate and are most successful with the public. The premium which our present system puts on holding the ball and rareness of passing is the great stumbling block to freedom of action on the field." Ralph concludes: "I hope that the controlling powers will give us.... and opener, faster, and less machine like style of game." Ralph Warren to Walter Camp Jan 22 1894 and n.d. Box 26 Folder 732, WCP, Compare with *Facts and Figures*, 147.

<sup>97</sup> Camp, *Facts and Figures*, 47.

must....decide against the game. From a surgeon's point of view the cripples are far too numerous to pay for the physique and constitution developed, if we admit there are other means for such development." None of this was published.<sup>98</sup>

Perhaps the most deplorable contradiction between Camp's published conclusion—that players were of the "almost unanimous opinion" that football benefited "both in the way of general physical development and mental discipline"—were the confidential injuries a Princeton player suffered on the field. His severe testicular injuries might well have been the most symbolically dangerous to the primitive "masculinizing" image of football that Camp promoted. Needless to say his suffering also went unreported in *Facts and Figures*.<sup>99</sup>

One can only conclude that the dissembled report Camp published was a reflection of his deeply held conviction that gentlemen sportsmen such as himself, were indeed controlling the inherent risks of the game in a beneficial and scientific way. With an uncanny foreshadowing of a strategy that would be employed by the National Collegiate Association over the years to come, Camp's rather tepid recommendations in addressing the violence that precipitated the report suggest he saw it all as a simple misunderstanding.<sup>100</sup> Although public relations departments were still ten years away, Camp concluded schools should install PR men to proselytize the gospel of football through a "disarmament plan" calculated

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<sup>98</sup> "Dr. Loveland's Investigation", 2, 3, 7, 12 and 13. "Football: Investigating Committee: Reports and Comments, 1894" Box 43 Folder 160 WCP. Loveland's conclusions were qualified by a cautionary note offered by a responding Yale alumnus who suggested that whatever numbers Loveland was compiling might in actuality be worse because they would not be "counterbalanced by answers by the men who would have been [original emphasis] on the varsity elevens, but dropped out because of serious injuries." The alumnus himself was part of that cohort and he mentions several others. "So be not misled by the favorable showing of the answers given by survivors only." [original emphasis] B.W. Bacon to J. Loveland, July 10, 1893, "Football: Investigating Committee: Reports and Comments, 1894," Box 43 Folder 160 WCP. Des Jardins notes that Loveland associated a disproportionate number of injuries with Wesleyan where the football material was "inferior in muscular physique." Des Jardins, *Camp*, 115.

<sup>99</sup> L. D. Moury of Princeton took the opportunity, while responding to the Loveland's survey, to ask for some rather personal medical advice involving an injury sustained in play. "The first time I felt it was after a game, when I wore an old supporter, and it got loose during a game & testicles got out so that any time I bent over or ran, the supporter cut across my bag just above the stones, and as the Dr. says "caused varicose veins." After a detailed description of an operation which enlarged his testicles to citrus fruit dimensions rather than correcting the injury, Moury explained he "should be very much obliged" for Dr. Loveland's medical opinion. Loveland included Moury's incident in his report to Camp who offered no recorded comments. L. D. Moury to J. Loveland, Feb. 8, 1894, Box 43 Folder 160, WCP; That Camp came across Loveland's account is beyond doubt as he included numerous accounts from Loveland albeit less emasculating ones in the *Facts and Figures* (New York: Harper & Row, 1894), 233.

<sup>100</sup> Watterson, *College Football*, 236-240.

to win back the faithful. Its most appealing feature would be a reduction in the time committed to football practice as well as slashed ticket prices—the cost of which otherwise "shock the public sense."<sup>101</sup>

Even after *Facts and Figures* was published Camp's private frustration in attempting to shape the violence crisis lingered. In a confidential exchange with former teammate Ray Tompkins, who promised to destroy the exchange, it is clear that Camp was trying to shape the direction of the sportsmanship of football in public while dabbling in Yale gamesmanship in private, even discussing a professional coach's salary. Both Camp and Tompkins were well aware of Yale's most notorious gamesman and his salary.<sup>102</sup>

George Foster Sanford was hired by Columbia in 1899 for an exorbitant \$5000, becoming the first outright professional collegiate coach (not faculty appointment). Sanford had learned all too well at Yale, for he first created a slush fund and then promptly shut out Yale in their first encounter. But he also had four ringers on the team—tramp player mercenaries who moved from school to school offering their services to the highest bidder—one of whom became an All-American. Sanford was fired after a year when his crass gamesmanship/professionalism became apparent and he was shunned by polite Yale society. Ten years later when he became a respected and repentant coach for Rutgers (1913-23), attitudes towards Sanford softened and privately Yale boosters wondered whether they should offer him redemption. Camp would be pressured for years to bring him back into the

<sup>101</sup> Camp thanks the many old players who took pains to write and "made such capital suggestions for the game" while "he submitted them with pleasure to the Rules Committee" the "hard-hearted publishers" constrained the size of the book reserving Camp the right to edit, *Facts and Figures* (New York: Harper & Row, 1894), 160, 235.

<sup>102</sup> Tompkins suggests, "all the newspaper talk in the world cannot harm the game of foot-ball as at present played, one bit." But that Camp should "get together in a hurry and make what rules are necessary before Pennsylvania, with a lot of other colleges back her, to make some rules of their own." If Camp is squeamish about appearing to be the formal Head Coach and arrangement can be worked out. "If you do not care to assume the responsibility of head coach, we can say that foot ball affairs have been placed in the hands of the [athletic] committee." though it is assumed that "certain evenings of the week, or all evenings of the week...be set apart for consultations" R. Tompkins to Walter Camp March 12, 1895 and Nov. 28, 1898, Box 24, Folder 682, WCP. "I shall of course destroy your comments on Football." R. Tompkins to Walter Camp, Jan. 5, 1900 Box 24 Folder 683, WCP.

football family circle as Yale's fortunes waned after 1910.<sup>103</sup>

### Probably a lasting addition to modern universities

Stadiums remained a perennial sportsmanship problem. As long as football was seen as an incidental amateur gathering that happened to make a lot of money when a significant number of fans happened to show up, then "temporary" wooden stands or rented urban parks made sense. Thanksgiving Day Games among Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia were usually played at Manhattan's Polo Grounds, for example. Georgia and Auburn rented the Atlanta fairgrounds, later Piedmont Park. Any structure the university might have had students or local contractors construct was wooden, and in especially the humid climates of the east, in constant need of repair and inspection. Most kept a ready stock pile of planks, boards, and stringers on hand for repairs. At Yale, the process of marking the weak spots that had to be repaired was so routine and ritualized that the lead carpenter assigned the task was dubbed "blue pencil Pete."<sup>104</sup>

With such ramshackle arrangements something was bound to go wrong. University of Chicago students had constructed stands on Marshall Field (named after the retail magnate President Harper had convinced to donate the land). As the demand grew, they had simply added additional sections and seating so that by 1900, stands that once held 1,200 now accommodated over 11,000. Inspectors assigned to make sure the additions were safe

<sup>103</sup> But became an proto-Lombardi archetype of the future professionals in a system that places a premium on winning at all costs in a "win at all costs" policy, but yet Tom Sherrill wants him because "he has a wonderful personality and ability to get out Yale undergraduates" as no one else, the kicker though is that Camp would have to accept this super motivator not only as the track coach but as a football assistant coach which he ultimately rejects. Watterson, *College Football*, 54-56. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 161. C. Sherrill to WC July 26, 1905, Anson N. Stokes to WC July 21, 1905, WC to C. Sherrill July 31, 1905, Box 22 Folder 626, and corroborating Camp's suspicions Anson Stokes to WC July 28, 1906, Box 30 Folder 827 WCP. Former Yale Captain Tom Shevlin, scion of a lumber fortune and future Yale Coach with acute sense of the direction the game was going. Shevlin understood the modern-style appeal of personality in Foster Sanford. "Sanford seems to make a great impression on anyone who will listen to him for any length of time." Four years later letters every bit as sophisticated as any filmed play-by-play analysis today. By 1911, two years later, things had really changed. "[In 1905] we never had as detailed information concerning the formations...of our principal opponents as we should have had...it was probably not necessary in the olden days...[Scouts] would be so busy watching the game that they didn't bring back any detailed information...Send down to statisticians and you will get detailed information...ought to have a notebook and make diagrams of the formations and plays." Shevlin believed that if Camp "could get the game on paper in such a way that [Yale] could analyze it and have the scrub play it they would have a big advantage over Harvard." This standard coaching procedure was apparently "a novelty." Aug. 7, and Sept 30, 1909, Oct. 24, 1911, T. Shevlin to WC Box 22 Folder 627, WCP.

<sup>104</sup> Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 140.

were not always listened to by paying fans if they happened to have discovered a last-minute weakness and declared the section off limits. Just as in the games, it is amazing there weren't more accidents. But when they did occur, they were a wake-up call.

In 1902, the end of the season match-up between Wisconsin and Michigan in Marshall Field ended in the death of a 14 year old and injury to many others, as the temporary stands supporting him and the dozens of others collapsed. Inspectors later testified, "we explained the danger to them, but we could not induce them to leave the seats" as thousands were waiting to get in. It could have been worse. Earlier that year, at a soccer match in Glasgow, Scotland, dozens were killed and hundreds injured when the temporary stands there also gave way. After the collapse in Chicago, Wisconsin and Michigan University lawyers unceremoniously hurled threats and financial numbers at each other in local papers. They soon settled after newspaper headlines mocked their pettiness and they quietly armed themselves with insurance policies and commitments to improve construction practices. Everyone could see, however, whether in Chicago or Cambridge, the long-term solution for universities lay in controlling the venue by building large, permanent, stadiums on campus. Building such a stadium was a priority with Harvard and like other institutions; they discovered it was easiest to justify such an apparent extravagance by appealing to patriotism and declaring it a memorial to the fallen. Besides, the field could always be used as drill ground for university battalions. If this self-rationalization seems a bit of a stretch, it was. But as should be clear by now, when it comes to collegiate sports, patriotism proved to be the best way to justify gamesmanship in the guise of sportsmanship—a clear part of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic.<sup>105</sup> In Harvard's case, the fallen were Harvard

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<sup>105</sup> "Collapse of Seats Fatal: Death Puts Football Accident In Coroner's," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1902, 11; "Crowded Bleachers Collapse: Hundreds of Spectators Fall at Football ... Special Dispatch to the Chronicle" *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1; "Victim of Chicago Football Accident," *New York Times*, Nov. 5, 1902, 11; "Blamed For Stand Crash: Managers of Football Game Censured By Coroner's Jury," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov 8, 1902, 5. 22,000 fans had jammed into Marshall Field for the game with many more clamoring to get in.

Alumni in the Civil War and the funds raised were \$300,000.00; enough to construct Soldiers Field in 1903 with a seating capacity of 30,000. In a classic case of keeping up with the Crimson, Camp now had a challenge on his hands as boosters pushed for a 70,000 seat stadium, or nearly double Harvard's. When the Yale Bowl was finally constructed in 1914, it would eventually cost twice much (\$700,000) boast twice the seating (70,000) and could even boast a 30 percent larger seating capacity than the Rome Coliseum.<sup>106</sup>

The man who had designed Harvard's innovative reinforced concrete horseshoe stadium Soldiers Field (inspired by the classical Greek stadium at Olympia, not Rome) was Ira N. Hollis, dean of the Engineering Department at Harvard University, chairman of the Harvard Athletic Commission. Since he published his rationale for building what seemed at the time such an extravagant nod to gamesmanship, his thinking is worth a quick review. The question Hollis claimed he was addressing was "whether intercollegiate athletics had as yet demonstrated their permanent value as part of a college education." Since big-time spectator sports were, "probably a lasting addition to modern universities" some facility might as well accommodate them and all the "superfluous animal energies" of youth. As long as the rules of sportsmanship were enforced, (a student had to be enrolled a year before playing and the "deplorable practice of soliciting athletic students at preparatory schools" was banned) Hollis was willing to channel all that gamesmanship. He was a recent convert who had been stumped by the basic sportsmanship question ask by E.L. Godkin and others, "If football teaches such useful values then why is not everyone made to play it?"<sup>107</sup> The

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A temporary grandstand collapsed under the weight of 1000 people, twice its capacity, injuring 32. By contrast, dozens were killed and Hundreds injured in April that year in the collapse of temporary stands in the Ibrox Stadium in Glasgow, Scotland. "A National Tragedy: Ibrox Disaster, 1902," *The Herald*, April 6, 2008, accessed July 2, 2018.

[http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/12459941/A\\_national\\_tragedy\\_ibrox\\_disaster\\_1902/](http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/12459941/A_national_tragedy_ibrox_disaster_1902/); "Doubt Free Sport Plan: College Authorities Discuss Harper's Suggestion. First Question Asked Is, 'Where Can We Get That \$500,000 Endowment'--Michigan and Wisconsin Declare Such a Sum Beyond Their Dreams Even--Difficulties Attending the West Football Game Are Pointed Out. What Michigan Officials Say. Not Favored at Madison." *Chicago Tribune*, 27 Oct 1903: 8.

<sup>106</sup> "Yale Bowl," Box 25, WCP; Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 53, 141; Des Jardins, *Camp*, 144.

<sup>107</sup> Hollis acknowledged gamesmanship, genuine students, transfer restrictions. After all the "energies of the entire nation have been turned into channels of trade and pleasure," youth is a time of, "superfluous animal spirits" that need to be harnessed now more than ever. Ira N.

irony of Hollis' grand accommodation of sport was often the-fox-in-the-henhouse kind of results. Sportsmanship's attempts to contain football and gamesmanship only made game more attractive and even more scandalous, which, also lead to the further corporatization of the university.<sup>108</sup>

### The 1905 Crisis:

This existential crisis seemed to be a perfect of storm of the three fears of football gamesmanship: physical violence to players, moral violence to student habits, and ethical violence to institutional norms. Camp would have to be at his most cunning. After the 1905 violence crisis, old rules committees would collapse underneath Camp; exposes reveal a Yale slush fund; the California schools whose teams' good will he had cultivated and skills he nurtured so carefully, would walk away from American football and adopt Rugby; and finally THE rule change he had been battling for decades would manage to get past him.

In 1895, after the dust had settled on the first violence crisis, New York City Police Commissioner Roosevelt had written Camp something he never forgot: "[O]f all games I personally like football the best."<sup>109</sup> Ten years later in the White House, President Roosevelt knew something had to be done about football violence. But he staunchly continued to support the game because he felt American men were becoming soft and football would harden them. He observed, "We were tending steadily in America to produce in our leisure and sedentary classes a type of man not much above the Bengalee baboo."<sup>110</sup> In June 1905, the first of a two-part exposé by muckraker journalist Henry Needham caused Roosevelt to reconsider the value of football. Needham claimed that gamesmanship tactics had led to a

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Hollis, "Intercollegiate Athletics," *Atlantic* 90 (October 1902): 533, 534, 536-538, 540. <https://harvardmagazine.com/2003/09/first-and-100.html>. Godkin, E.L. "The Athletic Craze." *Nation*, Dec. 7, 1893, 423

<sup>108</sup> Eventually the rest of University began to function like a football team, senior members of faculty advancing their own professional careers something especially evident in business and medicine. Watterson, *College Football*, 381, 383.

<sup>109</sup> T. Roosevelt to Walter Camp March 11, 1895, Box 21 Folder 593, WCP

<sup>110</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, *The strenuous life: Essays and addresses* (New York: Century Company, 1901).

reported 18 deaths in 1905 because teams simply "couldn't stand losing."<sup>111</sup> Needham also took on the gamesmanship issues Hollis had considered. Recruiting infantilizes and stultifies the athlete in the name of the very sportsmanship character football claims to build, for "it gives him a false and superficial view of life and his position in the world."<sup>112</sup> Needham soon met with Roosevelt, probably prompting him to call the Big Three to the White House.

On the afternoon of October 9, "football men from Harvard, Yale, and Princeton" including Walter Camp and Harvard coach Bill Reid huddled around a table in the White House dining room, as President Roosevelt wrote his son, "to come to a gentleman's agreement not to have mucker play." Roosevelt opened the meeting with remarks on football generally and gave examples of unfair practices drawn from each of their colleges. Several took issue with some of president's remarks, but Roosevelt had the last word. After the group retired to the porch for more discussion, he asked the three senior members of the group to draft a statement pledging their schools to play the game in a fair and sportsmanlike manner. Camp drew a statement up on the return trip that was signed by all of the participants.<sup>113</sup>

Roosevelt had confidence he could facilitate a commitment to football reform. One

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<sup>111</sup> Henry Beach Needham, "The College Athlete," Part I, "How Commercialism is Making Him Professional," *McClure's Magazine* (June 1905), 115-28. Part II "His Amateur Code: Its Evasion and Administration," *McClure's Magazine* (July 1905), 260-73; *Colliers* responded to Needham with articles by a young Wisconsin Alumnus, investigative journalist Edward S. Jordan. He was tough and strangers who aligned themselves with "the bleacher crowd," Jordan was most distraught at a law professor from his alma mater who inculcated the worst of tribal values in which students, after paid, "packed political mass meetings, cheered and hissed speakers in turn, and gained a livelihood by a perversion of the fundamental principles of the service of the state." Edward S. Jordan, "Buying Football Victories: The University of Michigan," *Collier's* 36:9 (Nov. 25, 1905): 21-3; "Buying Football Victories," *Collier's* 36:7 (Nov. 11, 1905): 19-23; "Buying Football Victories: The University of Minnesota," *Collier's* 36:10 (Dec. 2, 1905): 19-20; "Buying Football Victories: The University of Wisconsin," *Collier's* 36:8 (Nov. 18, 1905): 22-23.

<sup>112</sup> Needham, "The College Athlete," 120, 124. Among the more egregious examples of gamesmanship Needham brought to light a trainer scandal, squash junkets for Cigar companies in Cuba and complaints of expensive "new muscle palaces" and the payoffs of summer ball. Needham always had an ally in Harvard President Eliot who with unmistakable satisfaction, noted corrupting influence does not always win out to the purer qualities of the game as Yale Football, with huge surpluses of \$27,00 (five times the budget of West Point program) was defeated by West Point nevertheless. Harvard President Charles Eliot, already in office for 35 years, had for most of that tenure inveighed against the sport he a decade earlier characterized as "unfit for college use." "President Eliot's Annual Report," *Harvard Graduate Magazine*, III (1895), 369. Needham also reports Elliott asking rhetorically if the game was so patently character building, why is this even an issue? Pres. Eliot denounces "unnecessary roughness" yet this is not going to work for the public doesn't really care for a cleaner game so much as a "more open game---one the spectators can enjoy." Needham, "His Amateur Code:" 269. 271-2.

<sup>113</sup> Diary, Bill Reid, Entry for October 9, 1905, *Harvard University Archives* cited in Ronald Smith, (ed.), *Big Time Football at Harvard, 1905: The Diary of Coach Bill Reid* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 193-195. For a recent journalistic retelling see John J. Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football* (New York: Harper Collins, 2011). Despite the title, Miller resists the urge to attribute football's survival to a simple presidential bully pulpit.



month earlier in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he had put discrete and successful pressure on the representatives of the belligerents of Russo-Japanese War to come to an agreement. They did and Roosevelt earned himself a Nobel Peace Prize. Roosevelt had set in motion as a considerable series of both public and especially private maneuvers that led to a merger between old and new rules committees the following January, and the introduction of the most significant rule change to the game since Camp's in the early 1880s—the forward pass.<sup>114</sup>

In all likelihood the merger and rule change saved Harvard football, as the Harvard Corporation had already voted to suspend the game unless their list of demands for rule reform were met. In the October meeting Roosevelt had already endorsed the idea of opening up the game by encouraging the legalization of the forward pass. Camp politely responded *that* the idea had apparent merit but that it *wouldn't* work: "There will undoubtedly be more injuries in an open game..." Roosevelt even offered rugby as a compromise and Camp had none of that.<sup>115</sup> As he usually did, Roosevelt managed to spin

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<sup>114</sup> In the White House meeting, Reid characterized Camp as making, 'considerable talk but [he] was very slippery and did not allow himself to be pinned down on anything.' Reid implied that he and Harvard were calling the shots, not Camp and Yale, and that Harvard was prepared leave the committee. He threatened, "this will mean English rugby, and if that is introduced, it will be a long time before we are playing the American game again." Reid made good on his threats when he joined a new rules committee next January. Roosevelt closely followed the crisis, but from behind the scenes. He met twice more with Bill Reid, and corresponded with Paul Dashiell, the official in the Harvard-Yale game, who was also a member of the rules committee. He pressured Dashiell to merge the old committee with the new group. Reid, always suspicious of any behind the scenes maneuvering Camp might be engineering, left the old committee to join the new. In a move to "out-Camp" Camp, he soon finagled himself the secretary job of the newly amalgamate, a controlling position Camp held in the old committee. Smith, *Big-Time*, 194-5. Now Reid followed Camp's form when he threatened the committee members that they accede to Harvard Corporation demands or they would ban the game and other schools would be sure to follow. Reid informed the new group either the "rules go through or there will be no football at Harvard; and if Harvard throws out the game, many other colleges will follow Harvard's lead, and an important blow will be dealt to the game," *Boston Herald*, 17 October 1906, Sec. E., p. 7. In addition Harvard President Elliot simply did not trust Camp. When asked by Columbia President Nicholas Butler to get involved in an inter-collegiate reform, Camp declined point blank. Harvard President Elliot concluded, when it came to any kind of rules changes, "Mr. Camp has the matter completely in his hands... The trouble with him seems to me to be that he is deficient in moral sensibility—a trouble not likely to be cured at his age," cited in Ronald A. Smith, "Harvard and Columbia and a Reconsideration of the 1905-06 Football Crisis," *Journal of Sport History* 8 (Fall 1981): 5-19; 7. Denouncing Camp behind the scenes, not surprisingly, led to a snide *Harvard Graduate Magazine* commentary. In it several decades of serious academic Harvard accomplishments are compared favorably with the "modern game of football developed by Walter Camp" which stands as Yale's only contribution to "the world's progress and the intellectual and spiritual uplift of mankind." Yale almost broke off relations over this insult. Cited in Des Jardins, *Camp*, 185.

<sup>115</sup> Walter Camp to Theodore Roosevelt, Oct. 13, 1905, Box 21 Folder 593, WCP. Reid ultimately conceptually weighed in on the side of Camp in the 1905 crisis in a conservative resistance to change. They both advocated that, "fifteen or twenty men" selected collectively to officiate, and "most emphatically" the open game is more dangerous not less than the "so called mass-play." Reid then makes appeal to science guaranteed to go over well with Camp. "There is far more science and brain work and more mental benefit in mastering the attack and defense of formation plays, than in the old style so called 'straight football.'" Camp could not agree more with the letter and reiterates this in his follow up correspondence with Roosevelt. H. L. Williams to T. Roosevelt Dec. 7, 1905, and Walter Camp to T. Roosevelt, Dec. 12, 1905, Box 21 Folder 593, WCP. Roosevelt recommended Australian football as an alternative and solicited a letter from the Victorian Football League, of Melbourne Australia. Camp is asked to look into the possibilities and rejects them out of hand for some of "the laws of

the press to his thinking, such that there were denunciations of anyone (read Camp) who might oppose reform as "black coated, stiff jointed, soft-muscle, paste-complexioned."<sup>116</sup>

Reid was responsible for much of the drama as he successfully compromised Camp's previous ability to block the forward pass for almost two decades.<sup>117</sup> It was events beyond Reid's control that brought reform to a head. Of the 18 football deaths reported in 1905, 15 were in high schools and only one of the three college deaths took place in the East, but that one death proved a tipping point. After Union College player Harold Moore was killed in a November game against New York University, Chancellor Henry M. MacCracken of NYU went public with a broadside against gamesmanship with three reasons to ban or seriously reform football. First, it was murderous; second, only a few skilled "gladiators" are actually able to play and benefit from the exercise; and third, it was a commercial spectacle at odds with the values of higher learning and the "exaltation of money making is, if possible, its worst evil." Imagine if "the great universities of Germany had decided to commit two student corps to fight their duels before grandstands full of spectators in Berlin or Vienna for \$2 admission per head! Would that not degrade them at once from their high esteem?"<sup>118</sup>

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the game...lack definiteness...[that would] make them impossible for us" the chaos of the scrum is particularly galling. E.L. Wilson to T. Roosevelt, June 20, 1906, Walter Camp to W. Loeb, Oct. 3, 1906, Box 21 Folder 593, WCP

<sup>116</sup> "Football Reform," *Outlook*, November 18, 1905, 649. While many criticized Roosevelt's manipulation of the press, John Dewey was more sympathetic. "To criticize Roosevelt for love of the camera and the headline is childish...unless we recognize that in such criticism we are condemning the very conditions of any public success during this period." Cited in David Greenberg, "Beyond the Bully Pulpit," *The Wilson Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 25.

<sup>117</sup> Initial research suggested Roosevelt was calling the committee's bluff by suggesting a ban. See Guy M. Lewis, "Theodore Roosevelt's Role in the 1905 Football Controversy," *Research Quarterly* 40 (December 1969): 717-724. A reassessment a decade later maintained that at any given moment the game was indeed imperiled. Ronald A. Smith, "Harvard And Columbia And A Reconsideration of The 1905-06 Football Crisis," *Journal of Sport History* 8 (Fall 1981): 5-19. Roosevelt had told the big three he was almost ready to shut down football but he legally was limited to only banning the games at the two military academies. Bill Reid, pulled Roosevelt aside and tried to keep any Camp Rules committee reform meeting from taking place so as to prevent Camp from introducing any rules that might benefit Yale. When the 26-year old Reid was tipped off that the superannuated Harvard President Eliot, now in his 36<sup>th</sup> year in office, considered using the moment to recommend to the Board of Trustees ban football outright, he had his road to Damascus experience regarding reform confessing to the trustees in widely published open letter, "I have come to believe that the game ought to be radically changed." John Watterson, "The Gridiron Crisis of 1905: Was it really a Crisis?" *Journal of Sports History* 27 (Summer 2000): 291-298; 291, 293. Reid had every incentive to see the game continued as his \$7,000 a year salary was already greater than any faculty members and approaching President Eliot's. "Reid Condemns Football," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XIII (December 1905), 300.

<sup>118</sup> MacCracken's football called "for a high degree of skill, alertness, courage, and manliness, but it has come to be nothing more than a personal collation at high-speed of a number of young men powerful physique" which is compounded by "The vicious personal antagonism often aroused and frequently deliberately provoked" in games—monetized tribalism. It could all be changed if simply the coaches and Captains "formulated" previous rules committees. Instead it has been "self-perpetuating, irresponsible, impervious to public opinion, and culpable in refusing the unnecessarily dangerous character of game." Thus we need a new rules committee with accountability to a "higher authority" that bans the game if not reformed. "Abolition of Football or Immediate Reforms: College Presidents Denounce Game and Demand Changes," *New York Times*, Nov. 28, 1905: 11.

Besides venting, MacCracken also sent invitations to all football-playing colleges and universities for what turned out to be the first of two meetings in New York City in late December. Meanwhile, the old rules committee under Camp had met in early December and enacted no reforms.

When Chancellor McCracken convened the second meeting in January 1906 it functioned as the first meeting of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States (I.A.A.U.S.), later to become the National Collegiate Athletic Association (N.C.A.A.). 68 schools attended but the Big Three (Harvard, Yale, and Princeton) did not. This only confirmed in their opponent's eyes their earlier comparison big three with "corrupt Czarist Grand Dukes."<sup>119</sup> The cries reached a fever pitch with the dean of the divinity school at the University of Chicago calling football "a social obsession--a boy killing, education-prostituting, gladiatorial sport," prompting President Angell of Michigan, at the behest of the gadfly Wisconsin historian Fredrick Jackson Turner, to convene a separate Midwestern reform conference in January 1906—this with the intention of convincing other schools to suspend the game while changes were made.<sup>120</sup> Northwestern and Columbia (for ten years), voted to drop the game as an "academic nuisance," and even before the San Francisco quake next year, Stanford and Berkeley opted for rugby.

Soon the new McCracken committee, which now included the old rules committee with Camp temporarily sidelined, enacted a series of sweeping changes a newly empowered Harvard had proposed. To create a more open game, the rules makers adopted a ten-yard rule that allow a team to have three opportunities to gain ten yards, rather than five yards as before. Harvard specifically promoted the forward pass that marked the most radical

<sup>119</sup> A disgusted Harvard Coach Bill Reid reached out in solidarity to his nemesis Camp writing from California, "the Universities of this coast have become so effeminate so as to borrow Rugby instead of their own." Cited in Gems, 56.

<sup>120</sup> Cited in John Watterson, "The Crisis of 1905: Was it Really a Crisis?" *Journal of Sport History* 27(Summer 2000): 291-297. Other comments were equally shrill. "Lust for triumph at any cost [has] surrounded the game" or "an "apology for a rough and tumble fight" "The Cure of Football," *Outlook*, December 9, 1905, 856; "Football in Disfavor" *Outlook*, January 27, 1906, 151; "Football Reform," *Outlook*, January 6, 1906, 10-11.

departure from the older styles of football since Camp's possession and blocking rules of the early 1880s. Needless to say, Camp was not pleased with the changes and accepted with resignation hoping the hefty penalties that came with it would make it unappealing; this in addition to his basic philosophical qualms that aerial yardage is not really earned. Camp also had to weather what turned out to be accurate revelations that he accumulated a hefty slush fund in the 6 figures (eight figures today).<sup>121</sup> In the meantime he received letters for years consoling him that he was correct in maintaining that football with the forward pass "is too much like basketball." Only the sportsman purist Caspar Whitney told Camp to "give the forward pass a free hand."<sup>122</sup> In the end, Camp's instincts proved correct. Yale would never recover from the basketball forward pass.<sup>123</sup>

### Game in flux 1906-9

With the introduction of the forward pass, football opened up and Yale's days of dominance with its mass plays were numbered. Unknown schools deployed it with great effectiveness

<sup>121</sup> E.L. Godkin, when he lodged the complaint that Yale had spent \$47,000 on athletics he had no idea but suspected Camp maintained a tidy surplus (actually 5 digit surpluses) through The Yale Athletic Union, of which Camp was the treasurer, had by 1905 had accumulated a fund that ballooned well into the six digits. When revealed Camp offered to reduced his gratuities from \$5,000 to \$3,500. "The Value of College Athletics," *Outlook*, January 27, 1906, 151; Godkin, E.L. "The Athletic Craze," *Nation*, Dec. 7, 1893; "Yale University Football Association" Folders, Box 30 Folders 819-21, WCP.

<sup>122</sup> Harvard lore has it they introduced the pass because the field at the recently built Harvard Stadium could not be widened the 40 yards needed for a proposal to open up the game. "Saturday Night Lights: Harvard Stadium Joins the 21st Century," *New York Times*, Sept. 22, 2007. Accessed Jan 2, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/22/sports/ncaaf/football/22harvard.html>. S. Borden to T. Roosevelt, Oct 10, 1905, Box 21 Folder 593, WCP. The typical one of Camp's many of correspondents was the sentiment, "I should be very glad to see the forward pass eliminated for two reasons, one that it is against the tradition of the game and second that it encroaches upon basket ball..." Nathan Williams to Walter Camp Nov. 29, 1907 Box 27 Folder 757, WCP. As a Massachusetts newspaperman reported, Harvard Coach Percy Haughton proclaims the pass as a "thing of the past" Coach Fred Daly of Williams, explains his lack of forward passing "It is too much like basketball" James Young to Walter Camp, Dec. 27, 1913, Box 31 Folder 839, WCP. "Why so much legislation about the forward pass?" Just "give the forward passes a free hand." Casper Whitney to Walter Camp, January 8, 1910, Box 7 Folder 188, WCP. Others like Dr. William Lee Howard simply not eliminating "any risks" of the game. "As a physician who daily sees mental and moral instabilities the result of indifferent fathers, coddling mothers, amid complacent teachers I say to college authorities: place no barriers, subjectively or objectively against football..Eliminate any of the risks in the game, suppress any of the powerful animal instincts which the game must bring out, throw a mantle of pedantic authority over the rules and you will bring out an atmosphere of timidity and effeminacy which will rob football of all its direct benefit to our youths and young men." "Football: Rules 1907," Box 39 Folder 121, WCP. Walter Camp, "College Athletics," *Century* 46 (July 1893): 204, 208, 212. Camp's frustration bubbles up in 1912 when Yale is no longer as overwhelmingly dominant on the field. Camp again confides privately in Ray Tompkins, "successions of victories as were ours when I had the planning of the former campaigns." If only he were as discretely in charge of the team would as before then the salad days could return. After Yale lost to Harvard, alumni were pleading him to take charge but he will only do so if "they all stand behind us." "If there is any other one man they and you would trust more to plan them out you have only to say so and I will gladly step out for good and ever. I will not stand for the falseness of the present nor will I take any future part unless I am sure of the faith and loyalty of my former friends." Walter Camp to Ray Tompkins, Nov. 29. 1912, Box 24 Folder 684, WCP.

<sup>123</sup> Initially Harvard benefited from Yale's fall from mastery but since WWI the East never regained its dominance. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 177, 213. "Football: Rules, n.d." Box 40 Folder 141, WCP. In a distress letter to the Captain of Yale's 1921 squad, Camp claims the quarterback took more initiative. And judging from the last ten years of play [1911-1921] there was need to get basketball players to play for the, "team that 'plays basketball' best will win nine times out of ten. Every man on the Yale team ought to be made to play basket ball. "Get the best 'basket ball' football coach in the country, preferably a Notre Dame man...to teach the science of the forward pass." H. Twombly to Walter Camp Oct 30, 1909 H. Twombly to M. Aldrich, Feb. 8, 1921 Box 25 Folder 692, WCP.

and their players began to populate Camp's ever more popular All-American Teams. Much as Camp knew they would regret the forward pass, a growing cadre of professional coaches, supported incredibly by progressive educators, could now do publicly what Camp, coach in all but name, had only done privately; but even more. They not only rationalized but celebrated gamesmanship in the guise of scientific sportsmanship—coaches should be given well-paid faculty appointments to keep them committed and social scientists published research confirming that playing and even viewing football was good for the nervous system.<sup>124</sup> Camp was forced to explain Yale's slush fund which critics noted could fund 30 full professors for a year. He rationalizes this unseemly gamesmanship by claiming he was privately raising funds in order construct Yale's answer to Harvard's 35,000 seat stadium, the 70,000 seat Yale Bowl (completed in 1914). Yet he had been walking a fine line between amateurism and professionalism for years. Such is the staying power of Camp's unseemly conduct that it became the focus a century later of Civil Rights historian Taylor Branch's 2011 widely read and discussed "The Shame of College Sports," which highlighted the fund as an example of how the gamesmanship in college arrangement fundamentally remained a basic civil rights violation as unpaid players are exploited in the hypocritical name of sportsmanship and amateurism.<sup>125</sup>

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, football developed a highly interesting and surprisingly symbiotic relationship with Progressive efforts in the university. Progressive academics believed they could offer science to smooth out the social irregularities and inequalities in a quest to improve society, especially with safety. Flush with studies often

<sup>124</sup> Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, chap. 3.

<sup>125</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 199. Taylor Branch, "The Shame of College Sports," *The Atlantic Monthly* 308, no. 3 (2011): 80-110. Accessed Sept. 10, 2011. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/10/the-shame-of-college-sports/308643/>. Private and confidential notes from London concerned with the expenses and spoils of the amateurs competition, suggest that Camp knows he's walking a fine line J.H. Gray to E.J. Wendell April 1, 1901, Box 26 Folder 740, WCP. The Yale alumni would prefer he be a true amateur, but if he insists, he can always "derive a salary as treasurer of the Financial Union" and in essence pay himself. Edwin Oviat to Anson P. Stokes Jr. Oct 25, 1911. Box 28 Folder 790, WCP.

drawn from universities, Progressive legislation boldly addressed safety in railroads, mining, manufacturing, and especially food purity. Here they expressed their faith in pragmatic expertise, because “good rules make men good.”<sup>126</sup>

Universities also had a more self-serving agenda. Like Ira Hollis the stadium builder, “leading universities embraced strenuous sport, a seemingly irrational, non-academic activity [and] by exploiting popular culture for quasi-academic ends, it filled the void between the academy and the public sphere allowing academic institutions to appear culturally relevant to nonacademic constituencies.”<sup>127</sup> Nevertheless Municipal reformers like Albert Shaw, whether American academics weren’t behaving too much like, Americans. “Men from foreign universities are astonished to find that Harvard, Yale, Princeton and other great universities are known to the public generally only as football associations.”<sup>128</sup>

Not to worry. The friends of football had an answer. When football introduced the forward pass, opening up the game and making it more transparent, this benefited the 75 percent of the high schools and colleges which fielded football teams. Their fans could now surveil the playing field for infractions with the players spread out, just as meat inspectors could now protect dinner tables of America with the creation of the Food and Drug Administration.<sup>129</sup>

Some psychologists weighed in, claiming that “from the spectator’s

<sup>126</sup> “The Pure Food and Drug Act,” *Ladies Home Journal*, June 30, 1906. Arlene F. Kantor, “Upton Sinclair and the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906: ‘I aimed at the public’s heart and by accident I hit it in the stomach,’” *American Journal of Public Health* 66.12 (1976): 1202-1205.

<sup>127</sup> Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 13. For a sweeping study of Progressivism’s social-theoretical, especially German academic, impulses see, Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Harvard University Press, 1998). Aside from the already managerial mercurial President Hadley who was torn between the interests of football in general and those specific to Yale, many University presidents still wore a moral mantle, as their schools were less than a generation away from still being administered by clergymen. “As a result of heightened moral expectations during the Progressive Era, the presidents also had an implied duty to confront the issues raised by intercollegiate football.” Watterson, *College Football*, 45.

<sup>128</sup> Albert Shaw, “College Reform—and Football,” *American Review of Reviews* 40 (1909): 726-728.

<sup>129</sup> Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 59. This was on the effective heels of Upton Sinclair’s 1904 novel, *The Jungle*, which sought to expose the harsh conditions and exploitation rampant in the meatpacking industry. The ensuing outrage led to passage of the 1906 Food and Drug Act. This was matched by a public outcry against football violence the same year prompting a White House initiative to make football safe. Both actions were part of the same authoritative impulses of Roosevelt Progressivism. See John Watterson, “The Crisis of 1905: Was it Really a Crisis?” *Journal of Sport History* 27(Summer 2000): 291-297. For a thoroughly documented history of a century of federal food and drug regulation see Philip J. Hilts. *Protecting America’s Health: The FDA, Business, And One Hundred Years of Regulation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003). Regulation made it possible for 78 percent of the high schools, according to a 1910 national survey of 555 schools, to report fielding teams. See Stephen. W Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 91, 128.

standpoint...football is a superb moral safety valve.”<sup>130</sup> Almost all the prominent, now professional, coaches published post-reform game books encouraging active spectatorship with the more open game. Now that some teams numbered their players, fans could identify and help police the action better. Michigan Coach Fielding Yost’s was the first in a long line of books by master coaches that made some variation of the wishful but dubious claim that there was a mysterious synergy between that active fans and players. Experienced fans could aid the young men in developing self-reliance and moral courage while the fans themselves would be moved to “habits of temperance and regularity.”<sup>131</sup>

On the campus of one of the most progressive states, the relationship between the university and football was fraught. The “Wisconsin idea” held that activities of the university should benefit “every family in the state” and therefore created an extension division.<sup>132</sup> For example, social scientists Richard T. Ely and E.A. Ross believed it would benefit families to experience football, so they made a point of shipping in extension division students to witness games.<sup>133</sup> Other Wisconsin dons weren’t so sure.

In January 1906, while the new football association (IAAUS) was being organized in New York City, Wisconsin historian Frederick Jackson Turner spoke at the annual Alumni Banquet in Madison. Gamesmanship was quietly undermining sportsmanship. The unaccountable game gate receipts and attendant vices (gambling and professionalism) were

<sup>130</sup> H. Addington Bruce, “Psychology of Football,” *Outlook* 96 (November 5, 1910): 541 – 5; 544.

<sup>131</sup> The earliest books were didactic in nature encouraging informed spectatorship starting with Walter Camp, *American Football* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1892) and Amos Alonzo Stagg, with Henry H. Williams, *Simple Explanations of the Great Game of Football, with Diagrams for Spectators* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood & Branard, 1893). The first of new were Fielding H. Yost, *Football for Player and Spectator* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Publishing Company, 1905), 12-13. Princeton’s Roper, Harvard’s Haughton, Georgia Tech’s Heisman and Notre Dame’s Rockne all weighed in. William W. Roper, *Winning Football* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1920), *Football, Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Duffield, 1927); Percy D. Haughton, *Football and How to Watch It* (With an introduction by Heywood Broun. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1922), John William Heisman, *Principles of Football* (New York: Sports Publishing Bureau, 1922), Knute Rockne, *Coaching* (New York: AMS Press, 1970 reprint), *The Four Winners—The Head, the Hand, the Foot, the Ball* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1925). Advice appears a century old equivalent doing crossword puzzle to keep the mind alert. Even *Harvard Health* offers 6 easy steps. Accessed Jan. 2, 2019.

<https://www.health.harvard.edu/mind-and-mood/6-simple-steps-to-keep-your-mind-sharp-at-any-age>.

<sup>132</sup> University of Wisconsin President Charles Van Hise is usually credited with the Wisconsin plan, when in an [1905 address](#), he declared, “I shall never be content until the beneficent influence of the University reaches every family of the state.”

<https://www.wisc.edu/wisconsin-idea/>. For an overview see Jack Stark, “The Wisconsin Idea: The university’s Service to the State,” *State of Wisconsin 1995-1996 Blue Book* (1995): 101-179; J. David. Hoeveler, “The University and the Social Gospel: The Intellectual Origins of the” Wisconsin Idea,” *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* (1976): 282-298, and *The History of Higher Education* 2 (1997): 234-246; Alan Knox and Joe Corry, “The Wisconsin Idea for the 21st Century,” *Wisconsin Blue Book, 1995-1996* (1995).

<sup>133</sup> Charles McCarthy, *The Wisconsin Idea* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), 237.



breaching campuses and making it difficult for honest students to maintain their integrity. With this kind of gamesmanship supported by taxpayers, universities were recruiting gladiatorial mercenaries and experts using “Tammany Hall methods” that should not be used to educate students.<sup>134</sup> Turner was sympathetic to the sportsmanship alternative the West Coast schools adopted later that fall. The San Francisco Earthquake that struck in April would compel Stanford President Jordan to withdraw a visiting professorship for Turner, so that Jordan could focus his attention on rebuilding his campus but with rugby as the football of choice.<sup>135</sup>

14 years after Camp answer the clarion call from Stanford, all of its buildings but one, lay in ruins, victims of the horrific 1906 San Francisco earthquake that took over 3,000 lives and destroyed 80 percent of the city. Berkeley’s President Benjamin Wheeler and Stanford’s David Starr Jordan following visiting Professor William James’ advice, took this as “a God-given opportunity to re-launch” and made a clean break with eastern football.<sup>136</sup> Jordan’s Stanford University campus was especially hard-hit, though with only one death. Berkeley’s Wheeler was actively involved in the extensive rebuilding and post seismological studies which literally proved to be groundbreaking in the understanding of geological fault line dynamics. It is not surprising that both presidents approached the football crisis in the East the same way: they headed up commissions, determined to learn from the experiences and avoid a repeat. Besides both West Coast boosters and Board members were predisposed towards reforming the American game after the fiasco unfolding in the East.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Some displeased students hung Turner in effigy and threatened to toss him into Lake Mendota after he supported a proposal that big nine, Wisconsin’s athletic conference, suspended football for two years. “Speech at Alumni Banquet,” Folder “Football,” Box 2, Frederick Jackson Turner Papers, State Historical Society, cited in Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 105

<sup>135</sup> Jordan placed “in abeyance” a visiting faculty appointment to Frederick Jackson Turner after sharing with him \$2,800,000 costs of reconstruction. David Starr Jordan Papers, 1851-1931: “Outgoing Correspondence related to the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire,” Online Archives California, accessed Jan 2, 2019, <http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/13030/ft/hb6w1008ft/files/hb6w1008ft-FID256.jpg>

<sup>136</sup> Cited in Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 63.

<sup>137</sup> This with relief Committee of Fifty already formed during the quake, of which Wheeler was a member, and following the quake, the groundbreaking Lawson Report by a team headed by Berkeley Prof. Andrew Lawson. They determined that the San Andreas Fault was



Camp was concerned when Wheeler and Jordan formally adopted Rugby in April 1906, after months of hinting they would do so until football was sufficiently reformed.<sup>138</sup>

Their three-way correspondence reflects how isolated the West Coast schools felt as they turned their attention to the Pacific Rim and Commonwealth nations. Wheeler was confident enough in his decision to adopt Rugby to make a prediction about Camp's game: "If the game is not changed from its present status, I venture to prophesy that football will cease to exist as a college sport within ten years." Wheeler even asked ed Camp to join in his crusade or just "create a new game out of whole cloth." Camp politely demurred, intending to ride out the storm as he received distressing reports that other Pacific Schools were considering following suit. He could buoy himself up with mock sportsmanship reform rules supporters sent him which included requirements that the "field [should be] pillowed with several feet of batting, warm sawdust and thick carpeting," or that players ought to be "armed with butterfly nets" to catch each other.<sup>139</sup>

The correspondence Camp had with Jordan three years into the rugby experiment

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responsible for the earthquake rather than the other way around as previously believed. Everett P. Carey, "The Great Fault of California and the San Francisco Earthquake, April 18, '06," *Journal of Geography* 5, no. 7 (1906): 289-301. David Starr Jordan, meanwhile was actively involved in rebuilding "all the beautiful buildings" on campus destroyed at a loss of \$2,800,000, importuning Andrew Carnegie for help "I have only to spend the rest of my life doing it all over again." He also has to turn rescind a visiting faculty appointment to Frederick Jackson Turner. David Starr Jordan Papers, 1851-1931: "Outgoing Correspondence related to the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire," Online Archives California, accessed Jan 2, 2019. <http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/13030/ft/hb6w1008ft/files/hb6w1008ft-FID253.jpg>, <http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/13030/ft/hb6w1008ft/files/hb6w1008ft-FID254.jpg>, <http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/13030/ft/hb6w1008ft/files/hb6w1008ft-FID256.jpg>

<sup>138</sup> The Stanford | Berkeley joint conference committee recommend adoption of Rugby until the American Game could be reformed. Normally Wheeler would not have had as much power to bypass the executive committee of the A.S.U.C. but an atmosphere of urgency ruled the day after the 1905 crisis. For a detailed telling of California decision see, Roberta J. Park, "From Football To Rugby - And Back, 1906-1919: The University of California-Stanford University Response To The "Football Crisis of 1905." *Journal of Sport History* 11 (Fall 1984): 5-40. 23 Although the individual collegiate teams fared poorly against most international competition, the American team consisting of Californians left over from the Wheeler/Jordan effort won the last Olympic Rugby gold medals in 1920 and 1924. Park, 448; David Starr Jordan. "Football: Battle or Sport?" *The Pacific Monthly*, March 1908, 335-343.

<sup>139</sup> American Rugby," Benjamin I. Wheeler [Berkeley President] to W. Camp Dec. 23, 1904 Box 26 Folder 745, WCP. Wheeler takes the opportunity to trot out his previous vision of a kind of pan-pacific rim league comprised of Commonwealth countries and west coast Americans. Despite acceptance of his proposals by the rules committee still enthusiast for "the Rugby game" which he had recently seen some visiting New Zealanders play with such verve, "It seems to me men have more fun at it. Really why is it necessary to save the American game at all! Are you not likely to get into a fearful complication of rules so that the game will be hard to understand and hard to administer?" As a plumb "I wish the Rules Committee and the Amalgamated Rules Committee might be abolished and you be authorized to create a new game out of a whole new cloth." Camp apparently replies he cannot keep the rules simple. B. I. Wheeler to Walter Camp Jan 12, and Feb. 15, and March 10, 1906, Box 26 Folder 745, WCP. W.J. Kerr, President of Oregon Agricultural College was looking down South and liked what he saw. Oregon was going Rugby "unless the rules Committee comes to the rescue, I fear Rugby will supplant football." C.N. Walther to Walter Camp Dec. 8, 1909, Box 26 Folder 729, WCP. "Field pillowed with several feet of batting, warm sawdust and thick carpeting, only cheering permitted by a solitary student allowed to politely cheer "three rah-rahs" at the end of each half. "The time between the halves should be devoted to reading of high class literature." same ball but "covered with pale blue or pale pink satin tied with baby ribbon." any "cross player" can be "protested" players armed with colorful flags and "small butterfly nets" use the flags to signal their intention to catch the runner with their net. "Cecil Lean's Football Rules" "Football: Rules 1906 (2)" Box 39 Folder 117, WCP

permitted Camp to reveal years of gamesmanship in the private attitudes and tactics he had employed to maintain control of the game in the name of sportsmanship. Jordan's critique of Camp's line of reasoning can be summarized in Jordan's comments that football "players do not learn the game. This is the coach's business...When a Rugby team knows the game thoroughly, the coach, as in baseball, is mostly unnecessary. This may be the main reason why professional coaches prefer the American game."<sup>140</sup> Camp publicly soft-pedaled rugby's appeal as a "far greater measure of luck and chance" than the American game, "but it is fine exercise." Here Jordan was concerned with Camp's misdirection as Jordan witnessed a variation of Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic—Camp "welcomed" rules changes publicly while undercutting them privately.<sup>141</sup>

Although players' nerves were hardly less frayed, and the benefits not apparent playing after Rugby for five years, Wheeler nevertheless put a

<sup>140</sup> Jordan to Walter Camp, Jan. 20, 1908, Box 15, Folder 404, WCP; David Starr Jordan, "Football: Battle or Sport?" *The Pacific Monthly*, March 1908, 335-343. Camp was willing to confront a direct threat to the tenuous toe-hold football had on the west coast, in Jordan's increasing commitment to Rugby. Camp had served as coach for Stanford, in 1892 and 1895 in the big game against Berkeley. By 1908 Jordan was publicly prepared to state that the college game has become too centrally controlled. David Starr Jordan, "Football: Battle or Sport?" *The Pacific Monthly*, March 1908, 335-343. Privately he explains to Camp that he does "not regard the element of certainty--the condition under which the general or coach arranges the whole plan of battle beforehand as a desirable element in intercollegiate sports. In Rugby, "Jordan recently witnessed in a trip to New Zealand, "as in baseball a man is trained to seize chances as they rise, and to back up his associates who may do the same." David Jordan to Camp, Jan. 1, 1908, 1911 Box 15, Folder 404, WCP. Camp replies that Rugby always mutates according to each colony's local flavor, and justifies the need for the scrimmage adapted in 1880 at his suggestion that the Rugby rules themselves were at fault and that in fact the British themselves were forced to violate them by introducing heeling out at the scrimmage [kicking the ball towards your own men rather than the direction of the opponents goal as required by the 1876 rules]. Camp effectively claims that he was better at abiding by the rules of Rugby than the British and hence forced to address the inconsistencies of the game earlier. Jordan in his attitude is merely "in exactly the same position that [Camp] was in 1876...The history of the sport shows that it develops and we have only reached one stage in its development while you are beginning another, and I shall certainly be glad to see how it comes along." As to the "element of certainty", well Camp is "sure that [Jordan] magnifies" it. "The only measure of definiteness....[is] when the ball is put in play." Everything else is "opportunity for independent action." Now the reprehensible tactic attributed to football by Jordan and others of "endeavoring to lay up an opponent by repeated attacks" Camp can't accept it because, "even those who advocate such a method on the theory that football is like war, must realize that in war if an annihilated battery meant a temporary cessation of hostilities until the battery could be replaced by a new and fresh one, the method would be ineffective." [Camp of course speciously assumes that the replacement to be as effective as the original, something never assumed in football] As the nostrum Camp claims that since 1894 he has advocated the 10-yard gain rule as a way of opening up the game. He was ridiculed as "Ten Yard Camp" but they now see it his way. Walter Camp to David Jordan, January 9, 1908, Box 15, Folder 404, WCP. Jordan replies and admits he actually favors, "rugby, against American football because it does not seem to produce the same obsession with the student body...and can be played without coaches." Camp had been worried enough to send a telegram and engage in some West Coast damage control by offering to get rid of blocking feature of the game and expand the limited passing game.

<sup>141</sup> Walter Camp, "Rugby Football in American," *Outing* 57 (March 1911): 707, 713. Several years later after he's had chance to size Camp up Jordan very astutely picks up on a patterned modus operandi. Camp seems to always have been welcoming the new rule changes. In a letter about Camp probably not intended for him Jordan quotes Camp as welcoming the very change of a condition whose existence he denied before. "These rules," Jordan reminds Camp he wrote earlier, "have rendered the game far more a square sport in the sense that no man was made a mark for the united assault of five men massed and going with such a cruel force as to make the play a really unfair equation." This is all "a frank" concession about a game that constantly needs to be "remodeled from year to year. The game of Rugby needs no remodeling." David Jordan to Charles Van Hise, January 3, 1911 Box 15, Folder 404, WCP. Jordan's successor continued the anti-gamesmanship line with Camp. Stanford President Ray Lyman Wilbur 1916-1943 quoted, "American football is well known as a coach's game. There has been a rapid growth in the resentment felt by many university men and faculties toward intercollegiate athletics, largely because of the extraneous coach and the by-products that go along with him - professionalism - anything for victory." Rugby, n.d. Box 45 Folder 210, WCP.

sportsmanship gloss on the rugby as an everyman game—you can play in the afternoon, then study at night, whether you are heavy or light. Despite public pronouncements, Wheeler was losing the battle as gamesmanship elements of the heavier American game--brute strength, power tackling, and rule stretching--were creeping into Rugby as well.<sup>142</sup>

In the end Camp was probably correct in simply riding out West Coast rugby (though he sent a few anxious telegrams to Jordan). The numbers could not add up, as only 5 million of 92 million Americans lived west of the continental divide in 1910. Interest in the sportsmanship of rugby began to wane as the West Coast Americans were consistently outclassed in foreign competition as they attempted to employ American football power tactics in a lighter, leaner game. World War I also allowed Stanford to make the move back into football, especially with the rationalization that it was a better preparation for war. By 1919 Stanford and Berkeley were back into the football fold after a series of petty eligibility squabbles between the schools exposed deeper strains--and the personal lack of commitment to rugby beyond Jordan and Wheeler.<sup>143</sup>

In 1909, the big three Presidents of Harvard, Princeton, and Yale met at the behest of Princeton President Woodrow Wilson to address a looming crisis which in many ways was worse than the one of 1905. 10 college players were killed instead of the three in 1905 but they were from less prominent schools and there was not a President MacCracken to stir

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<sup>142</sup> "The last five years has determined beyond a doubt that the Rugby game of football is decidedly better for academic use than the American intercollegiate. It is a game that a man can play in the afternoon who expects to study in the evening. It is a game that a man can play without being in gladiatorial training. It is a game that a man can play without having been made through long practice a part of a mere machine. A player retains his individuality; he must think for himself all the time. Any feature or form of the game is likely to be demanded of any player at any moment. This makes men alert, it keeps them versatile in the play, it keeps them as personalities instead of reducing them to cogs and cams. There is a place in the game for all sorts of men, heavy and light. It is a game for intelligent persons as distinguished from meaty persons." B. I. Wheeler Public Statement Jan. 18, 1911, Box 26 Folder, 745, WCP. Harvard President Charles Eliot had predicted from the beginning that American Players could and would make hash out of any reform efforts rugby or otherwise. Park, 24-5.

<sup>143</sup> Watterson, *College Football*, 97; Park, 24-5, 36; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 February 1906, cited in Park, nt. 46.

up a crusade.<sup>144</sup> Instead, there was President Wilson with his belief that it would be best if the big three “could meet public opinion in this matter and effect some reform that would save a very noble game.” Wilson still carried with him a 19<sup>th</sup> century notion that sportsmanship should easily be able to contain gamesmanship which would cavalierly be subordinated as a side show in the “larger academic circus.”<sup>145</sup> What Wilson and the other Presidents learned was that their influence had actually waned in the previous five years. But in the end what they did was not important, for although more schools banned football after 1909, the newly formed NCAA had learned the lessons of its predecessor’s backroom dealings and inactions and responded quickly under pressure to clean up the injury prone game.<sup>146</sup>

Camp could not know that he too would soon be sidelined as Yale’s advisor in 1910 (after the Team slipped to unacceptable 6-2-2 record) and that most of his public influence would remain in the selection of his annual All-American teams. By 1912, Harvard’s Coach Houghton’s successful gamesmanship left Yale’s Coach Tom Shevlin so frustrated he was convinced that Houghton was employing the same subterfuge that fellow Harvard Man Mr.

<sup>144</sup> In 1909, injuries once again rose Army’s Eugene Byrne died after constant pounding on the defensive line left him vulnerable. Navy’s Earl Wilson was paralyzed and eventually died, done in by a flying tackle. Virginia halfback Archer Christian died of a cerebral hemorrhage caused by rushing the line. With demands for abolition, the university presidents played a larger role than they had in 1905-06. The Big Three, Harvard, Yale and Princeton had not attended the December 1905 conference nor joined the Intercollegiate Athletic Conference (predecessor of the NCAA). President Arthur Hadley of Yale invited Lawrence Lowell, the new president of Harvard, and Woodrow Wilson, now president of Princeton, to meet and set up a committee to propose changes. Unlike the earlier crisis, the presidents of Harvard, Yale and Princeton in the early months of 1910 had little choice but to address the outcry against football. John S. Watterson, “The Football Crisis of 1909-1910, the Response of the Eastern ‘Big Three,’” *Journal of Sport History* 8 (Spring 1981), 38.

<sup>145</sup> Woodrow Wilson, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, 69 Vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 19: 334-7; Woodrow Wilson, “The Meaning of a Liberal Education,” *High School Teachers Association of New York* (1909): 19-31. In March, 1909 Mock trial of statements on education annual meeting of the Harvard Teachers’ Association, one of the witness “mark each for quickness, energy, attention, accuracy, judgment, perseverance... [which] is precisely what his ideal football coach—his model for college professors—attempts to do on the gridiron.” William Trufant Foster, “The American College on Trial,” *The School Review* 17, no. 5 (1909): 330-343. Clarence Frank Birdseye, *Individual training in Our Colleges* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), 352.

<sup>146</sup> Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 69. The Big Three more unified than ever before President Hadley of Yale found a more compliant counterpart in Eliot’s successor A. Lawrence Lowell who commented “Personally, I have never been so frightened at the risk of death. . . as by the number of injuries and the fact that they take place in the presence of vast masses of spectators, which has in my mind a demoralizing influence.” Lowell to George Harris, December 1, 1909, Lowell Papers, cited in Watterson, “The Football Crisis of 1909-1910,” 41. Actually 3 collegiate players died including Harold Moore compared with the ten in 1909 while the number of serious injuries was half. See John S. Watterson, “The Crisis of 1905: Was it Really a Crisis?” *Journal of Sport History* 27 (Summer 2000): 291-297; 294. Watterson maintains that the crisis was part of larger political progressive calculus in “Political Football: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and the Gridiron Reform Movement,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25 (Summer 1995): 555-583 and “Remington and the Eli Eleven,” *American Heritage*, 32 (October/November 1981): 98-102 “Tiny Maxwell and the Crisis of 1905: The Making of a Gridiron Myth,” *North American Society For Sport History. Proceedings and Newsletter*, 2001, 54-57. For an examination of a parallel phenomenon see “Midwestern Ivy: John Millis, “Football Reform and the Presidents’ Conference,” *North American Society For Sport History, Proceedings and Newsletter*, 1998, 42.

Roosevelt must be using in his Presidential campaign that year.<sup>147</sup> Camp, however, continued to receive worshipful mail including a colorful tribute that could have been applied to Vince Lombardi 60 years later: "Walter Camp—Maker of Watches and Football Players—is a dangerous man, dangerous in a world of competition, and the struggle for existence, because he has outstripped most competitors."<sup>148</sup> Camp also could have gone on Lombardi's motivational tours with the sentiments he collected: "The organizer wins in athletics, just as he does in business," and a slap at sportsmanship: "A true sportsman, has taught himself to be a good loser, but if he's a real man you would have to tear out the grand central ganglion of his nerves before you could make him enjoy losing."<sup>149</sup>

### **1910-1925: Yale football declines gamesmanship into sportsman with the convenience of Patriotism**

The 1910 Yale 6-2-2 football record was the first sign of a downward spiral. At first the spin was slow and the team seemed to rebound ever other season. The sober reality hit on November 1914, the opening day of the Yale Bowl when in front of 70,000 stunned spectators; Harvard crushed Yale by an unprecedented score of 36-0.<sup>150</sup> Two and a half years later, after congress declared on Germany, President Wilson signed an executive order,

<sup>147</sup> In an emergency call T. Shevlin suggests that Coach Haughton will even "run a political campaign or employ Mr. Roosevelt's tactics and to change everything except the detail." The Yale unofficial system is out. "Confidentially the boy head-coach system [at Yale] will not be able to compete with the Harvard system with a man like Haughton running it." Address the concern of coaching style to a third party, "If we could get the system of an advisory committee of five of which Mr. Walter Camp was chairman and having direct charge of the style of play and control of the head coach, it probably would work out very satisfactorily and be a compromise between the present system and the older system and the hiring of a man to coach, and it could probably be brought about without breaking up the harmony" any worse than it already is which "is bad enough." system is misused and antiquated. T. Shevlin to WC Oct. 24, 1912. T. Shevlin to R. Tompkins, Dec. 9, 1912. T. Shevlin to H. Ketchum Dec. 20, 1912, Box 22 Folder 627, WCP. Tragically when Yale suffered a drubbing from Harvard the final game of 1915, 41-0, a demoralized Shevlin contracted pneumonia and died one month later at the age of 32. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 265.

<sup>148</sup> Hagiography from an eccentric enthusiast, entitled "Walter Camp-Maker of Watches and Football Players," leads a mutually inclusively double life as "head of one of the biggest manufacturing concerns in Connecticut" and a coach who is only criticized for "being too successful" "a living picture of Yankee organization and success." "Till 1883 football was a mongrel game in which one could withhold the ball indefinitely from the other team until Camp suggested yardage and then expanded that to ten when still not fine enough of a game." Then in a comment that could be applied to Lombardi 60 years later in NFL Films stentorian voice over. "Walter Camp is a dangerous man, dangerous in a world of competition, and the struggle for existence, because he has outstripped most competitors." Hubert M Sedgewick manuscript Dec. 1908. Box 21 Folder 612, WCP.

<sup>149</sup> "Athletics Notes," ca. 1914 Papers, Box 65 Folder 1, WCP.

<sup>150</sup> Camp had ready been planning for a permanent stadium back in 1884 when the wooden bleachers only held 600. By 1905 the grandstand held 30,000 by 1905 and Camp was paying himself "hefty salary" as field director. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 54. "Harvard Swamps Yale in New Bowl" *New York Times*, Nov. 22, 1914. On the same page was a small article reporting the "Football Death Toll." Of the 12 who died that season only two were collegians.

creating a propaganda office headed **by** George Creel.<sup>151</sup> Creel had recently urged Wilson to create an agency that could coordinate propaganda “not as the Germans defined it but propaganda in the true sense of the word meaning the ‘propagation of faith.’”<sup>152</sup> Whether by faith or not, the Committee would be the final vehicle by which Camp would promote his patriotism through the “athleticism” of a “manufactured masculinity.” His days of gamesmanship were over and now he could play the genteel role of patriotic sportsman as he helped prepare Americans for fitness. And in some sense, his life had come full circle. The little techniques he had used to reconcile his contradictions come through in his private correspondences as he mixed business with pleasure.

A 1919 *New York Times* commentary put it best: “Football owes more to the war in the way of spreading of the spirit of the game than it does to ten or twenty years of development in the period before the war.” This was no mean assessment considering how soon Americans had become cynical about of the war aims.<sup>153</sup> When the United States was first drawn into the War, convincing Americans **that** participation was worthwhile required the marshaling of unprecedented powers of persuasion. The 1910 Census revealed that one

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<sup>151</sup> Shortly after American entry in to World War I on April 14, 1917, the Woman's Suffrage Party and the Boy Scouts distributed over 20,000 posters in New York City. Including banners, window cards, posters, and other publicity material, George Creel's office generated 1,484 designs in the nineteen months of its existence. Already familiar illustrators became famous. Howard Chandler Christy the illustrator was well known for his Christy Girls transmuted them into “heroic, dignified figures in the girl-next-door or the Miss Liberty motifs.” Charles Dana Gibson, the most famous illustrator in America at the beginning of the war because of his Gibson Girls, called illustrators and artists together in April 1917. New York illustrator, James Montgomery Flagg, produced forty-six posters for the effort. His now iconographic Uncle Sam poster, patterned after the *Kitchner Wants You* British poster, had a run of over of five million copies. He organized the Division of Pictorial Publicity. Working under George Creel, these persons volunteered their creativity for the war. They met once a week to hear the government's propaganda needs and then went home to produce poster designs or idea sketches, as they were called. “Posters as Historical documents,” *The Social Studies*, 85 (March 1994): 56; For a broader retelling of Creel's efforts see, Stuart Ewen, *PR! A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) and Michael Sproule, *Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience Of Media And Mass Persuasion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For the latest see David Greenberg, *Republic of Spin: An Inside History of the American Presidency* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2016), chap. 11.

<sup>152</sup> George Creel, *Rebel at Large: Recollections of Fifty Crowded Years* (New York: : G.P. Putnam's Son's, 1947), 158.

<sup>153</sup> “War Football,” *New York Times*, November 23, 1919, cited in Oriard, *King Football*, 3. A suspicious spirit of the spin was awakened fairly soon after the war ended. A typical response published less than half a year after the Armistice is Francis March's comments on the cost of the war. The Creel Committee could not have stated with greater misplaced conviction that the everyone from “most practical money changers, [to] the most sentimental pacifists, viewing the cost in connection with the liberation of whole nations, with the spread of enlightened liberty through the oppressed and benighted lands with the destruction of autocracy, of the military caste, and of Teutonic kultur in its materialistic aspect, must agree that the blood was well shed, the treasures well spent. Millions of gallant, eager youths learned how to die fearlessly and gloriously. They died to teach vandal nations that never more will humanity permit the exploitation of peoples for militaristic purposes. *History of the World War: An Authentic Narrative of the World* (Philadelphia: The United Publisher of the United States, 1919), 32.



out of three Americans or their parents were foreign born and they needed to be convinced.<sup>154</sup>

Already in 1914 Camp astutely recognized that the war in Europe had not “furnished heroes for the popular fancy as did war in olden time.” Football, on the other hand, would perhaps supply some. He took an active interest in the war and chronicled the heroism of athletes in the service.<sup>155</sup> He also received reports from former players attempting to spread the gospel of football among their allies. Although they still may take to baseball, the French consider football “the game as a stupid one. At present time it is too complicated for them.”<sup>156</sup>

Camp’s greatest service would be in providing a road to fitness for conscripts as the military estimated that 30 percent of the conscription age men were unfit. In May 1917 Camp publicized his “Fitness for all” mantra and his *Daily Dozen* or 12 simple callisthenic moves that were quickly adopted by the Army and Navy.<sup>157</sup> His real target audience, however, were his peers, the 45-65-year-olds of whom 75 percent were unfit. For them there was the *Senior Service Corps* (SSC), an organization structured much like the Boy Scouts, with prominent men in the community heading up local squads. Camp’s celebrity certainly helped, as did the personal attention he paid particularly to high-ranking government

<sup>154</sup> Americans had never seen anything like Creel's and others efforts in promoting a hatred of all things German. Consequently banks, hotels and other businesses with Germanic sounding names changed their identities. Berlin, Iowa, changed its name to Lincoln and East Germantown, Indiana, became Pershing. Statues of Schiller, Beethoven, Heine and other German iconography were defaced. In Texas, the governor attempted to have all foreigners on the faculty of the University of Texas in Austin dismissed, and the College of the City of New York reduced the credit value of each course in the Department of German by one point. John Bodnar, "Immigration" in Eric Foner and John Garraty, eds. *The Reader's Companion to American History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992), 535; Scott M. Cutlip. *The Unseen Power: Public Relations; A History*. (LEA's Communication Series.) Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum. 1994. Wilson had to mount an extraordinary ad campaign to shape American opinion. The centerpiece was the Committee on Public information headed by progressive journalist George Creel who mobilized seventy-five thousand speakers or "four minute men" who localized and authenticated the war by delivering speeches before audiences in schools, churches, movie theatres or any other public gatherings. The Committee eventually distributed 75 million copies of pamphlets, sponsored exhibitions in several dozen cities and produced such films as *To Hell With the Kaiser*, and *The Kaiser, Beast of Berlin*. David Kennedy, sv "World War I" in Eric Foner and John Garraty, eds. *The Reader's Companion to American History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992), 1171-72.

<sup>155</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 278, 281.

<sup>156</sup> Physical Training report from France in re: reception of American Games there. They take to basketball most readily of all the American games as they, "tend to be individualistic" "American football of no interest to the Frenchman" after they see it out of curiosity they classify "the game as a stupid one. At present time it is too complicated for them." Baseball was seen as unnecessarily complicated as well but the corresponded held out hope for the latter. L. Schroeder to WC May 19, 1918, Box 21 Folder 609, WCP.

<sup>157</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 271-4, "Walter Camp's New Shorthand System of Morning Exercises", *Outing*, November 1918, 98.

officials such as Treasury Secretary William McAdoo and Federal Reserve pioneer and financier Paul Warburg.<sup>158</sup> In addition to organizing a SSC squad for President Woodrow Wilson's cabinet which Camp personally led behind the Treasury Building every morning, he also engaged in some mild stag talk. While organizing fitness training with Commissioners and corporate heads, he also transacted personal stock acquisitions with them.<sup>159</sup>

That Camp could mix business with pleasure and celebrity is no surprise.

Undoubtedly that is how he was able to sell so many clocks. But where Camp stood out is in his absolutely fine-tuned ability to expand the “molten core” of gamesmanship while encasing it within a shell of sportsmanship. Or, as Des Jardins concludes her Camp biography in an expression of this Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship tension, “Camp’s greatest challenge was to institute change in football without compromising the character building

<sup>158</sup> "Senior Service Corps, 1917" Box 57 Folder 399, WCP. Part of the appeal Camp makes to Sec of Treasury McAdoo "If you had an superintendent in a factory who doubled the number of hours he was running his automatic machinery and instead of doubling the amount of oil actually cut it in half and thus ruined the machines, what would you say to him?" WC to W. McAdoo May 26, 1917. W. McAdoo/Camp Correspondence, Box 16 Folder 440, WCP. Camp notes in a letter to the White House that President Wilson recently said, "The whole nation just be a team in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted' Let us train the team, too, so that the element which we regard as the greatest towards the efficiency of an eleven-namely physical condition- may be kept high with this team!" Walter Camp to J. Tumulty, June 1, 1917, Box 25 Folder 690, WCP. "This is a nation of efficiency, and the efficient ones know what is going on." of those responding positively to his training efforts. Walter Camp to J.B. Welling, March 9, 1917, Box 25 Folder 722, WCP. The sales line for Congressman: "human machine is like any other machine" if it is to run faster or longer you "must give it more oil" yet "entirely unscientific to treat men" forty-five and older like those of military age. Therefore a senior's corps employing the daily dozen and the standardized evaluation criteria will allow a "scientific conservation" of the seniors energy through a "plan to bring it up and keep it at the highest point of efficiency." Walter Camp to J. Tilson, May 11, 1917, Box 24, Folder 680, WCP Senior Service Corps Correspondence, Box 22 Folder 613, and especially US Navy Department among many others Box 25 Folders 702-6 WCP. The typical kind of personal attention Camp offered is reflected in his exchange with Federal Reserve Board pioneer and member, the Honorable Paul Warburg: "I was very glad to note the drawing up of that belt, and both my son and I noticed the straightening of the neck. Both the abdominal muscles and those that hold the head erect, and account for its poise, are beginning to listen to your commands and do their work properly. My only regret is that I cannot be on hand to watch their development." And in a follow-up letter, "I hear the belt is now occupying its proper position and that you are once more the sylph. I hope the neck and chin are back too. Anyone with the easy knack of doing things such as you possess should never let this head pitch forward or his chest shut up." Warburg replies: "It really touches me to think that you should find time to consider my sylph-like waist-line. Thank you for enquiring about neck and chin. They are still there." Camp refers to their nights as Bridge cronies "first you tried to bet me in good physical condition and now you want to undermine my system by teaching me action and keeping me up late at night". WC to P. Warburg, August 10 and 24, 1917, P. Warburg to WC Aug. 29, and September 28, 1917, Box 26 Folder 730, WCP

<sup>159</sup> The Secretary of Treasury William G. McAdoo took up his advice, and consequently "feel[s] a very strong attachment for [Camp]" McAdoo to Walter Camp, August 28, 1917. Camp let' his hair down too. Even becomes a movie critic. Has McAdoo seen the movie George Creel's Bureau "got out of these exercises?...A corker [with] a very pretty girl in it...get a look at it." World Film Company is the distributor and Miss Ann Orr is the girl. Walter Camp to McAdoo, July 18, 1919. W. McAdoo/Camp Correspondence Box 16 Folder 440, WCP. Commissioner at US Tariff Commission mixes business with pleasure and purchases of 1000 shares from Camp's New Haven Clock Company Preferred Stock. W. Kent to WC, Aug. 3, 1917, Box 25 Folder 708, WCP; Kent while getting Walter Jennings involved in organizing squads, providing campaign material to use in a Washington blitz, also exchanged information on oil stocks as requested by Camp or simply recruiting. WC to Walter Jennings, May 7, 1917 and May 25, 1917; Walter Camp to Walter Jennings, May 7, 1917 and May 25, 1917; Walter Jennings to Walter Camp, May 9, 1917, Box 14, Folder 396, Correspondence to JC Johnson, Box 14 Folder 398, WCP. Some of these relationships originated in the shared membership in the secret Yale fraternity, The Skull and Bones, a fraternal order originating in Germany and brought to America in 1833. For a recent overview of the society and its practices see Alexandra Robbins, "George W., Knight of Eulogia" *The Atlantic Monthly* 285(May 2000): 24-33



potential he claimed for it.”<sup>160</sup>

Much of the patriotic fitness Camp promoted in his final years meant he had allowed himself [into the world of](#) sportsmanship: to promote a non-competitive fitness. Yet because it was in the name of patriotism, it could be explained by “Athleticism,” a concept used by British sports historians to the direct service of sports towards an educational ideology, especially in the service of wartime patriotism.<sup>161</sup> “Athleticism” was part of a larger notion of “manufactured masculinity” that could echo after a war. This was evident in *Collier's* Editor Harford Powell's 1920 suggestion to Camp that he create an industrial All-American team taken from factory workers to provide an “esprit de corps of business.”<sup>162</sup>

Camp's All-American concept had proven resilient enough that it came to define him. And if Americans today know anything of him, it's a vague association with All-Americans. Camp must have wanted it that way, for in the end he left a scant record of his business dealings. This is especially odd, considering his highly successful four decades mostly as President of the New Haven Clock Company.<sup>163</sup>

Football always came first. Two years before his death Camp wondered if he hadn't played a part in creating the “Frankenstein” gamesmanship [ideology](#) college sports had [embraced](#). But ever the pragmatic, he made the most of it. “We may have gone too far in the

<sup>160</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 315.

<sup>161</sup> The institutionalized amateurism in British Schools makes the “Athleticism” a more accessible concept in Britain. James Anthony Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (New York: Routledge, 2012); “Athleticism: A Case Study of the Evolution of an Educational Ideology,” in *Manufactured Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 80-97.

<sup>162</sup> Camp should want to get football sponsored by heavy industry, dreams of an All-American industrial team. “because we want to do something for the esprit de corps of business.” Harford Powell, *Colliers*, May 6, 1920. The article suggested Camp will “express in detail the close parallel between the organization of a successful football team and the organization of a successful manufacturing and selling business.” He probably should also pursue, “a parallel in business for the coaches, the captain and the various players, but above all...find a parallel for the strategy used in conditioning and coaching the team...extend to both the selling and manufacturing end. Male conventions will love it.” June 23, 1920, Box 7 Folder 188, WCP.

<sup>163</sup> Des Jardins, *Camp*, 49. President writing history of clocks as he would about sports, and their benefits as he would about physical fitness their workings as he would describe the human body. “...clock makers have really done much for the benefit of the race.” Camp writes of various clock-makers as he would of coaches and their football teams. “it soon increased in power and under the able management of E. Roth, is now one of the most prominent forces in the business today.” He also writes of New Haven Clock Company as he would of athletics at Yale. “Clocks n.d.” Box 58 Folder 405, WCP; “Clocks: Research Notes 1893-1917” Box 58 Folder 405, WCP. New Haven Clock Company Clocks and clockmakers collections, 1762-1942, 10 micro reels, Connecticut Historical Society English Family Papers, 1716-1987, New Haven Historical Society Library (MSS#133) New Haven Clock Company, Catalogue...New Designs 1906-1907 of the New Haven Clock Company (Amsterdam NY: Noteworthy Company, 1968) E. Ingraham Co. Papers, 1857-1967 (Bulk 1916-1947), Univ. of Conn. LCCN: 92-798610/

erection of huge bowls, and stadiums, but time alone can tell,” [he admitted, but](#) “meantime these structures yield the necessary funds to support not only the major but minor sports, and to defray the general athletic upkeep.”<sup>164</sup> He lived to see the trend towards ever more mega stadiums. In 1920, only the Yale Bowl held 70,000. Ten years later there were seven such stadiums. Between 1921 and 1930, attendance at college games doubled while gate receipts tripled. By the time Knute Rockne and Notre Dame were making their entrance in 1920, gamesmanship had carried the day as “football’s character-building possibilities had been firmly supplanted by its commercial potential, fueled in large measure by the desire of a consumer-oriented public simply to enjoy and define their leisure.” And “[f]ootball’s appeal only broadened as its connections with patriotism solidified—literally—as the building of Soldiers Field in Chicago and Memorial Stadium in Champaign Illinois attest.”<sup>165</sup>

In 1921, Camp waxed rhapsodic in a message of sportsmanship, invoking the image of a “Broad Folk Highway in American Sports,” and yet he could see the gamesmanship market for head coaches would lead to salaries “never before dreamed of.” Warner at Pittsburgh, Yost at Michigan, Heisman at Georgia Tech, Zupke at Illinois, Fritz Pollard at Lincoln, Carlisle Indian Al Exedine at Georgetown, and especially Rockne at Notre Dame—all were beneficiaries of a bidding war. Soon players would follow suit in their own professionalism. Months before Camp died, Illinois’ Red Grange dismantled Michigan’s defense by scoring four touchdowns in 12 minutes. He quit college early and became professional football’s first superstar. Gamesmanship became the norm. In a way, Camp understood this. [As Des Jardins pointed out](#), “He claimed that college football promoted amateur ideals even as he was aware of its growing commercial influences.”<sup>166</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Cited in Ray Schmidt, “Changing Tides College Football 1919-1930 Part 2 of 3,” 10. Walter Camp, “The Frankenstein of College Athletics,” *World’s Work*, November 1923, 101-5

<sup>165</sup> Levine, 1767. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 289,

<sup>166</sup> Walter Camp, “The Broad Folk Highway in American Sport,” *American Scandinavian Review* 9 257 (1921). 271. Des Jardins, *Camp*, 301,

Ironically, the progressive era reformers, who sought to shape and spin the game and the public, actually gave football life of its own well beyond the reformers' wildest expectations and desires. The tribalism of belonging and place in the public ritual won the day and easily outlived the reformers and their dreams. This was far from their ideal of a sportsmanship in which a game was "played by students, coached by moral educators, promoted by a philanthropist who placed a premium on academics, overseen by presidents who faithfully kept a proper perspective."<sup>167</sup>

In the end we should share the admiration of college football historian John Watterson and Camp biographer Julie Des Jardins who are both "astounded at football's ability to survive and grow."<sup>168</sup> And that was Camp's doing. Said Knute Rockne of Camp in a matter-of-fact tribute, "he has perhaps done for college football in inspiring interest in the game more than any other man to inspire and develop the game, and supporting its spread throughout the country than any other man may ever do."<sup>169</sup>

In the next chapter Rockne puts that interest to good use for Notre Dame and himself.

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308, 313.

<sup>167</sup> Mark Dyreson, "Reading Football History: New Vistas in the Landscape of American Sport," *Journal of Sport History* 29, no. 2 (2002): 206. Caustic critic of capitalism sociologist/economist Thorstein Veblen inveighed against the kind "vocationalism" businessmen would introduce into universities should be "devoted to a disinterested pursuit of knowledge." Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men*, 1918 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957), 43, 85.

<sup>168</sup> John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2000), xi.

<sup>169</sup> "Sporting World mourns the death of Walter Camp," *The Princeton Daily*, March 16, 1925, 3;

## Appendix Chapter 2

### Appendix: Arena vs Stands Ratio Newspaper Football Illustration-19th Century

<b>Years</b>	<b>Ratio</b>	<b>%</b>
1857-79	4/12	33
1880-86	2/19	11
1887	3/9	33
1888	3/9	33
1889	2/7	29
1890	6/16	38
1891	3/11	27
1892	6/15	40
1893	9/25	36
1894	7/17	41
1895	10/29	34
1896	5/19	26
1897	18/76	24
1898	6/21	29
1899	13/31	42
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>91/316</b>	<b>---</b>
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>----</b>	<b>35</b>

Source: *Classic Football Art: Originally Published in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Newspapers*. The Lost Century Sports Collection. 2013

### Chapter 3: Selling Performance through the Spectacle of Sportsmanship

*"I have fallen in love with American names, the sharp gaunt names that never get fat"*<sup>1</sup>

**Stephen Vincent Benét (1920)**

*"Pictures in our heads [are] the surest way of conveying an idea. A leader or an interest that can make itself master of current symbols is master of the current situation."*<sup>2</sup>

**Walter Lippman (1922)**

*"Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence. In other words: it is war minus the shooting."*<sup>3</sup>

**George Orwell (1936)**

*For when the One Great Scorer comes/ To mark against your name/ He writes – not that you won or lost / But how you played the Game.*<sup>4</sup>

**Grantland Rice (1941)**

Knute Rockne, the first celebrity collegiate coach, never pretended gamesmanship was not real and the focus of his efforts. In this he was in keeping with the Greek athletic ideal that celebrated gamesmanship in the excellence of individual heroes who were no amateurs. A year before his tragic death, he went so far as to say about college football, "it is not commercialized enough."<sup>5</sup> Like the ancient Greeks, he embraced hero worship, the laurels, and especially hometown remuneration, but for himself rather than any players. Sportsmanship was for sportswriters, the public, and especially for his amateur players. He was finally able to build a performance stadium, a home worthy of the spectacle he and his teams had generated as they successfully crisscrossed the country, their exploits the grist for the golden era of sports hype.

The first half of this chapter will address Rockne's years (1918-31) as an unalloyed,

<sup>1</sup> Penned by an expatriate pining for his homeland in the late 1920s France. See Stephen Vincent Benét, *American Names*, Correspondences, Boxes 8-9, The Benét Family Correspondence Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Yale Collection of American Literature, Yale University.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co, 1922), 3. Lippmann was already Boorstin-like in discussing how mental images conduct behavior. 1922 was also the year Edward Bernays published *Crystallizing Public Opinion*. Also a critical year for literary modernism which had hardly slumped into a slump of consumerism but was are of the forces at work as T.S. Elliot's *Wasteland*, published that year attests. The case is made by both Lawrence Rainey. *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) and Michael North. *Reading 1922: A Return to the Scene of the Modern* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). For a discussion see Richard Begam, "Making Modernism Matter," *Clio* 30(Fall 2000): 91-121.

<sup>3</sup> George Orwell, *Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays*. (London: Secker-Warburg Ltd, 1950), 46

<sup>4</sup> "Alumnus Football" Rice reworked the stanza within the poem dozens of times. Charles Fountain, *Sportswriter: The Life and Times of Grantland Rice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 93. Grantland Rice, "Alumnus Football," last two lines, *Only the Brave and Other Poems*, New York: Barnes and Co., 1941), 144. A gamesmanship version of Grantland Rice's famous stanza: "And when the One Great Scorer comes/ To write beside your name/ It's not whether you won or lost/ But how many paid to see the game." Cited in Murray Sperber, *Onward to Victory: The Crises That Shaped College Sports* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1998), 35.

<sup>5</sup> "Knute Rockne, here [Buffalo N.Y.] to speak at the annual Canisius college football dinner, said in an interview today that he did not believe college football was over-commercialized." *Associated Press Report*, December 17, 1930. Cited Sperber, *Shake Down the Thunder: The Creation of Notre Dame Football* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 38.

unrepentant gamesmanship coach in a putatively sportsmanship collegiate environment who was aided and abetting by willing journalists. The second half (1932-1945) considers Depression reform efforts, the rare case of a football powerhouse abandoning the game, and the rise of a Rockne iteration in the person of West Point Coach Earl “Red” Blaik, who like Rockne, could rationalize his gamesmanship, but in Blaik’s unique case, in the guise of wartime patriotic sportsmanship.

### 1919-1931 Rockne Years

In the 1920s the center of gravity of football power shifted westward from the Northeast then southward in the 1930s. The Midwest and the Big Ten emerged as the leading football region and conference, the Pacific Coast trailed just behind “except in the minds of its own sportswriters,” and the South periodically upset this pattern, as when Alabama came, saw, and conquered in 1926 Rose Bowl. As college football grew in the booming economy of the 1920s, a flow of cash fueled a gamesmanship barely contained within a flimsy sportsmanship. Throughout the decade annual collegiate football spectatorship grew 500 percent, although the percentage of 18 to 24-year-olds attending college doubled somewhat less, from 4.7 to 7.2 percent. “As the size of colleges burgeoned, so did their gridiron ambitions.” The man most responsible for setting the pace was also the most successful (1918-1930: 105-12 record). Notre Dame Coach Knute Rockne, like the other highly professionalized coaches, became a celebrity in his own right, with highly paid speaking engagements and newspaper columns, books, summer camps, movie contracts, product endorsements, and even celebrity tours to the 1928 Olympics. This was all in complicity with sports journalism, whose column inches during the decade quadrupled in some major metropolitan papers. When radio emerged at the beginning of the decade as print

journalism's first serious competition, sportswriters led by Grantland Rice increasingly relied on florid prose to compete with radio's real time immediacy. Professional football teams offered big-time pay-offs to college players and for the first [time](#), sports fans had to decide how much amateurism and sportsmanship really meant to them. Revelations of widespread "solicitation" and "illicit aid" to athletes (now perfectly legal as recruitment and athletic scholarships) in the highly visible 1929 Carnegie Foundation American College Athletics Report led to much hand wringing and not much else. As has every reform effort before and since, the report made the cardinal mistake of calling for a return to a standard of sportsmanship that never was.<sup>6</sup>

### Football Historiography and Gamesmanship

This chapter relies heavily on the work of Murray Sperber, the first to have access to Knute Rockne's complete [records](#) (discovered by accident, covered in rat droppings in a Notre Dame basement). While Sperber produced a series of excellent studies investigating not only Notre Dame football, but collegiate football as a whole, his confrontation with Rockne's and others' abundant gamesmanship, barely contained within very accommodating sportsmanship of the 1920s, highlights the difficulties it poses scholars: How do you make sense of this systemic gamesmanship without becoming cynical? While Sperber's presentation of Rockne's behind the scenes gamesmanship is unmatched (in fairness to Rockne, he never denounced gamesmanship—he just hid its crasser personal manifestations), Sperber is inclined to assume institutional skullduggery at every thwarted reform attempt. With that qualification, this chapter will lean heavily on Sperber for his source work if not his broader interpretations.

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 67. Hugh Hawkins, "The University," in Kutler Stanley I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 4. (New York: Scribner's, 1996), 1824; Watterson, *College Football*, 143-44; Brian Ingrassia, *Rise of Gridiron University: Rise of Gridiron University* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012), 186-89.

There is a healthier approach. After studying the 150-year history of college football and its inability to reform its abuses (mostly recruiting and athletic subsidies), both John Watterson and John Thelin wisely concluded reforms were condemned to fail because they were based on a lapidarian sportsmanship ideal that simply never was. Ronald Smith expresses that reality as “the search for competitive excellence and the search for level playing fields, but with the caveat that the latter never inhibit the former.” That is Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic. Expressed in other terms, it is like shooting at a wall (gamesmanship) and then drawing a target around the spot you hit (sportsmanship)—since you enjoy shooting anyway, and declaring it an intended success. Institutional historians note that the gamesmanship of football is part of a larger commercialization of higher education, especially since WWII. Although it presents an inherent contradiction, it is nevertheless an historic reality, especially in current business, high-tech, and medical partnerships with academia. Kurt Kemper’s overview of the football literature, “Reconciling the Consequences of Modernity: College Football as Cultural History,” although more traditionally in keeping with Guttman’s modernization school, offers primary tests of Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship. As such they are worth reviewing and will help to contextualize Rockne’s 1920s collegiate football climate.<sup>7</sup>

The 10 million immigrants who helped double the US population from 31 to 63 million between 1890 and 1920 provide Rockne’s cultural backdrop. They were encouraged to join the sportsmanship heavy YMCAs, have their children assimilated in public school physical education, and, as families, spend time in the open air of public parks. Implicit was the idea that they should leave the gamesmanship of intercollegiate football to the Anglo

<sup>7</sup> Ronald Smith, *Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2011), *Play-by-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sport* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) and *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); John R. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2000). All cited in Kurt Edward Kemper, “Reconciling the Consequences of Modernity: College Football as Cultural History,” in Riess, Steven A., ed. *A Companion to American Sport History* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 202-220; 210.



Saxon natives. Yet along with baseball, they never resented football as they did most other WASP sports. That had to do with exposure. By 1923, football was played in 91 percent of all the high schools, which the majority of all Americans were attending for the first time. Sports media coverage had increased well over 50 percent during the first two decades of 1900, and by the late 1920s, sports were experienced *en masse* through wire services and radio broadcasts or through increasingly popular local sports reporters. Fans could now share national sporting events in real time through the radio, or in the 55 of 75 pre-WW II reinforced concrete stadia built in the 1920s. Thus the gamesmanship of the 1920s saw the expansion of college football into a national cultural spectacle with regular long distance intersectional rivalries and the elevation of winning players and coaches as national celebrities.<sup>8</sup>

Since the 1980s, historians have refracted the experience and meaning of football through the conventional prism of race, class, and gender. Yet in the end, the variegated spectrum that appears all merges into the white light of gamesmanship as each group abandons its respective negotiated cultural terrain, to just plain enjoy belonging to a shared tribal experience. A few examples suffice. In a typical assessment of what women would find appealing in such a hyper masculinized sport, Michael Oriard concludes with the meager public comments left by women in the 1920s, [that](#) while not particularly hostile, they saw the game with “deflating bemusement.” And yet they were quite prepared, until the 1930s, to often sit in segregated bleachers, simply to share an spectator experience of place and belonging with the men of their lives, gradually carving out roles as cheerleaders, homecoming queens, and flag girls.<sup>9</sup>

Gerald Gems finds a similar phenomenon at work with the [working-class](#) non-

<sup>8</sup> Kemper, “Reconciling the Consequences of Modernity: College Football as Cultural History,” in Riess, Steven A., ed. *A Companion to American Sport History* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 202-220; 206.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Oriard, *King Football*, 10, 17, 25-27, 46.

Protestant eastern and southern European immigrants initially excluded from football. From the beginning, Walter Camp had promoted football as an activity that would primarily regenerate physically inert Anglo-Saxon American men, threatened by active working-class immigrants. And now the immigrants were not only playing the game but taking it over, as seen in a Catholic, immigrant friendly, Knute Rockne-led Notre Dame. What happened to the Camp narrative and the latest crisis of masculinity men were going through? Who cares? Gamesmanship wins, Notre Dame wins, and in the end the “subway alumni” love a winner. Apparently “by the 1920s, the game’s status as a bastion of masculinity had become self evident.” And if the working class now find in football a “working class value of physicality” so be it. And while there may have been “the growing diversity and offensive styles of play during the 1930s and 40s driven overwhelmingly by the forward pass and the multiple options created by it,” was that really responsible for “a hornet’s nest of anxiety about the future of both football and American masculinity?” In all likelihood it was just another manifestation of gamesmanship shaping sportsmanship. As the competition and the rules adjusted, the game moved on and become an even greater spectacle.<sup>10</sup>

The Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic is robust enough to accommodate the studies on regional identities and football parity as well. Gamesmanship’s primary association with social identity helps it accommodate “the possibility that college football fans latched onto authentic or even manufactured regional expressions of the game as a resistance to the homogenizing forces of consumerist modernity.” Those historians who have approached the broader sweep of football are quick to point out that much of the talk of football’s regional distinctions was mostly sports writer hype, as they were engaging in a gamesmanship of their own to satisfy their own readership tribe. In other words, “the assertion of regional identity

<sup>10</sup> Gerald R. Gems, *For Pride, Profit and Patriarchy: Football and the Incorporation of American Cultural Values* (Latham, MD and London: The Scarecrow Press, 2000), 139. Cited in Kemper, 212.

and style of play is little more than texture to the game's larger national embrace." Scholars of southern football, however, are more partisan when making distinctions, noting that southerner papers were quick to enlist Civil War analogies, with especially Pickett's Charge getting heavy metaphorical workouts. "Southerners at one level understood football on Northern terms...they accepted the rationalizations of the game described to it by its founders, of mechanization, industrialization, and cohesive efficiency."<sup>11</sup> And so southerners, who found themselves at the bottom of most socio-economic indices, could at least take pride in beating the Yankees at their own game. If that is regionalism, so be it, but it has gamesmanship at its foundation.

As college football has always been driven by gamesmanship, its promotion in the media led to a commercialization that fed a cycle in which the spectacle "broadened and intensified as the technical sophistication of the media increased." This is a process cultural historian Warren Susman described well--that gamesmanship and sportsmanship complement each other. According to Susman, the abundance of 1920s America created a shift in public values away from a producer ethic toward one of consumption and personality (as distinct from character). The promoters of college athletics had always stressed that sportsmanship (discipline, sacrifice, self-denial, etc.) were the foundations of good character. But when media increasingly focused on heroic accomplishments, personality and gamesmanship intrude, complicating that fact that "[t]he question of amateurism is...central to the media's portrayal of college football." Susman's shift helps Sperber retain his version of the ultimately untenable lost amateurism ideal. Sperber maintains that media sportsmanship portrayals of hardworking college amateurs simply loyal to their alma mater, were exemplified in the film *Knute Rockne, All American* (1940) and the

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<sup>11</sup> Andrew Doyle, "Causes Won, Not Lost: College Football and the Modernization of the American South," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 11-12: (1994) 231-251. Patrick Miller, "The Manly, the Moral, and the Proficient: College Sport in the New South," In Patrick B. Miller (ed.), *The Sporting World of the Modern South*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), Cited in Kemper, 212-3.

sports writing of Grantland Rice, As such, they “expressed the way Americans wanted their heroes to play games.” Less convincing is Sperber’s implication that this Rockne and Rice faux sportsmanship had a strong enough hold on the American psyche to blind them to the many gamesmanship abuses that exploded after the war.<sup>12</sup>

Just as Camp’s Anglo-Saxon football exclusivity and rationale easily slid out the window, so too does the easy triumph of popular desires over traditional values become clear in John Carroll’s *Red Grange and the Rise of Modern Football*. The media initially framed Grange’s life firmly within sportsmanship. Grange the amateur, with “outsized athletic accomplishments set off against his humble origins, the tragic death of his mother at a young age, and his diligent summer employment delivering ice” was the typical sportsmanship trope the media used to puff 1920s celebrities. But Grange the gamesman shattered the familiar frame when he abruptly decided to leave college and play professionally within weeks. The media initially stuck with the sportsmanship trope but public acclaim swiftly turned into criticism. Then the power of gamesmanship to shape sportsmanship carried the day as it always has and will. Americans wanted to embrace the sportsmanship ideal, and criticized Grange’s decision to play professionally, and yet as Carroll reveals, they voted with their wallets and began “to buy the newspapers that followed his exploits, the products he endorsed, and tickets to the professional games in which he now played.” This seamless shift is Susman’s transformation in action: “yearning for the character that Grange’s background supposedly demonstrated while avidly consuming his new media personality.” In this Carroll demonstrates the conscious power of gamesmanship, unlike Sperber, who seems to suggest that clueless Americans were simply unaware of the complexities and paradoxes of

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<sup>12</sup> Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1984); Sperber, *Onward*, xxi. All cited in Kemper, 213.

both college sport and American modernity.<sup>13</sup>

A final consideration. Football has always been a unique spectator sport in that it is “a game more for watching than playing.” Most Americans, male and female, have played some form of the games they watch, but football’s complexity, violence, and cost means that 40 percent of the fans at a typical football game who are female, have almost certainly never played the game and most of the remaining 60 percent males, *have played* mostly in backyard versions. This has been the case from the beginning. With the construction of their own permanent stadiums in 1920s, schools enhanced the spectator stadium experience of the big game by introducing on-campus bonfires and pep rallies the night before, pre-game tailgating hours before, halftime shows with marching bands and cheerleaders during the game, and celebrations and dances the night after. This peripheral spectator experience became the staple of the media diet which not only recounted such activities but often cast them as central to the entire experience. This ritualized spectacle is at the heart of gamesmanship tribalism and identity and, as Oriard describes it, the “youth and energy, public ritual, and expressions of ... triumph[alism] ... amidst the confusion of modern life”<sup>14</sup> It would be Knute Rockne who contributed most to this triumphalism in its most lucrative, unapologetic form.

### **He molded the game to his needs**

On March 31, 1931, in a cornfield near Cottonwood Falls, Kansas, *Trans-continental-Western's* mail and passenger plane flight 599, which was almost cancelled in the last minute, crashed en route from Kansas City to Los Angeles. None of the eight aboard survived the

<sup>13</sup> John M. Carroll, *Red Grange and the Rise of Modern Football*. Vol. 114, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004.) Sperber, *Onward*, xxi, 227, 369; Ronald Smith, *Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2011); John R. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 33. Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created and American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 290, 329; Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American sport, 1919-1930* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007); all cited and discussed in Kurt Edward Kemper, “Reconciling the Consequences of Modernity: College Football as Cultural History,” in Riess, Steven A., ed. *A Companion to American Sport History* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 202-220; 205, 207, 209, 211. 204, 216, 218.

<sup>14</sup> Oriard, *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 10, 17, 25-27, 46; cited in Kemper, 214.

crash. Accident investigations concluded the wooden plane lost a wing due to a structural design flaw after it had iced over. One passenger was reportedly found with a rosary in hand. When he was identified as Knute Rockne, his death shocked the nation, as reflected in his celebrity friend Will Roger's eulogy, "It takes a big calamity to shock a country all at once, but Knute, you did it. You died one of our national heroes. Notre Dame was your address, but every gridiron in America was your home."

For 13 seasons, Rockne's University of Notre Dame football teams amassed an overall record on the scale of Yale's at the turn of the century--105 wins, 12 losses, 5 ties, and three national championships. His teams were undefeated for five straight seasons in 1919, 1920, 1924, 1929, and 1930. He trained such famous players as George Gipp and the 1922-24 backfield, known as the Four Horsemen. And now his successful career was cut short. Of the nation's 1700 newspapers, 1600 carried Rockne editorials the week of his death and his funeral was broadcasted live to Europe, South America, and Asia. Some papers even reported the commercial reason for his quick trip to California—to sign a joint \$50,000 movie deal with RKO and Universal Pictures and speak to a Studebaker Automobile sales meeting. Yet the lucrative celebrity was entirely in keeping with everything Rockne had become. This was captured in what, at the time, was an unprecedented comment by the President of the United States. In a tribute that was more accurate than anyone at the time realized, President Hoover waxed lyrical: "into the game of life he stormed his way/and he molded the game to his needs."<sup>15</sup>

The most striking aspect of the mourning was the degree to which ordinary Americans were able to identify with the N.D. coach. Some identified with his immigrant

<sup>15</sup> The most conspicuous is the front-page headline *New York Times*, April 1, 1931, 1; and Presidential condolences, *New York Times*, Apr 2, 1931, 36. Soon followed thought pieces such as by Chicago sportswriter Arch Ward, "How Knute Rockne Became a National Figure---and Why," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr 1, 1931; 29. Listed in Murray Sperber, *Shake Down the Thunder: The Creation of Notre Dame Football* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993) 354-5. If the United States yield in Newspaper Archives™ is representative Rockne has remarkable staying power over the years with a revival in the 1970s. October 12, 2017. 2010's(1,035) 2000's(2,452) 1990's(4,310) 1980's(7,246) 1970's(12,462) 1960's(10,237) 1950's(9,040) 1940's(10,863) 1930's(23,821) 1920's(10,773) 1910's(49). Available at: <http://tinyurl.com/Archive-Rockne>.

roots and his humble childhood, while others with the individuality and distinctiveness of his achievements. Murray Sperber concludes in the most thorough biography to date, “Rockne had helped pioneer a new field--big-time college football, and was crucial in the invention of something unique--a national team, the Fighting Irish, with a national following. For many contemporaries, he embodied the American dream better than any other figure of his era.”<sup>16</sup>

Knute’s classic immigrant rags-to-riches story began in Voss, Norway in 1887.

After his family settled in Chicago in 1893, Knute followed the path of an ambitious young immigrant who worked hard and found a relatively inexpensive education at a small Catholic university, Notre Dame, in nearby Indiana. By 1913 football was the tail was already wagging the dog in Knute’s collegiate career. The balding [26-year-old](#) senior with a promising career in pharmacology was also the 165-pound starting end and captain of the Notre Dame football team. In a game that over the years has become a caesura of sorts in college football, Notre Dame, by a score of 35-13, handily defeated a heavily favored Army team. The

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<sup>16</sup> Of the 45 biographies listed in the Library of Congress, Murray Sperber’s *Shake Down the Thunder* became the definitive work on Rockne as it was the first to utilize Rockne’s own correspondence and strip away the burnished layers of a public Rockne persona. This has led to a richer contextualization in ever subsequent biographies Ray Robinson, *Rockne of Notre Dame: The Making of a Football Legend* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), Frank P. Maggio, *Notre Dame and the Game That Changed Football: How Jesse Harper Made the Forward Pass a Weapon and Knute Rockne a Legend* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2007); Jack Cavanaugh, *The Gipper: George Gipp, Knute Rockne, and the Dramatic Rise of Notre Dame Football* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing Inc., 2010). Previous biographies were rendered less useful starting with Rockne’s own much reissued *Coaching* (New York: AMS Press, 1970); Michael Steel’s was the typical biography, a synthesis of wide body of secondary sources and contemporaneous publications, *Knute Rockne* (Westport CN: Greenwood Press, 1983); A typical source was Rockne’s posthumously published, *The Autobiography of Knute K. Rockne* (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merill Company (1931); Huston McCready, *Salesman from the Sidelines* (New York: Ray Long and Richard Smith, 1932); Harry Stuhldreher, *Knute Rockne, Man Builder* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1931); Guernsey Van Riper, *Knute Rockne Young Athlete* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merill (1952); Francis Wallace, *Knute Rockne* (Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1960); Patrick Chelland, *One for the Gipper: George Gipp, Knute Rockne, and Notre Dame* (Chicago: Regnery CO. 1973); George Sullivan, *Knute Rockne* (Champaign Ill. Garrard Pub. Co. 1970); President Reagan’s attention to Rockne triggered a mini revival such Francis Weber *Knute Rockne, All-American* (San Fernando CA: Juniper Serra Press, 1988); *Knute Rockne, His Life and Legend* (1st Edition US Oct Football Corp, 1988); Rockne continues to find a place in reminiscences and recollections. See Earl Gustkey, "Rockne's Last Game" *Los Angeles Times*, Dec 6, 1990, 1; Tom Callahan, "The Day Joe McArdle Assisted Rockne," *Washington Post*, Sep 16, 1990, 3; Bob Ryan, "Entire Foundation Embedded in Rockne" *Boston Globe*, February 7, 1990, 77; Edward Krause, *Atlanta Journal and Atlanta Constitution*, December 8, 1985, 2; Amy D Burke, "A Knute Rockne for political speakers," *National Journal* XXIV, 32 (Aug 8, 1992), 1850. As the prototypical pep-talk see, John Hawkins, "Special Brand of Gridiron Pep Pills," *Insight*, Dec 10, 1990, 60-61; "Arkansas Needs No Added Attractions in Playing Duke," *Atlanta Constitution*, Nov 21, 1990, 6. The personality aspect can actually backfire. In Herschell Gordon Lewis, "Knute Rockne, You'd make a Good creative Director!" *Direct Marketing*, November 1, 1989. Even today Rockne still represents oversimplified generalities are of little help to copywriters. President Reagan’s admiration of Rockne is well known. "Gipper" Honors Rock," *Sporting News*, February 15, 1988, 30; Those on both sides of political spectrum have reviewed the legend but nothing can tarnish its luster. See James A. Cox, "One for the Gipper," *Reader's Digest*, December 1986, 118-122; George Gipp’s mythic life and death is also the subject of an article in Smithsonian magazine by James A. Cox, excerpted in *Los Angeles Times* April 13, 1986, M 24B and Calvin Trilling, "Uncivil Liberties," *Nation*, November 29, 1986, 599; Douglas Looney, "Between the Rock And ...," *Sports Illustrated*, April 21, 1986, 34-45; Scott Ostler "Forget About Points, Take the Gipper," *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1988, 1. "Reagan Invokes Rockne to Encourage Optimism," *New York Times*, Mar 10, 1988, 29; Johanna Neuman, "Reagan wins one for the Gipper’s coach," *USA TODAY*, March 10, 1988, 4; "Sentimental journey for 'the Gipper,'" *Chicago Tribune*, March 10, 1988, 2; "Return to the Land of the Gipper," *New York Times*, Mar 9, 1988, 28; "Rockne to finally get licked," *USA TODAY*, March 8, 1988, 2; Bill Jauss "Rockne left a legacy that ranged beyond the field or locker room," *Chicago Tribune*, February 28, 1988, 11. Finally, Rockne was also the subject of a balanced television profile, PBS *American Experience: Knute Rockne and his Fighting Irish*, broadcast February 15, 1993.

difference was the way Notre Dame had employed the forward pass, between quarterback Gus Dorais and end Rockne, as an offensive weapon.

In 1951 sociologist David Riesman celebrated this event as the full Americanization of football in his highly influential "Football in America: Study in Culture Diffusion." The message was of immigrants molding an elite Anglo-Saxon game so compelling that it became the standard modernization narrative sports historians have fallen back on. The forward pass, however, had been part of the game since 1906, though rarely been used by high-profile college teams. Rockne's use of the pass to defeat a much bigger, stronger team unskilled in this method of play led to the popularization of this strategy and to an increase in the popularity of football. Only retrospectively did it appear momentous and Rockne, though an All-American that year, was on the third team. Maybe the eponymous 1940 film should have accurately been entitled *Knute Rockne: Third Team All-American*.<sup>17</sup>

But Rockne did graduate with honors in 1914, married Bonnie Skiles, started a family, and stayed on at Notre Dame as a chemistry instructor, track coach, and assistant football coach. When the head football coach, Jesse Harper retired in 1918, Rockne was named head coach and athletic director.<sup>18</sup> In his first season, Rockne went 3-2-1 and often had to deal with the difficulties of finding opponents to play, but Harper had already laid out the more mundane foundations of gamesmanship. He taught Rockne how to schedule games based almost solely on financial merits. Notre Dame still "ran a cleaner athletic program than most of their schools" but it was mostly through tighter administrative

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<sup>17</sup> David Riesman, and Reuel Denney, "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion," *American Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1951): 309-319. The passing rules recently had again been upgraded and vetted again in 1912, so that an incomplete pass was no longer a fumble and players could throw the ball as far as they wanted. Bud Maloney, *University of Notre Dame Football: Game Summaries 1900-50* (1999), accessed July 6, 2012. <http://archives.nd.edu/findaids/ead/index/ATH051.htm>. Only retrospectively does 1913 Army-Notre Dame Game appear momentous as it was not mentioned in any of Camp's notes concerning his 1913 All-American selection in which an Army End (Merrillat) received the first team end honors and Rockne the Third indeed the season was noteworthy for the lack of exceptional ends, probably so, surmises Camp because "the blocking of ends going down the field has been carried now to such a scientific point as to make it very difficult indeed to perform the duties satisfactorily," "All-America Teams, 1913; Ends" Box 38 Folder 97 WCP; Sperber, *Shake Down*, 41.

<sup>18</sup> Sperber *Shake Down*, 354-5.



controls of the clergy running the school.<sup>19</sup>

While assistant coach, a serendipity came Rockne's way that would give him a cushion to develop his unique brand of college football: a walk-on player named George Gipp. He was a remote, quiet man who arrived at Notre Dame in the fall of 1916 at the age of twenty-one. An enormously gifted athlete, Gipp quickly had become the centerpiece of the assistant coach's offense. Rockne soon learned that George Gipp was talented in not only football and baseball, but also ballroom dancing, craps, card sharking, and pool-hustling at the pool hall he lived over, including team betting pools that sometimes reached the modern equivalent of six-figures. He usually skipped practice, and many of his academic records are blank as he rarely attended classes. But this was part a gamesmanship, semi-pro gambling culture, when at times entire teams quietly played on Sundays under *noms de football*, including a young Knute Rockne. Before Gipp died in December 1920, (from pneumonia contracted through exposure either after a three day drinking jag, giving punting lessons, or both) a month after playing his last game for Notre Dame, he became Notre Dame's first First Team All-American. Despite the lionizing of Gipp in *Knute Rockne: All-American*, by 2007, a nomadic, womanizing George Gipp was plausible enough to a great nephew that he honored a paternity exhumation request by the grand-daughter of a then 18-year-old Gipp girlfriend who had given birth days after his death. There was no match.<sup>20</sup>

Rockne had to sanitized Gipp's chronic gambling on games (including those he played in) and his truancy but he learned early on in his career what every successful coach

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<sup>19</sup> Western Schools had long seen football as a way to challenge the dominance of Eastern schools. Athletics was only part of the proving ground of wider claim for academic parity. The rules and travel restrictions were stacked in the favor of the Eastern schools. In 1881 Michigan was the first Mid-Western team to make its way to the East for its quest against Harvard where they were dismissed by the *Boston Herald* as "crude blacksmiths, miners and backwoodsmen." On the west coast a mirror image played out as teams from the Rocky Mountains challenged the status of West Coast teams. Rules changes often became equally powerful contested domains as the playing field itself. Soon all the rest of regions in a move worthy of Metternich's European balance of powers, ganged up on the East eventually getting membership on Camp's critical rules committee. Cited in Gems, 152, 152-160. Sperber, *Shake Down*, 38, 42, Chpts. 6 and 7; 107-108, 138, 147, 265, 457, 461.

<sup>20</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down*, 110-111; Larry Dormannov, "Near Hometown of the Gipper, Protests Over an Exhumation," *New York Times*, November 10, 2007, D1.

must—never hitch your fortunes to the whims of a single 21 year old with an under developed pre-frontal cortex. After Gipp was gone, Rockne set about creating a feeder system of talented and disciplined athletes with so much depth that never again could any one player dominate. He practiced substituting entire teams, which he called shock troops, who wore down the opposition to the point that Rockne could send in the stars. He also developed an approach to football that emphasized offense, speed, agility, and deception instead of brute force; innovations that were so entertaining and successful they were quickly adopted by other coaches. His fighting Irish teams and his colorful personality attracted a huge national following.<sup>21</sup>

Notre Dame had made a virtue out of necessity by playing more on the road. Because their Cartier Field had a much smaller capacity than most of the big university's venues, Rockne needed to schedule the majority of games elsewhere. This not only served as a great promotional tool as the Irish made many fans on their trips, but also acted as support for his appeals to the university administrators for a new stadium. In fact, Rockne's efforts to build a new stadium would be a significant priority throughout his career.<sup>22</sup>

The college football world of the 1920s was based on gamesmanship and winning at all costs, and Rockne was no exception. He utilized every opportunity available, often breaking the rules or using “backdoor measures,” to build his team.<sup>23</sup> Rockne quickly adapted to the harsh conditions of recruiting, enacting tricks common among the head coaches of that day. Despite rules that outlawed athletic scholarships, Rockne usually managed to circumvent this by arranging jobs and other opportunities for his players to pay their tuition. He was also the pioneer of the red-shirt, a tactic that enables a player to sit out a year without losing any eligibility. Rockne usually managed to overlook the fact that many

<sup>21</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down*, 525-27.

<sup>22</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 16, 24.

<sup>23</sup> “The Rockne Years.” <http://www.nd.edu/~dheider/era.html>. July 2, 2004

of his players violated collegiate rules by playing in semi-pro games on the side, a common practice amongst college players of that day. He did not create the climate as a player or coach, but because he was intelligent, cunning, and extremely competitive, within a decade he became the most important football coach in America, able to both mold and master gamesmanship. [As Sperber commented](#), "He learned to swim with the sharks ...and not bleed."<sup>24</sup>

Rockne's manipulative skills were hardly confined to issues regarding players. The sportsmanship of the game was open to an abusive gamesmanship unimaginable today. Rockne was an expert at massaging the system to optimize conditions ideal for him and his team. Unlike today, the 1920s NCAA did not sanction referees and instead an antiquarian sportsmanship practice in effect made it the coaches' responsibility to arrange for game officials. Rockne took advantage of this more than any other coach. His sportswriter cronies often served as paid (and highly supplemented under the table) referees in the most mendacious journalistic behavior. [In this way](#), newspapers could keep salaries down [and](#) avoid the travel expenses, [and](#) teams could expect favorable coverage and publicity and depend on critical calls going their way (e.g. Walter Eckersall of the *Chicago Tribune*). A testimony before Camp's 1908 Rules committee suggests that ten years later when head coach Rockne took, over little had changed: "Officials have spoiled the game. They are the biggest lot of grafters I ever heard outside of Philadelphia politics. They don't know the game and have no judgment if they did, and are one and all biased. They get entirely too much money."<sup>25</sup>

For the writers getting paid for their services in this way, Notre Dame games represented some of the biggest payouts anywhere. Rockne always handled journalist with

<sup>24</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 60, 91, 121.

<sup>25</sup> Suggestions of Murphy, "Football: Rules 1908," Box 39 Folder 123, WCP.

kid gloves [and](#) made a point of never antagonizing any high profile journalist or sports writer. As a result, these positions were in high demand and Rockne used them to buy promotion for his team. He frequently promised lucrative games to writers in exchange for publicity in that writer's newspaper. This not only benefited Notre Dame greatly by earning it recognition in some of the large markets such as New York, but also earned Notre Dame the occasional break at an opportune time in a game.<sup>26</sup>

On field, Rockne was the master coach. His strength lay both in his strategic abilities as well as his motivational skills. In true gamesmanship fashion he also pushed rules to their legal limits. Rockne choreographed the "Notre Dame shift," a tactic that involved constant motion in the backfield, and which frustrated opponents endlessly and was a visual crowd pleaser—a “machine-like precision of [his] backfield shifts, which produced favorable blocking angles and numerical superiority at the points of attack.” When the biopic *Knute Rockne—All-American*, hit the screen nine years after his death, *Life* magazine ironically panned the film as a “faithful though uninspired record of ‘the Rock’s’ life” and found the only noteworthy feature in the film the depiction [of](#) a reward night out with the team to a Broadway musical featuring the Chester Hales Girls: “The players are amused at how intently he watches the chorus dance.” Rock takes notes on the back of envelope, of course, and cries out later that night, “the girls gave me an idea for a new kind of backfield shift.” No winning one for Ronald Reagan or the Gipper. That would have to wait.<sup>27</sup> But in this shared stag moment, the film captured an element that endeared Rockne to his players.

"Rockne ...had real affection for and loyalty to his 'boys'" and this extroverted package was

<sup>26</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down*, 72, 89-90, 92, 106, 130-131, 141, 143, 144, 195, 296-300; Sperber, *Onward*, 51.

<sup>27</sup> Gems, 97; Sperber, *Onward*, 89, 132; “Rockne Learned Shift from Chorus,” *Life*, Nov. 4, 1940. 91. The more plausible provenance of the shift is the comment by Coach Harper that he borrowed it from Chicago’s Stagg who received it from God. See Craig Harline, *Sunday: a History of the First Day from Babylonia to the Super Bowl* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 334.

“part of his equipment.”<sup>28</sup> All this Rockne and Notre Dame success would not have been possible were the ground not shifting underneath **both** them and established powerhouses. There is no greater exemplar of this the Harvard-Centre College matchup.

### Shifting ground

For a mobile urban population (the “anywhere” folks) sports teams might have provided a ready “sense of belonging to an identifiable community” but for rural and small-towns (the “somewhere” folks) “it provided a source of identity and defiant pride in the face of marginalization.”<sup>29</sup> The most famous act **of** defiance was recognized in the Associated Press’s selection of the greatest sports upset of the first half of the 20th century. On a late October afternoon in 1921, the Praying Colonels of Centre College in Danville, Kentucky, defeated the defending national champions Harvard. They not only avenged their previous year’s loss to Harvard, but sparked a media enflamed populist Jacksonian moment. “The dominance of East over West, of aristocrat over commoner, and of capitalist over agrarian” had come to an end **in** “[a] triumph of simple virtues and a harbinger of a new and more robust American masculinity.” In reality, it was the triumph of leveraged gamesmanship, and that in the person of one outsized player, the twenty-seven-year-old Alvin “Bo” McMillan. He had not graduated from high school, found little time for classes in his five years at Centre, and like the equally talented George Gipp at Notre Dame, hustled in pool halls. Unlike the dissipated Gipp, Bo never drank and actually spent time on **the** practice field, developing quarterback and leadership skills, but again like Gipp, played pro ball in the off season. By the time Centre avenged Harvard, Bo was clearly ineligible, as he would go on to

<sup>28</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down*, 229. Francis Wallace describes Rockne, “He was always coaching, teaching, preaching, and maneuvering. Humor, voice, eyes, intensity were part of his equipment. I doubt if any life was ever more brilliantly organized or controlled, and at times he seemed to know exactly where he was going, why, how and how far. I believe he allowed himself to explode at times because his instinct, the inner guide, let him know he would get better results that way. He emanated supreme confidence.” Francis Wallace, *Knute Rockne* (Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1960), 13.

<sup>29</sup> Oriard, *King Football*, 70.

fail all of his senior classes. But he was a three time All-American and he scored the lone touchdown to win the game, so it did not matter much that he never graduated until decades later. He was able to bounce around a half-dozen college and university coaching gigs (even Coach of the Year in at Indiana), and finally find a home with professional football's Detroit Lions. In the end, Bo left his mark, proving that a little bit of well-placed white-hot gamesmanship can go a long way. A college of 43 students and 7 faculty defeated what had once been the largest, most prestigious university in the land. This gamesmanship was unsustainable and Centre College quickly and quietly faded into football obscurity. Harvard, too, was never the same. After more than two decades of lesser humiliations, she ratcheted down her game by forming the Ivy League with seven similarly humiliated northeastern schools in 1945.<sup>30</sup>

### **Do-it-yourself professionalism**

Another case of extreme gamesmanship in the form do-it-yourself professionalism fueled by gambling that only the times could offer, played itself out 300 miles west, one month later. The citizens of Carlinville, Illinois, determined to avenge the previous year's loss to a nearby Taylorville team, ponied up \$2700 to round up 10 ringers from Notre Dame. Taylorville escalated the arms race by hustling in nine hired guns of its own from the University of Illinois, which they had the discipline to hold in reserve until the second half. Farmers from neighboring towns had brought their "fat wallets" with them on the specially chartered train to Taylorville after being assured by their townsfolk organizers that they were going to "clean out" and "financially ruin" Taylorville in "a sure thing." Instead, the reserve

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<sup>30</sup>All around the tiny town of Danville, people celebrated with what became an iconic set of four symbols: C6H0. Centre 6, Harvard 0. Harvard and Centre faced each other for one final time in 1922 for a 24-10 Harvard victory. "Remembering a Forgotten Upset," *Harvard Crimson*, October 28, 2011, accessed Jan 2, 2019. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2011/10/28/centre-harvard-1921/?page=3>; "M'Millin Tells Why He Coaches Centenary Team," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, Nov 16 1922, 9; Jim Naughton, "Centre College Remembers The Day When It Was King of The Gridiron," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 4, 1996, A46; Watterson, *College Football*, 147-149, 205. This after calls from students, faculty and athletic directors since the early 1930s to form a league; it just took the University Presidents and Board of Trustees longer to come around.

troops sprung in the second half to secure a 16-0 Taylorville victory and a \$50,000 haul in bets. When the story broke, both universities played possum, but soon had no choice but to declare their college boys ineligible. They quickly found a convenient stalking horse, denying reports of professional football scouts recruiting their players. The players, perhaps acknowledging reality, were reportedly “amused” and “most of the denials were not taken seriously.”<sup>31</sup>

A year later the *New York Times* reported “charges and counter charges were flying among the big three universities” about whether players were strictly amateurs and had monkeyed with transfers. Liberal arts proponent and sports reformer, Amherst President Alexander Meiklejohn knew where to place blame: “The truth is...that our athletic situation is fundamentally dishonest...The absurdity of our present administration of games reaches its climax in the institution of the coach, the armies of coaches....The sport is commercialized at its very centre.”<sup>32</sup>

Notre Dame had more to worry about than commercialization. Their Catholic identity, coupled with a conspicuously successful football team, made the school a natural target for the wrath of a resurgent Ku Klux Klan claiming to reclaim a lost America. The Klan was especially popular in Indiana with over a quarter million member or 30 percent of the white male population. When it organized a huge rally in South Bend in the spring of 1924 some 35,000 supporters poured into town. Klansmen and students battled with clubs and bottles sporadically, until finally Father Walsh climbed atop the cannon at the city courthouse and implored the students to go home. Coach Rockne seconded the motion by

<sup>31</sup> “Smalltown Rivalry Causes Big Scandal,” *The Boston Globe*, January 29, 1922, 17; Watterson, *College Football*, 150 – 152; “Illinois hire players? A Lie declares Huff ‘Zuppmen’ down ‘Catholics’ when rival towns clash,” *The Daily Illini*, January 29, 1922, 1.

<sup>32</sup> “The Big Three Curb Athleticism,” *New York Times*, September, 24, 1922, 17. Alexander Meiklejohn, “What Are College Games For?” *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1922, accessed Dec. 20, 2018. <http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/22nov/meiklejohn.htm>. “Surely we are not in the business of making profits from the games of our students. Nor are we willing that they should be in that business either. But in some way or other we have gotten into that business, have built our fields and used them for extracting all the money which the traffic will bear”

telling the students that “Father Walsh is your quarterback and listen to him,” and they did. Sportsmanship and civility carried the day. The Klan left the next day and what could easily have been a fatal encounter ended as a footnote in history.<sup>33</sup>

### **The Knute Rockne of sports writers**

The relationship between Grantland Rice (1880-1954) and Knute Rockne was the archetype of the symbiotic relationship between successful sportswriters and coaches.

Rice was also the first multimedia celebrity in sports journalism who began his career in the late 1890s and in a remarkable span was still writing for the upstart *Sports Illustrated* upon his death in 1954. He wrote for both newspapers and magazines, had a weekly radio program, and helped create sports newsreels, winning two Oscars for his shorts. Like Rockne, he was highly peripatetic, traveling with cronies on the road up to half a year, busy working deals for himself.<sup>34</sup> As a result he, also like Rockne, was first to command an enormous six figure salary at a time when most sports writers still supplemented their incomes.<sup>35</sup>

Rice was well-known for his dramatic leads, which often inexpertly incorporated references to classical literature and although they might appear pretentious in today’s visual sports broadcasts, they were the exactly right mix for sporting events of 1920s, which were experienced live, on radio, and in print. Rice said on a number of occasions in response to criticism of his hero creation, "when athletes are no longer heroes to you anymore, it's time

<sup>33</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 224-5; Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

<sup>34</sup> Fountain, *Sportswriter*, 190, 236, 238, 282.

<sup>35</sup> Rice was busy working deals for himself and made more in sports (his newspaper contract alone was the equivalent of Babe Ruth's astronomically salary--\$52,000) than anyone in the 1920s excepting Jack Dempsey the boxing heavy weight champion. He engaged in what was described by a protégé of his, Paul Gallica as "spinning a daily tale in the most florid and exciting prose that I could muster, part of the great ballyhoo, member of the great gullible, swallower of my own bait, I belonged to that category of sportswriters know as the 'Gee Whizzers.'" While Rice remains a legend in American journalism, his writings are little read because of their ornate style and sentimental tone, gilded by the trite verse he attached to many of his columns. Rice is far more important in understanding his sports world as he helped make household names of such colorful personalities as John McGraw, Ty Cobb, Jim Thorpe, Babe Ruth, Jack Dempsey, Knute Rockne, Bobby Jones, Joe Louis, Babe Didrikson, and Jesse Owens. Fountain, 7, 207.



to stop sports writing."<sup>36</sup> Rice could floridly opine:

"Just what odd turn of evolution brought forward so many outstanding [sports] stars in this postwar period? There is no answer to this mystery....it must be listed as something that just happened beyond rhyme, reason, or the Milky Way. All that we know is that this Golden Age offered a flame that lit up the sporting skies and covered the world."<sup>37</sup>

Robert Lipsyte, senior sports writer at *New York Times*, best explained this "Golden Age" by pointing out, "Painting the lily is not only presumptuous, but ultimately destructive. The flower dies...The so-called Golden Age of Sports, the twenties and thirties, was really the Golden Age of Sports writing."<sup>38</sup>

These "Golden Age" sports writers were not all printouts of the same news copy. There were at least two so-called schools of sports writing—the skeptical "Aw Nuts" writers versus the more romantic "Gee-Whizzers" of which Grantland Rice was the king. As Sperber describes his writing, "Each day he flung out metaphors about athletes and sports events and, indeed, some of his words stick to the American psyche. . . The vast majority of his figures of speech quickly disappeared."<sup>39</sup> If that was true before 1924, it was not true afterward.

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<sup>36</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 51; Biography William Harper, suggests that Rice's classical liberal education with a heavy emphasis on Greek and Latin grammar and literature, shaped his prose. *How You Played the Game: The Life of Grantland Rice* (Columbia, MO: Univ. of Missouri, 1999), 41. Accessed Jan 2, 2019. <http://tinyurl.com/Harper-Rice>. "Good Evening" *Corpus Christi Times*, December 20 1954, 28. "Sports Greats Attend Final Rites for Rice," *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1954, B3. "Hundreds Mourn At Rice Funeral," *The Sun*, July 17, 1954, 13; Robert Cromie, "Man Who Liked, Was Liked by Everyone: Grantland Rice," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 28, 1954, C3; Adman Bruce Barton and Grantland Rice could have spoken at each other's funerals. Barton's eulogy of Rice could have been a wish list for himself: "He had pure courtesy...[which is] no easy virtue. It means, first of all being instinctively and sincerely aware of the other person, with spontaneous respect and consideration for his feelings and the instinct to react always appropriately. He was the evangelist of fun, the bringer of good news about games. He was forever seeking out young men of athletic talent, lending them a hand and building them up, and sharing them with the rest of us as heroes. He made the playing fields respectable. Never by preaching of propaganda, but by the sheer contagion of his joy in living, he made us play. And in so doing he made us a people of better health and happiness in peace: of greater strength in adversity. This was his gift to his country; few men have made greater." Fountain, *Sportswriter*, 6, 9.

<sup>37</sup> Cited in Sperber, *Shake Down*, 175-76.

<sup>38</sup> "By layering sports with pseudo-myth and fakelore, by assigning brutish and supernatural identities to athletes, the Rice-ites dehumanized the contest and made objects of the athletes...The glories of the Babe, the Manassa Mauler, the Four Horsemen, were tunes composed on portable typewriters by gifted, ambitious, often cynical men who set customs and standards of sports journalism that are being dealt with to this day...The Golden Age sportswriters hyped the country's post-World War I sports boom, road the gravy train and then, for the good of the game, maintained the myths and legends as the country slid into a bust." Robert Lipsyte's, *Sports World: An American Dreamland* (New York: Quatrangle, 1975), 170, 172-3; Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen Twenties* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931); Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper: America in the 1920s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995); Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Elliot J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986).

<sup>39</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down* 79, 130. It took Grantland Rice three tries to get it right. In 1922, writing about the Notre Dame-Army game, he led

## The Four Horseman of Ballyhoo

College football and sports pages combined to supplement each other, and both helped to create Grantland Rice. He got a big boost, too, from the night editor of the *Herald Tribune*, who loved the lead for Rice's 1924 Notre Dame-Army story and put it on the front page of the Sunday morning paper. Other papers picked up the story although hardly anyone remembered the actual game. It was not even the biggest story in college football that day: Red Grange had scored five touchdowns against Michigan, and most papers, including Rice's own, rightfully considered that game the bigger event. Notre Dame's 13-7 victory wasn't even its most impressive win that season. But Rice, a friend of Knute Rockne, correctly perceived that Notre Dame was becoming the football team with national appeal, and for thousands of fans that Sunday, and for millions more who would read the story in weeks and months ahead, and in anthologies of sports writing years to come, that Saturday would forever be the day the Four Horsemen rode.

It was a study in sports spin. During the game, Rice spoke with Notre Dame's student press assistant George Strickler who mentioned he had recently seen the movie *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* and compared Notre Dame's backfield to the movie's main characters.<sup>40</sup> Rice took it from there.

Outlined against a blue gray October sky the Four Horsemen rode again. In dramatic lore they are known as famine, pestilence, destruction, and death. These are only aliases. Their real names are: Stuhldreher, Miller, Crowley, and Layden. They formed the crest of the South Bend cyclone before which another fighting Army team was swept over the precipice at the Polo

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with "Notre Dame's attack is more like a modern war offensive than anything we have seen." In 1923, again covering the Irish and the Cadets, he began, "Brazil can cheer about its coffee . . ." Sperber relates an incident between the Notre Dame football coach, Knute Rockne, and a journalist that makes the point: "Tut, tut, Rockne," the writer responded when the Notre Dame coach complained about the paper's football coverage. "You know damn well that were it not for newspapers, not five hundred people would be interested in Notre Dame, Nebraska, or the whole kit and caboodle of football teams." Sperber, *Shake Down*, 136.

<sup>40</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down*, 178-80.

Grounds this afternoon as 55,000 spectators peered down upon the bewildering panorama spread out upon the green plain below.<sup>41</sup>

Strickler wired back to Indiana for a photographer to shoot the Notre Dame backfield on horses. It was a quaint picture, the four heroes looked a little uneasy on horses but in a pre-television age, it was iconographic enough and the four remain the most publicized cohort of players ever despite both their underweight and above average talent (no George Gipp needed). All four become consensus All-Americans along with Red Grange, whose five-touchdown day had been more impressive, though Rice was not there to mythologize it.

### **The houses that Rockne and Red Grange built**

Despite its many attempts, both public and private, despite its football team's three-time national championships, Notre Dame was never allowed in the premiere Big Ten Conference. This meant Notre Dame matched Amy Chua's controversial "triple package of success," an inferiority complex, coupled with a superiority complex, driven by impulse control. Its constant rejection from Big Ten membership reminded Notre Dame it still needed to prove itself. Its national titles confirmed its superiority and the gamesmanship of a monomaniacal Rockne on an unrequited quest for wins and dollars gave it all the discipline it needed.<sup>42</sup>

Aside from winning games, Rockne's primary goal, like that of every big-time football coach, was to have his own permanent, high capacity stadium. He was one of the country's first sports celebrities, was at the forefront of the push for the commercialization of college football, and was in a constant struggle with the university for funds. In fact, he

<sup>41</sup> "Notre Dame's 13-7 victory over Army," *New York Herald-Tribune*, October 19, 1924.

<sup>42</sup> Amy Chua, Jed Rubenfeld, *The Triple Package: How Three Unlikely Traits Explain the Rise and Fall of Cultural Groups in America* (New York: Penguin Press, 2014). Sperber, *Shake Down*, 14, 19, 23, 89-90; 115, 128, 139, 190-93, 209, 258-60, 312, 337, 395, 429. Oriard, *King Football*, 9. American Intercollegiate Football Rules Committee meeting first decade of the century rated the major football schools a position in ten different groups, Notre Dame was in the second tier. Football: Rules, n.d." Box 40 Folder 138, WCP.

frequently used offers from other schools as leverage for bigger salary contracts and building a new stadium.<sup>43</sup> Harvard had set off this gamesmanship arms race when she had moved from temporary structures of play to industrial concrete reinforced structures of industrial performance by constructing a permanent stadium 1903 although its 40,000 capacity soon proved inadequate. Within the next two decades all major football venues doubled and trebled their capacities with similar structures.<sup>44</sup>

By 1930 he got his wish and “the house Rockne built” became reality. As Rockne was regaining his health from the phlebitis he had developed after a player had run into him on the sidelines in a 1926 game, he was as actively involved in the design of the stadium as he was with anything and everything that promoted Notre Dame football. He insisted on seating that was as close to the field as possible and also enabled cameras to cover the action better. (Always camera-friendly, Rockne obligingly recreated some of his famous pep talks for the newsreel cameras, all while writing two syndicated newspaper columns a week though mostly through ghostwriters.) But he was at core a hard-nose businessman who managed a financing scheme that successfully sold all 240 six person reserved boxes, which he had insisted on for the new stadium, with ten year leases. This sale was no mean feat, for the country had entered the Depression.<sup>45</sup> The construction of the Illinois Memorial Stadium six years earlier offers a valuable confirmation of Rockne’s gamesmanship.

Gamesmanship was alive and well at Red Grange’s famous five touchdown performance in his October 1924 game against Michigan. It was also the inaugural game of the new University of Illinois Memorial Stadium, built ostensibly as a memorial to Illini students and alumni who had served in World War I. A year later when Illinois coach Bob

<sup>43</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 229.

<sup>44</sup> The rest of the Big Three Princeton and Yale, constructed their stadiums in the mid 1910s. In 1921, Stanford was followed by Cal-Berkeley. Ohio State constructed similar monuments with almost double the capacity at 70,000, well beyond the 50,000 of the Coliseum in Rome. Soon the Los Angeles Coliseum and Soldier Field in Chicago bested even those with their stadium capacity of 100,000. Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 143.

<sup>45</sup> For the first few years the stadium was less than half full. Robinson, *Rockne*, 239.

Zuppke tried to talk Grange out of going professional, Grange understood the gamesmanship surrounding him all too well. He reportedly said to Zuppke, “you make a living out of teaching and coaching football. So what’s the difference if I make a living playing football?” On the day of his last college game, Grange signed up with the Chicago Bears of the nascent National Football League (NFL) for a 19-game barnstorming tour two weeks later. His total take over the next 67-days was almost \$100,000 in salary and shared gate receipts, and in the process he helped legitimized professional football and the NFL.<sup>46</sup>

A closer look at the appeals made in fundraising for that stadium reveals an enduring expression of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic. At first the Illinois fundraisers appealed to donor patriotism. If the 183 “fightin Illini” who had recently fallen in the Great War could speak, they would most assuredly choose a memorial stadium festooned by the 183 columns honoring them. Should that appeal fall flat, fundraisers were told, they should make a case for the living Illini—students who would benefit from wholesome recreation while considering the sacrifice of the 183 surrounding them *in memoriam*. And if these appeals to sportsmanship still would not take, then just appeal “blatantly to the public’s desire for consumer spectacle.” Each \$100 pledge buys them the right to purchase a “preferred seating” season ticket. Only then need they worry about the Fallen and the students and so sportsmanship was redeemed.<sup>47</sup> Upton Sinclair mocked this kind of identity gamesmanship that sold tickets when he commented on the “classics” taught at Cal-Berkeley, meaning the Stanford game and that no matter what, “Always they hate Stanford.”<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> He would continue in the NFL for another 9 years though in a diminished role after a knee injury. Carroll, *Red Grange*, 92-99, Watterson, *College Football*, 153-55, Paul Gallico confronted Grange’s critics noting the hypocrisy surrounding gamesmanship, “all this gorgeous jack falling into the hands of socially inferior persons who were in the thing only for gain, and didn’t even pretend that they were doing it because they loved it.” Oriard, *King Football*, 210.

<sup>47</sup> Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 159.

<sup>48</sup> “In other parts of the world, can you hear of the ‘classics’, you think of Homer and Virgil; but in California the ‘classics’ are the annual Stanford-California football game, and the intercollegiate track meet, and the Pacific Coast tennis doubles.” The fraternity he visited housed “well groomed young gladiators who did not know quite how to talk to a socialist author... I asked a student about to graduate what he thought of his classmates, and his answer was, ‘they are a model of little haters. They hate the Germans, they hate the Russians, they hate the socialists, they hate the Japs. They are ready to hate the French or the English at anytime there are still two; and always they

## The immediacy of radio

This appeal to gamesmanship was part of a larger worldwide post war trend, activated by a variety of social and political identity needs and enabled by the new medium of radio. Not surprisingly, the spread of sport, especially soccer, was greatest among nations carved out of the former Habsburg Empire—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. “Sport was the perfect cultural medium for nation-building,” because of its gamesmanship qualities. “It is binary, simple and universal.” Binary, in “us versus them, winners and losers.” “Simple, in that the concept of local and national team loyalties” comes naturally. And universal in that it not only can “unite all classes behind a team or athlete but also because it offered personal involvement...as a participant or a spectator.”<sup>49</sup>

After World War I, taking radio out of the hands of the military finally opened up its commercial possibilities. It was never designed with entertainment in mind and could not fully be marketed until developers sorted through a welter of competing patent claims. Such was the power of the medium to create real time immediacy over distance that military historian John Keegan claimed the two-way radio, more than any other technological innovation, was responsible for the difference in tactics and strategy in World Wars I and II.<sup>50</sup>

Radio’s impact on the civilian world was no less profound as its growth paralleled

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hate Stanford.” Upton Sinclair, *The Goose-Step: A Study of American Education* (Pasadena, CA: published by author, 1923) 142.

<sup>49</sup> The collapse of most European monarchies at the end of the war led to a proliferation of new nation-states in central and eastern Europe, each seeking to create its own national identity. The states of the former Habsburg Empire – Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia –were also the countries that pioneered professional football in Europe. Tony Collins, , Tony Collins, *How Football Began: A Global History of How the World's Football Codes Were Born* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 91.

<sup>50</sup> The Radio Act of 1927 and the allocation of airwaves and shifted the objectives away from radio sales to the sales of airwaves. Robert W. McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, & Democracy: The Battle for Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). McChesney concludes that between 1928 and 1935 a disparate and poorly organized "radio reform movement" challenged the relationship between the commercial radio industry and the national government but was eventually swept aside. This is confirmed by Ronald Walters, “The Mass Media and Popular Culture,” in Kutler Stanley I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 4. (New York: Scribner's, 1996), 1471. For a comprehensive overview see Donald Godfrey & Frederic Leigh, *Historical Dictionary of American Radio* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998). According to John Keegan imaginative use of the radio could have made World War I as fluid as the Second World War. The generals were caught in a technological gap could not coordinate their firepower as in the future and marked the progress of their troops visually as in the past. "The potentialities of the telephone, which might have cut across the barriers to communication, seem to have eluded their imaginative powers. The potentialities of radio, available but unused, evaded them altogether." John Keegan, *The First World War*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1999), 19.

the boom of the automobile. In 1919 there was a single licensed ham radio operator and a decade later 800 stations. The millions of Americans in 61 cities who listened to Jack Dempsey dismantle Georges Carpentier defending of his world heavyweight title in July 1921 felt [like](#) part of the actual 91,000 crowd in Jersey City. Warren Susman could claim radio "helped create or reinforce uniform national values and beliefs in a way that no previous medium had ever before been able to do."<sup>51</sup>

Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who harbored Presidential aspirations, warned that it was "inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service to be drowned in advertising chatter," and that if presidential messages ever "became the meat in a sandwich of two patent medicine advertisements it would destroy broadcasting."<sup>52</sup> Rockne did not mind providing the meat for the sandwich. Using the immediacy of the new medium of radio, [high-speed](#) slow-motion films, and a winning record, he crafted the image of [the](#) prototypical big-time coach [in a](#) virtually inimitable package. As Sperber summarizes, "an athletic tradition, fan identification base on ethnicity and religion, an innovative and charismatic coach, a phenomenal win-loss record, powerful media allies, an immense and increasing number of supporters throughout the country and most important of all, the invention of the formula lived on after Rockne gone."<sup>53</sup> This formula graced the cover of *TIME* [on](#) November 7, 1927, with the byline "There must be heroes. The people crave a new 'Red' Grange. None has turned up." Red Grange had beaten Rockne to the cover two years earlier [on](#) [October](#) 5, 1925, and *TIME* magazine was apparently still looking for a new football hero. Rockne set a trend and by the 1930s sports directors became staples in the

<sup>51</sup> Ray Pearson, "The Fight: how Dempsey won," *Chicago Sunday Tribune* July 3, 1921, 1. Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 159. Randy Roberts, "Leisure and Recreation," in Kutler Stanley I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 4. New York: Scribner's, 1996, 1755. 18 amateur's hobbyists started and were co-opted by the 1920s Radio consumerism. Randall Patnode, "What these people need is radio": New technology, the press, and otherness in 1920s America," *Technology and Culture* 44 (April 2003): 285-306.

<sup>52</sup> Quoted in Walters, 1472. James B. Twitchell, "But first, a word from our sponsor," *The Wilson Quarterly* 20 (Summer 1996): 73.

<sup>53</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 185, 296-300, 375-77, 451-52.

magazine if not on the cover.<sup>54</sup> But the reformers were less impressed.

### 1929 Carnegie Study

In 1924, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Education launched a major investigation of college sports and in five years published its voluminous and indicting conclusions about the "rampant commercialism" in college athletics. As foundation director Henry S. Pritchett posed the issue, "The question is not so much whether athletics in their present form should be fostered by the university, but how fully can a university that fosters professional athletics discharge its primary function?"<sup>55</sup>

When the report was released on October 24, 1929, the timing couldn't have been worse as it was buried between the "wild disorder of stock drops." But it made sports headlines that American college athletics was "a highly organized commercial enterprise." What if, self-conscious American academics wondered, a European showed up on an American campus "on a crisp November afternoon" and he found "many thousands of men and women, gathered in a great amphitheater, wildly cheering a group of athletes who are described to him as playing a game of football, but who seem to the visitor to be engaged in a battle." The visitor would be compelled to ask two questions the academics had been asking themselves for six decades years. "What relation has this astonishing athletic display to the work of an intellectual agency like a university? How do students, devoted to study, find either the time or the money to stage so costly a performance?" The athletes who take

<sup>54</sup> "There must be heroes. The people crave a new 'Red' Grange. None has turned up. Too bright a hero steals most of the glory from his college; all of it from his coach. 'Though stars burn out quickly, the quieter light of coaches burns steadily in the football background.' As TIME relates, Rockne knows what to do; tells his players and they do it. Among the things he tells them: 'Don't be a mollycoddle'; 'See everything'; 'Eat no chocolate, cocoa, greasy fried potatoes, pork or bananas'; show 'brains, courage, self-restraint, coordination, fire of nervous energy, an unselfish point of view'; 'No star playing, just football, and if there's any dirty work, home you go for good.' 'Football Matches Monday,' TIME Nov. 7, 1927, accessed May 31, 2002, <http://www.time.com/time/archive/preview/0,10987,731190,00.html>.

<sup>55</sup> W. H. Cowley, "Athletics in American Colleges," *Journal of Higher Education* 1 (January 1930): 29-35. The litanies of commercial gamesmanship include: one in seven athletes or almost half of starting players received some sort of remuneration. Sports are "too absorbing to allow athlete to really study, [giving them] a distorted sense of social values;" "The blaze of publicity in which the college athlete lives is a demoralizing influence" for both the boy and the college; "coaches have an undesirable cultural influence upon their charges." The Alumni "devise...the most disgraceful phase of recent intercollegiate athletics" In order to win "the strict organization and the tendency to commercialize has taken the joy out of the game." Howard James Savage, et al., *American College Athletics*, No. 23 (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929), xii., 13-33, 290-311.



part in it have come up through years of training; they are commanded by professional coaches; little if any personal initiative of ordinary play is left to the player. The great matches are highly profitable enterprises.”<sup>56</sup>

A troubled marriage had existed between commercialized intercollegiate sport and academics since the first regatta race in 1852 and the long-awaited *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* report would address it. The report, culminating in three and half years of investigation and hundreds of visits to 130 higher and secondary institutions, was the most in-depth examination in the previous six decades of futile attempts at collegiate sport reform. The 349-page finding confirmed what many within the academy had long suspected: the professionalization of sports was rampant in American higher education and football was prime suspect because winning apparently was everything.<sup>57</sup>

The take-away shared in the report and headlines in US newspapers both big and small, was that college sports establishments were, was so “sodden” with gamesmanship and professionalism that they “represented the darkest single blot on American sport.” They honed in on the shocking conclusion that only 28 colleges were not guilty of subsidizing an average of one in seven athletes. And the source of the blot was clear. An influential “Oxford don” cited in the report concluded, “the paid coach is at the bottom of all

<sup>56</sup> The timing of the report’s release on what would later be known as “Black Thursday,” could not have been worse. Over the next four days the nation and world focused, in the words of *The Economist*, on “an ill wind that blows nobody any good,” the collapse of the stock market followed by the Great Depression. “Reactions to the Wall Street Slump,” *The Economist*, November 23, 1929. Accessed July 2, 2018. <https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/1929/11/23/reactions-of-the-wall-street-slump>; “President Hoover Issues a Statement of Reassurance On Continued Prosperity of Fundamental Business,” *New York Times*, Oct 26, 1929, 1. On the same day on the same page of the *Boston Globe*, two stories appeared that tellingly spanned the range of American football: the most successful college football coach of all time, Knute Rockne, (pulling in an astronomical 10 times the highest paid full professor) was ordered by his physician to bed rest and Frank Murphy, a 16 year old Pittsburgh high-school player was killed in a football scrimmage. “Order Rockne To Rest For A Week: May Not Coach Balance Of Season,” and “Boy, 16, is killed in Football Scrimmage,” *The Boston Globe*, 18. “College Sports Team Tainted By Bounties, Carnegie Fund Finds In Wide Survey: Survey of 130 Schools Chose 17 Athletes Subsidized” *NYT*, October 24, 1929, 1; “College Sport Evils Played: ‘Subsidizing’ of Athletes Widespread,” *Daily Boston Globe* October 24, 1929, 1; Charles Clotfelter, “Big-Time College Athletics 80 Years Later,” *Duke Today*, October 29, 2009. [https://today.duke.edu/2009/10/clotfelter\\_oped.html](https://today.duke.edu/2009/10/clotfelter_oped.html). James M. Whiton, “The First Harvard–Yale Regatta,” *Outlook* LXVIII (June 1901): 286–89.

<sup>57</sup> Savage, *Carnegie Foundation*, 5, 310, 188; “College Sports Tainted by Bounties, Carnegie Fund Finds in Wide Study,” *New York Times*, Oct 24, 1929, 1; “College Sport Evils Played: ‘Subsidizing’ of Athletes Widespread, Says Exhaustive Report of Carnegie Foundation Only 28 Found Guiltless Harvard and B.C. Both Draw Criticism Many Plans Used to Aid Stars Inquiry Took 3 1/2 Years,” *Daily Boston Globe*, Oct. 24, 1929, 1; “Sweeping Denials Made To Carnegie Report On Athletics;” “Leading Schools Indignant Over Recent Exposure,” AP. *Bluefield Daily Telegraph*, Oct 24, 1929, 15; “Carnegie Report hits Athletics,” “Interesting Response to Carnegie Report,” *Wisconsin State Journal*, Oct. 24, 1929, 17, 22.

difficulties in American college athletics." Adding insult to injury, an average paid coach made 20 percent more than the highest full professor at his college. The concluding theme:

University administrators "have permitted the youths entrusted to their care to be openly exploited. At such colleges and universities, the primary emphasis has been transferred from the things of the spirit or the mind to the material."<sup>58</sup>

After the initial shock wore off, the report was met with some chagrined hand wringing, but then colleges in a pique of sportsmanship righteousness quickly rallied and released statements comparing their peccadillos with the gross malfeasance of other schools. Some loyal newspaper editors even took potshots at the messenger by unearthing a sixth month old story of pension fund mismanagement within the Carnegie Foundation.<sup>59</sup> The rarest logic, though it shouldn't have been, was manifested by the nation's leading popular historian and philosopher Will Durant. His *Story of Philosophy* (1926) had already sold half a million copies, making him one of the most widely published authors of the 1920s. With the empirical precision of Bacon and axiomatic purity of Descartes he commented on the Carnegie report, "well, what of it?" and offered a solution to a commercial reality so unassailable collegiate sport has been trying to defy it ever since—"why not pay them?" Indeed.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Savage, *Carnegie Foundation*, 306–7.

<sup>59</sup> "Claims Foundation To Be Bankrupt: Carnegie \$30,000,000 Pension Fund," *Daily Boston Globe* Apr 13, 1929, 1; Typical of the attack on the foundation itself was, Ralph McGill, "Carnegie Foundation Fires Another Blank: 'Expose' Neither New Nor Alarming--Time and Money Wasted," *The Atlanta Constitution* October 24, 1929, 21. "Sanford Stirs Alumni At Georgia Grid Feast: Dean Says American," *The Atlanta Constitution*, Dec 24, 1929, 9; Don Maxwell, "You've Seen the Highlights--Now for Carnegie Side Lights: Some More Sidelights on Athletic Probe," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 25, 1929, 27; Frank Getty, "Carnegie Report Raps Subsidized College Athletes," UPI. *The Berkeley Daily Gazette*, Oct 24, 1929, 1; "Subsidization of Stanford Athletes is Inferred Carnegie Study," "Officials at Stanford, USC, and University of California Respond to Report," *Stanford Daily*, Oct 24, 1929, 1. Arthur J. Daley, "N.C.A.A. Endorses Carnegie Report: Urges All College Officials to be Guided by Documents in Curbing the Evils in Sports," *New York Times* Jan 2, 1930; 31. A year later, after institutions of higher learning had a chance to fully digest the report, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) safely and "boldly" endorsed it. Not to be outdone, Amateur Athletics Union President Avery Brundage (and subsequently ethically compromised longstanding International Olympic Committee President) decried "the greed and commercialism" that led to the "same decline that overtook the Greek Empire" which now threatened to swamp collegiate sports. Regrettably the Carnegie Report has "almost universally been the butt of flippant sarcasm and jibes," as the public does not blame football which they still believe "is on the square." But if professionalism and commercialism in sports are not arrested, "it will not be long before our enormous college stadia are as forlorn and empty as the Roman Coliseum." He might as well have been howling into the wind outside of the full stadia all over the land. "Brundage Sounds Call To Uphold Amateur Sport: Forces of Greed," *Daily Boston Globe*, Nov 19, 1929, 27.

<sup>60</sup> By 1950 paid athletic scholarships would become the norm but little more to date. Durant's *Story of Philosophy* would later sell 4 million making it one of the all time best selling books on philosophy in America. *Story of Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), xi.

## Strained through the bars of the dollar sign

Rockne had been promoting himself under the assumption what is good for me is good for Notre Dame and vice versa. In this he reflected the tenor of the times as summarized by Robert and Helen Lynd's ground-breaking sociological study of Middletown (Muncie, Indiana): "[M]ore and more of the activities of living are increasingly coming to be strained through the bars of the dollar sign." This variegated consumer was reflected single largest family non-housing purchase: the bland Ford Model T at the beginning of the decade gave way towards the array of options within the family line of vehicles at General Motors.<sup>61</sup>

Rockne had learned how to strain everything through the bars of the dollar sign. Virtually everything with his name attached, books and articles, instant analysis was all ghost written. Rockne worked out an installment plan in which John B. Kennedy would ghost write "sketch" articles with Rockne's signature and any corrections. The series was later compiled into Rockne's 1931 *Autobiography* and formed the foundation of the 1940 movie script particularly the "Gipper" speech. Rockne had not signed off on any of these articles with an eye towards history but rather just a "series of quick articles for cash" that conveniently became the last word.<sup>62</sup>

By 1926 Rockne had a franchise operation network of paternalism and always watched out for his boys, providing them with loans and jobs through local businessmen as

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Durrant reasoned, "I had a scholarship when I went to college and no one thought there was anything irregular about that I received [it] because I answered correctly test questions that had been written on paper. Now, if a boy plays an unusually good game of football is there any reason why a college should not assist him through school?" "Why Not Pay Them?" *The Austin Statesman*, Dec 20, 1929, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown, A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), 80-8. Henry Ford's philosophy that worked well initially was that affordable well built vehicles should simply sail themselves. Ford detested advertising and eventually fired most of his marketers who promptly went to work for GM where their services were appreciated. Although Ford never actually said the customer "can have any car it wants as long as it is black" it is an accurate summary of his artisan sensibilities in which the tangible qualities of the product will sell themselves. Black was the color that dried quickest and allowed the massive River Rouge Plant alone, to produce half the cars of the world by early 1920s. GM understood the intangibles: as *Fortune Magazine* famously described GM's strategy to work five niche option. "Chevrolet is for the hoi polloi, Pontiac for the poor but proud, Oldsmobile for the comfortable but discreet, Buick for the striving, Cadillac for the rich." Thus GM adopted the consumer friendly car for every "purse and purpose." Richard Tedlow, "Marketing," in Stanley Kutler I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 3 (New York: Scribner's, 1996) 1037-1066, 1053, 1058. By 1928 72 percent of all automobiles produced in the US and most of these were GM. Alfred D. Chandler, "Industrial Production," in Stanley Kutler, 1140.

<sup>62</sup> Such as the serialized Rockne autobiography which ran in *Colliers* from October through December, 1930. Sperber documents the relationship with John B. Kennedy, fiction writer and associate editor at *Colliers*, Sperber, *Onward*, 224-7; 328, 329-332

well as post-graduation work as coaches. Just as Yale's successful program had generated demand soon, sixty-eight of his men were college coaches around the country (including Four Horseman Crowley who would coach Vince Lombardi at Fordham). The Fighting Irish had become a big business starting with the 1927 introduction of the Prep Bowl which created a successful feeder system for Rockne.<sup>63</sup> Rockne also lent his name to a series of football summer camp franchises which, along with other business ventures, were so successful that 1928, Rockne's worst year on the field, was his best financially. That year he became six-week tour guide to the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics, dropping everything when the price was right (\$10,000). He was the client of a lecture bureau and typically feigned a conflict of interest publicly but privately wrote, "unless there is a lot of money involved I had better be excused."<sup>64</sup>

By 1929 Rockne's budget for uniforms was \$15,400--about as much as the school library spent for books. He protected his freedom of movement by helping defeat any reformist movement in the coaches' association by characterizing any such effort as professionally insulting and especially effeminate. He was also wise to leave a sportsmanship rationale in reserve. If you start losing your games, "you make'em believe the main idea is to build character." In response to Rockne's feigned surprise at all the media attention, he assiduously courted an "ah shucks" attitude. A reporter at the *Chicago Daily Tribune* mocked, "Tut, tut, Knute, you know damned well....that were it not for newspapers not five hundred people would be interested in Notre Dame...or the whole kit and kaboodle of football teams."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Gerald Gems, "The Prep Bowl and Religious Acculturation," *Journal of Sport History* 23(Fall 1996): 287

<sup>64</sup> Sperber *Shake Down*, 58, 61, 96, 122, 150-56, 166, 187, 188, 203-6, 228-30, 269, 290, 293, 295, 304-5. 475 "The Rockne pilgrimage is expected to be the largest tour ever conducted by an individual to the continent, and it is the first time that an individual has arranged for the use of a boat of such great tonnage as the *Carmania* for a trip to the old world" "Rockne to Conduct Olympic Tour," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, January 30, 1928. Accessed Jan 2, 2019. <http://www.archives.nd.edu/about/news/index.php/2012/1928-olympic-tour/>

<sup>65</sup> Cited in Sperber, *Onward*, 176. There was even a mocking a locker room talk with a wheelchair bound Rockne: "Coach Knute Rockne, in a wheel chair (sniff, sniff), was trundled lovingly into the dressing room between halves Saturday (boo hoo) and raising himself painfully

At the time there was a much more sophisticated understanding of what was going on than the historic memory, flush with subsequent mythologizing, reflects. For example, in Rockne's original autobiography, the George Gipp section included a drawing of the night pool-shark in which Gipp's off field betting is implied. Former press assistant turned sportswriter, Francis Wallace, produced two *roman à clefs* un-popular in the "ah-shucks" style of the journalism at the time. One, *O'Reilly of Notre Dame*, had a thinly veiled Rockne who manipulates the recruiting system to create highly trained gladiators which he shamelessly offers up as a paragons of clean, character-building living. Rockne knew some reporters actually had the real dope on him, but since these veiled attacks did little to affect his public persona, he let it pass.<sup>66</sup>

The positive side of what's good for Rockne is good for Notre Dame was the rebranding he helped bring about for American Catholicism. Although he wore his personal Catholicism lightly (he converted while coach) Rockne understood its gamesmanship implications for others. This was not lost on syndicated columnist Jay Franklin, who noted, half a year after Rockne's death, that whatever techniques Rockne might have used, Catholics anxious for public acceptance welcomed them, for "every avenue for reaching the public eye and striking the public imagination...all scientific technique of modern publicity, including radio, cinema, football and foolishness (by foolishness Franklin meant the practice of "adapting the patron saint of travelers [St. Christopher] to the problem of parking and traffic congestion.") The bottom line remained, "[A]ny religion that could turn out backfields (aided by Knute Rockne) must be good. Rockne's death was a distinct loss to Catholic propaganda."<sup>67</sup>

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(we c-c-can't s-s-stand much m-m-more of this) spoke." after the text of the speech concluded "Football a rough sport? Don't laugh. Cry." William Forman, *Chicago Daily News* 18 Nov. 1929 letters complaining Nov. 21 1929. cited in Sperber, *Shake Down*, 317.

<sup>66</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down*, 131, 145; Francis Wallace, *O'Reilly of Notre Dame* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart 1931)

<sup>67</sup> Jay Franklin, "Catholic or Protestant?" *Forum and Century* LXXXVI (September 1931): 136, 140.

It was not easy to duplicate the Rockne formula, but those who practiced his gamesmanship best came closest as they created post-season bowl games. Just as Catholics had something to prove to WASPs, Southerners had something to prove to Northerners. Aside from the fluke humiliation of Harvard by Centre College, the most enduring victory by long-standing football programs was University of Alabama's defeat of the University of Washington in the Rose Bowl. Their return was celebrated not only with decorated lampposts, but also for the first time, Confederate Battle flags. The depths of the Depression would spur Southern colleges, especially in the Deep South, to fully get out of step with the contemporary ethics of Northern and Upper South schools when they openly supported their athletes with scholarships, jobs, under-the-table deals, and post-season bowls. Local promoters also created the familiar warm weather themed bowls (Orange, Sugar, Sun, Cotton) throughout the Deep South during the 1930s, to stimulate local economies through tourism.<sup>68</sup>

Just as William O'Neill, in his informal history of the 1960s 40 years later, offered Vince Lombardi as an embodiment of a value system, Frederick Lewis Allen noted, "more Americans could identify Knute Rockne as the Notre Dame coach than could tell who was the presiding officer of the Senate." For Lewis, Rockne was a football figure who, unlike the

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<sup>68</sup> The Yale Bowl (1914) first time the term Bowl was used. Rose Bowl borrowed by 1923 though the promotional game played in Pasadena since 1903. Bowls rapidly added in the 1930s Orange Miami, Florida (1933) Sugar Bowl in New Orleans (1935) Sun Bowl in El Paso, Texas (1936) Dallas not to be upstaged initiated the Cotton a year later. After the war Gator started the next round of additions that continues to the 28 plus by the end of the century. Michael Oriard, *Bowled Over: Big Time College Football from the Sixties to the BCS Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), intro; Stuart Berg Flexner, and Anne H. Soukhanov, *Speaking Freely: A Guided Tour of American English from Plymouth Rock to Silicon Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 397. Although most bowls flopped after only a few years, some including the Sugar (New Orleans), Orange (Miami), Sun (El Paso), and Cotton bowls (Dallas), remain prominent. Although the North-South all-star games also were received well in the 1930s they were segregated on the field and in the stands. These games generated however generated revenue, represented innovative new ways to market the sport, and gave southern teams new venues to demonstrate their prowess in intersectional battles. By 2010 bowls were such a lucrative given that the majority (70) of the 120 Division I teams played in one. Commercial gamesmanship has so thoroughly predominated that corporate sponsorship and television contracts have made the venue one of the highest bidder for naming rights. This leads to absurd compound names which in one list, was topped by *The Bad Boy Mowers Gasparilla Bowl*. Accessed Jan 2, 2019. <https://www.sbnation.com/college-football/2017/8/19/16171172/bowl-games-sponsors-names-best-worst-funniest>. Christopher C Nehls, "Flag-waving wahoos: Confederate symbols at the University of Virginia, 1941-51." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 110 (Fall 2002): 461, 464. F. Scott Fitzgerald Fitzgerald's short story "The Bowl." Was only published short story with football as its central theme, although some of his stories had football as a backdrop of sorts, *Saturday Evening Post*, January 21, 1928. See Matthew J. Bruccoli, *The Short Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 390-411.

other football figure of the 1920s, Red Grange, was more than "sic transit."<sup>69</sup> Rockne's success lay in his gamesmanship, his ability to commodify it both as a brand and moneymaker. He "never claimed to be the premier inventor of football strategy, but off the field he became the first great entrepreneurial coach, pioneering many new business areas and setting the monetary standard for his successors." It took four decades years before coaches approached his earning power (\$75,000) or the equivalent of twenty-five South bend homes. He "did not invent the world into which he ventured...but succeeded because of his willingness to push the rules to the limit."<sup>70</sup>

### 1932-1946 Rockne immortalized War

Rockne died as the Depression set in. It is doubtful whether his motivational speeches as vice-president of sales at Studebaker would have picked up sales. His football prowess certainly did not transfer to the roadster named which was bust along with Studebaker two years later. His legacy lay more in the gamesmanship...

Where Grantland Rice set the standard for florid sports writing, Graham McNamee's s mellifluous voice set the tone in sports announcing. He was hired 1923 by WEAf in New York as an announcer and baritone soloist. Soon he and Rice announced games together but Rice quickly retreated back to the press where he had time to sit back and gild the lily.<sup>71</sup> By the 30s the differing strengths of the sports media assured that radio reporting would favor immediacy while magazines would have to settle for a more reflective approach. The differing sports writing priorities between sports writers John Tunis and Francis Wallace offered, s interestingly enough, s their own sportsmanship/gamesmanship continuum. Wallace was realistic enough to address the most powerful undercurrent of this entire 1875-1970

<sup>69</sup> Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen Twenties* (NY: Harper and Brothers, 1931), 206-209 and 211.

<sup>70</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down*, 222, 238.

<sup>71</sup> Smith, *Play-by-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sport* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 23.



football study: how can any credible reforms be instituted as long as the reformers were incapable of recognizing the inexistence of their amateur ideal?

In 1939 The University of Chicago became the exception that proves the rule, as big-time football programs were almost never dropped. WWII would have a profound effect on the American way of life and the place of football, for it was an unusually good war for Americans when contrasted with their enemies. Although Americans had already outproduced them before the war, the post-war prosperity nevertheless came as complete surprise to Americans. As David Kennedy colorfully put it, if someone on the street in 1940 had randomly prophesied the boom years, “they would have had a net thrown over them, and been dragged into a dark place never to be seen again.”<sup>72</sup>

1940 also marked the release of Knute-Rockne, All-American, a biopic that shaped Rockne’s persona as a sportsman and football as a game of sportsmanship that no one could have foreseen. WW II was also a good war for the unalloyed gamesmanship of Army football at West Point Military Academy under Col. Earl “Red” Blaik. In the name of military training, the Army could wangle academy appointments for the best athletes in the land—ostensibly to do their duty, but tacitly waiting out the war. Playing football against the other teams, Army could now easily dominate as they were depleted by the draft. The Navy, not to be outdone, staged its own competitive football but on a smaller scale within its preflight program and, unlike the Army, under Congressional oversight. If Robert Dallek is correct, any reforms in football followed a larger historic arc: “A standard reality is that war

<sup>72</sup> During the Depression in 1937, Americans produced 4.8 million cars, compared with the 331,000 the Germans, and the paltry 26,000 the Japanese manufactured. Once the war and the Federal 125% deficit/GDP spending ratio sent American industry into high gear, the numbers became crushing. By 1945, the United States was turning out 88,410 tanks to Germany's 44,857; 299,293 aircraft to Japan's 69,910. American bases in England, David Kennedy notes, were “oases of abundance”: the G.I.'s had “more of everything,” even toilet paper (the American ration was 22.5 sheets per man per day, compared with the British ration of 3 sheets). Most striking of all, perhaps, were the figures on civilian consumption over the course of the war. In Germany, personal consumption fell by 20 percent, in Japan by 26 percent, in Britain by 22 percent. In the US by contrast consumption rose 12 percent. At the beginning of the war, almost 50% of white families and almost 90% of black families lived in poverty. Incomes across the socio-economic spectrum increased over 50% during the war and continued that climb such that in less than a generation, by 1960 the middle class doubled and two thirds of all Americans owned their own homes. Needless to say leisure spending would grow proportionately. David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), ii, 857; David M Kennedy “Freedom From Fear The American People in Depression and War 1929 1945.” Accessed Jan 2, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g78AyfZDcq0>.



kills reform. The Spanish-American war killed Populism, World War I killed Progressivism, World War II killed the New Deal, Korea killed the Fair Deal, Vietnam the Great Society."<sup>73</sup>

There was a silver lining in the Depression for reformers. The Carnegie Report was confident that cooler heads would prevail and financial hard times would wring some of the enthusiasm out of football and dry up the blatant abuses.<sup>74</sup> By the early 30s, when Americans realized the Depression was there to stay, many were skeptical of success pieties and how Rockne had embodied them. In *Horse Feathers* (1932) the Marx Brothers had skewered the corrupt gamesmanship between sports and money with university presidents, faculty, players, and alumni all on the take trying to keep a football program alive while wagging the nominally attached college.<sup>75</sup> Such an arrangement would not have seemed all that preposterous had audiences been following the exploits of Louisiana Governor Huey Long. He had been hanging around Louisiana State University since 1928, encouraging the band, occasionally showing up on the practice field with plays, trying to give locker room talks, “like a freshly minted backwoods Knute Rockne.”<sup>76</sup> Not to be outdone, in a November 1933 radio address, the demagogic Father Coughlin wondered who the stooges were who got us into this mess: “On the sidelines there sits J. Pierpont Morgan--the Knute Rockne of the old guard—the scout in the pay of England.”<sup>77</sup>

By 1935 attendance at games throughout most of the nation had mostly rebounded and the five-year-old South East Conference (SEC) took the bold step of sanctioning athletic

<sup>73</sup> Todd S. Purdum, “Juggler in Chief: Crises, Crises Everywhere. What Is a President to Do?” *New York Times*, February 9, 2003, 4-1.

<sup>74</sup> Even the Notre Dame stadium was only 42 percent capacity 1930, while the team was on the road to a national championship, the Depression had set in. *New York Times*, June 15, 1931, cited in Sperber, *Onward*, 348.

<sup>75</sup> Recent biographies and writings of Groucho Marx confirm that in his youth he was an avid consumer of Horatio Alger and Frank Merriwell serials perhaps confirming that a cynic is indeed a frustrated idealist Stefan Kanfer, *Groucho: The Life and Times of Julius Henry Marx*. New York: Knopf, 1999. Stefan Kanfer, ed. *The Essential Groucho: Writings by, for, and about Groucho Marx* (New York: Vintage, 2000); Simon Louvish, *Monkey Business: The Lives and Legends of the Marx Brothers* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000).

<sup>76</sup> Watterson, *College Football*, 185; Amy Scott, “Hold That Tiger: Huey Long and Louisiana State University Football, 1928-35” <https://digital.la84.org/digital/collection/p17103coll10/id/12261/rec/1>. Olivia McClure, “Huey P. Long boosted the LSU Tiger Band's national profile in its early days, along with his own,” *The Advocate*, SEP 16, 2017, Accessed Jan 2, 2019, [https://www.theadvocate.com/baton\\_rouge/news/politics/article\\_05d6214a-9b02-11e7-8f00-c7abd484bfc6.html](https://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/politics/article_05d6214a-9b02-11e7-8f00-c7abd484bfc6.html).

<sup>77</sup> Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York: Publishers Group West, 2001), 382.

scholarships. In their rural settings they could not offer athletes the creative make-make jobs the urban universities could. In resignation *North American Review* admitted, "there is...nothing amateur...he is a creature of myth. He does not exist in flesh and blood...the turnstile is the patron saint of football."<sup>78</sup>

Given their ubiquity, magazines could afford to take a more circumspect tone. "Magazines," wrote two journalism professors in 1938, "are as much a commonplace in America as neckties." Americans bought about three billion periodicals even in the worst year of the Depression, an average of two per month for every man, woman, and child.<sup>79</sup> As a commentary in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* was prepared to concede, "Magazines will sparkle with wit" showing either the "absurdity or the immeasurable value" of sports. The real question is what the people want.<sup>80</sup> The answer seemed universally to be escapist entertainment.

### **The Tunis vs Wallace Sportsmanship/Gamesmanship Continuum**

Fortunately, we have a record of magazines attempting to make sense of collegiate football (the professional game as mostly a sideshow). Two sportswriters grappling with the gamesmanship Americans were willing to settle when push came to shove on the field. Harvard grad and Episcopal minister's son, novelist and sportswriter John S. Tunis, while contributing to *American Mercury* between 1936 and 1939, made a novel bid for transparency. Tunis took to classifying all the colleges he wrote about into four categories in a sportsmanship/gamesmanship continuum based on the degree of subsidy (or SEC athletic scholarships) and the revelations in the Carnegie Report. Colleges ran from left to right as: Amateurs, Slightly Tainted, Semi-Pros, and Professionals. On the left sat mostly small North

<sup>78</sup> Watterson, *College Football*, 183. Football has always been the administrator's natural ally in "appeal[ing] to a public which does not concern itself with the logic in buying, or with fine distinctions between false and true advertising." In a world "where sales volume fattens upon sensation and emotion and starves upon reason and logic." H. W. Whicker, "Why Amateurs?" *The North American Review*, 233 (April 1932): 300, 301, 303, 304, 305.

<sup>79</sup> David Welky, *Everything Was Better in America: Print Culture in the Great Depression* (University of Illinois Press, 2010), 83.

<sup>80</sup> John Stalnaker, "Athletics," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 4 (April 1933): 187-8.

Eastern liberal arts colleges with no subsidies, on the right, the professionals of big-time football in the SEC with their subsidies, and in the middle of the great muddle, all the rest of colleges and universities from the slightly tainted to the mostly tainted. Tunis played a shame game by reassigning teams as revelations of subsidization or reform came to light and in this, he often provoked public responses from college presidents who felt compelled to confront Tunis' characterization of their schools. But for most Depression Era sports fans, Tunis' efforts were a tempest in a teapot. Tunis critic tartly noted, "The new revelations . . . have left America stagnant with excitement." During the Depression when college sports mostly meant entertainment and entertainment meant escapism, amateurism/sportsmanship was just a hard sell.<sup>81</sup>

Former Rockne student press agent Francis Wallace fared better as the realist whose principal forum, after his earlier novels, was the "Pigskin Previews" which he contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post* from 1937 through 1948 then for *Collier's* from 1949 through 1956. Although football reform articles took a back seat to the popular celebrity profiles in mass magazines, in the *Post* and *Collier's*, and later *Life* and *Look*, Wallace quietly beat the reform drum long and steady enough that it provided a background rhythm to most of his stories. In fact, Wallace's realism tapped into the broadest and deepest gamesmanship undercurrent of this dissertation.

The problem with reformers, Wallace began writing in 1927, was "that they have not the courage to admit" that football had already become "a semi-professional sport." While the College presidents spoke in "tremendous platitudes," and conferences prescribed "a sugar pill" against recruitment abuses (initially described by reformers in implicitly salacious terms as "solicitation"), the players themselves received their bachelors' degrees in

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<sup>81</sup> Oriard, *King Football*, 104; Watterson, *College Football*, 190.

gamesmanship, “a four-year course in deception and the coach learns to shout mightily at the faculty revival meetings.” “Football is commercial, Who cares? Who made it so? Who collects the profits?” College authorities could come clean, or they could “continue to wade in mud of their own mixing while prating in generalities of an outworn ideal; to preach against bootlegging while collecting the profits; and to shout at athletic revival meetings while living in sin.”<sup>82</sup>

### Coming Clean

One who came clean was University of Chicago President Robert Hutchins. In 1938, after nearly a decade of promoting “de-emphasis” as President, through books and as a contributor to *Saturday Evening Post*, Hutchins offered his readers a personal lesson in how difficult it is to drive a stake through big-time football. Hutchins was able to convince his university’s trustees to “mercy kill” the game, as the *Tribune* put it, but this required a perfect storm and the alignment of three of the rarest ingredients. First, years of humiliation on the gridiron—in the final season Chicago’s point totals had been 37 for, 308 against in “one of the most disastrous seasons in the gridiron history of a major institution.” Second, a pertinacious president on an educational crusade—Hutchins had introduced his “New Plan” a decade earlier, advocating graduate school level rigor for the last two undergraduate years. Finally, the most unusual ingredient, a willing, or at worst neutral, Board of Trustees—Hutchins had to fend off a last minute rearguard action of football-minded alumni by rounding up his own donor base and getting them to at least abstain in the vote and promising to stay in the Big Ten with other sports.<sup>83</sup> At the end of 1939, President Hutchins

<sup>82</sup> Oriard, *King Football*, 105; Francis Wallace, “The Hypocrisy of Football Reform,” *Scribner’s*, November 1927, 849.

<sup>83</sup> Robert M. Hutchins, “Gate receipts and glory,” *Saturday Evening Post* 211, no. 23 (1938): 73-74. Mary Ann Dzuback, *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an Educator* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 209. Robert Maynard Hutchins described the bewilderment of the modern world in 1932 and how this must be combated. Is his mind corrupt gamesmanship practices abounded now that football was making a 10 percent year increase comeback from its low on 1932. Notre Dame was at as the peak averaging attendance of 53,000, cited in Murray Sperber, “In praise of ‘student-athletes’: The NCAA is haunted by its past,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Jan 8, 1999, A76. See Hal A. Lawson and Alan G. Ingham, “Conflicting Ideologies Concerning The University And Intercollegiate Athletics: Harper And

was able to announce, "football has been a major handicap to education in the United States...I think it is a good thing for this county to have one important university discontinue football." The next year, as if to prove his point, the University converted the locker rooms underneath the now abandoned Stagg Field football stadium into a secret lab for the Manhattan Project, where in December 1942 Enrico Fermi achieved the breakthrough controlled release of nuclear energy through fusion. Only one other big-time football university (their rival Washington University at St. Louis with a similar research mandate) ever followed Chicago's course with complete abolition, though without the nuclear reaction.<sup>84</sup>

### Football at war

At the outset of the first football season after the attack on Pearl Harbor, in uncharacteristically flat prose, Grantland Rice made the case for gamesmanship in the name of sportsmanship under the guise of patriotism. This would be the diametric opposite of WWI when the gamesmanship of football gave way to sportsmanship and fitness. In uncharacteristic flat prose Rice suggested, "just after Pearl Harbor, there was a feeling that all sports were facing a near collapse. Instead of any such debacle taking place...games have proven more popular than ever. And the leader is sure to be [college] football, which includes body contact, speed, power, durability and quick thinking under heavy pressure. Those things happen to be the ingredients that are badly need now, and the constitute one of the reasons why football has the backing of the War Department."<sup>85</sup>

Clearly the game, most conspicuously through Rockne, had become more woven

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Hutchins at Chicago, 1892-1940," *Journal of Sport History* 1980 7(3): 37-67. By 1935, after the death of the Yale player, university President James Rowland Angell blasted football the mercenary aspects of the game, "College football has become in many instances big business it is the crowd, the winners, the receipts, that count above everything else in 70 percent of the institutions." The Professionalization, *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1935; Ingrassia, *Gridiron*, 189-194; Watterson, *College Football*, 191-196; Oriard, *King Football*, 107.

<sup>84</sup> Both teams have since introduced NCAA III non-scholarship football. Cited in John H. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). 43-44. Charles T. Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 216.

<sup>85</sup> Grantland Rice, "Football Forecast," *Colliers*, September 26, 1942, 90.

into the fabric of college experience. Even the way in which government contracts were negotiated with universities showed greater sophistication as opposed [to the time pre-WWI](#).<sup>86</sup> Sportsmanship was manifest in the subtler advertising in game programs. During the First World War ads mimicked posters that warned against the Hun and with "Destroying the Mad Brute" imagery of a drooling Pikelhelmed simian Hun wielding a *Kultur* cudgel in one arm while packing off a swooning virgin in the other. During the Second World War an ad by the McCormick Co. in a Notre Dame-Navy 1943 game program asked whether things might have been different if Hitler had just played football.<sup>87</sup> Clear this was a healthier approach.

Just as women picked up the slack in war production, they used the opportunity to carve out a greater role for themselves at the games, short of stepping on the field. The University of Illinois had organized one of the first marching bands [in the country](#) which included women in 1910 and the first female cheerleaders appeared in the south in the 1920s, but for the most part women were relegated to their own cheering sections and began [to be](#) segregated in permanent sections in the university owned stadiums (unlike previous wooden and rented venues). As late as 1939, Cal-Berkley coeds entered the stadium in a separate tunnel, and Syracuse did not abandon his separate cheering sections until after the war. Trying to explain this seemingly retrograde trend, Michael Oriard offers a case of identity not unfamiliar to Francis Fukuyama: "Since football played a vital part in the male sense of self, the presence of women simply seemed to contradict it."<sup>88</sup> During the war so much involved perception [that the](#) Secretary of Treasury admitted that most of the financial

<sup>86</sup> Kennedy, *Freedom*, 620.

<sup>87</sup> Cited in Sperber, *Onward*, 90. Hugh Hawkins, "The University," in Stanley Kutler I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 4. (New York: Scribner's, 1996), 1827. For a representative snap shot collection of World War II propaganda posters see, the National Archives Powers of Persuasion exhibition at <http://www.nara.gov/exhall/powers/powers.html>. In contrast see the Georgetown University's *First Call: American Posters of World War One* from the collection of Roger N. Mohovich for a sampling in which recurring images of the Hun are represented, <http://www.library.georgetown.edu/dept/speccoll/amposter.htm>. Typical to World War I was the "Destroy this Mad Brute," in Peter Stanley's, *What Did You Do in the War, Daddy?* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1983), 85.

<sup>88</sup> Oriard, *King Football*, 100, 176

sacrifices asked of Americans were more for their own benefit than the war effort<sup>89</sup>

## For the Gipper

One of the ways Americans experienced the meaning of football away from gamesmanship towards sportsmanship was the 1940 release of *Knute Rockne: All-American*, starring veteran actor Pat O'Brian as Rockne and the fresh-faced Ronald Reagan as Gipp. Because the military had ordered so many 16 mm copies, the film was in wide circulation for years and enjoyed a long life in parochial schools, scout troops, and church basements. The fictional account Gipp's death and of Rockne testifying shortly before his death before a congressional committee defending the sportsmanship [inherent in football](#) achieved a legitimacy completely [smudging the](#) lines between fact and fiction in ways the Bonnie Rockne, who drove most of the fabrications, could have foreseen. Even faculty members at Notre Dame who should have been able to distinguish between the two, could not resist quoting from the fictionalized Rockne when they need to drive home a point.<sup>90</sup>

In disentangling the myth from the legend it becomes clear how powerful the

<sup>89</sup> Kennedy, *Freedom*, 648-50. Roosevelt's Treasury secretary, Henry Morgenthau Jr., recognized that necessity, organizing a mammoth campaign to urge Americans to curtail consumer spending and buy war bonds instead. The bonds helped pay for the war, of course, and also soaked up income that might have fueled inflation. But Morgenthau admitted that "60 percent of the reason" for the bond drive was "to give the people an opportunity to do something," and "make the country war-minded." He would use the bonds, he explained, to "sell the war, rather than vice versa." See Lauren Rebecca Sklaroff, "Constructing G.I. Joe Louis: Cultural solutions to the 'Negro problem' during World War II," *The Journal of American History* 89 (December 2002): 958-983. Sydney Weinberg, "What to Tell America: The Writer's Quarrel in the Office of War Information," *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968), 73-89; and Richard W. Steele, "Preparing the Public for War: Efforts to Establish a National Propaganda Agency, 1940-41," *American Historical Review*, 75 (Oct. 1970), 1640-53. Clayton IL Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 1987); Thomas Doherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York, 1993); Brett Gary, *The Nervous Liberals: Propaganda Anxieties from World War I to the Cold War* (New York, 1999); George H. Roeder Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience during World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); David Kennedy, "What is Patriotism without Sacrifice?" *New York Times*, February 16, 2003, 4-3.

<sup>90</sup> In syndicated articles, Father John O'Brien consistently quoted the film *Rockne*, "In my twenty years of working with boys, it's this---the most dangerous thing in American life today is that we are getting soft, inside and out...we are losing a forceful heritage of mind and body that was once our most precious possession." Sperber, *Onward*, 271. There was a broad pattern of film themes once the Depression sunk in. First escapism then gritty realism, by the time of Roosevelt's election the grittiness remained but the idea grafted on that "there were systematic political fault lines underlying the personal tragedies. The developing taste for 'biopics' likewise grew out of the same sensibility by showing the heroic struggle of successful individuals to overcome the odds." Lincoln, Pasteur, Curie, Ehrlich and even Zola's defense of Dreyfus found resonance. Watson, *Modern Mind*, 327; "By the time *Knute Rockne-All American* came out in 1940, the college football film was tired. *Knute Rockne-All American* breathed new life into football films, inspiring such biographical films as *The Iron Major* [1943] *Spirit of Stanford* [1942] and *Spirit of West Point* [1947]." A narrative arch shared by all the films is a protagonist who transitions naturally from football to war hero. The 1943 *Guadalcanal Diary* based on a best-selling memoir was adapted to include a fictitious priest from Notre Dame with an All-American past. "The in [classical] war film, the most popular plot involves a group of men, individuals thrown together from disparate backgrounds, who must be welded together to become a well-oiled fighting machine. During the course of the film, the rough edges of the orneriness and the cantankerous, the non-joiners, the loners...must be smoothed down to make them fit" In the publicity flyer for *Smith of Minnesota* 1942 in which recent All-American Minnesota halfback Bruce Smith portrays himself, Columbia Studios makes the learned values clear: "Watch the typical kid learn the kid of real-life heroism the Axis is learning to fear. It's a real-life heart filled drama of today. Have a seat on the 50-yard line for the thrill-packed drama of a great All-American," Harvey Marc Zucker and Lawrence J. Babich, *Sports Films: A Complete Reference* (Jefferson, N.C. 1987), 145, cited in Sperber, *Onward*, 43.

appeal to sportsmanship is while all the while gamesmanship is actually the driving force.

Rockne's famous 1928 "Win one for the Gipper" half-time speech was actually preceded by a similar deceit in 1922 before a game against Georgia Tech. Rockne told his team that his young critically ill son was in the hospital and that all he requested a Notre Dame victory. The fired-up Irish proceeded to beat the Yellow Jackets, only to return to the train station and see Rockne's son Billy in the crowd along with everyone in a perfect state of health. The plea for a dying son had worked so well Rockne trotted it out for 1928 Army game.<sup>91</sup>

It was his worst season as a coach, and for day or two before the toughest game on Notre Dame's schedule against an unbeaten Army, Rockne read a couple of glowing newspaper accounts about Gipp's heroics. That, Sperber believes, may have given him the idea to confabulate Gipp's dying wish that the boys "win one for the Gipper." Gipp had been dead eight years when Knute Rockne stood before his team and repeated the dramatic last deathbed request. The tearful and fired-up Irish proceeded to defeat Army 12-6 in dramatic fashion, immortalizing the game in college football lore without a shred of evidence Gipp actually ever made that request (to begin with he never referred to himself as "the Gipper.")<sup>92</sup>

The film would go on to affect the NCAA and national politics in the years to come in unintended ways. Since Rockne's widow Bonnie, controlled the rights to her husband's story, she started a sanitation effort by insisting that the sportsmanship of "Knute

<sup>91</sup> Sperber, *Shake Down*, 310, 97. "I don't think Rockne ever, ever misunderstood his players," Notre Dame Coach Lou Holtz has observed in 1990. When Rockne did make a halftime pep talk, it ranged from three words of disgust-"Fighting Irish? Bah!"-to the no-holds-barred emotional appeal. Joe Drape, "Notre Dame Halo Loses Some Glow After Recent Revelations," *New York Times*, August 14, 1998. B11.

<sup>92</sup> "I've got to go Rock. It's all right. I'm not afraid. Some time, Rock, when the team is up against it, when things are wrong and the breaks are beating the boys -tell them to go in there with all they've got and win just one for the Gipper. I don't know where I'll be then, Rock. But I'll know about it and I'll be happy" There is virtual consensus with Murray Sperber, that the request never occurred and as evidence points out that Gipp never referred to himself as the "Gipper" On the eve of the game, in New York, Rockne supposedly told sportswriter Grantland Rice, "Gipp's been gone a long time, but I may have to use him tomorrow." Murray Sperber documents that Rice was actually en route to another game in Georgia that he was to cover for the Herald-Tribune the next day. In any case, at halftime the coach delivered a rousing locker-room speech about Gipp and Grantland Rice who later supported the story by saying that he had been told about it the night before by Rockne, had never been in New York that weekend. Sperber *Onward*, 282, 283, 285, As was reported "tears gushed across the land and Reagan at 29, year was B actor no more." Robert Lapsley and Michael Westlake, *Film Theory: an Introduction* (Manchester, UK: University of Manchester Press, 1988), 189, cited in Sperber, *Shake Down*, 20.



the scholar and lover of boys" overshadow the gamesmanship of Knute [the](#) football monomaniac and endorsement machine. Ironically the "Knute the scholar" trope (he would have become a chemistry rather than a pharmacology major), the status conscientious Bonnie insisted on, unintentionally created a very convenient sportsmanship "student/athlete" mold the NCAA could deploy a decade later and would ever since.

Rockne the Renaissance man coach and molder of character would be the one who would live on. In the 1976 *LIFE* Magazine Special Bicentennial Edition, Rockne was listed as one of the three most important immigrants in American History next in the company of Andrew Carnegie and Albert Einstein.<sup>93</sup> In the waning days of his presidency in January 1989, President Ronald Reagan—who so strongly identified with his role as Gipp that [he](#) referred himself as "the Gipper" on all his campaign trails—as his last official act in office, received the National Championship Notre Dame Football team at the White House.<sup>94</sup> The team presented him a sweater once worn by Gipp and then listened while Reagan used the occasion to comment on what Rockne meant to America. "No man connected with football has ever achieved the stature or occupied the singular niche in the nation that he carved out for himself, not just in sport, but in our entire social structure."<sup>95</sup> This was [a](#) telling comment. Historian Garry Wills has suggested that Reagan identified as much with Rockne if not more so, than he did with Gipp, [and](#) that his political speeches were essentially locker

<sup>93</sup> Cited in Sperber, *Onward*, 5.

<sup>94</sup> President Reagan attended a ceremony at the University of Notre Dame to celebrate the issuance of a stamp honoring the school's legendary coach, Knute Rockne. "Gipper' Honors Rock," *Sporting News* 205 (February 15, 1988): 30. Many popular myths surrounding football legends Knute Rockne, George Gipp, and President Ronald Reagan are satirized and debunked. Douglas Looney, "Between the Rock And ...," *Sports Illustrated* April 21, 1986, 34-45; John Hawkins, "Special Brand of Gridiron Pep Pills," *Insight* 6 (December 10, 1990): 60-61; Ever since Knute Rockne beseeched Notre Dame to win one for the Gipper, coaches have used pep talks to rally their players. Earl Gustkey, "Rockne's Last Game," *Los Angeles Times*, December 6, 1990, C1; Legendary Notre Dame football coach Knute Rockne's last game, in which Notre Dame demolished USC 27-0 on Dec 6, 1930, is recalled. Eyewitness accounts recall Notre Dame coach Knute Rockne's famous 'win one for the Gipper' speech on its 60th anniversary. "Reagan Invokes Rockne to Encourage Optimism," *New York Times* Mar 10, 1988, A29; Pres. Reagan, speaking at ceremony to issue postage stamp honoring legendary Notre Dame University football coach Knute Rockne, recalls his role in film about Rockne and urges Americans to ignore 'gloom and doomers,' concentrate on positive aspects of nation's economy. "Return to the Land of the Gipper," *New York Times* March 9, 1988, A 28; Feature on Pres. Reagan's personal identification with George Gipp, Terence Moore, "Chronology of football at Notre Dame University," *Atlanta Journal and Atlanta Constitution* December 8, 1985, Sec: B2; *Chicago Tribune* December 1, 1985, Sec: 4.2; Calvin Trilling, "Uncivil Liberties," *The Nation*, November 29, 1986, 599.

<sup>95</sup> Mr. John Cackley, the man who gave the University of Notre Dame a sweater worn by the football legend George Gipp, was miffed when the university in turn gifted it to President Reagan. "Thrown for a Loss by Gift," *New York Times* Jan 29, 1989, 118.

room pep talks.<sup>96</sup>

For the first few years after President Reagan left office the right championed the film. It made the *National Review's* list of top conservative movies ever made because of the way it promotes “God and country, tradition and family...individual achievement and the American Dream,” and was consistently voted in the top ten best sports movies of all time according to a jury of entertainment and sports notables. Yet by 1992 the film had become politicized enough that its mandatory screening for the Notre Dame football team was discontinued.<sup>97</sup>

### The Earl “Red” Blaik gamesmanship machine

In late 1940, Colonel Earl “Red” Blaik was brought back to West Point where he had been a star athlete, to redeem the honor of a team that had just suffered its worst defeat in half a century of football. When he strove to create “the Nation’s Team,” during the war he borrowed a page from Rockne on how to dominate with gamesmanship but sell it as sportsmanship in the name of patriotism. Confidential memos suggest that Blaik’s gamesmanship trumped any professed patriotic sportsmanship, as he was more concerned with defeating Notre Dame than he was that West Point produce the best officers for the war. To that end Blaik worked out a system that virtually guaranteed him the best players. A

<sup>96</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 25. Considering both their histories of gambling, it is more than a little ironic that Reagan’s former Secretary of Education William Bennett wrote best-selling collections of virtuous champions which included the Apostle Peter, Paul Revere, Robin Hood and Knute Rockne. Bennett’s signature book as a “Virtuecrat” is *The Book of Virtues*, which elucidates virtues as central to the task of education. Bennett as education secretary under President Reagan and drug control director under President Bush pushed his book as aid in the moral education of the youth; *People*, December 13, 1993, 30-2. His own case as a paragon was undercut when in 2002 he admitted to having lost \$1-2 million dollars gambling in Las Vegas.

<sup>97</sup> Under the prevailing copyright laws his widow Bonny Rockne owned his story. She could control the text of the film and she did. Her need to connect her husband to academic respectability had far reaching impact she could not have foreseen. In reality the honors chemistry student had no intentions of every pursuing an academic or the professional career pharmacy She even objected to movie credits in which Notre Dame administrators insisted the schools contributions were without compensation for it implicitly contrasted unfavorably to her \$50,000 compensation (or 10 South Bend houses). Sperber, *Shake Down*, 466-9, 476, 480. Contemporary accounts in *Colliers* had mentioned Gipp’s pool hall days though down played his gambling. But Widow Bonny Rockne and the filmmakers wanted no part of this irregular rakish persona. Instead the wild Gipp Ronald Reagan portrayed in the film is endowed with an attitude that manifests itself in a slightly overdressed and groomed student. Once Rockne has finally inculcated in him the character building values of football for life Gipp confesses in a quiet moment to the coach’s wife, a surrogate mother, that her husband has taught him priceless authentic, “He has given us something they don’t teach you in schools-something clean and strong inside—not just courage, but a way of living that none of us will ever forget.” Shooting Script cited in Sperber, *Onward*, 18; *Knute Rockne, All American* finds itself in the company of ‘Raging Bull’; ‘Bull Durham’; ‘Chariots of Fire’; ‘Rocky’; ‘Champion’; ‘The Natural’; ‘Olympia’; ‘16 Days of Glory’; ‘It Happens Every Spring.’ H. Sorensen, “Ten best,” *Premiere* 5(May 1992): 107; T. Sullivan, “Jeers and loathing in South Bend,” *GQ*, 61(September 1991): 212-5.

prospective or even graduated All-American would be allowed to be drafted, taste a bit of the dreariness of military life, and then be offered an academy appointment by a friendly Senator. In a 1946 exposé, Francis Wallace revealed some “athletes deliberately took refuge in the service schools to avoid the draft” and assignment to regular units. “Indeed, a surprising number of service academy football players, including some All-Americans, sat out the entire war in these patriotic settings.”<sup>98</sup>

It did not take much for enough stars to find the situation attractive to continue playing with minimal disruption to the star athlete status they were accustomed to. There often was the problem of the academy’s high academic standards, but with proper tutoring a multitude of deficiencies could be tutored out of existence. This how West Point’s stand outs, the “touchdown twins” Glenn Davis and Felix “Doc” Blanchard, found themselves at the academy. Davis even managed to get his brother admitted as part of the arrangement, even though to critics this was “Draft Board recruiting.” But there was a busy war to be waged and any complaint seemed cavil. However, their back up running back African-American Thomas “Shorty” McWilliams, a freshman All-American from Mississippi State, ran afoul of Blaik and the academy when he tried to transfer back after the war was over without serving out his military obligation.<sup>99</sup>

But for three years and three national championships (1944-46), things went very well for Army, especially the 59-0 drubbing of Notre Dame in 1944 and 49-0 a year later. A reporter noted, “A courageous team from Notre Dame, made up substantially of 17- and 18-year-olds, today ran afoul of the powerhouse that masquerades as the Army football team” and that “Army fans also failed to show much sportsmanship.” The *United Press* noted that

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<sup>98</sup> Confidential Report of Father John Cavanaugh and Coach Frank Leahy visit to West Point, January 1, 1942 *General Maxwell Taylor’s Superintendent Papers*, 8, United States Military Academy Special Collections, Cited in Sperber, *Onward*, 96; Francis Wallace, “Football’s Black Market,” *Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 9, 1946, 20-21, 145.

<sup>99</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 138-42. Every one played dumb to McWilliams blatant gamesmanship including both the West Point and Mississippi State coaches, and both the SEC commissioner and the West Point commandant. Watterson, *College Football*, 207.

“three of West Point’s favorite sons”—Generals Jacob L. Devers, Carl Spaatz, and “Vinegar” Joe Stilwell—sat “proudly in the stands” and cheered loudly as “the Cadets poured it on.”” Coach Blaik was not magnanimous in his patriotic faux sportsmanship: “The magnitude of the victory, broadcast by short-wave radio all over the world, was [an] incredible [morale boost] to West Point men at war.””<sup>100</sup>

### Navy’s alternative V-5 football

The sister Naval Academy in Annapolis let Army be the “Nation’s Team” but still was able to smuggle football in its own Pre-flight programs.<sup>101</sup> Of the first million men called for the draft, nearly 40 percent failed their physicals, and dental problems were mostly at fault.<sup>102</sup> But this was enough of an excuse for the U.S. Navy to commission three pre-flight schools (V-5) at three universities in which cadets, along with rigorous physical conditioning in the form of football, received three months of basic aerial navigation and communication training. Graduates then moved on to basic flight schools and advanced flight training before their assignments in the Pacific Fleet. Navy football coach Tom Hamilton, in charge of the physical conditioning in the V5, not surprisingly believed the competitive college football best “inculcated discipline, sharpened aggressive instincts and taught officers to react quickly under pressure.” These V-5 units attracted future postwar coaches such as Ohio State’s Woody Hayes, Oklahoma’s Bud Wilkinson, and Paul “Bear”

<sup>100</sup> Sperber, *Onward*, 145.

<sup>101</sup> Notre Dame’s Frank Leahy soon after he was declared “Coach of the Year” and was beginning to develop some of Rockne’s luster, saw his status as an upgraded to 1-A which meant he was now subject to the draft. Although Notre Dame President O’Donnell attempted to pull some strings with the draft board Leahy bowed to the inevitable and jumped to sinecure with the Navy before the Army, to which the selective service had assigned him, could get him. He spent the rest of war promoting the Navies Athletic programs for the pacific submarine fleet. As Leahy’s official biographer points out, this was an assignment that did not afford him much of an opportunity to coach football but plenty of photo opportunities with “other celebrity officers...that pointed out to America that everybody was ‘doing his or her share for the war effort.’” Twombly Wells, *Shake Down the Thunder: The Official Biography of Frank Leahy* (Ranor, PA: 1974), 238, cited in Sperber, *Onward*, 117.

<sup>102</sup> A way of shaming the men was highlighting women engaging in military style drills in the dead of a New Hampshire winter. “Girls ROTC: New Hampshire Coeds toughen up for war,” *LIFE*, January 11, 1943, 49. By year-end, every Broadway musical featured the National Anthem as either a curtain raiser or finale. The Society of Hay Fever Sufferers suggested that sneezers replace “Gesundheit!” with “God Bless America” though this was eventually shortened to “God Bless” The Germans had realigned their own patriotic protocols in WWI by insisting that every phone end with call end with *Gott Strafe England*—God punish England. Lewis Lord and Jeannye Thornton, “1940 America,” *US News & World Report*, August 27, 1990, 51. 53.

Bryant.<sup>103</sup>

Within the V-5 program--specifically Hamilton's V-12 Program--non-program Navy inductees were allowed to enter into college of their [choice](#) and participate in athletics. Unlike Army football, it was congressional agitation that created consistency between the Navy V-12 (70,000) and the Army A-12 (140,000) program--to the detriment of the latter. Nobody should have been surprised [when the](#) top eight of nine 1944 Heisman candidates were in the V-5.<sup>104</sup>

Because of congressional oversight, the V-5 also had to demonstrate that it took non-competitive fitness seriously and Commander Gene Tunney, the ex-prize fighter in the 20s, was recruited to head its training division, or the calisthenics group. Tunney aggressive pursued his sportsmanship when in journal articles he inveighed against the use of competitive athletics in military training.<sup>105</sup> He implied that competitive athletics had turned the "training of men as military warriors into a sideshow." Tunney and the many professional physical educators he eventually recruited for the Navy advanced a back-to-basics sportsmanship conditioning program.<sup>106</sup> This was all reminiscent of Camp's Daily

<sup>103</sup> The V-5 training camps could afford to compete for the most promising recruits. Many coaches, who did not enjoy the college deferments some of their athletes initially did, saw the writing on the wall and quickly enlisted at training camps friendly to organized football. Some undoubtedly signed up for patriotic sportsmanship but as members of a tough-minded profession many also signed up for gamesmanship reasons. The military offered the only possibility for them to continue their professions with minimal readjustments. As experienced athletes were siphoned off into the camps, that these coaches were able to assemble the most powerful teams. Navy and Army Pre-flight schools which attracted prominent coaches early on, were especially successful. Iowa-pre flight with Missouri's Don Faurot and Paul Brown right off a National Championship at Ohio State in 1942 hooked up with the Great Lakes Naval Station. Watterson, *College Football*, 202.

<sup>104</sup> In the 1920s only 8-12 percent of college age attended and this increased to almost 30 percent by 1950 through GI Bill. Oriard, *King Football*, 8.

<sup>105</sup> In all fairness to Tunney and his approach, boxing was one of only competitive sports directly incorporated into the military regimen of the previous war. The view was not uncommon that "boxing was one of the key activities [in the First World War] as its carry-over values...are many." US Army Joint Army and Navy Committee of Welfare and Recreation. General Subject Files 1942-1946. RG 225 Box no. 12 Recreation File, DeWitt Portall to Fredrick Osborn, Apr. 11, 1941, *National Archives*. In fact boxing was the one sport that probably benefited most from the military involvement with post-WWI physical education. Guy Lewis, "World War I and The Emergence of Sport for the Masses," *The Maryland Historian* 4(Fall, 1973): 19- 122. Editorial, "Calisthenics versus Competitive Games," *The Athletic Journal* XXIII (Sept. 1942): 15.

<sup>106</sup> For example, only fifty percent of high school seniors in West Virginia physically examined were declared fit the US. *The Joint Army and Navy Committee of Welfare and Recreation*, General Subject Files 1942-1946. RG 225 Box no. 1 Alden Thompson File, Correspondence to Gene Tunney, Oct. 19, 1942. Another concerned American concluded that, "the youth of America [are] soft and physically out of condition due to our easy mode of living...can be hardened. Joint Army and Navy Committee of Welfare and Recreation, General Subject Files 1942-1946. RG 225 Box no. 12 Recreation File, Albert Rosenblatt to Clarence A. Dykstra, Feb. 18, 1941, *National Archives*. A top physical educator explained there exists "an erroneous opinion that the physical quality of our man-power is very high...the modern soldier has to be athletic and almost gymnastic." Ernest Best to Henry Stimson, August 21, 1940, *National Archives* (Best was the president of Springfield College--YMCA College--the self proclaimed West Point of Physical Education); Tunney recruited heavily among tried and true

Dozen when the calisthenics group envisioned a nation of young men prepared for the rigors of war. To them the gamesmanship of football was, at best, a round-about way to achieving an acceptable standard of physical fitness and at worst a "waste of time." Tunney eventually saw the limitations of sportsmanship and in 1944 admitted "if you drop varsity sports, you are dropping something very essential to the American make-up." Sportsmanship could never dictate Gamesmanship would coexist.<sup>107</sup>

### Conclusion:

Four years after the war and 20 years after the Carnegie report, some reformers still could not tolerate what Tunney had learned to accept, the gamesmanship of "commercialism, subsidization, exploitation, bribery and proselytism." Even the sportsmanship in physical education had become much more oriented towards competitive athletics simply because of the abundance of resources—"gymnasiums and athletic fields, pools and playgrounds are as notable in sports as electric refrigerators, radios, automobiles and innumerable gadgets are in the ordinary experiences of life." Life was going to be complicated in the 1950s<sup>108</sup>

The Knute Rockne of the 50s and 60s would not even be a college coach, but one who learned from Blaik and became the leading coach in the NFL. In this way he would

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Physical Educators. Officially 97 percent of the Bureau of Personnel Training division were, particularly those over forty with higher degrees and experience. See US Navy Records of the Bureau of Navy Personnel, General Records of the Physical Fitness Section, 1942-1946. Entry No. 445 Box No.1, James Raport correspondence to John Kieran; 20 US Army Joint Army and Navy Committee of Welfare and Recreation, General Subject Files 1942-1946. RG 225 Box no. 12, Athletics Sub-Committee file, Badger Correspondence, December 1942-May 1944, *National Archives*.

<sup>107</sup> Adm. (ret'd) Thomas Hamilton in telephone interview with author, December 8, 1987, commenting on those opposing his use of football and Rominger, "From Playing Field to Battleground: The United States Navy V-5 Preflight Program in World War II," *Journal of Sport History* 12 (Winter 1985): 252-264. Tunney as interpreted and reported in "We are better Equipped," *The Athletic Journal* XXV(Nov. 1944): 19.

<sup>108</sup> This is all of concern to "those who write despairingly bout the disillusionments of modern life [and ask] can the soul of contemporary college sport be saved?" "The inner life of man today is in a confused and disordered state without the old and sure standards, the straight pathways, and the unswerving loyalties that produced in our ancestors that peace and calm they knew so well...Experience with prohibition and food rationing is not such as to make us sanguine about law and enforcement that are against the culture." Sport is entertainment and "shares in the amusement business" of radio and movies. Can either of these media be redirected for social good educating and enlightening the unwilling as long as there is a greater pecuniary interest to entertain? To ask "individuals who are the product of the forces that produced sixteen 'bowl' games," to go contrary to the business logic is to "merely profess faith in moral magic." Solution falls short. Now we can treat the social ills with the logic of modern scientific medicine with its "genius [to provide] differential diagnosis and accurate prescription." Need to go into the lab and find the unique etiology Jesse Feiring Williams, "The Crucial Issue in American College Athletics," *Journal of Higher Education* 20 (January 1949): 12, 13-14.

help chart the course of the game and become an authority figure when questioning and distrusting authority became the norm. From the late 50s on it would be the professional game that would set the standards for the college game and demonstrate how fans can enjoy the game as nothing but entertainment—the new sportsmanship. Gone would be any need to acknowledge the sportsmanship of amateurism; the discipline to win is all that would matter as long as it made money and was on its way to creating the greatest shared annual experience in American history. After five seasons under the coach who most influenced him, Vince Lombardi had learned to treat the game as Blaik did, like a general in the "war room," reviewing films, discussing strategy, diagraming the X's and O's of plays – the "missions"—and committing them to memory. But unlike Blaik and more like the enlightened military of the future, he would also prove to be colorblind and tolerant of homosexuality—a set of attitudes he would need in the 60s—*especially* if it helped him win.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Maraniss, *Pride*, 97-109, 344-5.

## Chapter 4: Celebrating Entertainment as the new Sportsmanship

1946-1970

| “[On the day that television transmission works] the whole country will join in every national procession. The backwoodsman will be able to follow the play of expression of a leading artist. Mothers will attend child-welfare clinics in their own homes. Workers may go to night school in the same way. A scientist can demonstrate his latest discoveries to those of his profession even though they be scattered all over the world.”<sup>1</sup>

~David Sarnoff (1925)~

“How can you put on a meaningful drama or documentary that is adult, incisive and probing, when every 15 minutes the proceedings are interrupted by 12 dancing rabbits with toilet paper?”<sup>2</sup>

~Rod Sterling (1974) ~

“And when the One Great Scorer comes/ To write beside your name/ It’s not whether you won or lost/ But how many paid to see the game.”<sup>3</sup>

-Anonymous rife on Grantland Rice (1950)~

“The Super Bowl is bigger than Christmas.”<sup>4</sup>

~Miami cab driver (1991) ~

Sports in Classic Rome were all about a producing a spectacle to the glory of Rome, to entertain while reminding the spectator of the raw power of the state to protect and execute judgment.<sup>5</sup> In Post-War America the sports spectacle increasingly became its own glory, its own experience with its own internal commercial logic. This spectacle was brought about in part by the introduction of televised sports in more comfortable, often indoor stadiums in which athletes were presented increasingly as highly trained entertainers, the subject of specialty magazines, and the highly aestheticized stars of NFL films. In this packaging of football the National Football League (NFL) led the collegians. The coach who most exemplified this entertainment as sportsmanship, was Vince Lombardi. His disciplined way of winning was reassuring for Americans (including President Nixon) trying to make sense of what James Patterson describes as an era of “progress through the revolution of a

<sup>1</sup> David Sarnoff, 1925 editorial *Saturday Evening Post*, cited in Daniel Strashower, *The Boy Genius and the Mogul: The Untold Story of Television*, (New York: Broadway Books, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Rod Sterling, “Willie the Shake, and the 12 Dancing Rabbits,” *New York Times*, October 26, 1974, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in Murray Sperber, *Onward to Victory: The Crises That Shaped College Sports* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1998), 35.

<sup>4</sup> A Miami cab driver excited about hosting the Super Bowl. Kevin Lamb, “An American Holiday,” *Sport* 83 (February 1992): 52-57.

<sup>5</sup> Donald G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. Vol. 5. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2014) Chapter 15.



rights-conscious civil society.”<sup>6</sup>

By the late 1960s the spectacle became a new sportsmanship—how you staged football and provided a consistent consumer experience became as important as the game itself. This culminated in the NFL’s 1969 Super Bowl III, the championship game in which the champion team of the upstart American Football League (AFL), lead by the hedonic quarterback Joe Namath, defeated the older league and merged with it a year later as previously negotiated by the PR conscious NFL commissioner Pete Rozelle. Rival American football leagues had come and gone since the 1930s but none had ever threatened the primacy of the NFL to the point where they needed to be brought into the tent. 1969 was also the year college football severed its last traditional umbilicus to the university.

In a seemingly insignificant move, after the University of Wyoming football coach handled a black player protest poorly, all coaches were ultimately cut loose from their nominal faculty appointments, relics of bygone reforms, to become independent operators in newly independent athletic departments, free to drift wherever the tides of their football fortunes took them. The spectacle and gamesmanship of college football were now, *for* all intents and purposes, following the NFL (the last collegiate holdouts: athletic scholarships and no player draft).

Immediately after World War II none of this seemed likely. An emboldened National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) proposed a “Sanity Code” that sought to standardize the athletic scholarships the South East Conference (SEC) had introduced. Though the code failed, the NCAA found a new regulatory role for itself as the negotiator of television contracts. After the televised 1958 sudden death overtime NFL Championship game, professional football finally overtook the college game in popularity. The growth of

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<sup>6</sup> James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1.

TV revenue led to college football programs' unprecedented prosperity, just as the rise of professional football seemed to relegate the collegians to "minor league" status. These "minor leagues" increasing allowed the television to frame their spectacle.

In a small, but for entertainment, significant example, female cheerleaders had participated in college games since the 1930s, but it was the American Broadcast Corporation's (ABC) sports director Rooney Arledge, who three decades later, first exploited their images during NCAA broadcasts and ABC's newly introduced Monday Night Football (1970). The colleges may have introduced stadium rituals and rallies to their big game, but it was television and the professionals who successfully commodified them into a permanent entertainment sportsmanship.

This chapter will trace the development of this sportsmanship in two periods. The Rise: 1946-1958 marks the rise of professional football as seen through Vince Lombardi, culminating in his involvement in the 1958 NFL Championship Game. 1959-1970 follows Lombardi to his successful tenure as head coach at Green Bay and then considers the cooptation and incorporation of the AFL (and Joe Namath) by the NFL, under the entertainment savvy direction of commissioner Pete Rozelle. President Nixon concludes the chapter by trying to channel the gamesmanship of football.

### **You're not bigger than football**

One late 1970 August night Marie Lombardi sat in sixth-floor room of the Georgetown University Hospital, frantically chain-smoking next to the bed of her dying husband. Two weeks earlier President Nixon had called Vince Lombardi, thanking him for what he had done for the country, "especially the younger elements."<sup>7</sup> To many Vince was the symbol of everything America seemingly needed in these troubling times: confidence,

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<sup>7</sup> William N. Wallace, "Vince Lombardi, Football Coach, Dies; Vince Lombardi, Pro Football Coach, is Dead at 57," *New York Times*, September 4, 1970, 1, 2.

drive, success, and most importantly trust in a “symbol of authority,” a “social capital” now clearly draining away.<sup>8</sup> Instead, colon cancer had stripped Lombardi of 40 pounds and rendered him unconscious. “It could be argued that Lombardi was dying at the appropriate time,” wrote biographer David Maraniss, “leaving the scene was a way for him to survive in memory as a mythic symbol, the block of granite and steadfast coach of the glorious Packers, rather than staying around to become an increasingly frustrated coach fighting for relevance in the fickle modern American culture.”<sup>9</sup> Lombardi had often stated, “there is an abuse of freedom in our society—freedom without responsibility.” Considering his deprecation of “the long hair, the sideburns and the mustached youth,” Lombardi’s last words are not surprising. That night the dying coach startled Marie by barking out a stern warning in his sleep, “Joe Namath! You’re not bigger than football! Remember that!” Marie never passed on the advice.<sup>10</sup>

The Namath warning was more than the last raving of a dying disciplinarian. Football was no longer a symbol of sacrifice to system and authority but was instead becoming America’s premiere entertainment on newer, unfamiliar terms. Entertainment was the new Sportsmanship. To players like New York Jets Quarterback Joe Namath, the hero of the Super Bowl III, who were demanding contractual free agency, more pay, and loudly inverting the virtues of traditional masculinity by sporting long hair, flashy clothing, and an array of girlfriends, all this was “A Matter of Style” (the title of his autobiography, in fact, ended up being *It Was a Matter of Style*). Namath appeared downright subversive, so confident in his new masculinity that he even shaved his legs and modeled panty hose for a television commercial, all the while mocking his own seriously damaged knees. Although he did not know it, Namath would soon find himself on President Nixon’s enemies list. He

<sup>8</sup> David Maraniss, *When Pride Still Mattered: A Life of Vince Lombardi*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 366.

<sup>9</sup> Wallace, 2.

<sup>10</sup> David Maraniss, “When Football Mattered,” *Esquire*, 128 (September 1997): 80, Maraniss, *When Pride Mattered*, 452.

was the visible symbol of an intense gamesmanship that for the first time was contained within the first sportsmanship able to do so, a sportsmanship of entertainment—football as branded entertainment. That was the genius of NFL Commissioner Pete Rozelle; he was able to repackage as the NFL as an entertainment experience. He sold football not as another sport but as an experience; not so surprising for one who defined his mission as “selling an experience.”<sup>11</sup>

Once Lombardi's death hit the front pages across the land, tributes poured in and Lombardi became an instant Rorschach test on the culture war roiling America. Army Coach “Red” Blaik, under whom Lombardi refined his skills, remembers, “Vinnie's values were the old values. He had an old-fashioned respect for God, country and authority. By modern standards...he'd be classified as a square.”<sup>12</sup> Chief Justice Warren commended Lombardi's “ability to build the kind of character we need in these times.” President Nixon opined, “his very presence was commanding...he will always hold a commanding place in the memory of this nation...the lesson all Americans can learn from Coach Lombardi is a man can become a star, when above all, he becomes an apostle of teamwork.”<sup>13</sup> The last time any sports figure had warranted such extensive coverage was the death of Rockne 40 years earlier--like Rockne, Lombardi merited immediate comments from the president, but even more impressive seemed the hold he had on the players. Lombardi defenders noted if he was such an unrelenting slave-driver as he was often portrayed then why did those who “felt his lash” the most extol the “values of life” he taught them?<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In 1961, a year after he became commissioner a Gallup poll indicated that 34 percent baseball favorite sport vs 21 percent football. By 1968 after the second Super Bowl the numbers had flipped, 36 percent for football and 21 percent for baseball. The ever media savvy Rozelle moved the NFL headquarters from Bala-Cynwyd, Pa. to the media center of the nation, New York City. Michael MacCambridge, *ESPN: Sports Century*. (New York: Hyperion, 1999), 201.

<sup>12</sup> Arthur Daley, “Sports of The Times; Some Second Thoughts,” *New York Times*, September 9, 1970, 60.

<sup>13</sup> “President Leads Tributes,” *New York Times*, September 4, 1970, 24.

<sup>14</sup> Arthur Daley, “Sports of The Times; Some Second Thoughts,” *New York Times*, September 9, 1970, 60. Lombardi had quietly applied for Notre Dame twice in 1953 and 1958, griped at the time with every passing he was passed over. Dave Anderson, “Lombardi Letters,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1985, S4. “President Leads Tributes,” *New York Times*, September 4, 1970, 24.

## THE RISE: 1946-1958

The National Collegiate Athletic Association's (NCAA) 1948 "Sanity Code," was full of post-war promise. The patriotic sportsmanship clearly evident during the war affected the results of 400 surveys from institutions susceptible to the wishful thinking that their various policies on athletic scholarships would harmonize; the NCAA boldly attempted its first legislative reform. But as Ronald Smith notes, it "was to college athletic reform what President Woodrow Wilson's 'War to End All Wars' was to world peace following World War I. Neither worked."<sup>15</sup>

Gambling came to a head though it had always lurked behind the doors of smoky bars. With the invention of the point spread in the early 1940s (as opposed to simple odds ratios) it was possible for players to rationalize shaving points off their total as long as they won. Basketball was more vulnerable since the game was more dynamic than baseball or football and played with fewer players.

In 1950 players from the national championship City College of New York team and others from University of Kentucky were embroiled in a national point-shaving scandal. Basketball had been especially vulnerable to gamesmanship and corruption when administrators, scrambling for post-war building funding, were open to the new revenue streams basketball could provide. Its costs were considerably less than football's and ticket sales revenues were still comparable. Colleges were anxious to find the largest urban entertainment venues while overlooking the baggage such spectacles often carried with potential ties to organized gambling.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Smith, *Pay for Play: A History of Big-Time College Athletic Reform* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2011), 88; Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2000), 210.

<sup>16</sup> For a comprehensive examination see Albert G. Figone, "Gambling and College Basketball: The Scandal of 1951," *Journal of Sport History* 16 (Spring 1989): 44-61; 45, 58. For a treatment of the tectonic shift in high education priorities see Thomas Bender, "Politics, intellect, and the American University, 1945-1995," *Daedalus* 126 (Winter 1997): 1-38. Periodic studies on collegiate sports from the Carnegie Foundation in 1929 to the President's Commission in 1991 all essentially conclude with a 1980 study, without any hope, "From the moment the student-athlete sets foot on campus, the name of the game is 'majoring in eligibility.'" Substantively little has changed. Cited in, Peter Levine, "Sports," in Kutler Stanley I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 4. (New York: Scribner's,

These basketball point shaving scandals, along with a West Point test cribbing scandal the same year, led to some soul-searching amidst a Red Scare. Were communist attempts at undermining America from within, getting through?

Professional football provoked no such concerns, as its gamesmanship was transparent and conventional sportsmanship not expected. Although professional football leagues came and went (Third American Football League: 1940–1941; All-America Football Conference: 1946–1949) professional football's image changed in the 1950s as promoters made a virtue out of necessity—the lack of pageantry. Popular magazines writers stopped apologizing for the pros' failings and began celebrating them as virtues. While the pros might lack a collegiate sportsmanship aura, pro football was an everyman's game, not just those with elite college ties. Lacking pageantry and spectacle, pro football was thus a highly skilled game for savvy fans without the collegiate distractions of bands and cheerleaders. As a 1960 *Life* magazine spotlight of the pros flatly asserted, “The pro alumni are far more knowing spectators than any college rooters.”<sup>17</sup>

This section will begin with a discussion of the NCAA's hopeful Sanity Code and its quick demise. But then the NCAA rebounded when television offered it the opportunity to negotiate broadcast rights and at the same time create the sportsmanship fiction of the “student athlete.” The film *Saturday's Hero* (1951) released on the heels of the collegiate scandals and in the depths of the Korean War and Red Scare, boldly took on the issue of gamesmanship but only when lashed to an inevitable sportsmanship outcome. The Cold War triggered another crisis in masculinity but unlike most other similar crises embedded in academic periodicities; historian Arthur Schlesinger raised this conspicuously and contemporaneously. This section will finally introduce Vince Lombardi, his values and his

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1996), 1776.

<sup>17</sup> Oriard, *Brand NFL*, 2 “Fans Go Ga Ga Over Pro Football,” *Life*, Dec. 5, 1960, 113; “Greetings to our Victims in Play-offs,” *Life*, Dec. 15, 1959, 93.

professional rise, first as an assistant coach at West Point during the scandal, and then as offensive coach to the New York Giants at the historic 1958 NFL championship game that proved to be the tipping point in the public acceptance of professional football.

### **A collapse of safeguards and standards**

There had been attempts to curtail under-the-table subsidization of athletes in the 1920s, but abuse only became progressively worse. The post-war GI Bill benefits finally offered colleges an opportunity to demonstrate what curing the gamesmanship beast would entail, as athletes were cushioned from the need for subsidies. That opportunity was lost when the arrangement simply expanded the ranks of athletes with those receiving subsidies and the rest their GI Bills. The result was “the closest that organized college sports came to a collapse of safeguards and standards” The “commercialism” gamesmanship of college sport, which had been denied or least rhetorically resisted in earlier years, was now longer deniable and reluctantly accepted.<sup>18</sup>

The Annual 1947 NCAA meeting once again took up the Sisyphean struggle that has dogged intercollegiate athletics from the beginning and asked, “Is it educational or entertainment?” Headlines read, “Firm Stand Urged to Stop Recruiting and Subsidization in College Sports”<sup>19</sup> The result was the 1948 proposal of a Sanity Code that “outlined the principles for the conduct of intercollegiate athletics.” Sperber suggests that code was not meant to limit athletic scholarships but rather an attempt to create a cartel and limit cutthroat competition in the bigger business that sports were becoming after the stakes had been raised during Second World War practices. But the picture was more conflicted.

<sup>18</sup> Donald Andrews, “The G.I. Bill and College Football: The Birth of a Spectator Sport,” *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance* LV (September, 1984): 23-26; Watterson, *College Football*, 202; John R. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 200. *New York Times*, January 7, 1947 Headline Sports Section. Virginia Military Institute and University of Minnesota, in the further spirit of reform, proposed a ban on bowl games which was obviously further than the NCAA intended and the proposal was consigned to a committee black hole. Sperber, *Omnard*, Chapt. 18.

<sup>19</sup> “Firm Stand Urged to Stop Recruiting and Subsidization in College Sports,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1948, 48.

according to Ronald Smith. The Purity Code was in effect for only two years until a move to oust seven code violators failed, and the code quietly died. The Southeast Conference, which had been handing out full athletic scholarships during the war as a way to remain competitive during the war as potential athletes left as part of the larger migration during the war, threatened to withdraw from the NCAA if the Sanity Code were enforced.<sup>20</sup>

### **The single biggest advertising medium in the world**

Ronald Smith estimates the crowd in attendance was probably four to five times the size of the television audience that watched first football game broadcast on television between Fordham University and Waynesburg College on September 20, 1939.<sup>21</sup> After the suspension of television development during WW II, both colleges and television networks were actually slow to capitalize on their potential relationship. From the 1946-50 Network television haphazardly broadcast sports as a cheap prime time filler, but by 1950 television production was sophisticated enough for its viewership to outdraw all live sports.<sup>22</sup>

The 1950 college season, however, marked an important shift in college football broadcasting. That year the networks began to troll for contracts with individual schools like Notre Dame and the University of Pennsylvania for the rights to broadcast their games. The NCAA severely restricted broadcasts of college football, fearing what initial reports had suggested—that broadcasts were eating into attendance figures. However, once it became clear that revenues from broadcast rights more than compensated for any losses, the NCAA loosened up restrictions. The net result was a more formidable NCAA with unprecedented regulatory powers of the broadcast purse. This came to an abrupt end in 1984, when a judge ruled that these powers were a violation of antitrust rules. This allowed a much greater

<sup>20</sup> Smith, *Pay for Play*, 90-4. Watterson, *College Football*, 209-215.

<sup>21</sup> Ronald Smith, *Play-by-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sport* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 51.

<sup>22</sup> Allen Guttman, "Mediated Spectatorship," Steven Pope and John Nauright, eds. *Routledge Companion to Sports History* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 374; Watterson, *College Football*, 265.



expansion of college football broadcasting as individual conferences and teams could not negotiate their own broadcast packages, essentially following the larger gamesmanship trend of slipstreaming the professionals.<sup>23</sup>

The professionals started with similarly modest broadcast beginnings. NBC broadcast the first televised NFL game when they carried the October 1939 game between the Philadelphia Eagles and the Brooklyn Dodgers. The same year, the first nationwide radio broadcast of an NFL championship game was carried on the Mutual Broadcasting System. The war interrupted their broadcast relationship as well, but the NFL had weak television deals that ranked behind college football and even the Canadian Football League. In the 1950s the broadcast rights of the NFL would go on to become an important property following the 1958 NFL Championship and the later establishment of the American Football League in 1960.<sup>24</sup> By 1954, there were already 32 million television sets throughout the country, CBS television's gross billings doubled in that single year, and "CBS became the single biggest advertising medium in the world." Mass-circulation magazines (*Collier's*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Look*, *Life*), within little more than a decade, would be moribund. Television was altering "the nature and balance of American merchandising and journalism."<sup>25</sup>

### **Then they kick you out like a dog**

Steve Novak, a Polish-American immigrant from a small New Jersey mill town, is the hero in *Saturday's Hero* (1951). He goes to Virginia to play football and quickly becomes a star but hears disturbing stories of teammates receiving what were then illegal subsidies. Steve was once a sportsman who loved football but through a career ending injury, he has become

<sup>23</sup> *College Football*, 268-272. Dennis Denniger, *Sports on Television: The How and Why Behind What You See* (New York: Routledge, 2012), chap. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Denniger, *Sports*, 18.

<sup>25</sup> David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 301.

a gamesman who painfully learned that “now it is a business, and you don’t get paid nearly enough. Then they kick you out like a dog.” Needless to say, in releasing the picture when it did, *Columbia Pictures* hoped it would resonate with the recent basketball point shaving scandals, West Point cheating, and the national soul searching after early losses in Korea. In a publicity release intended to provoke, the studio lectures, “It begins to be apparent that most college authorities do not wish to encourage the ideas that are put forth in this picture, i.e., that football in American colleges is a gigantic racket, that players are recruited, subsidized, given passing marks by courtesy, and discarded when they get hurt.” The fact that the film was released when it was, suggests that a ready knowledge of the worst forms of gamesmanship existed, but most fans have preferred not to watch the sausage-making.<sup>26</sup>

### Student athlete

In 1952 report, the American Council on Education (ACE) recommended a major de-emphasis of college sports along the lines of Steve Novak’s experiences. To put the A.C.E.’s proposals into practice, regional accreditation agencies agreed to police institutional compliance. The reforms might have worked. Fortunately for the NCAA at the time, Walter Byers, a brilliant PR man, had assumed control of the association and led a counterattack in a report entitled “Principles of Amateurism.” The NCAA had effectively stumbled on a “student athlete” case in 1953 when an athlete (real Steve) asked for workmen’s

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<sup>26</sup> Frank Daugherty, Special to *The Christian Science Monitor*, Aug 04, 1950. In *Saturday’s Hero* (1951) “I’m through. I can’t play anymore. I’m glad. The game I loved as a kid is all gone. It [college sports] is a business, and you don’t get paid nearly enough. Then they kick you out like a dog.” The hard business of subsidizing (and exploiting) college athletes is given atypical critical scrutiny though the film ends happily with hero bearing down on his classroom work and making something of himself without relying on football and a girl (Donna Reed) that remains true. There was a reason *Saturday’s Hero* could sail so close to the wind with uncommon portrayal of a side of sports that was much more in keeping with the darker commercial reality of sports. A pre-1960s public was prepared, however fleetingly, to see the crass and rank side of sports only when the sheer weight of gambling scandals overwhelmed the ideal. While the film *Jim-Thorpe--All-American* (1952) portrayed the gifted native American athlete Jim Thorpe more honestly--though far from complete--than the equally phenomenal George Gipp in *Knute Rockne--All-American*, it did help sanctify his buccaneer coach Glenn “Pop” Warner and assume him a place next to Rockne in the pantheon of movie coaches. In reality Warner was forced to resign after the corrupt football program at the Carlisle Indian School was investigated by the U.S. Senate and forced to shut its doors in 1918. Yet after a winning record at Temple University and a thankful alumnus founded a junior football program in his name, Pop Warner football became eponymous with character building for boys. The 1951 film only cemented his status and role the “Pop” Warner football into the little league character building game for suburban boys. cited in Sperber, *Onward*, chap 42.

compensation due him as an employee as a result of his injuries. Walter Byers crafted the legal amphibian term “student athlete” to protect universities from liabilities. The NCAA soon contractually obligated the TV broadcasters to include the box announcing the major of the “student athlete.”<sup>27</sup>

The term made college sports seem a benign, incidental, wholesome enhancement to the main business of education. Byers further ordered all member schools “to speak of ‘college teams,’ not football or basketball ‘clubs,’ a word common to the pros.” And the titles of college-sports publicists were changed to “sports-information directors,” as if those men and women were no longer professional drumbeaters, but now dispensed only the facts.<sup>28</sup>

### **The emotionally integrating force**

Some contemporaries, like Lafayette College President Ralph Hutchinson in the liberal *Christian Century*, rationalized the power of identity inherent in gamesmanship in remarkably prescient terms, apologetically framing it within a Christian realist sportsmanship:

“Through no design or deliberation on the part of any man or group of men, football has become the emotionally integrating force of the American college...It is the symbol about which are gathered the loyalty of students, faculty, alumni and friends of the college. These loyalties are to the college, to the culture for which it stands, to the ideas it embodies and the service it renders. These loyalties are, to some degree, to the very spiritual and Christian character of the college. Football is

<sup>27</sup> Murray Sperber, *Onward*, xxiii, xvi. The construct of student-athlete was soon emblazoned in all NCAA rules interpretations as a mandated substitute for such words as players and athletes. And college publicists to speak of ‘college teams,’ not football or basketball ‘clubs,’ as that word was common to the pros. Walter Byers, *Unsportsman-like Conduct: Exploiting College Athletes* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 69-70; Robert Lipsyte “In College Athletics, You Have to Follow the Money,” *New York Times*, January 27, 2002, F3. Even before the formal edict in 1953 but after the scandals of 1951 the Heisman Trophy voters, consisting of mostly sports writers already promoted student/athlete in the selection of Dick Kazmaier. This 171 lb. underweight back was one of the most unlikely winners but his selection succeeded in reinforcing an image that was mirrored in his glowing description in the *TIME* cover story. He is a “refreshing reminder, in the somewhat fetid atmosphere that has gathered around the pseudo-amateurs of U.S. sports, that winning football is not the monopoly of huge hired hands taking snap courses at football foundries.” The Spencer Agency, the premiere game program producer profitably participated in the top-down authenticity and included the student/athlete creation in its products. Stanley Woodward’s *Football Guide* the industry standard consciously went out of its way to stage a number of student/athlete photo shoots. Sperber, *Onward*, Chpt. 46, *Time* November 17, 1951, Cover Story.

<sup>28</sup> Murray Sperber, “In praise of ‘student-athletes’: The NCAA is haunted by its past,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 8, 1999, A76. Studies suggest that little has changed with athletic scholarships. At Duke, for example, they outpace academic ones at \$7250 vs \$68 per student or University of North Carolina in which school similarly provided the average athlete with 10 times the scholarship than the non athlete. Douglas Lederman, “Athletic Merit vs. Academic Merit,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* 40 (March 30, 1994): A37, All of the serious proposals, in one form or another would have cut the commercialism but none of this reasonable as long as the entertainment quality of sports continued to provide such a popular bridge to the alumni. See the never end parade for reform histories. James L. Shulman and William G. Bowen, *The Game of Life: College Sports and Educational Values*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001) James I. Duderstadt *Intercollegiate Athletics and the American University: A University President’s Perspective*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000) Andrew Zimbalist, *Unpaid Professionals: Commercialism and Conflict in Big-Time College Sports* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999) Allen L Sack, *College Athletes for Hire: The Evolution and Legacy of the N.C.A.A.’s Amateur Myth* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1998).

merely the integrating symbol about which such loyalties are rallied and through which they are integrated.”<sup>29</sup>

General interest magazines *Look*, *Colliers*, *Life*, and *Post* reflected the social universe of the college game in less lofty terms by simply focusing on its spectacle of perky majorettes, rough and tumble boys creating a world that was both "inclusive and exclusive" which by our standards of race, gender, and class as each played in integral part of the college tribe. By the mid-1950s more than half the football articles covered the NFL because up until then, professionalization was seen as incompatible with the Frank Merriwell sportsmanship values that were supposed embody football. Few Heisman trophy winners went professional before the war, though most did after.<sup>30</sup> What had changed was the appeal of gamesmanship. If professionalism meant informed, appreciative fans watching precision in action, then what was wrong with that? In fact, a 1957 *Life* article suggested professionals were mainframes; “like huge walking Univacs, their minds stuffed with intricate orders”<sup>31</sup>

By the time professional football overtook college football in the 1960s, no real reforms had been enacted. While most professors and many administrators continued to “believe that competitive intercollegiate athletics is a moderately heavy and entirely unnecessary drag on higher education,” nothing was to be done. A number of studies in the early sixties showed the abuses and suggested reforms. They were not implemented.<sup>32</sup> In the late 1980s a multi-million-dollar study commissioned by the NCAA President's Committee

<sup>29</sup> Ralph Cooper Hutchinson, "Football: Symbol of College Unity," *Christian Century* 69 (April 16 1952): 461-63; cited in Oriard, *King Football*, 14

<sup>30</sup> Articles on professional football started appear in *Colliers* and *Post* 1932 though not as covers until 1959. Professional players more likely to get profiled over the coaches than the colleges boys as lovable “football bums” And it’s controlled savagery is grown up fare as opposed to the college enthusiasm, Merriwell, though written between 1896-1913 still the trope up to the war. Oriard, *King Football*, 202, 205, 214.

<sup>31</sup> “Hefty Pros get even Heftier,” *Life*, Nov, 18, 1957, 68.

<sup>32</sup> “The Education-Athletics Nonsense: A Proposal for Severing the Connection between Higher Education and Competitive Sports,” *Journal of Higher Education* 34(December 1963): 487-90; 487. John R. Tunis. "Education and Ethics: The Effect of Organized Sports on the Moral Tone of the Nation," *Journal of Higher Education*, 32 (May, 1961), 247-251. Frank N. Gardner. "The Place of Intercollegiate Athletics in Higher Education: Hold that Tiger!" *Journal of Higher Education*, 31 (October 1960), 364-368. S. M. Marco. "The Place of Intercollegiate Athletics in Higher Education: The Responsibility of the Faculty," *Journal of Higher Education*, 31(November 1960), 422-427. Marcus L. Plant. "The Place of Intercollegiate Athletics in Higher Education: Faculty Control," *Journal of Higher Education*, 32(January, 1961), 1-8. "The Education-Athletics Nonsense: A Proposal for Severing the Connection between Higher Education and Competitive Sports," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 34, No. 9. (Dec., 1963), 487-490.

discovered unsurprisingly that college athletics do very little to build successful character. It also made some reform recommendations that too have not been implemented. The most recent (2018) athletic reform efforts have given up on trying to implement lapidarian amateurism and have instead focused on sexual violence among athletes, something that presumable<sup>33</sup>

### One of the most sinister of the present-day doctrines

Three years before he became a special assistant to the champion of vigor, President John F. Kennedy, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. expressed some concerns about American manhood and the preponderance of technological solutions. For Schlesinger the crisis of American masculinity lay with too much of “the organizational man,” a familiar archetype:<sup>34</sup>

“One of the most sinister of the present-day doctrines is that of togetherness. What has happened to the American male? For a long time, he seemed utterly confident in his manhood, sure of his masculine role in society, easy and definite in his sense of sexual identity...the achievement of identity, the conquest of a sense of self...[Sports]will do infinitely more to restore American masculinity than all the hormones in the test tubes of our scientists.”<sup>35</sup>

Presumably more football would help. As Jeffrey de Oca Montez notes in his study

<sup>33</sup> Robert Sullivan, “A Study in Frustration: A Revealing Report on College Athletics is being Ignored.” *Sports Illustrated*, June 19, 1989, 94. Conclusions of the \$1.75 million study of Athletics at the American Institutes of Research commissioned by the N.C.A.A.’s President’s Commission. 4,000 students at 41 Division I schools were surveyed. Some of the conclusions: 1.) Football and basketball players full quarter Grade point Average below other athletes who are themselves a quarter below non-athletes. 2.) Among Blacks, 58% in last SAT quartile as opposed to 19% non-blacks. Black comprise 4% of student bodies surveyed, yet 37% of football teams and 56% of basketball. 3.) 12% of football and basketball exhibited some form of psychological, physical, alcohol or drug-related or academic problems against 4% non-athletic population. 4.) athletes are more uptight, anxious, learned less transferable skills and expressed less joy in participation. These anxieties are even more acute among blacks. The recommendations include cutting practice time and a spring training season limit to one semester, avoiding competition during exam time. For three decades, Sportswriter Rick Telander’s straight forward solution is to allow professional sports to compete with colleges for players out of high school and if necessary associate farm teams with colleges “Something Must Be Done.” *Sports Illustrated*, October 2, 1989, 92-110; Theresa Walton-Fisette, “Sexual violence and collegiate athletics: US federal law, adjudication and the media spotlight,” *Journal of Criminological Research, Policy and Practice* 4, no. 1 (2018): 30-45. Dionne L. Koller, “Sports, Doping, and the Regulatory Tipping Point,” *Marquette Sports Law Review* 26 (2015): 181.

<sup>34</sup> The theme running through these works on the “Organization Man” was the increasing and total power of organizations in regimenting and conforming middle class men not only in their work habits but also in their suburban lifestyles. See John Kenneth Galbraith’s, *American Capitalism* (1952), Sloan Wilson’s *Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955) William H. Whyte Jr.’s *Organization Man* (1956), C. Wright Mills’ *The Power Elite*, (1956), and Vance Packard’s *Status Seekers* (1959). Though some intellectual disappointment in the masses can explain Riesman’s *Lonely Crowd*, it can’t explain William Whyte’s largely sympathetic, *The Organization Man*. Veterans had been part of profoundly group-oriented socializing experiences: first in war, then in school and student housing and finally in permanent housing and work. Best captured by Sloan Wilson’s *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955) “a socially useful hero who renounces individual ambition.” Peter Watson, *The Modern Mind: An Intellectual History of the 20th Century* (New York: Perennial, 2001), 445.

<sup>35</sup> There was serious concern with “momism” first in 50s and even more in the 70s giving expression to the serious crisis in masculinity as such, but not as in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.’s, “The Crisis of American Masculinity,” *Esquire* 51 (November 1958): 64-66. Accessed Jan 2, 2019. For a Ngram “Momism” frequency see <http://tinyurl.com/momism-masculinity>. Schlesinger first published the article as part of a cover story in *Esquire* in 1958 and later included in *The Politics of Hope* (Cambridge Press, 1962), 237-46, cited in Jesse Berrett, “Feeding the Organization Man: Diet and Masculinity in Postwar America,” *Journal of Social History* 30 (Summer 1997): 805-825. A Symposium addressing American malaise similarly blamed affluence. “What’s Wrong-What’s Right with Today’s America,” *US News & World Report*, February 22, 1960, 60-79.

“how football during the early Cold War participated in producing masculine citizens,” the rise of professional football is often explained in terms of the violent tendencies of the sixties coupled with the power of television. But why, he asks, did the game arise at the end of fifties when the remaining national magazines such as *Colliers*, *Saturday Evening Post* were presenting a softer, all business image of professional players who also were portrayed as weekend waterfront toughs? Montez suggests a sportsmanship of "sanctioned savagery" was increasingly acceptable and necessary “within rationally ordered systems and according to prescribed sets of action and behaviors.” This was “unlike most of the Cold War patriotic pageantry” because their “real use value [was] in fulfilling a need for expression, contact, and camaraderie (tribal gamesmanship) while at the same time that they created an internal system of regulation (sportsmanship) consistent with the needs of state and a broader system of exchange.”<sup>36</sup> Only in the 1960s would college pageantry enter the professional football where it would be amplified in ways only professional entertainers could. The one man who made it possible while simply focusing on winning was Vincent Thomas Lombardi.

### **W-O-R-K | P-L-A-Y**

When Vincent Thomas Lombardi was born into a Brooklyn family in 1913, a Catholic education was the only realistic route for upwardly mobile second-generation Italian Americans. Young Vince was impressed with the meaty finger tattoos his father, who owned Brooklyn Butcher Shop, sported. W-O-R-K left hand | P-L-A-Y right hand. Although his father intended that the two messages remain distinct, for his son they eventually became fused under the heat of his Jesuitical schooling. In fact, Vince created a trinity for life that many Americans would instinctively be drawn to the 1960s: religion, family, and sports.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Jeffrey de Oca Montez, *Discipline and Indulgence: College Football, Media, and the American Way of Life During the Cold War* (Rutgers University Press, 2013), 130.

<sup>37</sup> Subject of a 2010 Broadway play *Lombardi* is a play based on the David Maraniss biography the last year before the 1965, as LOOK Magazine Report Michael McCormick is trying get at Lombardi's gamesmanship. David Maraniss, *When Pride Still Mattered: A Life of Vince*

To father Lombardi's the initial dismay, Vince was drawn to the physical demands of football. In both in St. Francis High School and Fordham University he displayed a schizophrenic intensity in classroom work and football play. He was an absolute gentlemen in the classroom, but a terror on the ball field, where his drive to win gained him a starting guard position despite his unexceptional abilities and compact size (5'8", 180 lbs).<sup>38</sup>

Lombardi's education was built on a Jesuitical scholasticism and moral certitude in which right-as-rain character development was paramount. Repetition, discipline, clarity, and faith would "subsume the individual to a higher good," stated the Jesuit ethics textbook written by Lombardi's Fordham professor, Ignatius Wiley Cox, which Lombardi adopted "as the bedrock of his value system."<sup>39</sup>

In 1932 Lombardi enrolled at Fordham, a Jesuit University, the same year Jim Crowley, the "most versatile and colorful" of the 1924 Grantland Rice Horseman along with an All-Notre Dame staff, arrived. Through Crowley, Lombardi learned that despite the flashy appearance of Rockne football, it was actually perfected through blocking and tackling fundamentals. After graduating in 1936, he coached football at St. Cecilia's Academy in Englewood, New Jersey, where he was the first to successfully graft the new T-formation onto what was becoming his monomaniacal devotion to precision and fundamentals and the conviction that losing was moral failing.<sup>40</sup>

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*Lombardi* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 16. The most recent biographies of Lombardi have moved increasingly away from the hagiography of the past and focused particularly on the Jesuitical influence in Lombardi's work and play ethic. Michael O'Brien, *Vince* (NY: Morrow, 1987) and "In search of Vince Lombardi: A historian's Memoir, *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 71(Summer 1987): 3-6, present the most critical portraits of Lombardi. The rest of the biographies are mostly hagiographic, e.g.: John Norwood Fago, *Vince Lombardi* (West Haven Conn: Academic Industries, 1984); Gene Schoor, *Football's Greatest Coach: Vince Lombardi* (NY: Doubleday 1974.); Les Etter, *Vince Lombardi: Football Legend* (Champaign Ill.: Garrard Pub., 1975); Ted Zaleski, *Vince Lombardi--He is still with us* (Chicago, Children's Press, 1973); Julian May, *Vince Lombardi* (Mankato, Minn: Crestwood House 1975); Dave Klein, *The Vince Lombardi Story* (NY: Lion Books, 1971), O'Brien, *Vince*, 32, 40, 42.

<sup>38</sup> Maraniss, *Pride*, 19, 33, 245, 377.

<sup>39</sup> As Crowley would remind them, "Short, snappy, thorough drills are the key to a successful campaign...no loafing, no halfhearted effort, no indifference either mental or physical but hard, aggressive, brainy work from the beginning to end." Jack Newcombe, "Nothing-to-Nothing: Fordham vs. Pitt was Football's Finest Hour," Robert Smith, ed. *The Grantland Rice Award Prize Sports Stories* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1962), 251.

<sup>40</sup> Lombardi researched the formation thoroughly, wrote to Shaughnessy and to anyone else who could provide him an edge. He quickly realized that the quarterback would be central in the command chain. O'Brien, 66. Lombardi was not above occasionally using Rockne-like tactics. The provocative and nasty letters that an archrival Brooklyn Prep sent a newspaper made excellent locker material. It didn't matter



After a brief stint as freshman coach at Fordham, Lombardi was brought to West Point by Coach “Red” Blaik at its post-war zenith.<sup>41</sup> To put it mildly, “life at West Point suited Lombardi” and he was strongly influenced by Blaik and his hero/friend, number one Army football booster General Douglas MacArthur who soon became Lombardi’s by extension.<sup>42</sup> Blaik taught Lombardi how to strip the complexity of football down to its essentials similarly to what the Jesuits had done with ethics. Blaik was one of the first to exploit the repetitious and exacting time and motion features of game films and left no detail uncharted. With a scholastic devotion to detail, Blaik plotted the movement of every player, in every position, in every play, in every game, hoping to puzzle out deeper patterns and tendencies. Once he was convinced he had, he assigned Lombardi and the other assistants to “scrimmage the basic plays more than 100 times a piece.”<sup>43</sup>

Blaik taught Lombardi the power of loyalty to institutional authority shrouded in a code of silence. In maintaining a rigid public exterior, Lombardi belied the private flexibility later he showed his own gay brother and the antics of his star player, Paul Hornung, at Green Bay. In the fall of 1950 that code of silence was tested as West Point honor code violations in a massive cheating scandal were revealed. 37 members of the football team along with 23 other athletes were implicated in receiving test questions in advance from their

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in the end that all of it was fabricated by Lombardi because the boys were duly aroused and won. Maraniss, *Pride*, 78, 80-81.

<sup>41</sup> Army had earned two national championships 5 Eastern titles and compiled a 57-3-4 record. From 1944-1950 Army consistently fielded the best college team in the country, not only because Coach Blaik was “a perfectionist who considered superior performance normal” but because of the afterglow the favorable recruiting arrangements of the war and the peacetime draft had made possible. Lombardi was “influenced most by his father and Blaik, both authoritarian perfectionists” who embodied what the Jesuits taught. Maraniss, *Pride*, 100.

<sup>42</sup> When MacArthur was famously relieved of his command for insubordination by one year into Lombardi’s apprenticeship, both Blaik and MacArthur not only took solace in the public outcry that ensued and but also huddled even closer around their weekly private game films screenings. A wide-eyed Lombardi assisted, methodically gleaning MacArthur material he would later use to buttress his motivational speeches in the 1960s. Years later aphorisms as, “If you can walk you can run,” “be proud and unbowed in defeat yet humble and gentle in victory....master ourselves before we attempt to master others...learn to laugh, yet never forget how to weep,” would be credited by Lombardi to MacArthur. In reality what he quietly learned most from MacArthur was the power of mastering details. During World War II one of the few diversions MacArthur allowed himself was the following the exploits of the national championship 1944 army team. MacArthur, sitting in his favorite chair in his vintage grey army bathrobe with a varsity letter sown onto it, analyzed the minutia of every play and player in every game at regular private screenings. MacArthur typically commented that football was, “more in accord with the development of tactics of actual combat.” See extensive letter correspondence in the West Point Archives, cited in Maraniss, *Pride*, 103, 145.

<sup>43</sup> Those were the principles of war that became Blaik’s principles of football for legends who followed: Lombardi, Hayes, Michigan’s Bo Schembechler, Tennessee’s General Bob Neyland and Notre Dame’s Lou Holtz. They took Blaik’s methods to heart and the supreme top-down authority figures: commanders, yellers, tough, drop-down-and-give-me-50 men who saw honor in military service and character in strict militaristic disciplines. O’Brien, 188. Maraniss, *Pride*, 143, 344. The largest sign posted on Army locker room wall read: “What you see here. What you say here. What you hear here. Let it stay here. When you leave here.” Maraniss, *Pride*, 324.



tutors. Though Coach Blaik was never directly linked, it seems highly unlikely that a coach so detail oriented could not have been at least been an accessory.<sup>44</sup> A year later, after all the sordid details were formally revealed, the inroads Senator McCarthy claimed Communism was making in undermining the nation from within seemed all the more plausible.<sup>45</sup> Americans seemed to have lost their moral bearings. First, the profiteering in shaving points at national basketball tournaments and now test cribbing at the military Academy.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the shock was greater because amateurism and sportsmanship were still the norm. In 1950 there was a total of 42 professional franchises in all sports. By 1971 that number had more than doubled to 87, by 1980 to 102, and by 2018 there were over 150 sports franchises.<sup>47</sup>

### The greatest game ever played

Lombardi coached the 1958 NFL championship game [fondly remembered as "The Greatest Game Ever Played," the first NFL playoff game to go into sudden death overtime,](#) [which](#) was played in New York's Yankee Stadium between the NY Giants and the Baltimore on December 28, a date that will live [forever](#) in fan insanity. Lombardi was on the sidelines as the offensive coach for the New York Giants. It would be last time the NFL championship game would go to overtime for almost 6 decades until 2017 in Super Bowl LI,

<sup>44</sup> Sperber and others conclude after examining documents only first accessible under the Freedom of Information Act, that Blaik must have known about the cheating and that other West Point privately harbored similar suspicions perhaps explaining the fact Blaik is the only academy football coach without a building named after him despite repeated efforts in his behalf. Sperber, *Onward*, chap. 38. The typical concerned Editorial, cautioned of the creeping professionalism and fixed games about gamesmanship. "The New Year" *The Athletic Journal* XXVIII (September. 1947): 26. Former Louisiana State and University of Washington President Harold Stoke reacted by writing to a national audience in *The Atlantic Monthly* that "big-time college athletics is now a major part of the entertainment business," and that the student half of the athlete is merely going "through the motions." In an equally scathing, more memorably indictment, the President of Georgetown University, Father Guthrie, explained the rationale behind his school's decision to drop football in the *Saturday Evening Post*. "It is a big business exploiting a small number of 'students' for the benefit of paying spectators, It forms no part of an honest education system....It has as much reason to subsist on the campus of an educational institution as a night club or a macaroni factory." *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1954, *Saturday Evening Post*, October 20, 1951 both cited in Sperber *Onward*, chap. 47.

<sup>45</sup> A *Christian Science Monitor* commentary intoned, "When the morals of man are considered we are halted by the astonishing retreat of the 20th Century with its excess of divorces, its broken homes, its emphasis on Homosexuality, its acceptance of moralistic Marxism in wide areas that were so recently Christian, its avoidance of faith, honor, dignity, sacrifice. We need to know why are people are not outraged at the shameless corruption of our century. Something as gone terribly wrong with us and we need to know what it is and why it has happened." "Nations Morals are the Issue in Scandal at West Point," *Christian Science Monitor*. August 9, 1951, Cited in Maraniss, *Pride*, 132, 120.

<sup>46</sup> "The [West Point cheating] scandal touched off a nationwide discussion on honesty in American life. The profiteering of the Korean War, bribery in college basketball [and Truman administration scandals] had shaken the nation, but they all paled beside the cheating at the Military Academy. Nothing ever illustrated quite so clearly how high was the pedestal on which public place West Point as the reaction to the scandal." Stephen Ambrose et al. *Duty, Honor, Country: The History of West Point* (Reissue, John Hopkins Press, 1999), 318.

<sup>47</sup> Peter Levine, "Sports." in Kutler Stanley I. Ed. et al. *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 4. (New York: Scribner's, 1996), 1773. Accessed July 10, 2018. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Major\\_professional\\_sports\\_teams\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_States\\_and\\_Canada](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Major_professional_sports_teams_of_the_United_States_and_Canada)

when the New England Patriots finally slipped past the Atlanta Falcons, in. The game got off to a sloppy start as New York linebacker Sam Huff forced a fumble while sacking Baltimore's Johnny Unitas on their first drive. The Giants eventually took a 17–14 lead early in the fourth quarter, missed a 46 yard field goal, enabling a succession of Unitas passes for 62 yards to set up the game tying Baltimore 20 yard field goal. The Colts then beat the Giants, 23-17, with Lombardi watching closely as Alan Ameche's 1-yard plunge took the NFL and professional football over the goal line to mainstream popularity. In less than a decade there would be an almost 75 percent increase in viewership. Wellington Mara, an owner of the Giants, told Pete Rozelle years later, “the reason pro football took off was because that game happened just at that time, in that season, and it happened in New York.”<sup>48</sup>

### THE CONQUEST: 1959-1969

The year before Lombardi took the job as head coach at Green Bay in 1959, the team had won only 1 of their 12 games. In his first year, he led them to 7 wins. The following year, he led the Packers to the NFL championship game. Under Lombardi, the Packers went on to win the NFL championship in 1961, 1962, and 1965, and the Super Bowl in 1967 and 1968. Lombardi moved to the Washington Redskins in 1969 and died a year later. During his professional career, Lombardi won 74 percent of his games, earning

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<sup>48</sup> 45 million people watched the televised game and the numbers may have been greater were it not blacked out in the greater New York City area, nevertheless it was clear that the NFL had a winning entertainment product on its hands. A year later, Texas billionaire Lamar Hunt who previous attempted to buy an NFL franchise, but was cut out, formed the American Football League (AFL), which began play with eight teams in the 1960 season. The growth of the popularity of the sport, through franchise expansion, the eventual merger with the AFL, and popularity on television, is commonly credited to this game, making it a turning point in the history of football. Oriard, *King Football*, 215. Richard Sandomir, The ‘Greatest Game’ in Collective Memory,” *New York Times*, Dec. 4, 2008, B11. Frank Litsky, “There Were Better Games. None More Important.” *New York Times*, December 16, 1998, D3; Gary Mihoces; “Where it all began '58 title game turns nation's eyes to NFL,” *USA Today* December 23, 1998, 01C. In fact, 12 players and three coaches in that game were elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame. The players are Unitas, Donovan, Gino Marchetti, Raymond Berry, Jim Parker and Lenny Moore of the Colts, and Gifford, Huff, Roosevelt Brown, Andy Robustelli, Emlen Tunnell and Don Maynard of the Giants. The coaches are Weeb Ewbank, the Colts' head coach, and Vince Lombardi and Tom Landry, the Giants' coordinators. “CBS was the paragon of professional football broadcasting,” notes Arledge. “Ray Scott was its voice, and it treated every game as if it were played in a cathedral.” “How we got here,” *Sports Illustrated* August 16, 1994, 35-75. 41.

one of the best records among NFL coaches.<sup>49</sup>

The 1960 CBS documentary, “The Violent World of Sam Huff,” treated professional football as a tedious, painful workplace. By 1967, thanks to standards pioneered by NFL Films, football looked and sounded much different on television than it had in 1958, with the aestheticized beauty and violence of a nature film. NFL Films succeeded in amplifying every game to epic proportions, celebrating the sport’s soaring, spectacular aspects while ignoring its earthbound physical toll, and muting the individual players’ ability to capitalize on their images.<sup>50</sup>

In 1968 when President Nixon promised to restore order to a troubled nation he oftentimes turned to his favorite sport and coach, football and Vince Lombardi, as models. The NFL, with the help of television, had recently surpassed the collegiate game (which had passed baseball) in popularity to become the most popular spectator sport. Its championship game, the Super Bowl, was becoming the most popular American spectator event and commercial venue. Yet these were dangerous times.

Michael Oriard notes that similar conditions existed in the early 1890s when college football made similar leaps in popularity as a counterweight to the demasculinizing elements of 1890s, 1920s, and 1950s. This appeal was apparent in the subsequent rise in televised sports. In 1960, 5 percent of all network programming was sports. Since 1990 nearly 20 percent of broadcasts were sports, and all-sports cable channels such as ESPN have flourished.

A creative review of 80 years of professional football by a team of Sports Illustrated writers suggests that the most momentous event of 1960s football actually took place off the field, in a hotel conference room. This was the almost Papal-like, multiple round selection of

<sup>49</sup> Maurice Isserman, and Kazin, Michael. *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960's* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21.

<sup>50</sup> “Violent World of Sam Huff,” CBS *The 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Oct 10, 1960. Accessed July 10, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wKeAX9rmzBk>

commissioner Pete Rozelle. He helped elevate the NFL to an entertainment brand by merging with an upstart American Football League (AFL) and establishing the Super Bowl championship game with them, along with sustaining and expanding the brand by creating and consolidating NFL Films, NFL Charities, and NFL properties.<sup>51</sup>

Commissioner Pete Rozelle and the NFL were not the first to transmute gamesmanship into sportsmanship through patriotism--“They learned how to play the super patriot game from Earnie Seiler, the impresario of college football’s Orange Bowl from 1935 through 1974, where he reigned as the entire football world’s king of pious and patriotic kitsch.” The NFL first acquired Seiler’s services to stage the second Super Bowl in Miami, then again in 1969 and 1971 when the game returned there. In a way, “the Orange Bowl simply exported Bible Belt piety and Dade County politics to a national TV audience” and then amped it up to the NFL. All that Rozelle cared about was that the Super Bowl helped brand the NFL with “traditional American values.”<sup>52</sup>

This section will examine rise of both Lombardi and Rozelle: Lombardi as the consummate gamesman and Rozelle the sportsman of the spectacle. It will then examine Rozelle’s partnership of convenience with American Broadcasting Corporation’s (ABC) sports director Roone Arledge. It will then relate the merger with the AFL and interpret the meaning and appeal of Joe Namath’s persona and the success of Super Bowl III in creating the modern, spectacle rich NFL. It will conclude with President Nixon’s furtive attempts to connect with Americans through football.

About the time Rozelle was installed as NFL commissioner and Federal Communications Chairman Newton Minow famously decried the “vast wasteland”

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<sup>51</sup> Peter King, Paul Zimmerman, Austin Murphy, Michael Silver, “The Path to Power,” *Sports Illustrated*, August 30, 1999; 76-86. The rest of the salient moments going back to the 20s are: The 20s: Grange puts pro football on the map; The '30s: The seed for a title game is planted; The '40s: The Bears roll out the T formation; The '50s: The upstart Browns crash the party; The 60s: The Boy Czar strikes television gold.

<sup>52</sup> Oriard, *King Football*, 332-335, 220; Oriard, *Brand NFL*, 22; G. Beato, “It’s a Whole New Ballgame,” *Business 2.0*, January 21, 2001, 47.

American television had become, Daniel Boorstin described its facile appeal in a manner that helps explain why sports are able to harness its emotional and entertainment capacities so well:

"We risk being the first people in history to have been able to make their illusions so vivid, so persuasive, so realistic that we can live in them, Americans were increasingly held to others not by a few iron bonds [such as religious and political affiliations], but by the countless gossamer webs knitting together the trivia of their lives."<sup>53</sup>

And it was Rozelle who helped create the greatest gossamer webs of trivia in American history, with not a complaint to be heard.

#### 414 Park Avenue

When commissioner Bert Bell died in 1959, he left behind an NFL that was an underexposed league operating out of a four-person office in suburban Philadelphia consisting of 12 teams with a dozen agendas. After 10 days of acrimony and 22 ballots, the owners finally agreed on a compromise candidate, the 33-year-old general manager of the Los Angeles Rams, Pete Rozelle. He followed his public relations instincts and promptly moved the headquarters from the backwaters of blue-collar Philadelphia to a swanky 414 Park Avenue Address in Manhattan where it now occupies 11 floors close to its wine and dine ad agency and the television executives it began to actively court.<sup>54</sup>

In order to sell this upgrade, Rozelle he had to convince franchise owners, some of the sharpest elbowed megalomaniacs in the business world, that the move to NY was a necessary extravagance. In the pre-Rozelle era clubs cut their own TV deals. The new

<sup>53</sup> Newton N. Minow, "Television and the Public Interest," delivered 9 May 1961, National Association of Broadcasters, Washington, DC, Accessed Jan 2, 2019. <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/newtonminow.htm>. Newton Minow famously described network as "a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, Western badmen, Western goodmen, private eyes, gangsters, more violence, and cartoons. And endlessly, commercials—many screaming, cajoling and offending. And most of all, boredom." "Excerpts from Speech by Minow," *New York Times*, May 10, 1961. Minow's primary interest was to promote television for the "public interest" eventually the mission of PBS. Accessed Oct 34, 2016. <http://www.pbs.org/program/newton-minow-american-story/> Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: Or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 25th anniversary ed edition, 1987), 38. 148.

<sup>54</sup> The owners opted for this well-scrubbed wunderkind for one reason. "They all thought they'd be able to control him," says Schramm, who was one of Rozelle's closest friends. But Rozelle soon demonstrated that beneath his handsome tan and genial smile was a surprising amount of steel. Jerry Izenberg, *Rozelle: A Biography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), chapt. 4.

commissioner's top priority was to persuade the owners of big city teams to divide the television windfall evenly among all the owners. Even though that sounded a lot like socialism to them, they agreed.<sup>55</sup> Rozelle then lobbied the US Congress to pass the Sports Broadcasting Act in response to a court decision, which ruled that the NFL's previous method of negotiating television broadcasting rights violated antitrust laws.<sup>56</sup> While it was important for the Boy Czar, as he became known, to establish his authority as commissioner (a kind of sportsmanship with its own internal dynamic within the management of the league) that was merely a backdrop for what turned out to be his most important work: wedding his league to that great American pastime--television (another sportsmanship).

By 1963 Rozelle realized that in order to brand the NFL it had to have a consistent look and feel. To that end he hired the first director of creative services with whom he controlled every visual element associated with the league, including the budding sports apparel business. This included NFL Properties as well as NFL Films, perhaps the most effective propaganda organ in the history of corporate America.<sup>57</sup>

Then Rozelle made another sportsmanship decision. When Lombardi's star Paul Hornung was caught in the gambling net, along with standout Alex Karras of the Detroit Lions, Rozelle fined and suspended them both for a season, thereby successfully establishing

<sup>55</sup> Paul Attner; "The Power of Persuasion," *Sporting News*, December 20, 1999, 10-11. Rozelle was a Kennedyesque "young energetic visionary" velvet glove in an iron fist. Halas learned as much early in Rozelle's tenure. In 1962 Halas broke a league rule and was summoned from Chicago by Rozelle to NFL offices in New York City. Halas suggested that Rozelle meet him at LaGuardia Airport. Came the stern reply, "I'll see you in my office at 10 o'clock, Monday morning" Papa Bear did as he was told and Rozelle fined him \$1,000. Maraniss, *Pride*, 323-4.

<sup>56</sup> Ya-en Hsiao, *The Political Economy of Football in America: The Marriage of Network and Professional Football* (MA thesis, California State University Fresno), 17; see "Broadcasting, Advertising, Antitrust. Sports Broadcasting Act (US, 1961) 1961-78," in Richard F. Sharp, *Index of Corporate America: a historical bibliography. Guide to Business History Resources, Business Reference Services*. Science, Technology, & Business Division Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 1232. <http://lcweb.loc.gov/catdir/toc/becites/83-12232.idx.html>. For a legal assessment of the desirability to free access to sports broadcasting see Phillip M Cox, II, "Flag on the play? The Siphoning Effect on Sports Television," *Federal Communications Law Journal* 47(April 1995): 571-92.

<sup>57</sup> "NFL Remembers Promotions Pioneer," *USA Today*, February 1, 1999, 06 C. Dave Boss served as director for three decades in which he and Rozelle developed the graphic quality-control standard for the NFL, a first in professional sports marketing, and helped launch its licensing and promotions programs along with NFL's logo; numerous NFL and uniforms; and NFL Photos, the first league-owned sports photo archives, and NFL Films the private film contractor whose every frame of film Rozelle and Boss apparently reviewed. This branding paid off when he became commissioner. The average price for a club franchise was about \$1 million. When he resigned the average had increased 140 fold. Throughout his career Rozelle dealt successfully with complicated financial negotiations for players and owners and television rights, while also confronting drug and steroid scandals and increasing litigation. by commissioning systematic and sound legal research, Wallace, 2.

his even-handed control. Lombardi was informed of the decision in advance and was sad to agree.<sup>58</sup>

By 1962 it was clear that television and football were made for each other. The narrative of the time still focused on the professionalism of skill. "Football, as the pros go at it, is a game of special brilliance, played by brilliant specialists.... Action piles upon action, thrill upon guaranteed thrill, and all with such bewildering speed that at the in the end the fans are literally limp...No other sport offers so much to so many."<sup>59</sup>

### Winning isn't everything

Because Lombardi and his Packers had already won three NFL championships in a row (1960-62), Rozelle used him to promote successful pro football in setting up speaking tours and Lombardi initially grudgingly complied, though he found it quite lucrative over time.<sup>60</sup> Over the years many versions of Lombardi's most famous gamesmanship aphorism have accumulated: "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing." Lombardi's first utterance in an April 8, 1962 Milwaukee speech was actually qualified: "Winning isn't everything, trying to is." But perhaps because of the gamesmanship he came to represent, Lombardi's original never stuck.<sup>61</sup> Shortly before he died Lombardi told reporter Jerry Izenberg, "I wish to hell I'd never said the damn thing. ... I sure as hell didn't mean for people to crush human values and morality."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> William N. Wallace, "Pete Rozelle, 70, Dies; Led N.F.L. In Its Years of Growth," *New York Times*, December 7, 1996, 1, 2; Maraniss, *Pride*, 340; Denniger, 167.

<sup>59</sup> Austin Murphy, "The Path to Power," "The 60s: The Boy Czar strikes television gold."

<sup>60</sup> "The entire Family," *Time*, December 21, 1962, cited in Maraniss, *Pride*, 324.

<sup>61</sup> In the 1953 film *Trouble Along the Way*, the daughter of John Wayne's character, the driven football coach Steve Williams, is the first documented expression of the now eponymous Lombardi phrase: "winning isn't the everything, it is the only thing." In her discussion with Miss Singleton (portrayed by Donna Reed) a social worker with an increasingly romantic interest in her father, young Carol explains, "Like Steve says, 'Winning isn't everything thing, it's the only thing.'" And yet this hard bitten win at all costs venality of the coach is cushioned by his fatherly devotion to daughter in an ugly custody fight and a school his trying to pull up out of a financial morass. The genealogy of the aphorism can be traced further back to screen writer Melville Shavelson's Hollywood agent who distinctly remembered the phrase as that characteristic of another client he represented, Henry Red Sanders, a colorful UCLA football coach. Sanders was a friend of Nashville Sportswriter Fred Russell and his mentor Grantland Rice. Sanders was a hard-bitten Rice of sorts, with a similar affinity for shop-worn clichés. But his, in contrast to Rice's mawkish aphorisms, were intended to motivate players and exasperate sportswriters by sardonic intimidation. Russell recalls Sanders regaling his players at Columbia Military Academy with the phrase in the mid-1930s. Maraniss, *Pride*, 367-9. Jesse Berrett, *Pigskin Nation: How the NFL Remade American Politics* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 191.

<sup>62</sup> Berrett, *Pigskin*, 185.

Lombardi learned to accept his celebrity and soon had his own, as-told-to book, *Run to Daylight!* (1963). In it he was able to convey his ideal self-portrait, with W.C. Heinz chronicling a composite week in his life. Heinz portrayed Lombardi as a meticulous craftsman, civic fixture, family man, educator, philosopher, psychologist: a sensitive soul doing what was necessary to win a violent game. Football is a sport “through which you find self-expression,” he said, and his job was simply to bring his players face-to-face with their fullest sportsmanship potential: “They call it coaching, but it is teaching.”<sup>63</sup> In November, while Lombardi’s book went through the first of 23 printings, the normally sure-footed Commissioner Rozelle made what he later considered to be the biggest mistake on the job: he did not cancel the Sunday games two days after the assassination of President Kennedy. He had called his college buddy, Pierre Salinger, also Kennedy’s press secretary, and Salinger recalls telling Rozelle “this country needed some normalcy, Jack would have wanted you to play the games.” Nevertheless, Rozelle made it his greatest mea culpa.<sup>64</sup>

### **They call it pro football**

Perhaps Rozelle’s most important branding and marketing decision was the 1964 acquisition of independent filmmaker Ed Sabol’s *NFL Films*, which pioneered the celebratory made-for-television documentaries about the league. *NFL Films*’ productions, which were featured on various segments and programs throughout the year, transformed the league’s players and coaches into the participants of epic sagas, “legends of autumn” who partake in “cruel rites of manhood” on the “one-hundred-yard universe” of professional football. These films changed how football, and sport in general, are represented and imagined while setting high entertainment standard for contemporary sports media. Rozelle

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<sup>63</sup> Maraniss, *Pride*, chap. 17.

<sup>64</sup> Davis, *Rozelle*, 224.



understood this.<sup>65</sup>

In 1967, the week after premiere of the classic *NFL Films* “They Call It Pro Football” Rozelle called Ed and son Steve Sabol to his Manhattan office and showed them the most recent Nielsen ratings. Football was still trailing professional baseball and college football though the gap was closing. Rozelle charged them “[i]n order for the NFL to grow and flourish, we have to succeed on television. And in order for us to succeed on television, we need to create an image for the game, a mystique. And the film I just saw can help us to create that mystique.”<sup>66</sup>

### The sprezzatura

At the 1972 Republican Convention when children, asked about their heroes, placed Namath the quarterback just behind Flipper the dolphin and Richard Nixon the president<sup>67</sup>, Namath's college coach, Alabama's Bear Bryant, correctly predicted that Namath was “going to make more money than any quarterback who ever lived.”<sup>68</sup> The prediction was a reasonable one given the bidding war that had broken out between the NFL and the free spending AFL in 1964. Namath was the immediate beneficiary, landing a record \$427,000 three-year contract the following year with the NY Jets. Namath was extremely athletic and had perfected an exceptionally quick release; even Lombardi had to admit that (and their public approach to football was diametrically opposed). His knees, however, were so

<sup>65</sup> In 1962 for \$3000 amateur filmmaker Ed Sabol negotiated the exclusive rights to film the professional games and NFL Films!™ was born. This small fly-by-night operation involved Sabols' son Steve who brought a surprisingly wide aesthetic repertoire to the productions. Visual elements from *Duel in the Sun*, in which Gregory Peck is framed in a tight 178 hand shot at the end of the film as well as Claude le Louche's active camera on the beach in *Man and a Woman* soon found their way into the 30 minute films which became the premiere record of the NFL experience. This Grantland Rice and War Documentary combination was styled after the popular World War II *Victory at Sea* music score remembered by Steve as a combination of “jazzed up Sousa” “Peter Gunn” kicky campfire songs. Borrowing from popular culture—the recent WWII film the *Longest Day* in 1965, Sabols' report of the arctic Green Bay-Dallas play off game became “the Longest Game.” Maraniss, *Pride*, 330, 334. As an art major Steve was inspired by his favorite artist, Joseph Cornell and his fascination with the “unassociated bits of ephemera in boxes and married it with the thing that interested him, football.” In 1969, in the anti-authoritarian spirit of the times, Steve introduced the first game bloopers (now one of the most popular features) against strenuous opposition of his father. Travis Vogan, *Keepers of the Flame: NFL Films and the Rise of Sports Media* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 2. *Tight on the Spiral*, New Jersey Network Production, 2000.

<sup>66</sup> Berrett, *Pigs,kin*, 192, cited Travis Vogan, *Keepers of the Flame: NFL Films and the Rise of Sports Media* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 127.

<sup>67</sup> John Bloom, “Joe Namath and Super Bowl III: An Interpretation of Style,” *Journal of Sport History* 15 (Spring 1988): 68; Tom Callahan, “America's Supersymbolism,” *US News & World Report*, January 28, 1991, 60.

<sup>68</sup> Mark Kriegel, *Namath: A Biography* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 83.

damaged he had already had multiple operations before his mid-twenties.<sup>69</sup>

Namath played the part of a 20<sup>th</sup> century *sprezzatura*, the persona of a 15<sup>th</sup> century Italian courtier who maintains the air of “a certain nonchalance...[that] makes whatever one does or says appear to be without effort and almost without any thought about it,” or to translate that into football celebrity-speak, “since you’re going to win anyway, you might as well do it in style”<sup>70</sup> There is a certain sportsmanship (how you play the game) bravura to that kind of confident inevitability especially in masking the constant pain Namath would have to endure.

Namath’s persona was also right, in that Ian Fleming’s ultra-suave James Bond, who, according to Neil Gabler, was a suburban fantasy writ large who had superseded the archetypal taciturn male, John Wayne.<sup>71</sup> Fleming created his hero in a time which “required finesse as well as strength, sophistication as well as moral certainty, wit as well as bravado.” Though these were hardly *attributes* accepted by conservatives who early on denounced these qualities as “the sadism of a schoolboy bully, the mechanical two-dimensional sex-longings of a frustrated adolescent, and the crude snob-cravings of a suburban adult.”<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> His biographer lists 28 separate categories of injuries, Kriegel, 504.

<sup>70</sup> As Castiglione wrote in the eponymous *The Book of the Courtier*, “I have found quite a universal rule...and in all human affairs whether in word or deed: and that is to avoid affectation in every way possible as though it were some rough and dangerous reef; and (to pronounce a new word perhaps) to practice in all things a certain *sprezzatura* [nonchalance], so as to conceal all art and make whatever is done or said appear to be without effort and almost without any thought about it.” Harry Berger Jr., “Sprezzatura and the Absence of Grace,” *The Book of the Courtier: The Singleton Translation*. Ed. Daniel Javitch. (New York: Norton, 2002), 295-307. As Paul Zimmerman, then a *New York Post* beat writer, recounted Ewbank’s game film showed Oakland tackle Dan Birdwell firing a bolo punch at Namath well after he’d thrown a pass. “Birdwell hit Namath as hard as he could,” Zimmerman said, “right in the balls.” Davis, *Rozelle*, 331.

<sup>71</sup> 1995 all time favorite star, “one ideal of manliness and a very powerful one.” Yet a contradiction, a football hero who spent all of one season with the U.S.C. varsity, mostly on the bench; the cowboy who avoided horses except on the set. The war hero who finagled way out of war to stay out of uniform during World War II, estrangement with from John Ford held in contempt the anti-red who waited until 1948 to see which way the political winds ultimately would blow. David Gergen Dialogue, “John Wayne’s America: The Politics Of Celebrity interview with Garry Wills,” *Lehrer News Hour*, PBS Broadcast March 20, 1997, Transcript. Garry Wills, *John Wayne’s America: The Politics of Celebrity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997) For a more traditional biography which downplays the inconsistencies between Wayne’s person and persona see, Randy Roberts and James S. Olson, *John Wayne: American* (The Free Press, 1996).

<sup>72</sup> Neal Gabler. “Male Bonding,” *Modern Maturity*, Jan-February 2000, 54. Conservative British journalist/historian Paul Johnson was not smitten. In his 1958 Statesman review of Dr. No. which he described as, “without a doubt the nastiest book I have ever read,” he accused Fleming of conjuring up “all unhealthy, all thoroughly English [ingredients]...the sadism of a schoolboy bully, the mechanical two dimensional sex-longings of a frustrated adolescent, and the crude snob-cravings of a suburban adult.” Cited in James Chapman, *License to Thrill: A Cultural History of James Bond Films*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 4. Perhaps, but academics have long since sought to divine the archetypal Bond. He has been, among others, interpreted as “a Nietzschean for the Cold War.” Although not quite an heroic Übermensch feeding off the authenticity of socially sanctioned risk, Bond came close enough as the, “literal enactment of Zarathustra’s proclamation that, ‘The devotion of the greatest is to encounter risk and danger and play dice with death.’” Bond also embodies other concepts dear to Nietzsche such as the agonistic spirit and, “existing...in an eternal present...Bond’s physical style signifies mastery in the ways in which it conveys the sense that mastery has never even been an issue. He has always had it,... it was always already

Namath's autobiography says essentially the same thing in its title, *It's a Matter of Style*.<sup>73</sup> Namath took a stoic delight in never letting opponents know how much damage they had actually inflicted on him, smiling and laughing even after his jaw was broken in one particularly vicious game, and emerging tuxedoed later that evening, spending a swollen, purple-faced night on the town. The respect opponents expressed for Namath's insouciance could have been those that Bond's nemeses had for him.<sup>74</sup>

### The Deal

It all went back to 1960. Oilmen Bud Adams and Lamar Hunt, tired of having their requests for an NFL franchise rejected, set up their own American Football League (AFL). It was the raw interests of owners as profit-driven entertainers, mediated by a TV producer

Roone Arledge, who had worked with both leagues, which eventually brought the whole package together and the final merger between the two leagues. Such a shotgun marriage was something that none of the NFL's previous competitors had been able consummate.<sup>75</sup>

Amidst an expensive player bidding war, and despite the scheming *agent provocateur* AFL commissioner Al Davis, the owners of both franchises and Rozelle could see the entertainment writing on the wall. Since it was a clear anti-trust violation, the merger had to get an exemption from Congress which involved plenty of horse trading—most notably Rozelle's promise to Louisiana Senator Long that New Orleans would be awarded the next

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there." Thomas Vinciguerra reports that the 50th anniversary of Fleming's first Bond novel, "Casino Royale," was marked by an academic symposium entitled "The Cultural Politics of Ian Fleming and 007" at Indiana University in Bloomington, the repository of Ian Fleming's papers. The whole academic exercise of reading Bond, however can become overly precious as was the discussion of product placement in the Bond film franchises with this overwrought conclusion. "Whatever this product consists of, then, it carries a metaphorical chain of deterritorialized signifiers, repackaged up and down a paradigmatic axis of associations, slid down the discursive conveyor-belt." "Thus Spake 007: From Übermensch To Psychosexual Fetish Object," *New York Times*, July 13, 2003, F2.

<sup>73</sup> Initially it was just a matter self-promotion before Namath realized he was at the forefront of a larger trend. This is reflected in his first title. Joe Willie Namath and Dick Schaap. *I Can't Wait Until Tomorrow...: 'cause I Get Better-looking Every Day* (New York: Random House, 1969) Style also counts cars, clothes and women. Hefner's playboy ethos. Joe Namath, and Oates, Bob Jr. *It's a Matter of Style*. (Boston: Little Brown, 1973), 4, 11, 16, 56-7, 58.)

<sup>74</sup> Namath arrived at a time of "historically specific competing styles of masculinity" "the young jet-set consumer." This kind of new masculinity," traditionally effeminate tastes in clothing and hair, shirking responsibility if affordable: "a blow against a system of social control that operates to make men unquestioning and obedient employees." Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1983), 115, 170; Ben Davidson who had administered a helmet-jarring hit on Namath that was captured in a widely published photograph that grace many sports bars for years, "I never thought we got to Joe... That was the beauty of Joe, God bless him." Kriegel, 225

<sup>75</sup> "How we got here" *Sports Illustrated*, August 16, 1994, 42.

NFL expansion team, which it was in 1967--the Saints. Congressmen from high school-football-crazed regions spearheaded a law forbidding the NFL from playing on Fridays.

"Thus, Monday Night Football was born," claims Kansas City Chiefs coach Hank Schramm, "because we had no place left to go"<sup>76</sup>

Earlier Rozelle had had to fend off a potentially crippling lawsuit in an appeal by the Davis led AFL, as well as avert Congressional antitrust legislation. Only then did he succeed in 1966, in negotiating a merger of the two leagues, setting the stage for the first AFL-NFL championship game in January 1967, something the fans from both leagues were clamoring for. Roberts and Olsen, in their survey of Gamesmanship in American sports, note that Rozelle reminded the owners they were first and foremost entertainers and "it was not their duty or responsibility to safeguard the special character, structure, and rituals of the sports world." That is celebrating entertainment as the new sportsmanship.<sup>77</sup>

### **Take the fan to the game, not the game to fan.**

The wunderkind who would take the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) from relative obscurity to a dominant position in the industry was television executive Roone Arledge. He did this by first elevating sports and later the news divisions to new levels of production. The first person to ever head two major network divisions at the same time, this young ABC sports and later news director, operated under the simple principle, "Take the fan to the game, not the game to fan." That is what later would be called an immersion experience in the business.<sup>78</sup>

The best way to characterize their entertainment courtship is to say Rozelle moved

<sup>76</sup> Although CBS and NBC turned up their noses at the concept of football on Monday night--"What? Preempt The Doris Day Show?" asked an incredulous CBS executive--ABC took a chance in 1970. Dave Anderson, "Rozelle's Own Story Is The Best," *New York Times*, December 7, 1996, 31.

<sup>77</sup> As owner of the Oakland *Raiders* Davis would become Rozelle's arch nemesis in the years to come. That is quite a lot coming from in a stable of Prima Dona owners. Davis' most egregious violation was bucking NFL franchise rules and moving his team multiple times in search of profits, setting off a wave of illegal relocations by other owners. Davis, *Rozelle*, 106, chap. 16. 225-230. Randy Roberts and James Olsen, *Winning Is the Only Thing: Sports in America Since 1945* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 110-15. 111.

<sup>78</sup> Michael Lewis, "Pete Rozelle: He hooked us on football as show biz and gave Sunday (and Monday) a new kind of religious significance." *Time*, December 7, 1998, 188-190.

sports towards [television](#), [Arledge](#) moved television towards sports, and eventually there was a marriage. Television changed the entire sports landscape, the pay scales, number of teams, the color of the uniforms, and the way athletes and sport is perceived. Arledge was written about in almost breathless biblical terms at his retirement.<sup>79</sup>

In one case this is entirely deserved. Interviewed by *Sports Illustrated* in 1966, well before the Super Bowl and Monday Night Football became civic rituals, Arledge shared what turned out to be a remarkably prescient vision of an entertainment synergy in a title that says it all: "Its Sports...It's Money....It's TV." Media Historian Steven Stark has characterized this interview as "one the more perceptive pieces ever written about television." Arledge already understood that [the industry](#) had [to](#) "[s]ell the whole experience. Get the audience involved emotionally. If they didn't give a damn about the game, they might still enjoy the program." Gone was the pageant-free NFL. Arledge believed in attempting to bring the AFL to the level of the NFL, broadcasters were "making a silk purse (high scoring offense) out of sow's ear (no defense)." Yet in 1966, neither Rozelle nor Arledge could have foreseen what Namath would do for the AFL. And he could not, did not, predict the Super Bowl phenomenon. At best, maybe there would be some kind of "manufactured championship, [that ABC] would put up anything to get." And finally, with preternaturally prescient advice that all the breathless post-industrial prognosticators of salvific cyber technology should have heeded 30 years later, Arledge maintained [that](#) "the biggest problem...is becoming enchanted with [y]our own gadgetry."<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Arledge and circled each other uneasily. Arledge was furious when he learned that he and ABC fell short of McPhail and CBS by just \$900,000 a year. "I don't like being snookered," Arledge wrote. "I couldn't prove it, then or later, and Pete Rozelle has vociferously denied it, but I was sure he had 'leaked' my doubleheader discovery to Bill McPhail, a longtime crony of his with whom he shared a Long Island summer house and who just happened to be the president of CBS Sports." Jeff Davis, Rozelle, (New York: McGraw-Hill Professional Publishing, 2007), 241. When the American broadcast community honored Arledge at his retirement after 30 years as sports director and simultaneously 20 years as news director at ABC, he might as well have been Moses who led sports and news into the "klieg-lighted land of milk and money," "Roone Arledge," *Sports Illustrated*, September 19, 1994 54-8. Lori Robertson, "Life after Roone at ABC News," *American Journalism Review* 20 Jul/Aug 1998: 9, 65; "The thrill of victory" *Broadcasting & Cable*, June 8, 1998, 74. Richard Zoglin, "ABC ya, Roone," *Time*, March 17, 1997, 64-66.

<sup>80</sup> Roone Arledge shared an appreciation of the spectacle worthy of Leni Riefenstahl. In 1960 he asked ABC engineer Bob Trachinger if it

Rozelle was simply pragmatic and appreciative after introducing an Arledge idea:

"There was something special about the spotlight hitting the players when the starting lineups were announced. It created a different aura than day football. It was decidedly more dramatic."<sup>81</sup>

### **If Jesus were alive today**

The initial appeal of the first two AFL-NFL championships was unremarkable. In mostly full stadiums, Lombardi's NFL Green Bay Packers teams had dominated the first two contests, even though local supermarkets, in some cases, had been handing out free tickets for weeks. By 1974 things had changed so much that televangelist Norman Vincent Peale decreed, "If Jesus were alive today, he would probably be at the Super Bowl." Christ is not alone. The cachet of merely attending the Super Bowl "happening" became an exclusive executive status symbol and ritual.<sup>82</sup> Indeed the ability of the game to "celebrate idealized structures of reality in a ritual manner [so as to] bridge a social dialectic of fantasy and reality," or just plain create a shared experience, is not lost on scholars and advertisers.<sup>83</sup>

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would be possible to replay a tape in slow motion. They tested it in the Boston College | Syracuse game later that year and football coverage has never been the same, leading eventually to instant replay and play reviews. In a now-famous 1960 memo laying out his vision of transformed NCAA-football coverage, Arledge promised that, "we will have cameras mounted in jeeps, on mike booms, in risers or helicopters, or anything necessary to get the complete story." This included slow motion, isolated cameras, doubled the number of cameras over a third of which were dedicated to shots of the stadium wandering where the fans eye's would, "the pretty girl in the next section. the coach one sidelines, the substitute quarterback warming up." Close up sound would be followed by camera angles with the use of "rifle-type microphones." Steven Stark, *Glued to the Set: The 60 Television Shows and Events That Made Us Who We Are Today* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 131, 133. Roone Arledge with Gilbert Rogin. "Its Sports...It's Money....It's TV," *Sports Illustrated*, April 25, 1966, 97. Dave Berkman, "Long before Arledge ... Sports & TV: The Earliest Years: 1937-1947--As Seen by the Contemporary Press," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 22 (Fall 1988): 49-53.

<sup>81</sup> Arledge could get caught up in his quest for shiny objects. Arledge, an avid Safari hunter on the scale of Roosevelt (he claims to once have held the world's record for a cape buffalo bagged in Kenya) was so taken by the exotic that in Wyoming, as Sportscastrer Curt Gowdy relates, he was sincerely looking to shoot and mount his own, "Jackalope", the subject of novelty postcard tourists send back home along with two level outhouses. "The Jackalope Hunter," *Sports Illustrated*, April 25, 1966, 94.

<sup>82</sup> Michael Real, *Mass-Mediated Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, J: Prentice Hall, 1977) p. 103; Kevin Lamb, "An American Holiday" *Sport* 83 (February 1992): 52-57; David I. and William J. Kertzer, "The Super Bowl's Strange Tribe," *TV Guide*, Jan. 25, 1992, 2-7. By 1995 the broadcast rights for a Super Bowl had sky-rocketed to over \$1.1 billion where they have remained since. Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 205, By 2000 costs had risen to \$12.8 billion for rights to broadcast all NFL games through 2005, Bill Carter, "Networks' Huge Football Bet Yields Must-See TV for Men," *New York Times*, January 31, 1999. Kevin Lamb, in "An American Holiday," *Sport*, February 1992, 52-57 chronicles how the Super Bowl through sponsorship has transcended mere entertainment and become an event in and of itself offering spectators value and status beyond any mere game. "Most of all, businesses made the Super Bowl the place of choice for rewarding their best salesmen and most loyal clients. They did it with parties and excursions that led up to the game. Some of the most exclusive entertainment has gone on in tents at the game site since Super Bowl XIV at the Rose Bowl. They made Super Bowl tickets a status symbol on a par with Rolexes and Jaguars." 56.

<sup>83</sup> Lawrence Wenner, "The Super Bowl Pregame Show: Cultural Fantasies and Political Subtext," in Lawrence Wenner, ed. *Media, Sports and Society* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989), 158-159, 177.

## Vice President Lombardi

By 1967 Lombardi had won the first of his two AFL-NFL Championship games when he gave a keynote address before the American Management Association convention in Philadelphia. That speech spawned the seven points he included in almost every address after that. He had honed his message down to a general theme that two years later, would set him diametrically and philosophically opposite the sprezzatura Namath. "I think the rights of the individual have been put above everything else...The individual has to have respect for authority regardless of what that authority is." Perfection, as the Jesuits had taught him, is never completely attainable but always worth assiduously striving for. That's winning.<sup>84</sup> The message was so compelling that the candidates from both political parties were asked to consider putting him on the ticket for Vice President in the upcoming 1968 election.<sup>85</sup> That both AFL and NFL football meant more to many Americans than annual family movie broadcasts and the Apollo space program soon became clear.

A week and a half after the election on November 17, NBC automatically

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<sup>84</sup> The speech was always the same and included seven points. 1. Football is Life: "The game most like life, 100 percent elation, 100 percent fun when you win, the demand attracts a 100 percent resolution, 100 percent determination when you lose...the Spartan qualities of sacrifice, self-denial, dedication and fearlessness." 2. American Competitive Drive: "willingness to compete," was increasingly lacking among young people. Here's where Lombardi recycled his encounters with MacArthur and Blaik. Lombardi quoted MacArthur, "Competitive sports keeps alive in all of us a spirit of vitality and enterprise. It teaches the strong to know when they are weak and the brave to face themselves when they are afraid. To be proud and unbending in defeat, yet humble and gentle in victory. To master ourselves before we attempt to master others. To learn to laugh, yet never forget how to weep, and it gives a predominance of courage over timidity." 3. Excellence: "A man's personal commitment to excellence." Perfection, as the Jesuits had taught Lombardi, is never completely attainable but always worth assiduously striving for. "All of the display, all of the noise, all of the glamour, and all of the color and excitement, they exist only in the memory. But the spirit, the will to excel, the will to win, they endure, the last forever." 4. Freedom over Authority: We live in an age in which there is too much freedom and not enough authority. Throughout most of the 20th century, "we individuals have struggled to liberate ourselves from ancient traditions, congealed creeds and despotic states. Therefore freedom was necessarily idealized against order, the new against the old, and genius against discipline. Everything was done to strengthen the rights of the individual and weaken the state, and waken the church, and weaken all authority. I think we all shared in this rebellion, but maybe the battle was too completely won, maybe we have too much freedom. Maybe we have so long ridiculed authority in the family, discipline in education, and decency in conduct and law that our freedom has brought us close to chaos." (This was taken directly from Father Cox the ethics lecturer at Fordham and his textbook, *Liberty: Its Use and Abuse*. 5. Lack of Discipline: there was a lack of disciplined leadership in the country. "It could be that our leaders no longer understand the relationship between themselves and the people they lead. While most shout to be independent [they] at the same time wish to be dependent, and while most shout to assert themselves [they] at the same time wish to be told what to do." 6. Leaders are Made: not born and they learn love. "The love I'm speaking of is loyalty, which is the greatest of loves. Teamwork is the love that one man has for another and whom he respects, the dignity of another. The love that I am speaking of is charity...Heart power is the strength of your company. Heart power is the strength of the Green Packers. Heart power is the strength of America." 7. Character: this was gleaned 30 years after Lombardi sat in Father Cox's class. "Character is an integration of conduct superimposed on temperament. It is the will exercised on disposition, thought emotion and action." Summarized in Maraniss, *Pride*, chapter 23.

<sup>85</sup> As later related by Attorney General John Mitchell, Vince was a serious prospect until they discovered his "political credentials were wrong." Maraniss, *Pride*, 446. Vince was also recommended to Democratic Presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey by David Carley who replied the idea was 'interesting' but that "Vince didn't have any strength among the Democratic Party regulars," O'Brien, *Vince*, 321.



interrupted a regular season game between the AFL New York Jets and Oakland Raiders with its heavily promoted, annual broadcast of the family movie “Heidi,” just as the Raiders were mounting a 42-33 come-from-behind victory. Thousands of angry fans called newspapers, police and fire departments after they overwhelmed the broadcast stations and network telephone exchanges. In the broadcast industry it quickly became known as the notorious “Heidi Game,” and NBC installed open line “Heidi phones,” so that network personnel could never again fail to communicate between broadcast centers. But CBS had to learn a similar lesson the hard way when, on December 23, 1968, it interrupted a playoff game between the NFL Baltimore Colts and the Minnesota Vikings to cut to a live transmission of the Apollo 8 astronauts on their historic circumnavigation of the moon. CBS reported almost 2000 complaint calls with variations of, “How dare you interrupt the game?” According to the network spokesman, one frustrated caller hoped the astronauts “never came back.”<sup>86</sup>

### **Weird because both Nixon and I enjoyed it**

The election would take place in one of the most pivotal years in American history, for 1968 was the year that Americans lost their trust in authority, something they have not regained since.<sup>87</sup> Former Vice President Richard Nixon ran as the Republican law and order

<sup>86</sup> All future NFL broadcast agreements would stipulate that all game telecasts be shown to their conclusion and other sports leagues adopted similar mandates. In 1997, the Heidi Game was voted the most memorable regular season game in pro football history. “Shades of ‘Heidi!’ Astronauts Eclipse Title Game on TV,” *New York Times*, December 23, 1968, 54. “Why ‘Apollo 8’ and ‘Heidi’ angered football viewers 45 years ago,” accessed November 24, 2015, <http://sportzedge.com/2013/12/16/why-apollo-8-and-heidi-angered-football-viewers-45-years-ago/>.

<sup>87</sup> The standard question of trust is consistent tracked and polled as “Do you trust the government to do what is right most of the time?” <http://www.people-press.org/2017/12/14/public-trust-in-government-1958-2017/>. Only once since 1968 (after 9/11) have the majority of Americans answered yes. 1968 was a tipping point and the Tet Offensive ground zero. Where years of war protests had yielded only a disapproval rate locked at 28 percent while opposed nearly twice as many approved, one month after Tet, pro and contra were evenly balanced at 40/40, with rest undecided. When on the early morning hours of January 30<sup>th</sup> 1968, 19 communist commandos punctured the protective wall around US Embassy in Saigon South Vietnam, they conspicuously attacked the most prominent symbol of US presence and set off the Tet Offensive. A month later the US policy in Vietnam smoldered and the Secretary of Defense who had micromanaged the entire Vietnam Operation resigned just shy of a nervous breakdown. On February 28, 1968, after CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite reported on his recent trip to Vietnam to view the aftermath of the Tet Offensive, he concluded, “To say that we are close to victory today is to believe, in the face of the evidence...” In his June 1968 television special, *Who, What, When, Where, Why*, Cronkite listed Tet and several other current military operations as “draw[s]” and chastising American leaders for their optimism, Cronkite advised negotiation “...not as victors, but as an honorable people who lived up to their pledge to defend democracy, and did the best they could.” This set off a maelstrom. “[I]t was the first time a war had been declared over by an anchorman,” wrote David Halberstam. “Lyndon Johnson watched and told his Press Secretary George Christian that it was a turning point, that if he had lost Walter Cronkite, he had lost Mr. Average



(Lombardi) candidate and so his shared love of football with Hunter S. Thompson, the “gonzo journalist” reporter, was all the more remarkable. Hunter, sympathizing with, and looking every bit the part of a [society's](#) protestor, recalled a revealing interview he was able to snag from Nixon at the end of all long, tired day on the campaign trail in New Hampshire in early 1968—under Nixon’s condition they only talk football. In a limo, “there were only two of us in back: just me and Richard Nixon, and we were talking football in a very serious way...It was a very weird trip; probably one of the weirdest things I've ever done, and especially weird because both Nixon and I enjoyed it.” Thompson gained the “powerful impression” that Lombardi was “the only man in America that [Nixon] viscerally respected.” He recounted his amazement that Nixon wasn't just talking about football but that he seemed to have a "genuine interest" in the game, and Thompson often cited the encounter as further evidence of how Nixon's every public maneuver was politically calculated even if it hid his true self.<sup>88</sup>

### **I don't have to answer to anyone**

Playing football did not protect you from finding yourself on President Nixon’s eventual "enemy list" of dangerous citizens. When it was revealed in June 1973 that Namath was the only sports figure on Nixon's list, Namath's response was "It's a little crazy."<sup>89</sup>

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Citizen. Cited in Steven Stark, *Glued to the Set: The 60 Television Shows and Events That Made Us Who We Are Today* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 128. By the late 1990s most scholarship arrived at similar conclusions. Jeffrey Record, *The Wrong War. Why We Lost in Vietnam*. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998), Orrin Schwab, *Defending the Free World: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and the Vietnam War, 1961-1965* (Westport Praeger, 1998) Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), Jeffrey Kimball, *Nixon's Vietnam War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998). Daniel Hallin "The Turning Point That Wasn't Changes in American Views on the Vietnam War were Building Long Before Tet," *Media Studies Journal* "1968" 12 (Fall 1998); 101. This divisive them was only reinforced at the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Robert Snyder, ed. *1968: year of media decision* (New York: Routledge, 2017). “America is moving out of Vietnam after the longest and most divisive conflict since the war between the states. There as been a sharp decline in respect for authority in the United States as a result of the war--a decline in respect not only for the civil authority of government, but also for the moral authority of the schools, the universities, the press, the church and even the family.” James Reston, "War Leaves Deep Mark on U.S.," *New York Times*, January 24, 1973, 1.

<sup>88</sup> “Whatever else might be said about Nixon-and there is still serious doubt in my mind that he could pass for Human-he is a goddamn stone fanatic on every facet of pro football. At one point in our conversation, when I was feeling a bit pressed for leverage, I mentioned a down and out pass-in the waning moments of the 1967 Super Bowl mismatch between Green Bay and Oakland-to an obscure, second-string Oakland receiver named Bill Miller that had stuck in my mind because of its pin-point style and precision. He hesitated for a moment, lost in thought, then he whacked me on the thigh and laughed: ‘That's right, by God! The Miami boy!’ I was stunned. He not only remembered the play, but he knew where Miller had played in college.” Hunter Thompson, *Fear and Loathing: On the Campaign Trail '72* (New York: Popular Press, 1973), 60-1

<sup>89</sup> Rick Telander, *Joe Namath and the other Guys*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 65. 25 years later Namath relates discovering

Namath should have realized that when he commented "the Only Perfect Man who ever lived had a beard and long hair and didn't wear shoes... I'm not comparing myself to him...but I'm just saying that you don't judge a man by the way he cuts his hair," he was inviting trouble.<sup>90</sup> Joe Namath had arrived at a time of "historically specific competing styles of masculinity [as] the young jet-set consumer, Namath didn't start out to be a cultural leader" he was simply a someone in the limelight asking the same question most people were, "with the old rules crumbling and the future wide open, what are we going to make of ourselves?"<sup>91</sup> And regarding his long hair and white shoes, he answered as a sprezzatura would: "I didn't have to answer to anyone and the shoes were a lot of fun...playing football is the same way I want to be in daily life. I want to be smooth. I want to operate with no excess motion or disturbances. It's a matter of style." That too was part of the Bond-like image. Just don't let them see you work and shill everything from Ovaltine to pantyhose. There was no shame for Namath. Shame was "only in not getting paid." Yet his book, *It's a Matter of Style*, is a study in disciplined precision, revealing a football work ethic almost identical to Unitas'.<sup>92</sup>

In reality Namath was an emotionally guarded figure whose hipster image was less

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he was on the list. "I don't know how that happened. I was at my boys' football camp in Connecticut in 1973, and all these calls started coming in from everywhere....from journalists in London and Paris. What did I think about being on the enemies list? I still don't know how I got there. Maybe the long hair...the image." Leigh Montville, "Off Broadway Joe." *Sports Illustrated*, July 14, 1997, 80. John Dean offers a plausible explanation. Since Namath was incorrectly affiliated with the New York Giants on the list, in all likelihood an over zealous staffer heard Nixon denouncing Namath and then placed him on the list as Nixon would not make that mistake. Kriegel, chap. 42.

<sup>90</sup> "The Only Perfect Man who ever lived had a beard and long hair and didn't wear shoes and slept in barns and didn't hold a regular job and never put on a tie. I'm not comparing myself to him--I'm in enough trouble trying to stack up against Bart Starr--but I'm just saying that you don't judge a man by the way he cuts his hair." Lipsyte, 69-70.

<sup>91</sup> John Bloom, "Joe Namath and Super Bowl III: An Interpretation of Style," *Journal of Sport History* 15 (Spring 1988): 64, 68.

<sup>92</sup> Namath, *Style* 11, 56-7. In reality Namath quietly and systematically "worked at his craft" that "the timing was perfect." "Joe has thought out his moves both on and off the field." According to teammate Matt Snell, "People talk about Joe partying, but he had to spend a lot of time watching films and going over game plans." In fact Namath quietly kept a projector in his apartment "the one eyed monster" which watched hours of game films in single sittings. Kriegel, 234-5. Although Namath may be associated with a hippy abandon marketed to the suburbs and the malls. Namath actually distinctly middle class products marketing popcorn poppers or Ovaltine! to the kids, panty hose and typewriters to pink collar workers. long hair, mustaches and white shoes once considered subversive now of middle class casual. The man in the gray flannel suit is "ablaze in neon now" this is the Namath effect all played out in llama rugs, alcohol, women, crying in public and when he wore pantyhose for a commercial. Martin Ralbovsky, *The Namath Effect* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976), 27; Kriegel, 294-5, 358. never defiant of authority just finding the soft spots. never the defiant hippy as portrayed. long haired hedonist but it was carefully groomed never rock but subdued pop, played golf and sipped blended scotch. Me generation of the 1970s not the politicization of the 60 commerce not social justice was his thing. Kriegel, 287; Joe Namath and Bob Oates, Jr. *It's a Matter of Style*, (Boston: Little Brown, 1973). Often over-looked is the two thirds of the book which is actually a technical guide devoted to Namath's unique application of centrifugal force to his passing game.

rebellious or liberating than it appeared to be. Nevertheless, he was role model for many imitators--“out of Namath came all the others.” Of the three B’s (Broads, Booze, and Bombs) the booze was the most systematically underreported. The public never knew the extent of the pain Namath had to endure and how much he came to depend on alcohol to unwind and medicate. James Reston was spot on in his cultural placement of Namath’s gamesmanship:

"He is something special: a long haired hard-hat, the anti-hero of the sports world. He is a significant symbol because he is following the contemporary notion that anything that is success is right. He defies the old-fashioned rules. He's not...arguing sports, religion and the breakfast food of champions is the same thing. He doesn't even attempt to conceal his alcoholic habits unlike Babe Ruth or Walter Hagen of the past who were forced to. Joe Namath is not only in tune with the rebellious attitude of the young, but he doubles it."<sup>93</sup>

### The Super Bowl III Guarantee

Before Super Bowl III, in which Namath and his Jets represented the AFL, he ratcheted up the game, beginning with an unsportsman-like, deprecatory technique pioneered by the boxer Mohamed Ali. Namath did not offer the customary praise of his counterpart (Baltimore Colts quarterback Johnny Unitas, still playing ten years after “the greatest game”) before the game and instead used an oblique dismissal, the first famous white athlete to do so. “Unitas is an old man. He's over the hill.” Although this was certainly tame by the 21st century sports entertainment business standards, it was unsettling in the late 60s.<sup>94</sup> It was this dismissal of Unitas that then escalated to Namath’s famous guarantee of

<sup>93</sup> Cited in Martin Ralbovsky, *The Namath Effect* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976), 7-8. Namath was a negative yardstick. In praising his revered FBI, Hoover said: "You won't find long hair or sideburns à la Joe Namath here. There are no hippies in the FBI." Bachelors III tied Namath to some reputed mob figures; FBI director J. Edgar Hoover had a Namath dossier in the FBI files. Kriegel, 200; Christian Red, “On Broadway,” *New York Daily News*, August 11, 2004.

<sup>94</sup> But Namath paid the Sprezzatura price. His afterlife, like that of most athletes, never measured up. He wasn't a great businessman. He was bitter about making so much less money than today's players and bitter that the N.F.L. turned down his disability claim. He had two artificial knees and a worthless right hand that could not hold a phone or cup of coffee. Unitas paid the price as well. "I have no strength in the fingers...I can't use a hammer or saw around the house. I can't button buttons. I can't use zippers. Very difficult to tie shoes. I can't brush my teeth with it, because I can't hold a brush. I can't hold a fork with the right hand. I can't pick this phone up. You give me a full cup of coffee, and I can't hold it." Sam Farmer. “Johnny Unitas 1933-2002; A Crew Cut Above; Pro football: Quarterback known for his leadership helped bring in the modern era with Colts in 1958 championship game victory.” *LA TIMES* September 12, 2002. D.1. Stephen J. Dubner, “The Steel-Town Quarterback,” *New York Times Magazine*, December 29, 2002, 38-40.

Jets victory. In sharp contrast to Namath, always in uniform with a crew cut and black high tops, Unitas made a paternal promise of his own, "We'll just have to give them a little spanking."<sup>95</sup>

In a classic set piece Namath and his New York Jets were the 18-point underdogs in "Super Bowl III" (officially so christened two days prior). In Toronto, media guru Marshall McLuhan, looking for an example of his electronic "global village," found it in the shared entertainment experience of watching Namath. [He commented](#), "The world is a happening. In the speed-up of the electronic age, we want things to happen. This offers us a mosaic that the fans love—everything is action at once."<sup>96</sup>

The Jets had a 16-0 lead by the beginning of the 4th quarter when Johnny Unitas, who had sat out most of the season with an elbow injury, came out onto the field in his black high tops to administer his spanking. Unitas led the Colts to a touchdown, but it was too little and too late and the game ended New York 16 Baltimore 7. One of the abiding images of professional football and its entertainment qualities is Joe Namath running off the field, index finger waving number one, a gesture mimicked by adolescent males ever since.<sup>97</sup> What the celebrants could not know was that it had taken five different syringes of Novocain and Prednisone cocktails per knee, just to keep Namath moving throughout the game. The alcoholism that caught up with him later in life was the price he had to pay in

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<sup>95</sup> Three days before the game Namath stood up at an awards banquet in Miami Springs, Florida and said, "We're going to win this game. I guarantee it. I guarantee we will beat the Colts." Since Namath had been offering one version or another to reporters all week while sober only a small number of papers even reported it before the game as a minor byline. Only after the game was "The Guarantee" broadcast and enshrined along with Babe Ruth's fabricated "Called Shot" home run of the 1932 World Series. As Namath and participating reporters later told talk show host Larry King, while Namath's guarantee was seen as arrogant and overbearing, his guaranteed victory not self-initiated but rather the end of a series of questions elicited by the reporters. Larry King, *Tell it to the King*. (NY: Random House, 1988), 87. Kriegel 297-299. Namath was of course media-wise enough to know he was taking the bait. Frank Litsky "Johnny Unitas, N.F.L.'s Genius of the Huddle, Dies at 69," *New York Times*, September 12, 2002, C11. "With his crew cut and high boots and stiff-armed passing, he was a symbol of a bygone era." As John Mackey, who played tight end for the Colts, said, "It's like being in a huddle with God." Kriegel, 205; John Bloom, 65-66, 70, 72.

<sup>96</sup> Cited in Kriegel, *Namath*, 278.

<sup>97</sup> Recalls NBC's Chet Simmons, "We isolated the cameras on him all the time. Everything we could do...The lead story was going to be Joe." Kriegel, *Namath*, 169-70.

medicating the finger waving sprezzatura.<sup>98</sup>

Jim Kensil, Rozelle's second in command, felt immediately threatened by the flamboyant AFL victory led by the counter-culture hedonist Namath. Commissioner Rozelle was more astute than Lombardi or Nixon, especially when he later learned that more Americans experienced Namath in Super Bowl III, than Neil Armstrong landing on the moon later that July. In fact, Rozelle was "fine" with the outcomes as Kensil later recalled and said, "this is the best thing that happened to us." He correctly assumed it would revitalize the league as an entertainment entity. The Wednesday immediately after the Super Bowl, Rozelle sent Namath, with three other teammates, on a USO tour to military hospitals in the Far East. In a pattern soon duplicated by other corporate entities, the NFL quickly integrated Namath's raucous sprezzatura persona into the NFL Brand, as well as many other similar personae to come, assuring that Super Bowls from then on became America's premiere entertainment ritual and spectacle—the new sportsmanship<sup>99</sup>

### Post game clean up

Namath's FBI file dated from 1967 when the FBI began tracking Broadway Joe's hangouts and predilections. Rozelle was apprised of the Broadway Joe file since the FBI kept the commissioner's office up-to-date on the comings and goings of suspect players. Rozelle and his security people then paid close attention to the activities at a nightclub on Manhattan's Upper East Side, the Bachelor's III, that Namath co-owned with ex-teammates who themselves had ties to the mafia underworld.<sup>100</sup>

After his USO tour, Namath was ordered Pete Rozelle to sell his interest in

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<sup>98</sup> Come to terms with his alcoholism by appearing on national television drunk in a sports interview while turning himself into a Florida rehab facility, "Every time in my life that something has gone askew, alcohol has been involved." On December 20, 2003 during a half-time interview on an ESPN broadcast, Namath was asked by Suzy Kolber to comment on the struggling Jets. An inebriated Namath slurred, "I couldn't care less about the team struggling. I want to kiss you." Of the 441 pages of Mark Kriegel's biography fully 30 are devoted to Namath's use of alcohol to medicate the emotional and physical pain. *Namath: A Biography* (New York: Viking, 2004), 169, 177, 185, 188-189, 191, 206-7, 211-212, 219, 220-21, 240-242, 249-250, 254, 281, 291, 350, 370, 371, 387, 396, 426-429, 438.

<sup>99</sup> Davis, *Rozelle*, 346. "When the Super Bowl Wasn't So Super" *US News & World Report* December, 27, 2000, 48.

<sup>100</sup> Davis, *Rozelle*, 330.

Bachelors III, because gamblers allegedly frequented it.<sup>101</sup> Namath publicly and tearfully quit rather than betray his friends by submitting to Rozelle's edict, then changed his mind within weeks when Rozelle reminded him of the stakes. After reading of Namath's exit in his daily briefings Nixon wrote "good riddance," on the margins of his daily briefing. But Nixon couldn't savor the moment long because within a month Namath was back. He and Rozelle needed each other... in the end a compromise was reached.<sup>102</sup>

### College football centennial

The 1969 season marked the 100th anniversary of college football. In a commemorative game, ABC had arranged top ranked Texas and Arkansas to play the final game of the regular season, rescheduling their usual October date to the first weekend in December. Boone Arledge had persuaded Arkansas coach Frank Broyles to move the game with a promise that President Richard Nixon would attend the game.<sup>103</sup> In a speech to the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame Dinner two days later, in commemoration the Centennial of Intercollegiate football, Nixon opined, "What does this mean, this common interest in football of Presidents, of leaders, of people generally? It means a

<sup>101</sup> Schapp, 158. 164. Bloom, 61. 67, 69, 72, 75, 77.

<sup>102</sup> Kriegel, 294-30, Wallace, 2.

<sup>103</sup> On Dec. 6, the two undefeated teams, No. 1 Texas and No. 2 Arkansas met to play the centennial game. In an unprecedented executive decision, Nixon on national TV, in the Texas locker room, presented his national-championship presidential plaque to the Longhorns, who had beaten Arkansas 15-14. To the losing Arkansas coach Nixon offered some sportsmanship advice, you win some and lose some "as closely as I have." Always impressed with a passionate public, Nixon complemented Arkansas, "you can be awfully proud of the way your fans are with you. I've never seen stands so full of life. The whole state was behind you." "1969 #1 Texas at #3 Arkansas" <https://youtu.be/c7QDksP-rP4?t=2h49m45s>, Accessed September 14, 2015. Not insensitive to grumblings from the Eastern electorate, Nixon hurriedly promised to give Penn State a plaque to commemorate its unbeaten streak. Upon hearing this, a bristling Penn St Coach Joe Paterno interrupted his preparations for an Orange Bowl matchup with 9-1 Missouri to fire off a press release that read, in part, "Before accepting such a plaque, I'd have to confer with my squad. I'm sure they would be disappointed at this time ...to receive anything other than a plaque for the No. 1 team." And the No. 1 team following the bowl games could be Penn State or Missouri. "It would seem a waste of (Nixon's) time to present Penn State with a plaque for something we already have--the nation's longest winning and unbeaten streaks." So no plaque was ever presented to Penn State. But Nixon continued to try to patch things up with their faithful. At a Dec. 9 dinner, during which he received the National Football Foundation and College Hall of Fame Gold Medal as "the outstanding American" associated with football, Nixon said, "I would like to say that now I think Penn State is among those who should be considered for the Number 1 spot." Unfortunately, the first pollster had already voted. Penn St. had missed their chance at No. 1 when they decided to play in the Orange Bowl. Although Penn beat Missouri 10-3 and ended up No. 2, Paterno would have to wait 13 more years before winning a national title, but he was able to make one claim much sooner: "At least I was fighting with Nixon before it became fashionable." Four years later Joe Paterno was still feeling the sting; "I can't understand how the President can know so little about Watergate in 1973 and so much about college football in 1969." Lipsyte, 19.

competitive spirit.” It means a gamesmanship with sportsmanship possibilities.<sup>104</sup>

Two months earlier on an October afternoon in Laramie, Wyoming, the University of Wyoming football team was preparing for their annual game with Brigham Young University (BYU) owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). After practice, 14 black players who had planned on wearing black armbands at upcoming BYU game to protest the Mormon Church’s partial exclusionary policies towards blacks, were told by Coach Lloyd Eaton to cancel their protest or face immediate expulsion. The “Black Fourteen” refused, the coach held firm, but the student and faculty senate voted overwhelmingly to reinstate the fourteen. Coach Eaton, however, was the most popular man in the state and the Board of Trustees upheld his decision. The “black fourteen” left and it was years before the school could attract talented black athletes. A larger rift opened between the athletic departments and universities across the nation. The national response to the treatment of the “black fourteen” was swift and preemptory; what happened in Wyoming was something to be avoided at all costs. Coach Eaton left the school several lackluster seasons later, but he and other coaches were on their own now as universities began to spin off their Athletic Departments as free-standing entities. From now on they would administer themselves, but what this meant for the long term most of all was the

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<sup>104</sup> "I really believe while I like to go to a football game live and feel the crowd and the rest, I really believe that when you sit at home and see a football game on television, you can probably see it as well or even better that you can see it by being there." *Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard Nixon, 1969*, 936 "The President also proved that he learned one of the foremost lessons the game teaches, the demonstrated the ability to get up after being stopped for no gain and to try again and to achieve his goal." His football Coach Wallace Newman remembered "Coach Newman expressed delight over the selection. "He didn't have the physical equipment at 155 pounds, but he was all enthusiasm and played hard. He never got hurt. He wasn't agile, but he had a lot of spunk and drive, he was very persistent and, although sometimes taking a licking in scrimmage, he always came back for more." "Football Foundation Will Honor Nixon" (AP) *The Stars And Stripes*, European Edition, November 7, 1969, 22. Such support is not surprising in light of the founding of the National Football Foundation in 1954 with military brass corporate CEO board. It was chartered with the premise that, "Football is more than a game. It is an American institution," the NFF seeks to 'help football maintain its rightful place not simply as a sport, but as an integral part of our nation's educational pattern, as 'a vital force in preparing American youth for the competitive business of everyday life.'" <sup>104</sup> By 1969 the, most prominent figures in the Football foundation, the coaches, began their courtship of Nixon. That year he was awarded the NFL's Gold Medal as well as the Coaches Association which honored Nixon as the who had done the most for the sport that year. "It means...the ability and the determination to be able to lose and then come back and try again, to sit on the bench and the come back. It means basically the character, the drive, the pride, the teamwork, the feeling of being in a cause bigger than yourself...So, in the 100th year of football, as we approach the 200th year of the United States remember that our great assets are not our military strength or our economic wealth, but the character of our young people, and I am glad that America's young people produce the kind of men that we have in American football today...What we need in the spirit of this country and the spirit of our young people is not playing it safe always, not being afraid of defeat--being ready to get into the battle and playing to win, not with the idea of destroying or defeating or hurting anybody else, but with the idea of achieving excellence." *Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard Nixon, 1969*, 1013-1018



freedom to pursue the unbridled gamesmanship of the NFL, replete with lucrative product endorsements and television contracts. Collegiate football was now fully in lock step behind the professionals for the first time and so too could celebrate entertainment as the new sportsmanship.<sup>105</sup>

### Winning with Dick

Next May, in a predawn morning visit to the Lincoln Memorial occupied by students protesting his recent "incursion" in Cambodia, Nixon tried to reason and identify with students by falling back, among other things, on shared football experiences.<sup>106</sup> Lombardi was dying but Nixon was busy winning a war and planning his reelection. Nixon continued to use football to connect with others *and* even "accidentally" let football let his hair down around family members.<sup>107</sup>

Nixon would agree with William O'Neill's assessment of the 1960s in terms of Lombardi, *that* "in a age of fakery, hedonism and contempt for work, sport was one of the few areas in which hard work and ability were still pre-eminent and unmistakable...There was something pathetic about" the nostalgia for old-fashioned values. For "sport used to seem a metaphor for such virtues as drive, ambition, respect for standards, and individual

<sup>105</sup> Watterson, *College Football*, 322-325.

<sup>106</sup> Several days after the Cambodian incursion of 1970 touched off campus rebellions across the nation a restless Nixon couldn't sleep. After spending most of a sleepless night on the phone with 40 friends and supporters, Nixon suddenly ordered to be driven to the Lincoln Memorial to meet with protestors gathered there. For White House Aide Egil Krogh the image of the president surrounded by students in their protest gear was "almost a surreal atmosphere, dreamlike." Student protestor Lauree Moss recalls asking Nixon what he was going to do about Kent State and Vietnam. Instead Nixon was "just trying to be conversational," avoiding a serious discussion saying, "I'm really not here to talk about that right now, we're trying to handle things." Nixon then launched into "a one way conversation," about shared college experiences and college football prospects instead of peace prospects. One student told reporters, "Most of what he was saying was absurd. Here we had come from a university [Syracuse] that's completely uptight on strike and when we told him where we were from, he talked about the football team. And surfing." It was, Vanderbilt University Chancellor Alexander Heard commented, like "telling a joke at a funeral." But it was also an honest effort by an overwrought, beleaguered president to go beyond the language of politics and policies, beyond what he called the students' "miserable intellectual wasteland," to the level of real life, shared experience, and bedrock values, to the language of sport, football small-talk, the parlance of Middle America. Robert Dallek ads an account from journalist Mark Feeney who says it had the makings of something out of a Frank Capra movie with the only component missing, a walk back to the White House, *Partners in Power*, 203; Safire, *Before the Fall*, 202- 12; *Nixon Memoirs*, 458-66; and Price, *With Nixon*, 168- 74; Robert Dallek, *Partners in Power*, 203-4.

<sup>107</sup> Berrett, *Pigskin*, chap. 5. In April 2017, before the City Club of San Diego, Nixon's latest biographer John Farrell introduced his well-known subject with what he believed to be a revealing moment. It is a "top secret" Dec. 9, 1972 recording of daughter Julie, sent up by his wife Pat to check on Nixon, asking how much longer he's going to need to watch the Redskins playing the Cowboys as the family dinner is getting cold. While Julie is asking how much longer, Nixon who had been politely explaining the game, becomes progressively profane as Redskins miss tackles and the Cowboys score the winning touchdown. "Son of a Bitch!" "That's bad, huh?" attempts an understanding Julie. April 26, 2017. Available at <https://youtu.be/ydi7qilDkRI?t=5m0s>. Recording available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYCo0RU\\_BNo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYCo0RU_BNo). For a contemporaneous account of the game, see George Solomon, "Cowboys End Redskins' Streak at Nine," *Washington Post*, December 10, 1972, D1. Accessed January 2, 2017. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/sports/redskins/longterm/1997/history/allart/dw1972b.htm>.



excellence....now many thought it their last resort."<sup>108</sup>

### Coalition building for me will be when I win

And the nostalgia for Lombardi and old fashioned values continues. Just he was about to clinch the Republican nomination in Wisconsin in April, 2016, Donald Trump could not but help compare his winning ways with Vince Lombardi's, who m he claimed to have witnessed personally dominate "big, strong football players...tough cookies...literally three times his size... because he won. This was after he had won so much...The coalition building for me will be when I win...it will be easy to build up a coalition. I've got to win first. That's why I told you the best Lombardi story." Yet as Lombardi biographer Rick Maraniss points out, Trump fundamentally misunderstood Lombardi's teambuilding in claiming that winning comes first, followed by an easy round of coalition building. Lombardi "got to the point of winning by building a coalition of 11 players on the field."<sup>109</sup>

But to understand the promise and peril of applying gamesmanship towards politics it is worth considering what sports writer Robert Lipsyte offered in the wake of Nixon's resignation:

"The language of sports, its organization, its values, its class system, its discipline, its energies, are used by politics, by business, by all the factors that engineer our daily

<sup>108</sup> William O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An informal history of America in the 1960s*, (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971), 230. But at the same time Vince jokes abounded. Wife in bed "God, your feet are cold" "Around the house just call me Vince" Vince himself "retold them threadbare, simultaneously acknowledging and mocking their need for strength and order, for protective and inspirational leadership" as the man who entertained no doubts in a doubtful world. Lipsyte, 58, Lombardi had apparently so strongly identified with Catholic clergy that he once modeled Bishop's vestments complete with miter and tassels for his secretary until he heard footsteps retreated back into his office and emerged five minutes later as if nothing had happened) Maraniss, *Pride*, 402-3.

<sup>109</sup> "The coalition building for me will be when I win. Vince Lombardi, I saw this. He was not a big man. And I was sitting in a place with some very, very tough football players. Big, strong football players. He came in — these are tough cookies — he came in, years ago — and I'll never forget it, I was a young man. He came in, screaming, into this place. And screaming at one of these guys who was three times bigger than him, literally. And very physical, grabbing him by the shirt. Now, this guy could've whisked him away and thrown him out the window in two seconds. This guy — the player — was shaking. A friend of mine. There were four players, and Vince Lombardi walked in. He was angry. And he grabbed — I was a young guy — he grabbed him by the shirt, screaming at him, and the guy was literally. . . And I said, wow. And I realized the only way Vince Lombardi got away with that was because he won. This was after he had won so much, okay? And when you have these coaches that are just as tough as him but they don't win, there's revolutions. Okay? Nobody. . . . But Vince Lombardi was able to win, and he got — I have never seen anything like it. It was such a vivid impression. You had this big powerful guy, and you had Vince Lombardi, and he grabbed him by the shirt and he was screaming at him, he was angry at him." Transcript of a *Washington Post* interview with Donald Trump just before clinching the nomination in Wisconsin, April 2016. Chris Cillizza, "Donald Trump just explained his amazingly depressing vision of the country. Oh boy," *The Washington Post*, April 4, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/04/04/donald-trump-just-explained-his-vision-for-the-country-whoa-boy/>. Nixon and the media also came up in who Woodward sympathetically quotes saying, "the media looks in the mirror instead of looking out the window — and gather facts and listen to other people — they're more interested in themselves. Is that part of the problem?"

life, to justify, vivify, enhance, sometimes obscure non-sports activities, and then these words and concept and values reenter sports, changed and insidiously they affect the games: The teaching of self-discipline and responsibility becomes authoritarianism; the search for good health becomes getting fit to win."<sup>110</sup>

The next chapter is a coda on the power of entertainment of which football has become the greatest expression.

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<sup>110</sup> Robert Lipsyte, *Sports World: An American Dreamland* (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Company, 1975), 22.

## Chapter 5: Entertainment is the new (and improved) Sportsmanship

*When people in sporting establishments buy their tickets they know exactly what is going to take place; and that is exactly what does take place once they are in their seats: viz. highly trained persons developing their peculiar powers in the way most suited to them, with the greatest sense of responsibility yet in such a way as to make one feel that they are doing it primarily for their own fun. Against that, the traditional theater today is quite lacking in character.*

**Bertolt Brecht, (1926)<sup>1</sup>**

*“More pay for college stars...what I’m trying to say is: for God sakes, a little logic! Or is that asking too much?”*

**John Tunis, (1936)<sup>2</sup>**

*If Vietnam were this organized, they’d all be home for Christmas.*

**NFL Draft Supervisor (1965)<sup>3</sup>**

*Being in politics is like being a football coach. You have to be smart enough to understand the game, and dumb enough to think it’s important.*

**Eugene McCarthy, (1967)<sup>4</sup>**

*Modern sport is capitalism at play.*

**Tony Collins, (2013)<sup>5</sup>**

*You can construct identity around any damn thing you want.*

**Francis Fukuyama, (2018)<sup>6</sup>**

If there is anything this study on the gamesmanship and sportsmanship of American football has confirmed is that there was no amateur Paradise Lost transgressed by a professional snake. There never was an Eden and no place east of it from which to look back longingly, as college football reformers, to their endless frustration, have for the last 150 years. We recall [that](#) the first intercollegiate competition, the 1852 railroad sponsored boat race between Yale and Harvard, already suffered from student eligibility problems and conflicts of interest. After the 1969 University of Wyoming “Black 14” contretemps, when universities started spinning off their athletic programs, allowing them to sink or swim in the market, the professionals were already setting the standards and expectations of football.

<sup>1</sup> Bertold Brecht “Das Drama und die nationale Idee,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, Oct. 25, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> John Tunis, “More Pay for College Stars,” *American Mercury*, (Oct. 1936), 272, cited in Watterson, *College Football*, 308.

<sup>3</sup> John McDermott, “Draft Central,” N.F.L.’s Secret HQ,” *Life*, Dec 10, 1965, 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Washington Post*, November 12, 1967.

<sup>5</sup> Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 13.

<sup>6</sup> Fukuyama’s Stanford launch of “Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment,” Accessed Oct 10, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbbUln2fOMI>.

Sportsmanship became less how you played the game and more how (and why) you paid to see the game. The rules in praxis that created the football entertainment experience were far more important than any formal rules reforms on the field. This new (and improved) entertainment saturated sportsmanship is the subject of this coda chapter, football as a battled hardened model of entertainment.

To begin with, the quotes above will help review a brief parade of themes from previous chapters and their coaches, *pour encourager les autres*. Then we will then consider how and why the NCAA and college football now take their cues from the professionals. The Astrodome, Las Vegas and Disneyland will then be considered as model sites of entertainment and staged experiences shared with the NFL. The differences between these staged experiences has to do with verisimilitude, the relationship between the real and fake. Las Vegas embodies the real fake whereas Disney theme parks, the fake real.<sup>7</sup> This will be followed by a review the state of football, sports history and some interdisciplinary possibilities in light of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic; and finally a concluding example of sport as politics at its best.

### Camp, Rockne, and Lombardi

Walter Camp biographer Julie Des Jardins concluded that his greatest legacy, when he passed away at his final rules meeting in 1925, was having structured a game so inherently sturdy and robust that it could exist of itself whatever future reforms may came. What Des Jardins downplayed in her focus on Camp's contribution to modern manhood, was the fact that he helped shape a highly entertaining game despite himself and the introduction forward

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<sup>7</sup> "Surrogate experience and surrogate environments have become the American way of life. Distinctions are no longer made, or deemed necessary, between the real and the false; the edge usually goes to the latter, as an improved version with defects corrected -- accessible and user-friendly -- although the resonance of history and art in the authentic artifact is conspicuously lacking." Ada Louise Huxtable, *The Unreal America: Architecture and Illusion* (New York: The New Press, 1997), 10.

pass he so tenacious resisted.<sup>8</sup> Bertold Brecht, Weimar Germany's greatest theater innovator and practitioner of epic (dialectical theatre), understood explicitly something Camp perhaps only did implicitly. In 1926, a year after Camp's death, Brecht explained how he endeavored to demystify the process of acting, much as Camp had done by "scientifically" managing action on the football field. But Brecht was more keenly aware of how performances were perceived and engaged with; especially traditional theatre could learn something from the unencumbered performance technique of athletes and their ability to draw in spectators on straightforward terms.<sup>9</sup>

Sportswriter and frustrated idealist (perhaps then a cynic) John Tunis was well aware of how Knute Rockne had been chasing gamesmanship success on the field and dollars off the field and was killed when he took that quick flight to Universal Studios lured by a \$50,000 movie deal. Some of the administrators at Notre Dame had wanted Rockne to curtail his moonlighting and in passive aggressive Rockne fashion, he told them he was not really interested Hollywood all the while quietly booking a ticket.<sup>10</sup> Why, asked Tunis five years after Rockne's death, should players not be entitled to engage in their own moonlighting?

Lombardi was clueless about the entertainment machine that formed around his winning ways, except that the sprezzatura Namath seemed to be making a mockery of it. The well-honed annual player draft had given Lombardi first pick when he first took charge of a losing team. He then learned to make the most of undervalued players he picked up

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<sup>8</sup> Julie Des Jardin, *Walter Camp: Football and the Modern Man*. New York: University of Oxford Press, 2015), 315.

<sup>9</sup> Brecht later elaborated in his essay, "The Emphasis on Sport," (1926) "we have our eye on those huge concrete pans, filled with 15,000 men and women... the demoralization of our theater audience springs from the fact that neither theater nor audience has any idea what is supposed to go on there. When people in sporting establishments buy their tickets they know exactly what is going to take place." Brecht presumed scientists and athletes operated under a set of rules (sportsmanship) which meant they were in control of, and fully conscious of their technique. If actors did likewise, then their audience could engage them with the same sort of consistent expertise a sports fan. Henry Bial, ed. *Brecht Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 5. Brecht was fascinated with America's straight on influence in the arts, sciences and especially in sport. In 1930 Bertolt Brecht explained why Europeans had chosen to imitate Americans: "What men people were! Their boxers the strongest! Their inventors the most practical! Their trains the fastest!" Barbara J. Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in The 1930s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 68.

<sup>10</sup> Raymond H. Robinson, *Rockne of Notre Dame: The Making of a Football Legend* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 263.

along the way as he fed them into his system. Nevertheless, he remained oblivious to the game as an entertainment experience and the effect it had on the fans. After years of driving to Lambeau Field early, Lombardi was genuinely surprised when on one Sunday afternoon he finally took notice of the thousands of pre-game fans gathered in the parking lots, and wondered out loud, what they were all doing there.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps in his own way, this smart coach, who understood the intricacies of the game as none other, was not dumb enough to think it was important, according Senator “Clean Gene” McCarthy.

The Lombardi NFL of the 60s has grown into its current (2018) \$16 billion brand—the most highly monetized of all American sports, the embodiment of Tony Collins’ capitalism at play. This capitalism knows no rest and plays year-round with no “off season” anything. Previously low-key events like the NFL Scouting Combine (March), NFL Draft (April) and Hall of Fame inductions (August) have now become jacked-up merchandise and media extravaganzas unfolding over several days. The NFL is no longer just training camps, coaching carousels, and football games, but “a series of highly produced set pieces, jubilees, and roving ‘fan experience’ exposition parks in revolving venues.”<sup>12</sup>

Finally, political theorist Francis Fukuyama, in his genuine interest in coming to terms with the populism of Trump and Brexit, has focused on the need for the aggrieved and marginalized to find recognition in social/ethnic identity and hopefully subsume that in a thoughtful offering of a civic/creedal identity. When asked how this was possible, Fukuyama acknowledge how easy it has been historically to form an identity around “any damn thing” and mentioned the self-identified Blues and Greens fans in the 532 CE

<sup>11</sup> David Maraniss, *When Pride Still Mattered: A Life of Vince Lombardi* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 386. November, “revealed” in a 1965 *Life* article as John McDermott, “Draft Central, N.F.L.’s Secret HQ,” *Life*, Dec 10, 1965, 40.

<sup>12</sup> Pete Rozelle, the NFL’s commissioner from 1960 to 1989, who steered it on the trajectory of its exploding popularity and riches, preached that it was a bad look for the league to have financial figures in the news. Goodell’s NFL has no such reticence. See Mark Leibovich, *The Big Game: The NFL in Dangerous Times* (New York: Penguin Press, 2018), 5.

hippodrome riots of Constantinople that got out of control.<sup>13</sup> This certainly confirms Henri Tajfel's work on gamesmanship in social identity and how competitive even the flimsiest of group identities can be.

### The sprezzatura league

By 1970, Namath and his entertaining, don't let them see you sweat, "matter of style" persona were safely tucked into Pete Rozelle's National Football League (NFL). Professional football had successfully branded itself as nimble entertainment product that could provide a consistent consumer experience as a prominent component of the entertainment industry. Yet the NFL and Namath were simply taking their social cues from larger society, one in which the individual now demanded the world adjust to her needs and self-identity when she could no longer rely on the sportsmanship structure tradition authorities provided.

Eric Hobsbawm explains the significance in terms of economics. For more than two centuries he notes, "irrespective of ideology or political organization," citizens not only permitted public officials to tax them to raise enormous sums for welfare states but also to conscript them in the millions for great wars. This came to an abrupt end in the 1970s, matched by a striking "decline in the acceptance of state legitimacy, of the voluntary acceptance of obligation to ruling authorities and their laws."<sup>14</sup>

Daniel Rodgers describes this same distrust of authority as a cultural fracturing: "Through more and more domains of social thought and argument, the terms that have dominated post-World War II intellectual life began to fracture...one heard less about

<sup>13</sup> In Fukuyama's Stanford launch, he was more candid than in his book on his subsequent book in expressing his astonishment at how easy it was to confabulate a social identity. The Nika riots of 532 lasted six days. There were most likely underlying religious and political tensions in which chariot racing became a stalking horse. Emperor Justinian supported the blues and so mass discontent with the administration's excessive taxation could express itself with loyalty to the green. Donald G. Kyle, *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World* (London: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2014), 338.

<sup>14</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *On Empire: America, War and Global Supremacy*, (NY: Pantheon Books, 2008), 42, 44.

society, history and power and more about individuals, contingency and choice.” Society is “less homogeneous and more splintered” than ever before. In an Internet age, this further erosion of authority has been described as *The Death of Expertise* (2017): “Never have so many people had access to so much knowledge, and yet been so resistant to learning anything.”<sup>15</sup> Gone are the days when sports were supposed to build character and in football’s case, confirm manliness. Before the 1977 Super Bowl, the sportswriter Roger Kahn asked Pete Rozelle “if the National Football League was show business.” “Sure,” Rozelle told Kahn, “but we prefer the word entertainment. What we do object to is constant psychoanalysis. Football is warlike. Football is violent. . . The game has nothing to do with war. Our league provides action entertainment, nothing less and nothing more.”<sup>16</sup>

The torch had been passed. Now the professionals, rather than the collegians, became the game’s trendsetters. Never again would the collegiate game take the lead in introducing any significant innovations. These innovations, whether on the field through rule changes, new formations, equipment development, coaching techniques; or as enhancements to the spectator experience as in stadium design, electronic scoreboards, half-time shows, cheerleaders, tailgate party barbecues, viewing parties with finger foods; or in television production innovations with telescopic mikes, slow motion, instant replay, on-screen graphics, sky-cams; or in marketing and ancillary product promotion as in ticket pricing structures, broadcast packages, fantasy leagues and sports betting, video games, licensed products, even the highly choreographed player drafts; all these innovations that enhanced the entertainment value and experience of the game, were either introduced and/or

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<sup>15</sup> Daniel T. Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 6. A simple search of these six terms on Google Ngrams—a search tool search that enables the direct search of terms, in this delimitation, American books from 1880-2010—bears out Roger’s contention a conceptual change in the 70s, though “history” has remained relatively constant. See <http://tinyurl.com/rodgers-fracture>. February 2, 2017. In a book that more compendious than original, Nichols offers the documentation of a long decline in the trust in authority some the late 60s. Tom Nichols, *The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why It Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 2, 174, 216.

<sup>16</sup> Cited in Michael Oriard, *Brand NFL: Making and Selling America’s Favorite Sport*, University of North Carolina Press, 2010, 28.



marketed, by the NFL, not the NCAA.<sup>17</sup> And the Supreme Court helped the process along.

The NCAA lost control of its right to negotiate television rights in the Landmark Supreme Court Case, *NCAA v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma*, 468 U.S. 85 (1984) when power house teams, anxious to sign individual television contracts, challenged the NCAA and won with a 7-2 decision. Justice John Stevens wrote the majority opinion using a classic gamesmanship argument: “NCAA creates a price structure that is unresponsive to the viewer demand and unrelated to the price that will prevail in the competitive market.”<sup>18</sup> In May 2018, the Supreme Court decision *Murphy v. National Collegiate Athletic Association*, No. 16-476, found the NCAA once again on the losing end. In a nod to reality and acknowledge of the prominent role gambling has always played in sports, the Court struck down the fig leaf *The Professional and Amateur Sports Protection Act* (1992).<sup>19</sup> Gambling and entertainment have long been the gamesmanship fusion of putting your money where your sports tribal mouth is. College amateurism is now all that is left and there too, the clock may be ticking. A 2014 case is working its way toward the Supreme Court in which former Clemson football player Martin Jenkins is the lead plaintiff, also against the NCAA, in which he contends its scholarship system is an unlawful cap on

<sup>17</sup> Since its debut in 1989, 53 million copies of the video game *Madden NFL Football* were sold by December 2006, including 2 million copies over the first weekend of the latest release; A record \$94.5 million was wagered legally in Nevada on the Super Bowl in 2006, in addition to however many millions were bet illegally or privately million Americans bet on the Super Bowl each year, their total wagers over that decade amounting to \$3 billion. Another writer claimed at least \$25 billion annually on all NFL games. Michael Oriard, *Brand NFL: Making and Selling America's Favorite Sport* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 256.

<sup>18</sup> The decision has been brewing for years. Big-time football teams form their own College football Association that had challenged the NCAA since that early 70s. *NATIONAL COLLEGIATE ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION v. The BOARD OF REGENTS OF the UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA* and *The University of Georgia Athletic Association No. A-24*. Accessed July 10, 2016. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/463/1311>. Ironically, once the market opened up, supply rapidly exceeded demand as the number of games telecast jumped from 89 before to over 200 after. Even the benighted Ivy League signed a \$1 million broadcast package with PBS. Needless to say, everyone had overplayed his hand. Watterson, *College Football*, 349.

<sup>19</sup> Supreme Court Ruling Favors Sports Betting,” *New York Times*, May 14, 2018, accessed Jan. 2, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/14/us/politics/supreme-court-sports-betting-new-jersey.html>. Rescinding the Act's ban on the nationwide sports gambling outside of Las Vegas was anticipated in legal circles. See Stephen Weinstein, "The Stakes are High: The Professional and Amateur Sports Protection Acts Constitutionally Vulnerable and Reflects Bad Policy," *Touro L. Rev.* 33 (2017): 1309; Alex Lowell, "Gamblization: The Rise of Sports Gambling and the Need to Repeal PASPA," *Pace Intell. Prop. Sports & Ent. LJ* 7 (2017): 255; Garry Smith, "Gambling and Sport," *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* (2018): 1-4; Brett Abarbanel, "Gambling vs. Gaming: A Commentary on the Role of Regulatory, Industry, and Community Stakeholders in the Loot Box Debate," *Gaming Law Review* 22, no. 4 (2018): 231-234; Robert Shawhan, "Legalizing Federal Sports Gambling Laws: You Got to Know When to Hold'em," *Hastings Comm. & Ent. LJ* 40 (2018): 41. Brendan Richard, "Las Vegas: Past, Present and Future," *Journal of Tourism Futures* 4, no. 3 (2018): 182-192; Andrew Brandt, "Professional Sports Leagues' Big Bet: Evolving Attitudes on Gambling," *Stan. L. & Pol'y Rev.* 28 (2017): 273; Brad R. Humphreys, "The US Experience with Sports Betting," In *Dual Markets* (New York: Springer, Chamberlain 2017), 331-342; Mike Vanaskie, Will Green, Dan Kustelski and Dan Shapiro, "Emerging Leaders of Gaming—Sports Betting Webinar: Opportunities Inside And Out Of Nevada," *Gaming Law Review* 22, no. 1 (2018): 40-51.

wages.<sup>20</sup>

The NFL entertainment package functions much like a mini Disney empire, replete with its own theme parks (the stadiums), production studio (NFL Media™), and its own merchandising arm (NFL Properties™). The marriage with Disney was consummated in the broadcasting deals with ESPN, the sports network owned by Disney, not surprisingly brought about by Pete Rozelle who we are reminded, “never played the game...never owned a franchise...never went to law school... was never even a serious candidate for the job that would ultimately catapult him into the role of lord high architect of every new artistic and economic advance that made the NFL the trailblazer for all of sports in the second half of the twentieth century”<sup>21</sup> The NFL’s true *Homo Oblectatio*—entertainment man.

### The Meadows

The story of Las Vegas or "the meadows" was benign enough. They were originally scouted out by John C. Fremont and Kit Carson and settled by Mormons on a new mail route between Salt Lake City to San Diego. Nearby mines added to its status as a terminus on a stage line and a railroad line to Los Angeles at the turn of the century and assured Las Vegas's place as a mid-route supply depot. Everything changed when Congress approved the construction of nearby Hoover Dam, rich in kilowatts, construction workers, and their leisure dollars in 1928. Las Vegas however, were anxious to assure this new life blood would continue to flow throughout the Depression. Three years later they legalized the illegal (but decriminalized) source of this prosperity, gambling and prostitution. Although these vices were often part of the unseemly underbelly of any western mining town, they had

<sup>20</sup> Pits similar athletes against the Power Five conferences, Fox, and ESPN. *Dellenbach v. National Collegiate Athletic Association*, No. C 14-03159 CW (N.D. Cal. July 21, 2014); *In Re: National Collegiate Athletic Association Athletic Grant-In-Aid Cap Antitrust Litigation*, No. 14-md-2541 CW (N.D. Cal. Aug. 5, 2016). For an updated appraisal see Andrew Zimbalist, "Whither the NCAA: Reforming the System" *Review of Industrial Organization* 52, no. 2 (2018): 337-350.

<sup>21</sup> Jerry Izenberg, *Rozelle: A Biography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 18; Stephen Hardy, Brian Norman, and Sarah Sceery, "Toward a History of Sport Branding," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 4, no. 4 (2012): 482-509. Michael Oriard, *Brand NFL: Making and Selling America's Favorite Sport* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), chap. 5. Jesse Berrett, *Pigskin Nation: How the NFL Remade American Politics* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2018.)

never intentionally been turbocharged by decriminalization and electricity. Soon the city became an entrepôt of cultural and social vices attracting a unique combination of casino developers, madams, crime figures, washed up entertainers, and reclusive billionaires through the 60s and 70s.<sup>22</sup>

By the late eighties, faced with the stiff competition of legalized gambling other states, Vegas again remade itself in the image of Disney by providing visitors with more than gambling and, at the same time, more family friendly consistent consumer experiences. The Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce had determined that "people no longer want to be in an audience--they want to be part of the entertainment." Hotels and casinos accordingly were encouraged to specialize in grand and gaudy simulacra from the globe in what Blair Kamin, architecture critic at the Chicago Tribune, has termed "architainment." Remote western location "freed Las Vegas from the distractions and inhibitions of the East."<sup>23</sup>

Las Vegas now receives 43 million visitors annually and is one of the leading tourist destinations in the world, and its role in spectator sports is becoming clearer as the Supreme Court has finally cleared the way for participate in sports gambling openly. In 2018 over 18 billion were gambled in sports--more than the entire value of the NFL. Given the fact over 20 years ago that more than 3/4's of 640 college referees surveyed admitted to betting on games, it is surprising that literature is only now emerging exploring the relationship between gambling and sports.<sup>24</sup> Allen Guttman's familiar modernist explanation of the evolution of

<sup>22</sup> Jay Brigham, "Reno, Las Vegas, and the Strip: A Tale of Three Cities" *Western Historical Quarterly* 46.4 (2015): 529-530.

<sup>23</sup> Alan Hess, *Viva Las Vegas: After-hours Architecture* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1993). Ibid, 56.

<sup>24</sup> Sports gambling estimate to be 40 percent of the total 46 billion of the total or 18.4 billion.

<https://www.statista.com/topics/1740/sports-betting/>. The proliferation fantasy sports has contributed directly to the growth in sports gambling and has been the most subject of gambling studies. Sarah E., Nelson, Timothy C. Edson, Pradeep Singh, Matthew Tom, Ryan J. Martin, Debi A. LaPlante, Heather M. Gray, and Howard J. Shaffer. "Patterns of Daily Fantasy Sport Play: Tackling the Issues." *Journal of gambling studies* (2019): 1-24. Wray Vamplew, "The Commodification of Sport: Exploring the Nature of the Sports Product." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* (2019): 1-14. Drayer, Joris, Brendan Dwyer, and Stephen L. Shapiro. "Fantasy Millionaires: Identifying At-Risk Consumers Based on Motivation." *Journal of Sport Management* 33, no. 1 (2019): 37-49. Welch Suggs, "Most College Referees Have Engaged In Gambling, A Study Finds," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Apr 7, 2000, A51. 84 percent of 640 football and basketball referees according to the University of Michigan study admitted betting on games. Though the congruence between gambling and the interest in sport statistics has only become more transparent with the acceptance of legal gambling and diversity of sports programming outlets, the relationship has always been intimate--a reality that Guttman fails to consider in his efforts to attribute an interest in records solely to

sports through a progression of secularization, bureaucratization, specialization, and finally quantification, now seems suspiciously incomplete given the fact that sports statistics have been gamblers' most reliable ally and the driving force behind much of what he ascribes to modernity.<sup>25</sup>

### Consumer sublime

Academics have carried on a long-standing love|hate relationship with Las Vegas. It has become the crucible of that contains an uninhibited brew of whatever gambling, vice, and now, entertainment delights, human beings can conceive and concoct with no attempt to distinguish between the real and fake. A stream-of-conscious sportsmanship run amok. The unadulterated kitsch is so unassuming and quotidian, it has the potential to draw everything into its orbit like a science fiction death star.

The various disciplines all seem to make their peace with Las Vegas in one form or another. In 1972, Robert Venturi's and Denis Brown's *Learning from Las Vegas* described an emphasis on the signs and symbols they found on the Las Vegas strip. The result was a critique of Modern architecture, demonstrated famously in their comparison between the "duck" and "decorated shed," that almost single-handedly ushered post-modern architecture.<sup>26</sup> In 1981 football historian Oriard denounced the NFL packaging as a "show-girl" odds-making, kitsch sublime, redolent of Las Vegas, but he too came to reluctantly accept it by 2009 in his *Brand NFL: Making and Selling America's Favorite Sport*.<sup>27</sup> A decade

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modernity. Today placing an illegal wager on a sports game is easier than ever, and more Americans are doing so now than ever. In 1996, \$2.5 billion was bet legally in the United States, an estimated \$90 billion illegally. Dan McGraw, "The National Bet," *U.S. News and World Report*, April 7, 1997, 50-55. For a popular recent overview in which the relationship between statistics and gambling is brought in sharp relief, see Bert Randolph Sugar, *The Caesars Palace Sports Book of Betting* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991). A serialized expose Tim Layden detailed the systemic ties between gambling and sports which are only increasing, "Bettor education," *Sports Illustrated*, April 3 1995, 68-74; "Book Smart," *Sports Illustrated* April 10, 1995, 68-70; "You bet your life," *Sports Illustrated* April 17 1995, 46-8.

<sup>25</sup> Allen Guttman, *From Record to Ritual: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1978), 3; James Banks, "Towards Global Gambling," in *Gambling, Crime and Society* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2017), 1-30.

<sup>26</sup> Robert Venturi, Steven Izenour, Denise S. Brown, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978), Aron Vinegar, *I am a Monument: On Learning From Las Vegas* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), 1, chap. 3. Michelle Ferrari, and Stephen Ives. *Las Vegas: An Unconventional History* (New York: Bulfinch Press, 2005)

<sup>27</sup> Michael Oriard decried the "Las Vegas showgirl" course football had already taken by the 1980s, "Professional Football as Cultural Myth," *Journal of American Culture* 4(Fall 1981): 27-41. Since the 1990s it has been electronically possible to generate one more consumerist

later in 1994, technology historian David Nye had come to embody the ultimate shift from a "technological sublime" to a consumer sublime:

“Built not on production but consumption, not on industry but play, not on the sacred but the profane, not on law but chance, Las Vegas is that rupture in economics and social life where fantasy and play reign supreme...Whereas the older forms of the technological sublime embodied the values of production, and literally embodied the gaze of the businessman as he surveyed a city from the top of a skyscraper or appreciated steel mills from the window of a passing train, Las Vegas validates the gaze of the consumer, who wants not the rational order of work but the irrational disorder of play. Las Vegas manifests the dream world of consumption...The transformation of Las Vegas into a family theme park in the desert makes it the premiere postmodern landscape--a fantasy world for the middle class.”<sup>28</sup>

One who resisted the Las Vegas tug, right down to his grave, was media historian Neil Postman. He acknowledged that Las Vegas billed itself as the “Entertainment Capital of the World,” just as Boston was the symbol of revolution, New York the melting pot, Chicago the “broad-shouldered” hub to westward industrialization. Now Las Vegas, accordingly, is

“a metaphor of our national character and aspiration...For Las Vegas is a city entirely devoted to the idea of entertainment, and as such proclaims the spirit of culture in which all public discourse increasingly takes the form of entertainment. Our politics, religion, news, athletics, education and commerce have been transformed into congenial adjuncts of show business, largely without protest or even much popular notice. The result is that we are a people on the verge of amusing ourselves to death.”<sup>29</sup>

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remove from reality or "sensory overload which is viewed from the outside." Through electronic imaging "occlusion" it is possible to "replace real billboards in the ballpark with customized computer-generated signs visible only to selected folks back home" *Time*, July 15, 1996, 56. "Has it primarily become a media company, or is it still...a national football league?" The NFL has never existed in any meaningful way without the media" *Brand NFL: Making and Selling America's Favorite Sport* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 251. 255. In chapter five Oriard acknowledges how the NFL very successfully transformed the league into an entertainment brand by marketing professional football to new groups including women, children, young people, and casual fans. Sales of NFL products boomed, attendance increased, and players' images were enhanced despite negative publicity about players and crime, domestic violence, and the use of performing enhancing drugs. "The only real threat to the game is ongoing disability of most professionals." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Vol. 54 Issue 3, Sept.14, 2007, A10.

<sup>28</sup> David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 292, 294

<sup>29</sup> Postman suggests that in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* men are done in by their, "almost infinite appetite for distraction" Orwell feared what we hate will ruin us, Huxley feared what we love will ruin us." Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the*

There was no worry of death by amusement from the man who finally helped Las Vegas come full entertainment circle with NFL. That is Mark Davis, son of Al Davis, the rogue owner who first started moving around his Oakland Raiders in search of greener pastures in the 1980s. Mark is now owner and as his father's son, has inherited a strong case of franchise relocation fever. This time the Raiders are coming Vegas in 2020, but because such moves are now routine, rather than outright disdained, Davis is treated by the other owners "like their pet rock."<sup>30</sup> The stadium Las Vegas offered him, however, is not the stadium of the future.<sup>31</sup>

*Populous*, a premier stadium design firm, claims the stadium of the future will try to avoid being a conspicuous entertainment site and rather function as a seamless destination park/theme park/new urban "neighborhood" in which the public space spills out into the stadium so that the "best stadium is no stadium at all," multi-purpose space that is expandable based on the event."<sup>32</sup> One of the best destination multipurpose stadiums is the recently renovated "house that Rockne built" at Notre Dame. The Campus Crossroads Project is essentially the construction of a ring of buildings right up against the stadium, complete enclosing it. As the "largest building initiative in the history of the University of Notre Dame," it will add "800,000 square feet of classroom, research, student life, media,

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*Age of Show Business* (New York: Viking Press, 1985), viii, 3-4.

<sup>30</sup> Mark Leibovich, *The Big Game: The NFL in Dangerous Times* (New York: Penguin Press, 2018), 24.

<sup>31</sup> Andrew Brandt, "Professional Sports Leagues' Big Bet: Evolving Attitudes on Gambling," *Stan. L. & Pol'y Rev.* 28 (2017): 273. Richard Brendan, "Las Vegas: past, present and future" *Journal of Tourism Futures* 4, no. 3 (2018): 182-192. Marcos A., Abreu and Brandon D. Spradley, "The National Football League's Brand and Stadium Opportunities," *The Sport Journal* 19 (2016).

<sup>32</sup> Mark Dyreson and Robert Trumpbour, eds. *The Rise of Stadiums in The Modern United States: Cathedrals of Sport* (New York: Routledge, 2013). "Super Bowl 100: The NFL needs to rethink what a stadium looks like" *Sports Illustrated*. Accessed July 2, 2018. Available at <https://youtu.be/LGGn9e6YF8>. A 2017 *National Geographic* overview the history of stadia noted a huge historical gap in a "stadium construction hiatus from approximately sixth through 19th centuries A.D." *National Geographic* invited "Populous, an architecture firm that designs stadiums around the world envisioned the stadium of the future. The firm came up with a venue that incorporates current technology pushed to the extreme—with some creative leaps—but that also serves the same purpose as those built almost 3,000 years ago: allowing people to experience astounding athletic feats together." It is doubtful whether some of the more fantastic features will be realized in future stadia, e.g. transparent playing fields viewed from underneath, cable suspended luxury boxes that follow the action as current skycams do or drones that deliver concessions directly into the stands, but some variation of the stadium as theme park—including rides, hotels, shopping and restaurants—is more likely. "From Blood-Soaked Sand to Retractable Roofs: A History of Stadiums," *National Geographic* July 2017. Accessed July 6, 2017. <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/2017/07/stadiums/>. Andrew McGlaughon, "An Examination of the Relationship Between Major Facility Upgrades/Renovations and Select Indicators of Success in Division IA Football (1997–2006)," ( PhD diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007)

performance, meeting, event, and hospitality space.”<sup>33</sup>

### 8<sup>th</sup> Wonder of the World

The new Raiders stadium is more or less an upgrade of the 1967 “Texas size solarium” or the futuristically named Houston Astrodome. It was the archetypal entertainment-based stadium that in spirit should have been attached to Lombardi and his Packers. It brought the best of your living room to the stadium: air conditioning, 45,000 comfortable individual seats with the promise of no more rain or mosquitoes to get in women’s hair. In typical Texas fashion, where too big is not big enough, it boasted world record-breaking dimensions for an enclosed space. As *Life* reported at the time, it was 710 feet wide, 208 feet high, included a 30,000-car lot, and the 50,000 individual lights lit up a 474-foot-wide electronic score board—the first of its kind which generated enough lighting for town of 9,000. But it also experienced d some technical difficulties such that a “wonder was becoming a blunder”<sup>34</sup>

But the dome’s developer, former Houston Mayor Roy Hofheinz was astute enough to know he was doing more than building a performance stadium. He was providing an entertainment staging ground with plenty of luxury boxes (that contained museum quality ancient Egyptian art—Hofheinz went for broke in a bid for world class taste) and he added a nearby Astroworld, “the extravagant amusement park” featuring 2,400 tons of outdoor air-conditioning on 56 acres to cool off 20,000 visitors per hour while they enjoyed 50 distinct rides, and the whole thing came in at another at 80 percent of the dome’s \$31 million price tag. In 1967, Hofheinz accurately billed it the “greatest complex of family enjoyment, sports entertainment, and convention show facilities in the world” just in time, he hoped, to host

<sup>33</sup> “Campus Crossroads,” Accessed July 10, 2016. <https://crossroads.nd.edu/about-the-project/>

<sup>34</sup> “Rain or Shine-Play Ball!” *Life*, April 9, 1965, 84-6. What a Wonder! What a Blunder,” John R. McDermott, “Everybody’s tripped up by the light fantastic” *LIFE*, April 23, 1965, 76a. Robert C., Trumbour, and Kenneth Womack, *The Eighth Wonder of the World: The Life of Houston’s Iconic Astrodome* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).



the 1968 Democratic Convention; what would be “the greatest convention ever held in this part of the country.” He completed his complex in time, though the Democratic Convention famously went to Chicago (one can only imagine what would have become of the “Chicago Eight” at nearby Astroworld.) On a safer note, *Life* highlighted Astroworld as a venue for fashion shoots and a place where astronaut Buzz Aldrin, second man on the moon, chose to spend rare quality time with his son.<sup>35</sup>

### Why do you want to build an amusement park?

The third and most centered of the three-staged experience providers is Walt Disney, whose ultimate vision of staged experience was never close to being realized. He had utopian concepts on the scale of Elon Musk’s for the colonization of Mars, that went well beyond creating mere theme parks or celebrating the hedonism Las Vegas had become. Disney’s Experimental Prototype City of Tomorrow (EPCOT) was a futuristic, domed city of 20,000 that featured a radial design, an urban center with a towering hotel, a green belt, an industrial park, monorails, and Peoplemovers. Vestiges of the EPCOT remain in Disneyworld as a shadow of its original vision in the form of an international food court and a gated community with a golf course. But his Disneyland offers the most comprehensive example of entertainment as a staged experience.<sup>36</sup>

Walt Disney’s appearance on the December 27, 1954 cover of *Time* Magazine signaled his decision to lead his film studio into uncharted territory, the theme park business. Years later, he told versions of his skeptical wife questioning his judgment after he told her he was betting the whole (Disney Studios) ranch on the venture. “When I started on Disneyland my wife used to say ‘but why do you want to build an amusement park? They’re

<sup>35</sup> Gene Farmer, “Buzz Aldrin has ‘the best scientific mind we have sent into space.’” *LIFE*, July 4, 1969, 22-25; “Hofheinz Plans Astroworld” *The Galveston Daily News*, September 17, 1967, Section B, 6. “New ‘Astroworld’ of fun,” *The Galveston Daily News*, June 5, 1968, 4.

<sup>36</sup> Mark Buchanan, “Colonizing mars” *Nature Physics* 13, no. 11 (2017): 1035. “The E.P.C.O.T. Vision.” Accessed July 10, 2016. <https://sites.google.com/site/theoriginalepcot/the-epcot-film-video>



so dirty.' I told her that was just a point—mine wouldn't be." Although Disney merely sought to physically plat out a fanciful realm of his celluloid creations, he inadvertently created what, by the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Century, had become perhaps the single most powerful corporate imperative--the "new consumption of experience" in which you always provide a "consistent consumer experience. (CCE)" Disney learned, as have all successful CCE providers, that its production and reproduction requires an inherent set of contradictions between predictability and planned spontaneity. Over the years, Disney planners have learned to balance this so well that German urban planners now look to Disneyworld designs for their own urban projects. The real fake has become fake real, life becomes entertainment and entertainment becomes life. One wonders what Brecht would have thought of that new sportsmanship.<sup>37</sup>

Disneyland, the *Ur-theme Park*, was the proving ground for all these. It was a carefully crafted, soothing riot of planned spontaneity, synthetic authenticity, repetitive charm, and formulaic quaintness. In 1952, with the kind of strategic planning Rozelle's NFL would employ a year later, Disney not only commissioned the Stanford Research Institute to find the ideal location, but he also lined up corporate sponsorship in five year leases with notable giants such as American Motors, Kodak, Pepsi, and Trans World Airlines. They all agreed to provide displays similar to ones that had been staples at world fairs for over the century since the London Crystal Palace in 1851. Disney recruited the fledgling American Broadcasting Network (ABC) (even before the AFL courted it) to promote his risky venture, and ABC acceded as they needed broadcast material. A lucrative arrangement was spawned

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<sup>37</sup> Bob Thomas, *Walt Disney: An American Original* (Disney Electronic Content, 2017). Susan Strasser, "Consumption," in Stanley Kutler I. Ed. *et al. Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 3 New York: Scribner's, 1996, 1030. B. Joseph Pine II, "Welcome to the experience economy," *Harvard Business Review*, 76 (Jul/Aug 1998): 97-105; Stephen J Arnold and Eileen Fischer, "Hermeneutics and consumer research," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21 (June 1994): 55-71. For the Walt Disney retelling see, Bob Thomas, *Walt Disney: An American Original* (Disney Electronic Content, 2017) Chap 1. For a study of city planners in Germany using Disney street layouts. Jan-Erik Steinkrüger, "Von der Poppelsdorfer Allee nach Disney World," in *Landschaftsästhetik und Landschaftswandel* (Springer VS, Wiesbaden, 2017), 41-50.

out of this expediency between the broadcasters and Hollywood that has become the norm for all entertainment venues (Disney now owns both ABC and the cable sports network, ESPN).<sup>38</sup>

A pleasant surprise for Disney was its first experience with cross marketing, a new sportsmanship twist on a packaged entertainment. Although Disney had sold Mickey Mouse figures and toys since the 1930s, it was overwhelmed by the Davy Crockett craze created by the December 15, 1954 airing of a five-part series originally produced to simply promote a ride at Disneyland. The song which had been used to advertise the episodes several months earlier was already a radio hit although it had been hastily recorded in less than twenty minutes. Disney himself hit upon the idea of using the song as a device to help move the story along, saying, "The lyrics will pick it up for the kids. It's what I call a comic book approach."<sup>39</sup>

Soon there was a national raccoon shortage as parents clamored to satisfy the coonskin cap cravings of the first baby boom children just coming of age.<sup>40</sup> This first testament to the power of cross-licensing and marketing products via television came as a complete surprise. A generation later in 1977, the Star Wars™ phenomenon proved marketing could consistently generate more revenues than the box office for Hollywood.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Hollywood studios, following Disney's example, soon produced the majority of the content for broadcasters who in turn purchased more with the revenues they generated from selling program advertising. Gone was the single sponsor programming which had been the industry standard in radio. Two years later 40 percent of all programming was produced this way, followed by a jump to 71 percent just one year later. Ronald Walters, "The Mass Media and Popular Culture," in Kutler Stanley I. Ed. et al., *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 4. (New York: Scribner's, 1996) 1476. More Chloe Becker, "The Magic behind the Magic: An examination of The Walt Disney Company, the most powerful company in the world." (2017); Simrit Gill, "An analysis of Disney Theme Parks' relational approaches to developing consumer engagement and advocacy," *Journal of Promotional Communications* 6, no. 2 (2018).

<sup>39</sup> Moira McCormick, "Mannheim Finds Challenge, Change of Pace in Set of Disney Songs," *Billboard* April 10, 1999, 56-57.

<sup>40</sup> This despite hastily published academic accounts noted the historic David Crockett rarely wore coonskin and was never called Davy by his friends. As Lou Lispi, art director of Walt Disney's New York Character Merchandise Division in 1955 explained, "the key to the whole Davy Crockett merchandise phenomenon was the demand for coonskin hats. When parents could not buy a hat, they purchased some other Davy Crockett item to keep their kids happy." The *New York Times* estimated by the end of 1955 American kids had their choice of over 3,000 different Davy Crockett toys and accessories and ten percent of all children's wear sold that year could be linked to the craze. *The New York Times Magazine* December 11, 1955. Perhaps the most dedicated of dozens of internet web sites dedicated to the celebration of the Crockett Craze is [http://www.geocities.com/TelevisionCity/Set/1486/#target\\_crockett\\_links!!](http://www.geocities.com/TelevisionCity/Set/1486/#target_crockett_links!!) Accessed July 28, 1999. See James A. Shackford's, *David Crockett: The Man and the Legend*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1956),

<sup>41</sup> In 1977 when George Lucas extended the power of product licensing further by opting for control of all the product licensing instead of the usual percentage option box office receipts, studio executives eagerly agreed questioning his judgment. They no longer do. In the quarter century of the *Star Wars*™ sagas, this arrangement has netted Lucas an estimated \$4.5 billion dollars or almost four times the total

Walt Disney was successful because he expected the experience he was providing would constantly need to be tweaked. Although he initially spurned the "thrill ride," he soon promised, "there will be innumerable attractions to dilate childish pupils and drop parental jaws." Yet he retooled the signature Disneyland attraction, Cinderella's Castle, when presumably too many parental jaws dropped as they entered a, "genuine, child-size, medieval torture chamber."<sup>42</sup> Ten years after the glaring bugs were worked out and torture chambers removed, Walt Disney was dead. Another 20 years and the Disney empire was taking on water. But after a string of feature length cartoon hits, Disney's energetic head, Michael Eisner, updated Walt Disney's vision of immersive entertainment and began diversifying Disney holdings into broadcasting, finally purchasing ABC itself along with sport networks and even several professional sports franchises. By 1996 Disney was the world's largest multimedia conglomerate with \$44 billion holdings in film entertainment, music recording, theme parks and resorts, live theater, hotels, retail stores, consumer goods, interactive services and software, and traditional media (television, radio and publishing). Disney's broadcast reach extended into 160 countries in 19 languages. It had become, to borrow from the "forward-leaning" information age-speak, "a major content provider" with "synergy."<sup>43</sup>

Disney is now the world's largest provider of "consistent consumer experiences," although it occasionally stumbles. In its attempt to create an historically authentic theme park (complete with, in Disney's terms, an "industrial revolution coaster culminating in a narrow escape from a fiery vat of molten steel") in Civil War battlefield-rich Northern Virginia, the locals protested the project away. The enormous EuroDisney™ outside of Paris took almost a decade to become profitable after Disney made some adjustments to European visitors' preference for finding their own lodgings but is now the most popular

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box office gross. Richard Corliss. "Our Critic Rides A Time Machine Into Movie Memory" *Time*, February 10, 1997, 72.

<sup>42</sup> "Disneyland – A Wonderful World," *Newsweek*, April 15, 1955.

<sup>43</sup> Steve Marantz, "The Mouse That Roars," *Sporting News* December 30, 1996, S2-S4.

single destination on the continent.<sup>44</sup>

These all are now familiar practices as television content is typically Hollywood produced.<sup>45</sup> Fifty years ago, however, this concerted effort by a corporation to integrate and project all its product lines onto a single consumer focal point was a novel one.<sup>46</sup> In so doing, Disneyland, the model CCE provider, would lay the foundation for what became the world's largest media empire **just** half a century later. But even Disney learned what the NFL did. Audiences would rather be entertained than participate **in** visionary community planning unless they are upscale gated golf **courses** called "Celebration."<sup>47</sup>

### **The consumer is the product**

Those who have perhaps best deconstructed *The Experience Economy* are Joseph B. Pine and James H Gilmore, whose work is aptly subtitled *Work is Theatre & Every Business a Stage* (Brecht and Rockne could not have agreed more). While Pine and Gilmore's conclusion that "the consumer is the product" is perhaps hermeneutically bleak, the work aptly describes how in a post-post-industrial, or what they describe as an "experience economy," the "battleground lies in staging experiences."<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> "Who's Afraid of Virginia's Mouse?" *Time*, June 6, 1994, 76. John McGrath, "The lawyers who rebuilt EuroDisney," *International Financial Law Review*, 13 (May 1994): 10-13. Jon Wiener, "Tall Tales and True," *The Nation*, January 31, 1994, 133. Diana Scimone, "Monsieur Mickey Arrive en France!" *Europe* 314 (Mar 1992): 32. European venture partners are still grouching at the top-down control Disney manages to exert. Paulo Prada, "Euro Disney Does Nicely. So Why Are Investors Grumpy?" *Wall Street Journal* September 6, 2000, A.20. Disney is now planning another European Park with teenagers in mind. Charles Fleming, "Euro Disney To Build Movie Theme Park Outside Paris" *Wall Street Journal*, September 30, 1999, A.18. The official Disney biographies continue b Bob Thomas, *Walt Disney: An American Original*. Disney Electronic Content, 2017.

<sup>45</sup> Todd Gitlin, *Inside Prime Time* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 57; Christopher Anderson, "Disneyland," *Television: The Critical View*, 5th ed., ed. Horace Newcomb (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 83.

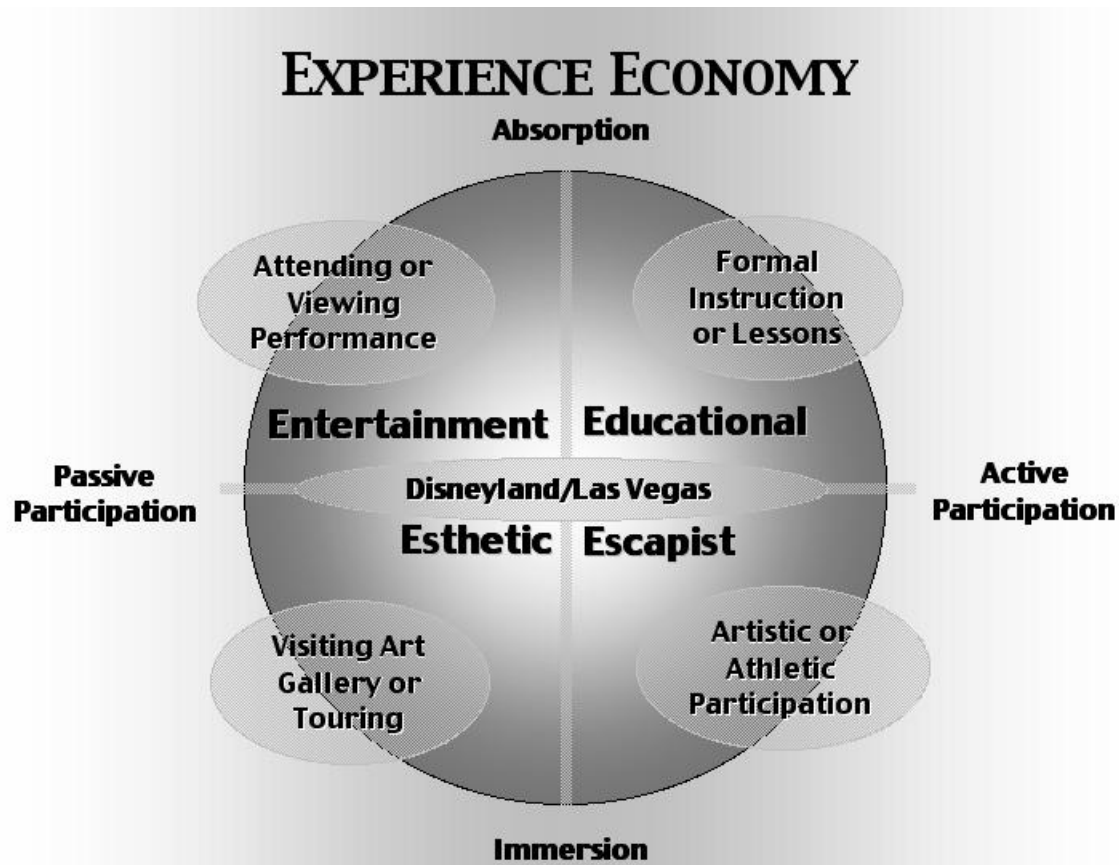
<sup>46</sup> For a useful background on the development of regional shopping centers, see William Severini Kowinski, *The Mall of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise* (New York, William Morrow, 1985); Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), 7, 76-77, 278-88; Margaret Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York, Hill and Wang 1992), 3-30.

<sup>47</sup> So pervasive is the Disney-inspired CCE that even genuine towns in order to survive "niche market" themselves along themes. Mark Greif, "Potemkin Villages," *The American Prospect*, 11 (January 3, 2000): 54. Celebration has priced itself out of Disney original vision of an urban community for all. EPCOT, was to have been an experimental community of about 20,000 people on the Disney World in central Florida. 50-acre town center was to have enclosed by a dome, with a themed international shopping area—all that was realized—greenbelt, high-density apartments, satellite communities, monorail and underground roads, based on today's transit-oriented development theory. Steve Mannheim, *Walt Disney and the Quest For Community* (New York: Routledge, 2016), intro. Nevertheless the Disney biographies continue to be celebratory of his ability to stage his entertainment vision.

<sup>48</sup> Joseph B. Pine, and James H Gilmore, *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage* (Harvard Business School Press, 1999) and "Welcome to the Experience Economy," *Harvard Business Review* 76(July/August 1998): 97-105. 98. Pine and Gilmore have since become the authorities on commodifying experience. Joseph Pine, B. and James H. Gilmore, "The Experience Economy: Past, Present and Future," *Handbook on the experience economy* (2013): 21-44. Joseph Pine II, B. and James Gilmore, "Integrating experiences into your business model: five approaches," *Strategy & Leadership* 44, no. 1 (2016): 3-10.

Figure 5.1 below diagrams the relationship between various experiences along two intersecting axes representing two continua and presents the staged ideal residing in the middle.

Figure 5.1



According to Pine and Gilmore, the prototypes of experience economy are Las Vegas and Disneyland because they have the proven ability to stage complete contextual consumer experiences, that "the richest experiences-such as going to Disney World or gambling in a Las Vegas casino - encompass aspects of all four realms, forming a 'sweet spot' around the area where the spectra meet. But still," they reassure potential experience stagers, "the universe of possible experiences is vast."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Pine, *Experience*, 104.

## Ronald Smith's football scholarship questions

Clearly football had drifted into Entertainment quadrant Figure 5.1 when Camp and others claimed for it the valuable lessons laid out in the escapist quadrant. How that drift took place over the years was the subject of a series of open questions American sports historian Ronald Smith posed in 2002 for those studying collegiate sports. Here is review of those questions and how this study, with the help of other historians and the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic, has addressed those still partially open 15 years later.<sup>50</sup>

*What was the process that allowed higher education policy/philosophy in America to accommodate intercollegiate football as the most visible activity on college campuses?*

A unique late 19<sup>th</sup> century American competitive environment with a few old and many new and aspiring schools, both private and public, insured that any competitive intermediary activity (sport) would find popular purchase. Commonwealth nations similarly promoted amateur collegiate sport, yet their education systems were more rigidly hierarchical and much less socially fluid and competitive.<sup>51</sup>

*How was the concept of amateurism constructed and reconstructed from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century to accommodate what became the highly commercial-professional model of men's, and eventually women's, intercollegiate athletics?*

<sup>50</sup> For an overview of the state for collegiate football scholarship at the turn of the 21st century see, Ronald A. Smith, "Intercollegiate athletics/football history at the dawn of a new century," *Journal of Sport History* 29 (2002): 229-239. Smith then listed among others, the following persistent issues worthy of research: What were the roles of college presidents and governing boards in the development of commercialized and professionalized college football? How did college football coaches move from being adjuncts to the team captains in the nineteenth century to becoming virtual football dictators in the twentieth century? What was the process that allowed higher education policy/philosophy in America to accommodate intercollegiate football as the most visible activity on college campuses? How was the concept of amateurism constructed and reconstructed from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century to accommodate what became the highly commercial-professional model of men's, and eventually women's, intercollegiate athletics? What was the nature of college stadium building and athletic arena building on campuses in the twentieth century? What were the dynamics of geography, economics, and urban pride in the development of the "bowl" system in college football? How did legal cases and governmental action change the nature of intercollegiate athletics and football in particular? From the first "football" what has been the history of academic standards, eligibility requirements, recruitment practices, and graduation rates for intercollegiate football players? How did certain individuals influence intercollegiate football history--three who are in need of biographies because of their influence, namely Walter Camp, the "Father of American Football"; Walter Byers, NCAA Executive Director, 1951-1987; and Theodore Hesburgh, long-time president of Notre Dame? Camp's biography has been amply met by Julie Des Jardin, *Walter Camp: Football and the Modern Man*, (New York: University of Oxford Press, 2015) though the others remain unwritten.

<sup>51</sup> From the allocation of land for educational institutions in the Northwest Ordinance to the Morrill Land Grant Acts of 1862 and 1890 funding of land grant colleges, public and private education beholden to the public. Big-time college athletics could then play a unique role as means to vie for status among all the parvenus. The British higher education system, by way of contrast, did not see a similar expansion among its ranks until the 1960s. Amateur sports could never play a similar expansive establishment role Andrei S., Markovits, and Lars Rensmann, *Gaming The World: How Sports are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture* (Princeton University Press, 2010); Brian Ingrassia, *Rise of Gridiron University: Rise of Gridiron University* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012), 206. Collins, "Exceptionalism," 210.

This is the essential dynamic of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic. As football, the most prominent intercollegiate game, evolved and snowballed, it successively picked up elements of Progressivism, war mobilization, new mass medium-radio, New Deal retrenchment, war mobilization again, another new mass medium-television, Cold War anxieties, professionalization, and finally distrust of authority and Namath's NFL response.<sup>52</sup>

*What were the roles of college presidents and governing boards in the development of commercialized and professionalized college football?*

They soon became the driving force behind the gamesmanship and its appeal to belonging and place. As this elite leadership has proven incapable of disengaging from a gamesmanship struggle for status with rival institutions, they more or less demonstrate the staying power of social identity.

*What was the nature of college stadium building and athletic arena building on campuses in the twentieth century?*

A three-part stadium-defined progression is the conceptual heart of this study—the “scientific” standardization of play in temporary wooden stadiums; the memorial selling of performance in permanent concrete stadiums; the sprezzatura celebration of entertainment in luxury stadiums.

*How did college football coaches move from being adjuncts to the team captains in the nineteenth century to becoming virtual football dictators in the twentieth century?*

Although this study resisted the urge to equate coaches with intrinsic authoritarians, each of three coaches was clearly prominent within each of the three stadium-based periods: the promoter Walter Camp, the performer Knute Rockne, and the professional Vince Lombardi. Each successfully practiced and promoted his own version of football though the

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<sup>52</sup> Sports were a way of helping making a series of transitions. “During the late-nineteenth-century, cultural leaders used sports as national myth and drama to legitimize a social, political, and economic order that was fundamentally at odds with the existing liberal state that had existed for over a century.” Stephen Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1920*, (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 6.

Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic. Camp overlooked gamesmanship until he could no longer and then he rationalized a reconstructed sportsmanship in the name of patriotism. Rockne made no bones about gamesmanship but always maintained a guise of sportsmanship for his players. As the one coach of professional players, Lombardi could focus on pure gamesmanship all the while missing out on how entertainment was becoming the new sportsmanship. He was confounded by the rise of Namath and his style represented.

### Leaving out sports distorts our culture

What follows is a discussion of the state of sports history and how old rifts remain with the field in general. Clearly collegiate sports history brings its own expressed challenges, the Sisyphean study of reform efforts. However, the field as a whole could benefit from a greater appreciation of the power of the social identity of gamesmanship, which is obviously making a renaissance at this populist moment.

Since the rise of 1970s social history, one would expect many historians flocking to such a well laid out field with popular mass appeal. Quite the opposite. In 2014, at the end of an academic exchange on the state of sport history, historian Amy Bass questioned whether there really was a sports history.<sup>53</sup> Twenty years earlier sports historians Michael Oriard and Elliot Gorn had lamented, “Despite the obvious importance of sports in American life, only a small number of the American academics have made a specialty of analyzing the relationship between athletics and culture and their work remains ghettoized...leaving out sports distorts our culture.”<sup>54</sup>

Such pleas have been part of a longstanding theology of sorts—that sports are a lens

<sup>53</sup> Bass in her rebuttal asked, “Is it more important to know a lot about sports, or is it more important to be a trained historian?” She answers both are for the sake of the discipline but then wonders whether the discipline even works, whether sports should just be another subject historians are able to move in and out of as needed. Amy Bass, “The Last Word on the State of Sports History,” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 195-197, 197.

<sup>54</sup> Elliot Gorn and Michael Oriard, “Taking Sports seriously,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 41 March 24, 1995. A52.



through which any aspect of civilization could and should be refracted.<sup>55</sup>

How did sports history find itself in such a state of self-doubt and ultimately, what can a review of the gamesmanship | sportsmanship dynamic in the first century of football offer? Football specifically: place in education, as a real within an ideal. Any school could enter the gamesmanship of big-time football market, but if you were an elite school like Camp's Yale, you were on the horns of the gamesmanship | sportsmanship dilemma of this study. You could either compete with these parvenus and match their gamesmanship in recruiting and subsidization, or embrace sportsmanship reform and risk competitive irrelevancy.

Already a century ago (1917), Frederick Paxson, in the waning spirit of Progressivism, tried to make a historic case for studying sport. But implicit all of this was its appeal without the tools of social identity. Yet not until the early 1970s did a group of physical educators (kinesiologists), augmented by a smattering of psychologists, sociologists and historians, found the North American Association of Sports History (NAASH).<sup>56</sup> Since then, an informal fissure grew between those more interested in the history of sports production (kinesiologists and psychologists) and those in its consumption (sociologists and historians).<sup>57</sup> The greatest contributions to their respective sides of the producer/consumer

<sup>55</sup> Sports historians are apt to ask these or similar questions of their fellow historians. "There is seemingly nothing that cannot be historically absorbed via the window of sports, even with the most basic of its questions: Why do people so passionately believe in the concept of a level playing field with so much evidence to the contrary? Why do millions take part in the production, consumption, and remembering of games, teams, and athletes?" Historic studies discussion responded to by analyzing 405 full-length articles in the *Journal of Sport History* from the first issue in 1974 through the end of 2014." "holistic" approach rather than the "dichotomous" historiography trend present over the past decade. Andrew D. Linden, "Tempering the Dichotomous Flame: Social History, Cultural History, and Postmodernism (s) in the Journal of Sport History, 1974–2014," *Journal of Sport History* 43, no. 1 (2016): 66-82. The standard collection of sports history at its peak was Steven A. Riess, ed. *Major Problems In American Sport History: Documents and Essays* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

<sup>56</sup> In the wake of the Frederick Jackson Turner's challenge to discover the American character in the frontier experience, Paxson valiantly over-interpreted the role of sports. Frederick L. Paxson, "The Rise of Sport," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 4 (September, 1917): 145. Mark Dyreson, "The Emergence of Consumer Culture and the Transformation of Physical Culture: American Sport in the 1920s," *Journal of Sport History* 16 (Fall 1989): 261-281. Randy Roberts, "'The Two-Fisted Testing Ground of Manhood': Boxing and the Academy," *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 188-191.

<sup>57</sup> Although sports history has had its own formal association and journal since the early 1970s it was physical education departments, which since their own formations in the mid 1880s, promoted sports history and ties to ancient Greco-Roman traditions to legitimize their activities. By the 1970s they formalized their sports history by inviting historians and historians within ancillary sports departments including kinesiology, sports psychology, sports sociology, sports management etc., to join them in founding the North American Association of Sport Historians. In 2007 Association President (and kinesiologist) Marc Dyreson sought to underscore an semantic

rift have come from the kinesiologists<sup>58</sup> and sociologists<sup>59</sup> who, to varying degrees, see

themselves as keepers of a single flame. And it is here that Bass is seen by some as

smothering that flame, when she suggests that sports history would be better served **by**

encouraging others to take it more seriously **and** simply folding it into race, class, gender,

economic, diplomatic, and even transnational studies.<sup>60</sup>

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distinction between “Sports history” (as practiced by physical educators such as himself who happen to be historians) “history of sports” (as practiced by historians who happened to interested sports) Mark Dyreson, “Sport History and the History of Sport in North America,” *Journal of Sport History* 34, no. 3 (2007): 405-414, 409

<sup>58</sup> The physical educators are willing to carry the torch if the historians abandon them. Maureen M. Smith, “Will the Real Sport Historians Please Stand Up?: Shadow Boxing with an Absent Presenter,” *Journal of Sport History* 43, no. 1 (2016): 83-96. Smith maintains this as been long standing tradition sports educators defending sports history that probably won’t change and cites the following chronology, Melvin L. Adelman, “Academicians and American Athletics: A Decade of Progress,” *Journal of Sport History* 10.1 (1983): 80–106; Roberta J. Park, “Research and Scholarship in the History of Physical Education and Sport: The Current State of Affairs,” *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 54.2 (1983): 93–103; Susan J. Bandy suggests “Offering physical cultures and gender history than sport history is the worthy “turn” in “Gender and the ‘cultural turn’ in the Study of Sport and Physical Cultures” *Sport in Society* 19, no. 5 (2016): 726-735 and Henriette Gunkel, and Olaf Stieglitz, “Verqueerte Laufwege—Sport & Körper in Geschichtswissenschaften und Cultural Studies,” *Body Politics* 5. In the time of restructuring sub-disciplines in higher education it is time to consolidate around the single issue of sports studies forgetting sports history. Sarah K Fields, “Sport Studies: A Model for the Twenty-first-century University,” *Journal of Sport History* 43, no. 1 (2016): 56-65.

<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, sociologist see themselves less invested in sports history than the kinesiologists as they are more likely to see the fragmented consumption of sports, lending itself less well as a coherent discipline. They are also likely to have less to lose if a Google search is determinative. “sociology of sport” yielded almost twelve times the hits of “history of sport” (13,800,000 vs 1,190,000). Accessed July 2, 2016. David J Leonard, “Book review: Sports in Society: Issues and Controversies, The Sociology of Sports: An Introduction, Sport in Contemporary Society: An Anthology, Sociological Perspectives on Sport: The Games Outside the Games and Sociology of North American Sport,” *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 51, no. 1 (2016): 114-119. Leonard notes since the 19th century and their discipline’s origins, sociologists have long appreciated any processes or arrangements that contribute to normative socialization. After the discipline of sport sociology was organized in the late 1970s, followed by its own journal by the early 1980s, most sports sociologists now filter the relationship between sports and society through one of four essential theories: structural functionalism, conflict theory, critical theory, and symbolic interactionism. The most recent standard texts include Jay J. Coakley, and Elizabeth Pike *Sports in Society: Issues and controversies* (Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill, 2014). Tim Delaney and Tim Madigan in *The Sociology of Sports: An Introduction*. (McFarland, 2015) are typical in that they aim nothing short of demonstrating how “the study of sport ... connects with every aspect of the field of sociology,” 1. And this through socialization “defined as a continuing process of social development and learning that occurs as individuals interact with one another and learn about society’s expectations of proper behavior so they can participate and function within their societies” 77. Stanley Eitzen’s, *Sport in Contemporary Society: An Anthology*, 10th ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) furthers the now standard approach in its attempt to “sociologically analyze sport and, in doing so, to demythologize sport” xii. George H Sage and D Stanley Eitzen (eds.), *Sociology of North American Sport*, 10th ed., (New York, Oxford University Press, 2015) similarly start from the vantage point “Sport involvement is more than just making use of the levers of the body and using strength, endurance, and fitness to achieve objectives.” xiii. In a challenging vein, David Karen and Robert E Washington (eds.), *Sociological Perspectives on Sport: The Games Outside the Games*, (New York: Routledge, 2015) through anthologies, introduce the context of sport, via among other topics, race, gender, globalization, disability, social movements, and deviance, within a wide array of methodological and theoretical frameworks. In this way they are much more in keeping with the field of sports studies which, reflecting the fragmented highly popular appeal of sports in society, is widely scattered across disciplines suggesting perhaps that an interdisciplinary sports movement is the only way to make sense of sport as an institution.

<sup>60</sup> Amy Bass, “State of the Field: Sports History and the “Cultural Turn,”” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 148-172. In her initial comments Bass had offered a mixed mission and path forward “The work of sports historians is important, contributing across many fields while maintaining its distinct lines of identity, and as it continues to develop, its legitimacy and significance will continue to follow and thrive.” To Adrian Burgos, clearly the “place of sport in American studies and U.S. history is actually smaller than in its place within U.S. society, culturally and economically speaking.” Suggests the focus won’t change until faculty positions are dedicated to sports history. “Wait until Next Year: Sports History and the Quest for Respect,” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 176-180. Daniel A. Nathan, “Sports History and Roberto Clemente: A Morality Tale and a Way Forward,” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 184-187. Charles Payne warns that journalism, as “the rough draft of history,” can lead to a focus on “big events” and recognized “stars” to the neglect of equally important long-term processes and grass- roots developments that escape media attention. Historians, therefore, can provide not only a richer, more nuanced story but also a more accurate rendering, undistorted by the fickle immediacy of the press. Then the consensus fell apart as one of Bass’ reviewers, Susan K. Cahn, called Bass out on her mixed message, “Turn, Turn, Turn: There Is a Reason (for Sports History),” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 181-183. Lisa Doris Alexander responded and wondered about the tendency in sports history to focus too much on the producer and not enough on the consumer when it came to addressing sports journalism. “How do we contribute to public conversations surrounding breaking news stories without compromising our scholarly training?” This is reflected in a review of the top schools in the United States which shows that classes on sports history, particularly in history departments, are quite rare. Furthermore, does the left simply disdains sports? How do we deal with the tension between sports journalism and sports scholarship? “Sports History: What’s Next?” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 174. The nature and character sports history has been the subject of debate for decades. Steven A. Riess, “The New Sport History,” *Reviews in American History* 18 (1990): 311–25; Catriona M. Parratt, “About Turns: Reflecting on Sport History in the 1990s,” *Sport History Review* 29.1 (1998): 4–17;

Perhaps sports historians should pose the basic question as to why a sense of place and belonging and social identity with a team were so powerful how identity can be organized around any damn sport (thanks Fukuyama). Most research on sports flagship has assumed it is identification with the team, but in reality it is the anticipated social connection with other supporters. Reports science writer Eric Simmons, “The team is just the focal point or the symbol.”<sup>61</sup>

Kinesiologist Guy Lewis, a NAASH founding member, in his dissertation (1965), was the first to systematically examine the early history of football as a spectacle mediated by newspapers and other print media—a theme since then most prominently taken up by sports history advocate and scholar Michael Oriard.<sup>62</sup> Beyond reporting the competitive action of the arena, there is the implicit appeal of the Roman gamesmanship in the heavy spectacle

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Murray G. Phillips, “Deconstructing Sport History: The Postmodern Challenge,” *Journal of Sport History* 28.3 (2001): 327–43; Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (London: Routledge, 2005); Murray G. Phillips, *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); Colin Howell, “Assessing Sport History and the Cultural and Linguistic Turn,” *Journal of Sport History* 34.3 (2007): 459–65; Martin Polley, *Sports History: A Practical Guide* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); Jaime Schultz, “Leaning into the Turn: Towards a New Cultural History,” *Sporting Traditions* 27.2 (2010): 45–59; Jeffrey Hill, *Sport in History: An Introduction* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011). Many of the complaints about the relevance of sports history were mirrored in sociology in the early 1970s. In 2009 Harry Edwards, Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the University of California–Berkeley and acknowledged father of sport sociology, related his early struggle toward acceptance. “We have come a very long way since 1967,” *Sociology of Sport* (1972) was the first integrated textbook focusing on a sociological analysis of sport as a social institution. Up until that time, sport had been relegated to physical education. Sociologists didn’t feel that it was up to their standard as an area of career focus or analysis. One of the big challenges was convincing even the people at Cornell that sport was worth looking at; that despite 105 years of sociology, a major institution and an increasingly important institution, had been overlooked and bypassed mostly out of academic arrogance.” Dr. Harry Edwards, “Sociology of Sport Origin,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ipyAYsb5Bg>, accessed 25 October 2015. In the end “the capacity to expand an audience might be sport’s biggest contribution” According to Rob Ruck, “scholarly work about sport in the 1970s was terrible, often-reductionist attempts to apply Marxist or modernization paradigms, shallow and hagiographic biographies, or narrow institutional studies. Rightfully snubbed as neither well done nor worthy of the discipline’s attention.” But 40 years later, “sports history has reached critical mass. There is no longer a reason to be defensive.” Already employed, Ruck suggests “building an academic career in sport is never going to be easy, but it is more possible than ever. Besides, it can be deeply rewarding and so much fun.” “The Field of Sports History at Critical Mass,” *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (2014): 192–194.

<sup>61</sup> Eric Simons, *The Secret Lives of Sports Fans*. (New York: Gerald Duckworth & Co, 2013), 232. Jaime E. Settle, *Frenemies: How Social Media Polarizes America*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 234. how we use this to prune our identity and select what we want in out associations, 234. “We have a natural fondness for our own tribe and a natural distrust for those from the other,” said David Atkin, a professor of communication at UConn who specializes in a trend he calls the “coarsening of our discourse” across all media. “We’re a little more untethered on Twitter. ... And you can set up an account and be anonymous and it’s easier just to let it rip.” Chris Brouder, “They Hate Us Because They Ain’t Us’: Patriots Fans Revel In Yankee-Like Villainy Ahead Of Super Bowl.” Feb 4, 2018. <http://www.courant.com/sports/football/hc-sp-insufferable-patriots-fans-super-bowl-20180130-story.html>

<sup>62</sup> Guy Lewis, *The American Intercollegiate Football Spectacle, 1869-1917* (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1965). Lewis already keyed in on the salient questions, “What forces contributed to the development of the spectacle? Why did football escape its original geographic limits and spread to all sections the country when and under what circumstances of college authorities formally recognized spectacle?” He ended at 1917 as the year of acceptance. Lewis’ somewhat unconvincing demarcation would have benefitted by either being pared back few years earlier to the 1913-14 construction of the Yale Bowl or allowed to see to rise of Notre Dame given his stated criteria of acceptance of Football as spectacle, was “cars, stadiums and celebrity.” 2, 290. For the better part of two decades Oriard has examined the culture of football, giving key consideration to the notion of spectacle. The theme was first taken up in *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created and American Spectacle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993, followed up in *King Football: Sport and Spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, the Weekly and the Daily Press*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001, while persisting in Oriard’s other works, *Bowled Over: Big Time College Football from the Sixties to the BCS Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), *Brand NFL: Making and Selling America’s Favorite Sport* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

and staged entertainment. Stadia as housed play within this experience of the spectacle (etymologically and historically, a "specially prepared or arranged display"). The playfulness Jackson Lears celebrates in consumerism, as first interpreted almost a century ago by Johan Huizinga, is not far from Namath's sprezzatura persona. It could and should be taken one step further towards the shared experience of social identity.<sup>63</sup>

It should be clear from this study that sports historians mostly underappreciate the power of gamesmanship through social identity. The one historian who got at social identity through social anxiety was Richard Hofstadter. Since the 2016 populist moment, his half century work on anxiety is getting another look.<sup>64</sup>

### Hofstadter moment

Thanks to Richard Hofstadter, the "icon 1950s liberal consensus" historian, two generations of historians have shared a reluctance to enlist status consciousness and paranoia in explaining the appeal of American populism. Though these same historians have not remained so reluctant to accept Hofstadter's well-known characterization of Camp's brother-in-law William Graham Sumner at Yale as the father of American Social Darwinism<sup>65</sup>

Hofstadter, who would rather not bothered with primary sources when his access to wide ranging secondary ones and his incisive intellect and engaging style

<sup>63</sup> Rooted in Roman Games and culturally transmuted in medieval passion plays, from Old French *spectacle* "sight, spectacle, Roman games" (13c.), from Latin *spectaculum* "a public show, spectacle, place from which shows are seen," from *spectare* "to view, watch, behold," Cambridge Dictionary, "Spectacle," <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/spectacle>, Accessed July 24, 2016. "The construction of cultural meetings is a process by which producers and consumers come together, each bearing chains is signifiers that both empower and restrain their capacity to make sense of life....yet ends with playfulness is what it is all about." Jackson Lears, "Making Fun of Popular Culture," *American Historical Review* 97 December 1992: 1422. Lears is not alone in his emphasis on playful consumption. See Oriard's *Sporting with the Gods: Rhetoric of Play and Game in American Culture* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991). *Homo Ludens: Proeve Ener Bepaling Van Het Spelelement Der Cultuur*, (Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff, 1938) and *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*. (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1949), 5.

<sup>64</sup> Joshua Zeitz, "Historians Have Long Thought Populism Was a Good Thing. Are They Wrong?," *Politico*, Jan. 14, 2018), accessed Jan 30, 2018, <http://tinyurl.com/politico-populism>; Richard H. King, "Reflections on Hofstadter's The American Political Tradition," *Society* (2018): 1-6; Rafael Di Tella, and Julio J. Rotemberg, "Populism and the return of the 'Paranoid Style': Some evidence and a simple model of demand for incompetence as insurance against elite betrayal," *Journal of Comparative Economics* 46, no. 4 (2018): 988-1005. Mark D. Brewer, "Populism and Nationalism in US Politics 1," *Populist Nationalism in Europe and the Americas* (2018): 170-187.

<sup>65</sup> Libertarians have long rallied to Sumner's defense in what they see as his mischaracterization as a Social Darwinist. They note Sumner never mentions Herbert Spencer or Charles Darwin but rather reproves the clergy for valorizing poverty in his best known, "*What Do the Classes Owe Each Other?*" (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883), 44-45. Jeff Riggenbach, "The Real William Graham Sumner," *Mises Institute* April 2, 2011, accessed Jan 4, 2018. <https://mises.org/library/real-william-graham-sumner>.

would do—first deployed “status anxiety” in the mid-50s as an ingenious explanation of how the perceived loss of status enjoyed by their forebears motivated anxious upper-middle-class Progressives in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Hofstadter’s lack of original evidence caught up with him in the case of status—he privately admitted as much—and historians have been wary of status anxiety ever since while slowly acknowledging its nuanced application.<sup>66</sup> His attribution of paranoia to Populism seemed condemned to a similar fate. Yet by 2007 his essay, “The Paranoid Style in American Politics,” originally published in *Harper’s Magazine* in 1964, is now considered “one of the most important and most influential articles published in the 155 year history of [this] magazine.”<sup>67</sup> The 2016 breakthrough of

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<sup>66</sup> David S. Brown, *Richard Hofstadter: an intellectual biography*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 38, 113. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR*, (New York: Knopf, 1955); Hofstadter first came under gentle attack with Robert W. Doherty, “Status Anxiety and American Reform: Some Alternatives,” *American Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1967): 329-337; Robert Griffith, “The political context of McCarthyism,” *The Review of Politics* 33, no. 01 (1971): 24-35; Then the “status anxiety” heat turned up with a reassessment of progressivism in the 1970s, see David M. Kennedy, “Overview: The progressive era,” *Historian* 37, no. 3 (1975): 453-468; Harry N. Scheiber, Richard Hofstadter, and Christopher Lasch, “A Keen Sense of History and the Need to Act: Reflections on Richard Hofstadter and the American Political Tradition,” (1974): 445-452; Charles W. Eagles, “Urban-Rural Conflict in the 1920s: A Historiographical Assessment,” *The Historian* 49, no. 1 (1986): 26-48. The full-on critiques emerged in the late 80s replete with explanations of how both we and Hofstadter were beguiled by his powerful phrasemaking capacities, “making it all look so easy... exhibiting things as though they could’ve looked that way along, and allowing us to persuade ourselves that they have.” Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, “Richard Hofstadter: A Progress,” in *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial*, ed. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick (New York, 1974), 358 cited and fully developed in Robert M. Collins, “The Originality Trap: Richard Hofstadter on Populism,” *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 1 (1989): 150-167; Hofstadter did retain defenders in the Frankfurt school who had originally inspired his construct and use of “status anxiety.” Peer Scheepers, Albert Felling, and Jan Peters, “Social conditions, authoritarianism and ethnocentrism: a theoretical model of the early Frankfurt School updated and tested,” *European Sociological Review* 6, no. 1 (1990): 15-29. By the late 1990s “students of progressivism” could claim “Hofstadter’s talk of status anxiety among an old middle class is regarded as quaint at best.” Michael Kazin, “Hofstadter Lives: Political Culture and Temperament in the Work of an American Historian,” *Reviews in American History* 27, no. 2 (1999): 334-348 335. Social historians and sociologists, however, always remained much more sympathetic, Alan Hunt, “Anxiety and social explanation: Some anxieties about anxiety,” *Journal of Social History* (1999): 509-528; Dan M. Kahan, Donald Braman, John Gastil, Paul Slovic, and C. K. Mertz, “Gender, race, and risk perception: The influence of cultural status anxiety,” *JSRN 723762* (2005). Meanwhile, Hofstadter’s contributions became increasingly gauzy and he was seen as someone one should be prepared to know for one’s oral exams. Robert D. Johnston, “Re-democratizing the Progressive era: The politics of Progressive Era political historiography,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, no. 01 (2002): 68-92; Though he now holds a honored seat at the table of Progressive Era historians and 50 year commemorations, see Ted Underwood, “Stories of Parallel Lives and the Status Anxieties of Contemporary Historicism,” *Representations* 85, no. 1 (2004): 1-20; Robert D. Johnston, “The Age of Reform: A Defense of Richard Hofstadter Fifty Years On,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6, no. 02 (2007): 127-137; Gillis Harp, “Hofstadter’s The Age of Reform and the Crucible of the Fifties,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6, no. 02 (2007): 139-148; In a 2008 Presidential Address of the Organization of American Historians, Richard White offered the penultimate iteration of Hofstadter when he cast him as a nuanced historian mediating a consensus era, when Hofstadter anticipated, “immigration, a culture ration, nativism, race, slavery, mobility, status tensions—in short, the entire sociological penumbra political life—has become organic part of historical thinking.” Richard White, “A Commemoration and a Historical Mediation,” *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 4 (2008): 1073-1081. And then came a full blown biography with multiple sources revealing Hofstadter’s concerns with anti-Semitism and his conceptual influences (including Meyer Schapiro, Daniel Bell, Oscar Handlin and Henry Nash Smith) along with revelations that Hofstadter “privately conceded” the critics had been right about *The Age of Reform* in that its status thesis was “flawed and unusable” and the “nativism and anti-Semitism [that] permeated American society in the 1890s” was more dispositive. Hofstadter also admitted that his effort in *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* was ahistorical in explaining the present and had “clearly missed the mark.” David Brown, “Redefining American history: Ethnicity, progressive historiography and the making of Richard Hofstadter,” *The History Teacher* 36, no. 4 (2003): 527-548 and *Richard Hofstadter: an intellectual biography*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). His willingness to reassess his work and find its flaws was, however regrettable, a private Hofstadter quality. Jon Wiener, “America, Through A Glass Darkly,” *The Nation* (2006), <https://www.thenation.com/article/america-through-glass-darkly/>, accessed November 23, 2015.

<sup>67</sup> Scott Horton, “Browsings: The Harper’s Blog,” accessed Jan 2, 2018. <https://harpers.org/blog/2007/08/the-paranoid-style-in->



populism in the West, in which the left have drifted to [the](#) right, along with their anxieties and paranoia about immigration, appears to be validating for the near distant future what Hofstadter could only have conceptualized half a century earlier.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, decades old works involving globalization, belonging, and politics of identity are experiencing their own “Hofstadterian” renaissance.<sup>69</sup> The gamesmanship | sportsmanship dynamic is alive and well in the politics of identity both ethnic and civil.

### Imagined communities

Historically much of the totemic appeal (or reified shared experience) embedded in the professional or collegiate game is branded in mascots, colors, music and chants, a playful variation of the more serious national flags and anthems, the symbols of Benedict Anderson’s “imagined communities.”<sup>70</sup> Clearly something very tribally compelling is culturally at work here with an equally powerful cognitive explanation that has been under investigation by Cal Tech cognitive neuroscientist Steven R. Quartz. Since 2005 real time functional magnetic resonant imaging (fMRI) has been available to investigate “the unconscious processes that weren’t observable or measurable with typical behavioral

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american-politics/

<sup>68</sup> Fareed Zakaria was one of earliest to note the conflation of the left and right populism in “Populism on the March: Why the West is in Trouble,” *Foreign Affairs*, 95 (2016): 9. Others have since taken up the theme, For examples see, Leo Casey, “Introduction: Anatomy of a Crisis,” *Dissent* 65, no. 1 (2018): 20-21; Cosmas Ikegwuruka, “Immigration detention and liberal democracies: Is it all about power or money; if money, why, if power, why not?” *International Journal of Law and Management* 60, no. 5 (2018): 1126-1147; Richard Higgott, “Globalism, Populism and the Limits of Global Economic Governance,” *Journal Of Inter-Regional Studies: Regional And Global Perspectives*, 1 (2018): 2-23; Jacques Rupnik, “The Crisis of Liberalism,” *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 3 (2018): 24-38 and Sheri Berman, “Against the Technocrats,” *Dissent* 65, no. 1 (2018): 32-41.

<sup>69</sup> A typical example of such a study is Sheila Croucher’s 2004 updated, reissued and now well cited, *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018); A typical revival of “belonging” within a globalism construct is found in Marco Antonsich, “Searching for belonging—an analytical framework,” *Geography Compass* 4, no. 6 (2010): 644-659.

<sup>70</sup> The construct of modern tribalism undergirded Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, 1983. rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 149. Michael Walzer, “Modern tribalism” *Dialogue* 99 (1993): 14-15; It took another two decades for marketing anthropology to conspicuously associate tribalism to branding and then so with vehemence. See Cleopatra Veloutsou, and Luiz Moutinho, “Brand relationships through brand reputation and brand tribalism,” *Journal of Business Research* 62, no. 3 (2009): 314-322. Brigita Jurisic, and António Azevedo, “Building customer–brand relationships in the mobile communications market: The role of brand tribalism and brand reputation,” *Journal of Brand Management* 18, no. 4-5 (2011): 349-366. Bernard Cova, Robert Kozinets, and Avi Shankar, *Consumer tribes* (New York: Routledge, 2012), Harry A. Taute and Jeremy Sierra, “Brand tribalism: an anthropological perspective,” *Journal of Product & Brand Management* 23, no. 1 (2014): 2-15.

studies,” the kind Henri Tajfel was limited by in conceptualizing social identity<sup>71</sup>

Quartz would be forced to reconsider his previous assumptions about consumerism and tribal belonging in that it wasn’t “just about materialism. We use products socially.”

Quartz concluded that branding triggers an anticipated “cool” pleasure and social connections we make in response to the products we use “create and experience community. These communities often represent a consumer micro-culture, a brand community, or tribe, with its own values and norms about status”<sup>72</sup> Brain scans can measure the *Schadenfreude* or counter-empathic responses and “delight of failure” of the out-group which is often greater than in own team success<sup>73</sup> In 2004 psychologist Daniel Kahneman was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in recognition of his introduction of the emotional cognitive, psychological, cultural, and social factors of decision-making into rational classical economics.<sup>74</sup> If gamesmanship and sportsmanship just have a place in bringing together disciplines, we will have gone a long way in explaining the perils and promise of social and political identity in American culture.

<sup>71</sup> Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) “is one of the most important and most used research techniques for the investigation of emotions, because it is easiest to survey brain areas that oxygenate when performing certain tasks.” Mikel Alonso López, “The Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging and the Consumer Behavior: Reviewing Recent Research,” *World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology* 10, no. 04 (2016). Cal Tech cognitive neuroscientist Steven R. Quartz, with a joint appointment in philosophy, has established a long track record of constructivist research: the integration of neural, cognitive and computational perspectives in explaining human cognition and socialization. See Steven R., Quartz, and Terrence J. Sejnowski, “The neural basis of cognitive development: A constructivist manifesto,” *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 20, no. 04 (1997): 537-556 and Steven R. Quartz, “The constructivist brain,” *Trends in cognitive sciences* 3, no. 2 (1999): 48-57; Quartz has since then applied his manifesto towards wide ranging investigations of the neurological basis of social interactions, Quartz, “Reason, emotion and decision-making: risk and reward computation with feeling,” *Trends in cognitive sciences* 13, no. 5 (2009): 209-215; Steven R. Quartz, “Toward a developmental evolutionary psychology,” In *Evolutionary Psychology*, (Springer: 2003), 185-210; Steven R. Quartz, “Innateness and the brain,” *Biology and Philosophy* 18, no. 1 (2003): 13-40; Thomas R. Shultz, Shresh P. Mysore, and Steven R. Quartz, “Why let networks grow,” *Neuroconstructivism: Perspectives and prospects* 2 (2007): 65-98; Steven Quartz, and Terrence Sejnowski, “Constraining constructivism: cortical and sub-cortical constraints on learning in development,” *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 23, no. 05 (2000): 785-791; Kerstin Preuschoff, Steven R. Quartz, and Peter Bossaerts, “Human insula activation reflects risk prediction errors as well as risk,” *The Journal of neuroscience* 28, no. 11 (2008): 2745-2752; Ming Hsu, Cédric Anen, and Steven R. Quartz, “The right and the good: distributive justice and neural encoding of equity and efficiency,” *Science* 320, no. 5879 (2008): 1092-1095; Antoine J. Bruguier Steven R. Quartz, and Peter Bossaerts, “Exploring the nature of “trader intuition”,” *The Journal of Finance* 65, no. 5 (2010): 1703-1723; Quartz’s two most readable works remain, with Michael Shermer, *Liars, Lovers, and Heroes*, (Skeptics Society, 2003) and Steven Quartz and Anette Asp, *Cool: How the Brain’s Hidden Quest for Cool Drives our Economy and Shapes our World*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015 ). 50.

<sup>72</sup> Quartz, *Cool*, 41, 50.

<sup>73</sup> Brain scans of the medial pre frontal cortex have located it as the center *Schadenfreude* pleasure. Mina Cikara, Emile G. Bruneau, and Rebecca R. Saxe. “Us and Them: Intergroup Failures of Empathy,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 20, no. 3 (2011): 149-153; Mina Cikara, Matthew M. Botvinick, and Susan T. Fiske. “Us Versus Them: Social Identity Shapes Neural Responses to Intergroup Competition and Harm,” *Psychological Science* 22, no. 3 (2011): 306-313; Cikara, Mina, and Susan T. Fiske, “Stereotypes And *Schadenfreude*: Affective And Physiological Markers of Pleasure At Outgroup Misfortunes,” *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 3, no. 1 (2012): 63-71. Mina Cikara, Emile Bruneau, J. J. Van Bavel, and Rebecca Saxe. “Their Pain Gives Us Pleasure: How Intergroup Dynamics Shape Empathic Failures and Counter-Empathic Responses,” *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 55 (2014): 110-125. “When ‘I’ Become We,” *TEDxCambridge*. Accessed July 2, 2016. Available at <https://youtu.be/-XfOYFpjH7o>

<sup>74</sup> Kahneman’s paradox was the steady dance between, the emotional fast thinking System I, and the rational slow thinking System II , See Daniel Kahneman, and Patrick Egan. *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011).

## Gamesmanship | Ethnic Identity and Sportsmanship | Civic Identity

Clearly some of the deepest pleasures a human can experience have been neurologically associated with belonging and social identity. This directly confirms Henri Tajfel's work. As we have noted throughout the study, he was able to determine, in his "minimal group" experiments, how surprising little it took to create a social identity and then how powerfully competitive that identity could immediately become. That is Gamesmanship. In 1982, Tajfel presciently projected the implications of his research onto rising globalization. He asserted: "The increasing global interdependence since the end of World War II has enormously increased the diversity and complexity of intergroup relations. The psychological study of these problems, which will manage to combine some of our traditional preoccupations with an increased sensitivity to the nature of social realities, is one of our most important tasks for the future."<sup>75</sup>

This brings us back to the beginning: the persistent power of gamesmanship and the rationale of sportsmanship seeking to frame it. This gamesmanship is what Amy Chua described at the beginning of this study: "humans are tribal. We need to belong to groups. We crave bonds and attachments, which is why we love clubs, teams, fraternities, family."<sup>76</sup>

When economist Charles Clotfelter attempted a cost/benefit analysis of college sports he could not determine rational one. He could only conclude that what drives the gamesmanship behind big-time sports is that the "board of trustees, the stakeholders care about sports and they care about winning. That is why reform efforts over the years have been so consistently unsuccessful in satisfying the objections of critics."<sup>77</sup> We have shown

<sup>75</sup> Henri Tajfel, "Social identity and intergroup behavior," *Information (International Social Science Council)* 13, no. 2 (1974): 65-93. Henri, Tajfel, and John C. Turner. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." *The Social Psychology Of Intergroup Relations* 33, no. 47 (1979): 74; Henri Tajfel, "Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations," *Annual Review of Psychology* 33, no. 1 (1982): 1-39. 32.

<sup>76</sup> Amy Chua, *Political Tribes*, 4; chap. 8.

<sup>77</sup> Clotfelter, 218. The seven years since Clotfelter's still relevant findings only confirm them. Stakeholders are addicted to winning. This is gist of the more clinical conclusion Gerald Gurney, Donna A. Lopiano, and Andrew Zimbalist. *Unwinding madness: What went wrong with college sports and how to fix it*. (Brookings Institution Press, 2016) and the more journalistic Gilbert M. Gaul, *Billion-dollar ball: A journey through*



that no reforms will ever be possible until everyone comes clean and acknowledges the sports world never was an amateur paradise. And that when it comes to paying athletes like coaches, in the words of John Tunis, “for God’s sake, a little logic!” That is asking too much?<sup>78</sup> We can assume logically that the moment they are paid, in the words of Harvard president Derek Bok, they become unattractive minor leaguers as “the magic disappears.”<sup>79</sup> But what we also learned from amateur Red Grange’s *salto mortale* into the welcoming arms of the professionals that the magic did indeed disappear...but only ever so briefly, as fans, proclaiming abiding sportsmanship and outrage, quickly tracked Grange’s exploits in the pros. Gamesmanship trumps sportsmanship every time. But gamesmanship needs sportsmanship.

Hannah Arendt’s plea to action is a plea for sportsmanship.<sup>80</sup> Her 1967 essay *Truth and Politics* is as fresh as any explanation of President Trump’s latest tweet. She avers, “Freedom of opinion is a farce unless factual information is guaranteed and the facts themselves are not in dispute.” And yet the messiness of discourse must remain within the

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*the big-money culture of college football* (Penguin, 2015). Robert David McDermand, "Book Review-Unwinding Madness: What Went Wrong with College Sports-and How to Fix It," *Journal of Higher Education Athletics & Innovation* 1, no. 3 (2018): 78-81. And typical of a lingering Marxist critique in which the author shares his experience in sifting through gridiron prospects in American Samoa’s full-bodied football farms see Adam Beissel, "Confessions of a Human Trafficker," *Sport and the Neoliberal University: Profit, Politics, and Pedagogy* (Martin, Fasching-Varnier, & Hartlep, 2017), 170.

<sup>78</sup> Even the 2000 whimsical, self-acknowledge “draconian” plan by former Michigan President James Duderstadt, who also served the chairman of the big-10 athletic conference, that would allow each university to spin its off is own “truly independent and professional activities.” which would be a co-op owned by fans it would pay the university for trademark name mask on collars and then would pay the players whatever the market determined. Then it could function honestly as that “big-time show business” it is. The amateur student athletes would have their own parallel non-professional league. Michael Hiltzik, NCAA Antitrust Ruling Barely Chips at College Sports Dysfunction,” *LA Times*, August 17, 2014. Available at <http://www.latimes.com/business/hiltzik/la-fi-hiltzik-20140815-column.html>. Accessed July 3, 2018.

<sup>79</sup> Derek Bok, *Universities in the Marketplace: The Commercialization of Higher Education*, (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 2003), 124.

<sup>80</sup> The Populist moment has been good to Arendt as there 16 fold increase of two particular classics in December 2016 sales, George Orwell’s 1984 and Hannah Arendt’s *Origins of Totalitarianism*. Google search “Hannah Arendt” and “relevance” yielded 30,000 plus distinct postings since 2016 Presidential Election. <http://tinyurl.com/Arendt-Relevance>; The Typical introduction read: “A few weeks after Donald Trump was elected as the president of the United States, George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-four* raced to the top of the best-seller charts. Another book also found its sales jumping manifold in the wake of the elections, one that had never before enjoyed the mass popularity of Orwell’s dystopian classic, despite being heralded by scholars as one of the finest works of non-fiction of the twentieth century. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, published in 1951, looks at the rise of Nazism and Stalinism to analyze the workings of totalitarian governments. “Ten things Hannah Arendt said that are eerily relevant in today’s political times: One of the sharpest political thinkers of the twentieth century died on this day, December 4, 42 years ago.” *Scroll.in* Dec 04, 2017 . Accessed, Jan 10, 2018. Available at <https://scroll.in/article/856549/ten-things-hannah-arendt-said-that-are-erily-relevant-in-todays-political-times>. “THE CALIFORNIA REPORT Trump Election Spurs Sales of Books About White Working Class and Totalitarianism,” KQED News, January 19, 2017. Accessed January 24, 2018. Available at <https://www.kqed.org/news/11275396/trump-election-spurs-sales-of-books-about-white-working-class-and-totalitarianism>

bounds of politics and the polis of discourse—that is the necessity of sportsmanship.<sup>81</sup> In this, Arendt echoes the message of Christian Realist Reinhold Niebuhr in *Moral Man in an Immoral Society* (1932): “[T]he inclination to justice makes democracy possible; the inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary.”<sup>82</sup>

Amy Chua and Francis Fukuyama have both offered solutions to the populist moment. Both rely on their versions of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship tension. For Chua there must be recognition that “America is a super-group (sportsmanship) that transcends tribal politics (gamesmanship), an identity (sportsmanship) that does not belong to any subgroup (gamesmanship), that is strong and capacious enough to hold together an incredibly diverse population.” For Fukuyama, we must acknowledge the power of identities in driving populism and then make a distinction between ethnic identity (gamesmanship) and the larger creedal/civil identity (sportsmanship). And using a distinction made by Hegel, “*Erlebnis* can aggregate into *Erfahrung*; lived experience (gamesmanship) can become just plain experience (sportsmanship). So while we will never get away from identity politics in the modern world, we can steer it back to broader forms of mutual respect for dignity that will make democracy more functional.”<sup>83</sup>

Others offer equally compelling explanations and solutions. In his “fable of the wise nation,” Eastern European historian Timothy Snyder offers a substantial example of the geo-political hazards of assuming a quixotic ideal, one not unlike collegiate athletic reforms condemned to failure because they are based on a non-existent historic amateur ideal. Since European nation states have not acknowledged that they functioned mostly as empires who

<sup>81</sup> Richard Bernstein, “The illuminations of Hannah Arendt,” *New York Times*, June 20, 2018. Accessed July 2, 2018.

<https://nyti.ms/2l7Frf5>. Hannah Arendt, “Truth and Politics,” *Truth, Engagements across Philosophical Traditions* (2010): 295-314.

<sup>82</sup> Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A study in Ethics and Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1932). Richard Crouter, *Reinhold Niebuhr: On Politics, Religion, and Christian Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 48.

<sup>83</sup> Amy Chua, *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations* (New York: Penguin, 2018) Kindle, Epilogue. Francis Fukuyama, *Identity: The Demand For Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018) 42-55. Kindle, chap. 14.

did not learn the lessons of destruction.<sup>84</sup>

After years of studying how fledgling democracies fail, Steven Livitsky and Daniel Ziblatt offer some practical advice: do not practice the gamesmanship of constitutional hardball, but rather practice the sportsmanship of mutual toleration and forbearance.<sup>85</sup>

Humans today cannot deny the power of gamesmanship but within the necessity of contained sportsmanship. Before the populist moment in 2011, political scientist Steven Smith warned of a hollow world with without Arendtian *action*, or sportsmanship-like political discourse. A world without local culture and traditions “can lead only to moral decay, an inability or unwillingness to dedicate one’s life to ideals, to the relatively few things that matter and that give life wholeness and meaning.” The cosmopolitan state would be a world “where nothing really matters, where there is nothing left worth fighting for—a world of entertainments, of fun, of shopping, a world void of moral seriousness.”<sup>86</sup>

### **Holding Together the Disparate Parts Flying All Over the Place**

Finally, a real example of sports and politics coming together in a way that both Tajfel’s and Arendt’s priorities could appreciate, Walter Camp could promote, Knute Rockne might profit off of, and Vince Lombardi would use as an example of wanting to win.

The 2009 film *Invictus* is a relatively faithful retelling of the 1995 fairy tale World Championship Rugby match hosted by South Africa in which the underdog home team triumphs in a last-minute score. Here was a fascinating episode in which sport helped create

<sup>84</sup> Snyder holds the creedal identity driven “politics of inevitability” and the ethnic identity driven “politics of eternity” are equally responsible for the current outbreak of authoritarianism in Eastern Europe. See Timothy Snyder, *The Road To Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America* (New York: Crown, 2018); Timothy Snyder, *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2017); “Trump’s Putin Fantasy,” *The New York Review of Books* (2016); *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Random House, 2011). Robert Sapolsky, “This Is Your Brain on Nationalism,” *Foreign Affairs* (Mar/April 2019). Accessed Feb 20, 2019. <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/articles/2019-02-12/your-brain-nationalism>. Sapolsky’s earlier popular works, before the populist moment, examined human behavior generically as in *Behave: The Biology of Humans at Our Best and Our Worst* (New York: Penguin, 2017); Charles Duhigg, “The Real Roots of American Rage: The Untold Story of How Anger Became the Dominant Emotion in our Politics and Personal Lives—and what we can do about it,” *The Atlantic*, January/February 2019. Accessed Jan 10, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/01/charles-duhigg-american-anger/576424/>. Hector A. Garcia, *Sex, Power, and Partisanship: How Evolutionary Science Makes Sense of Our Political Divide*. (New York: Prometheus Books, 2019); Earlier works now getting an airing, David Berreby, *Us and Them: The Science of Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008);

<sup>85</sup> Steven Livitsky, and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown, 2018), 125-6.

<sup>86</sup> Steven B. Smith, “In Defense of Politics,” *National Affairs*, Spring 2011.

a civil identity;<sup>87</sup> Livitsky and Ziblatt can only dream of such as a solution. It presents one of the best of the examples of the Gamesmanship | Sportsmanship Heuristic in action, justifying a game in the name of patriotism. Here the tribal identities were as real and raw as they get as under a system of legalized segregation (Apartheid), which encompassed the mostly agricultural South Africa, and privileged 50,000 white farmers with 12 times as much land as 14 million blacks. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC) liberation movement, was imprisoned for 27 years where he learned the Afrikaans language of his captors and what was important to them, rugby. Once elected, President Mandela was astute enough respect their gamesmanship and build on it. If he could get the black South Africans to support white South African rugby, especially if they won the World Championship, then he could channel gamesmanship (tribal/ethnic identity with a team) towards the vision of a larger sportsmanship (civil/creedal identity with a nation). To that end he reversed the effort of a black-led South Africa sports commission to rebrand the rugby team as the Springboks and their green and gold uniforms with a new mascot and colors.<sup>87</sup>

The rugby championship shared by both blacks and whites did just as Mandela had hoped--it help create a vision a civic identity “not so much by liberating black people from bondage, but white people from fear. It was the happiest moment of Mandela’s life” according to his friend and fellow Nobel Peace Prize winner, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. “[The championship] had the effect of turning our country around...holding together the disparate parts flying all over the place. That was [Mandela’s] greatest legacy”<sup>88</sup> Yet it was only the entertaining part of sportsmanship in the service of

<sup>87</sup> John Carlin, *Playing The Enemy: Nelson Mandela And The Game That Made A Nation* (New York: Penguin, 2008), 10, 11, 41.

Tom.Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 252;

<sup>88</sup> “Healing and Truth,” *Moyers Journal* PBS. Accessed July 10, 2016. <https://billmoyers.com/2012/05/24/moyers-moment-1999-healing-through-truth-and-reconciliation/>. South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has eluded the scholarship that has

civil identity. A darker one needed to be resolved.

Under Apartheid, blacks and whites engaged in a brutal, literal gamesmanship and perpetrated decades of terrorist violence and state sponsored torture against each other. One Rugby world championship, despite its fairy tale ending, was not going to create enough of a shared civil/creedal identity. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), a year after the Rugby Championship, grew out of compromise between the mostly black victims who wanted justice and the mostly white oppressors who wanted amnesty. The commission, headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was born of the compromise with the purpose of “coming face to face with its past...a past of unspeakable evil is being spoken.” Witnesses identified as victims of gross human rights violations were invited to give statements about their experiences, and a few were selected for public hearings. Those on both sides who perpetrated the violence, police, state security forces and guerilla fighters, could also give testimony and apply for amnesty from both civil and criminal prosecution. But the testimony had to be truthful. As Chairman Tutu structured the sportsmanship behind the commission, “We are not seeking to humiliate or belittle, or even prosecute...This is a moral universe...truth and lies and goodness and evil are things that matter and we’ve got to acknowledge them.”<sup>89</sup>

In the end only 12 percent (849 out of the 7,112) amnesty requests were granted, but the TRC was the first tribunal to be completely public, almost like a game played before spectators with real stakes. Since then over a thousand public commissions have been held worldwide with similar public hearings. These, despite some flaws, are generally thought to

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attempted to take it as an object of knowledge. “Perhaps because of its unusual mix of public testimony, psychotherapy, political theology, and juridical procedure, which for some endowed it with an intrinsically elusive “hybrid” quality— or - perhaps, as this book shall argue, for another set of reasons altogether— the - TRC has baffled description to the same degree that it has invited fascination. “We are still groping for the language to adequately assess the significance of the TRC,” acknowledged Wilhelm Verwoerd in 2000. 1 Wendy Orr, one of eighteen commissioners to serve on the TRC, noted a related phenomenon: “TRC members developed their own discourse and language.” Adam Sitze, *Impossible Machine: A Genealogy of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2013.), 1, 249.

<sup>89</sup> “Healing and Truth,” *Moyers Journal*, PBS. Accessed July 10, 2016. <https://billmoyers.com/2012/05/24/moyers-moment-1999-healing-through-truth-and-reconciliation/>.

have been successful.<sup>90</sup>

Archbishop Tutu was undoubtedly familiar [with the](#) notion of the “Common Objects of Love” in St. Augustine’s *City of God*, [which](#) famously upgraded Cicero’s familiar definition of *res publica* as “the multitude of rational beings united by agreeing to share the things they love.”<sup>91</sup> Although [this idea](#) is commonly misattributed to St. Augustine, an injunction once widely used by various Protestant denominations, especially the Grange Movement as it sought bridge distrust between northern and southern farmers in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, [this aphorism](#) helps describes a sturdy sportsmanship that accommodates a fierce gamesmanship: “Unity in the essentials, liberty in the non-essentials, charity in all things.”<sup>92</sup>

### Epilogue: A Place, Neither Civic Nor Religious, But Somehow Both

In the fall of 2013, well before the populist moment of 2016, veteran journalist James Fallows and his wife, fellow journalist Deborah, began a three-year, 100,000-mile journey crisscrossing the United States in their single engine aircraft. “[They] were interested in places [in “fly-over America”] that had faced adversity of some sort, from crop failure to job loss to political crisis, and had looked for ways to respond.” Expecting to find rusty layers of the national carnage of political caricature, they instead found multiple nodes of regional regeneration and renewal, “an intensity of local civic life that generally escaped any outside notice.”<sup>93</sup> Thanks to South Bend, Indiana, Mayor Pete Buttigieg, this is no longer the

<sup>90</sup> “Amnesty Hearings & Decisions,” Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Accessed July 10, 2016. <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/amntrans/index.htm>. Philippe Joseph Salazar, *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 76. Robert N. Kraft, *Violent Accounts: Understanding The Psychology Of Perpetrators Through South Africa's Truth And Reconciliation Commission*. Vol. 1. NYU Press, 2014), 38.

<sup>91</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, 19.24. Explored by Oliver O’Donovan, *Common Objects of Love: Moral Reflection and the Shaping of Community* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 21.

<sup>92</sup> “unitatem in necessariis, in non necessariis libertatem, in omnibus caritatem.” The earliest published record is believed to be by the heretical, scientifically-minded Archbishop of Spalato, Marcus Antonius de Dominis, in *De Republica Ecclesiastica contra Primum Papam: 1*, (London, 1617), 676. Accessed August 16, 2018. Available at <http://tinyurl.com/De-Republica>

<sup>93</sup> After 100,000 miles spent in over 50 regional cities and towns diverse pockets of civic and economic revitalization The role of shared myth, even a small lie to tell a larger truth, is important. “As with guiding myths, the question is not whether these assessments seem precisely accurate to others. Their value is in giving citizens a sense of how today’s efforts are connected to what happened yesterday and what they hope for tomorrow.” The full list is: 1. People work together on practical local possibilities, rather than allowing bitter

case.

In his eight years as South Bend's mayor, Buttigieg, an accomplished Harvard grad, Rhodes Scholar, Afghan vet, openly gay active Episcopalian, polyglot and concert pianist has led a revival that has followed the successful civic reinvention narrative Fallows uncovered over 50 cities, which includes "local patriots" setting the tone, public/private partnerships forming around businesses, colleges and universities, and libraries providing a place to gather and disseminate a "civic narrative" that engaged citizens know and operate under.<sup>94</sup> Hannah Arendt could not have framed her idea of political action within the polis better, in which a narrative "tells us about their subjects, the 'hero' in the center of each story," in order to "establish new relations and create new realities."<sup>95</sup>

Buttigieg grew up in the shadows the Studebaker car factory that in its heyday had been Knute Rockne's single greatest source of income. Buttigieg knew it only as the husk of its former self, shuttered almost two decades before his birth, shortly after the Kennedy assassination in 1963. Instead Buttigieg, the child of two Notre Dame Professors, remembers more fondly its campus as his playground with

"the gleaming Golden Dome of the University of Notre Dame, the library with the mosaic mural of "Touchdown Jesus" overlooking the stadium, and the stadium itself, the 'House that [Knute] Rockne Built,' which I vaguely understood to be a historic

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disagreements about national politics to keep them apart. 2. You can pick out the local patriots. 3. "Public-private partnerships" are real. 4. People know the civic story. 5. They have a downtown. 6. They are near a research university. 7. They have, and care about, a community college. 8. They have unusual schools. 9. They make themselves open. 10. They have big plans. 11. They have craft breweries." James Fallows, "Eleven Signs a City Will Succeed," *The Atlantic*, March 2016, accessed July 12, 2016.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/03/eleven-signs-a-city-will-succeed/426885/>. *City Makers: American Futures Project*, accessed March 6, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/projects/city-makers-american-futures/>. James Fallows, "How America is putting itself back together," *The Atlantic* 317 (March 2016): 58-72; James and Deborah Fallows, *Our Towns: A 100,000-Mile Journey into the Heart of America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2018), chap. "10 1/2 Signs of Civic Success." Kindle.

<sup>94</sup> Pete Buttigieg, according to his official web bio, is a two-term mayor of South Bend, Indiana, a Harvard history graduate, "was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and an Afghan War Veteran who lives with his husband Chasten in the same South Bend neighborhood where he grew up. Under his leadership, South Bend has reimagined its role in the global economy with job growth and major investment in advanced industries, with a focus on data and technology. The *Washington Post* has called him 'the most interesting Mayor you've never heard of' and President Obama named him one of four Democrats who represented the future of the Democratic Party." <https://www.peteformerica.com/meet-pete/>. Pete Buttigieg, *Shortest Way Home: One Mayor's Challenge and Model for the American Future* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2019), 13.

<sup>95</sup> "The polis, properly speaking, is not the city-state in its physical location; it is the organization of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be."

Hannah Arendt, *Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 178-9, 184, 198-200. "Only where word and deed have not parted company, where words are not empty and deeds not brutal, where words are not used to veil intentions but to disclose realities, and deeds are not used to violate and destroy but to establish relations and create new realities." Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future*. New York: Viking Press, 1961), 63-75.



and hallowed place even before I understood what football was and what it meant around here. Its orange bricks, colored a little differently than most of the rest of campus, signaled something important...and sense that this place, neither civic nor religious, was somehow both.”

When the 37-year-old mayor announced his candidacy for the 2020 Presidential Election in early 2019, he effectively sought to pit Arendt’s sportsmanship against President Trump’s unalloyed need to win and Tajfel’s gamesmanship. As of this writing (March 2019), even if Buttigieg does not capture his Democratic Party nomination, he will have demonstrated the efficacy of Fukuyama’s emphasis on human dignity, the need to belong anchored to values in both ethnic and civic identity, which he shares.

In his travels, Fallows kept in mind historian Philip Zelikow’s advice to him, “There are a lot of more positive narratives out there—but they’re lonely, and disconnected. It would make a difference to join them together, as a chorus that has a melody.”<sup>96</sup> Both Fallows and Buttigieg suggest that chorus should and probably will, take up the melody of a post-gilded age, neo-progressivism, which by necessity knits reinvented cities together around a shared vision of a civil America. Their way is forward not back.

Just as there was never a halcyon era of amateurism sought in vain by collegiate sports reformers, Buttigieg calls out the dishonesty in the “weight of nostalgia” that President Donald Trump has politicized with his campaign promise to “Make America Great Again.” Instead, just the Studebaker factory that has been repurposed into tech hub, Buttigieg is pressing his vision of an America that plays by new set of rules that address concerns as new as automation and as old as human dignity. That is sportsmanship, neither civic, nor religious, but somehow both.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> As Philip Zelikow, a professor at the University of Virginia Zelikov told Fallows, “In scores of ways, Americans are figuring out how to take advantage of the opportunities of this era, often through bypassing or ignoring the dismal national conversation. There are a lot of more positive narratives out there—but they’re lonely, and disconnected. It would make a difference to join them together, as a chorus that has a melody.” Fallows took his cue to introduce that alternative melody. Fallows, *Our Towns*, chap. “What We Saw and What We Learned.”

<sup>97</sup> Paul Starr, “How Gilded Ages End,” *The American Prospect* 26, no. 2 (Spring, 2015): 31-35, 37-39. Accessed July 10, 2016, <https://search->



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[proquest-com.byui.idm.oclc.org/docview/1673428912](https://proquest-com.byui.idm.oclc.org/docview/1673428912). In 1914 a prescient 24-year old Walter Lippman addressed a shared sense of seismic economic shift in *Drift and Mastery: an Attempt to Diagnose the Current Unrest*, establishing his reputation as a public intellectual. Democracy was not disciplined and methodical (i.e. scientific) enough to deal with the new 20<sup>th</sup> century social and economic realities. “Our schools, churches, courts, governments were not built for the kind of civilization they are expected to serve” he noted and need to “adjust their thinking to a new world situation” otherwise they would be condemned to “drift along at the mercy of economic forces that we are unable to master. The scientific spirit is the discipline of democracy. Walter Lippman, *Drift and Mastery: An Attempt to Diagnose the Current Unrest* (New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1914), 154, 151. David Hollinger, “Science and Anarchy: Walter Lippmann's Drift and Mastery,” *American Quarterly* 29 (1977): 463-475. “Pete Buttigieg Doesn’t Want to Make America Great ‘Again,’” *Out*, Accessed March 10, 2019. <https://www.out.com/news/2019/2/22/pete-buttigieg-doesnt-want-make-america-great-again>. “South Bend Studebaker Plant Ready For Massive Facelift,” *South Bend Tribune*, July 17, 2017.

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