

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF COLLEGE ATHLETICS

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THE student of American college athletics who considers the vastness of the material and social fabric that they now involve will ask, first, how this structure came to occupy its present place in our university life, and, secondly, what relationship it bears to the status of the amateur. These two subjects are inextricably interwoven, but because college athletics are of the college, while the amateur status touches not alone college athletics but all athletic sports and games, the bearings of both will be clearer if they are considered separately.

The development of athletics in the colleges of the United States falls into four fairly well-defined periods:

- I. The Beginnings of College Athletics, the development of undergraduate sports and games up to 1852, when the first recorded intercollegiate contest took place.
- II. The Intensification of College Sports, the growth in popularity of contests in all branches up to 1885, with a rather clearly marked division at the year 1880.
- III. The Expansion of College Athletics and Its Results, from the abolition of football at Harvard up to 1906, one year after the formation of the first national athletic association.
- IV. The Struggle for Control, which began to gain headway about 1906 and is not yet concluded.

I. THE BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN COLLEGE ATHLETICS (TO 1852)

Although an anthropologist would remind us that games go back to the earliest history of the human race, and that even animals play, a less remote genesis of athletics in the American college may be found beyond the college walls of colonial and revolutionary days in the pioneer life of the colonists and the earlier citizens of the Repub-

lic. A game at football is recorded in Virginia as early as 1609. In New England and the Middle Atlantic colonies it is to such aspects of the community life as market days, barn-raising, and huskings that the seeker for the origins of American athletic sports must turn. The New England Thanksgiving custom of men kicking a football about their backyards bears little semblance to a team game, nor, for that matter, do the athletic contests that grew up about the observance of Independence Day. The participants in such exertions were generally younger men, although occasionally older persons engaged in them. With the growth of social organizations of various kinds and the rise of militia companies, rivalry between such bodies led naturally to tests of athletic skill and thus to a semblance of group contests, which, however, exerted little if any influence upon the life of colleges and schools.¹

A. COLLEGE GAMES AND CONTESTS

Such contests as have just been mentioned were essentially of the people. In colonial days the young man who proceeded from school to college and who thus entered the life of learning and scholarship, thereby set himself apart from his friends and neighbors. Before 1800 he was apparently little given to such indulgences and pastimes as they pursued. In the early American college, as Francis A. Walker pointed out, "there was more than indifference, there was contempt for physical prowess. A man known to be especially gifted in this way was thereby disparaged in public estimation; if he was known to make much of it, he was more likely to be despised. It was taken for granted that he could not be good for much else. Brains and brawn were supposed to be developed in inverse ratio; strength was closely allied to brutality." Doubtless the fact that a large proportion of the undergraduates of those days were intending to enter the Christian ministry had much to do with this attitude; it was more than half a century before the discovery was made that Christianity could be muscular.

On the other hand, sporadic attention, often of a repressive nature, was directed to games at some colleges. A minute of the Princeton faculty of May, 1761, frowns upon students "playing at ball." Hockey, "baste ball," and "prison baste" are mentioned as of 1786. Another Princeton minute, dated November 26, 1787, prohibited students and grammar scholars from playing a certain game with sticks and a ball, — probably

¹ Of the published materials bearing upon the history of American college athletics, the valuable contributions of Edward Mussey Hartwell, usually published, from 1884 on, in the Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education, must be regarded as the foundation. Reference should be made also to Francis A. Walker's discussion of "College Athletics," *Harvard Graduate Magazine*, 1893; Professor Henry D. Sheldon's important treatise on *Student Life and Customs*, 1901; the studies of Professor George L. Meylan in the *Cyclopaedia of Education*, 1911; President Thwing's discussions in numerous volumes; Walter Camp's *Sixty Years of American Football*, 1924; Major A. M. Weyand's *American Football*, 1926; and Professor Amos Alonzo Stagg's *Touchdown!* 1927. B. H. Hall's *Collection of College Words and Customs*, 1856, and Andrew P. Peabody's *Harvard Reminiscences*, 1888, contain illuminating passages. Among studies descriptive of life at American colleges and universities, the athletic and other histories of Dartmouth by John H. Bartlett and John G. Gifford (1893), and by H. G. Pender and Raymond McPartin (1923), of Brown, Princeton, and Yale, together with Horace M. Lippincott's *University of Pennsylvania* (1888), are important. Critical excerpts from all of these books and many others bearing upon the subject will be found in Professor W. Carson Ryan, Jr.'s study of the literature of college athletics, published as Bulletin Number Twenty-four by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929.

shinty or shinny. In the eighteenth century, as Hartwell shows, quoting the sixteenth of the *Ancient Customs of Harvard College*, the freshmen were required to "furnish bats, balls, and footballs for the use of students, to be kept in the buttery." "Occasionally the students at Harvard and Yale kicked a football about on the Common, or in the street, and a yearly game took place between the sophomores and freshmen, which partook largely of the nature of a modern rush." Most of the college faculties perforce tolerated free-for-all fights between student classes, and it is not unlikely that, in the initiation of freshmen, tests of skill or strength had their part. So far as athletics were concerned, the century was characterized in American colleges by an almost complete absence of anything approaching organization, rules, or what we now regard as team games, as distinguished from contests between sides.

The early history of a few of the modern college games can be traced with a degree of certainty.

1. Cross-Country Running

If any man deserves the title of the father of American college athletics, it is Charles Follen, a former pupil of F. L. Jahn's system of Graeco-German gymnastics. Coming to Harvard in 1824, after the political and social disorders that attended the rise of the Jena Burschenschaft, Dr. Follen, while teaching German and introducing gymnastics into Harvard College, used to lead "the entire body of students, except the few lame and the fewer lazy, on a run without pause, from the Delta to the top of the hill now crowned by the most conspicuous of the Somerville churches, and back again after a ten-minute halt." These young men were taught "to run with a minimum of fatigue, with the body thrown slightly forward, the arms akimbo, and breathing only through the nose." Dr. Follen's activities in the teaching of gymnastics upon the Jahn system, with those of his fellow-exile, Dr. Beck, were even more important than his leading of cross-country runs.

2. Gymnastics

Harvard is usually said to be the first college to have a gymnasium, in one of its dining halls during 1826. In September of the same year the Yale Corporation appropriated three hundred dollars for the clearing and preparation of ground for an outdoor gymnasium. One year later gymnastic apparatus was set up at Brown, Williams, and Amherst, which is usually credited with having inaugurated in 1860 the first college department of physical training or education.² The training thus initiated at these five

² "The School of Messrs. Cogswell and Bancroft, in Northampton, Mass., was the first institution in this country that introduced gymnastic exercises as a part of the regular instruction, in the Spring of 1825." (Beck, *A Treatise on Gymnastics, taken chiefly from the German of F. L. Jahn*, 1828, preface, noted by Dr. Hartwell in his paper on the *Rise of College Gymnasia in the United States*, 1886.) Dr. Beck also taught Latin in Harvard College. As Dr. Hartwell indicates, the impulse to establish these early gymnasia came from Prussia, "where, during the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth, Guts Muths and Jahn accomplished a great work in reviving physical education."

institutions did not, however, develop into a systematic program of physical education. It is referable to the group of sporadic outcroppings of interest in physical exercise, German in origin, which dot the early decades of the American university. It was thirty years before the first Princeton gymnasium was built, partly by faculty subscription, in 1859.

3. Football

The first authoritative reference to football as a college pastime concerns the Princeton of 1820. In 1827, Bloody Monday at Harvard included among its activities a contest at football between freshmen and sophomores. The game was played at West Point between 1840 and 1844, and at about the same time class football contests were popular at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, Amherst and Bowdoin. Accounts of these matches indicate that the game resembled modern soccer rather than the college football of the present day.

4. Baseball

Baseball, with its probable origins in the English "rounders," the early nineteenth century American schoolboy game of "one-old-cat" and "town-ball" played in Canada and in Philadelphia in 1833, first became an organized game in 1839 under the guidance of Major Abner Doubleday. Rudimentary forms of the game may have been enjoyed by undergraduates as recreation and exercise before the middle of the century. At smaller colleges, like Amherst and Bowdoin, a kind of baseball appears to have enjoyed some popularity without any particular organization, but the game apparently had little standing in colleges before 1852.

5. Other Land Sports

During the earlier period other games were played at the colleges along the Eastern seaboard. For instance, Amherst undergraduates indulged in cricket, wicket, the pitching of loggerheads and quoits, and round ball. Bowdoin men enjoyed walking. At Princeton, handball and cricket were in vogue, and shinny and its derivatives, hawkey and hurley, continued in sporadic popularity. It has been said upon good authority that Yale students showed little inclination toward physical exercise on land, and probably much the same is true of other colleges where water for swimming and boating was easily accessible.

6. Rowing

Yale and Harvard took the lead in developing rowing as a college pastime. As early as 1843 Yale undergraduates purchased their first racing boat and formed their first boat club. Nine years later Harvard defeated Yale in a race in eight-oared barges over a two-mile course on Lake Winnepesaukee. "The character of this first contest," says

Dr. Thwing, citing Richard M. Hurd on *Yale Athletics*, "may be inferred from a remark made by one of the Harvard crew that they had only rowed a few times for fear of blistering their hands. The chief idea of training was avoiding sweets on the actual day of the race," a practice that is certainly not in accord with modern training methods. In 1852, also, the Yale Navy was formed. Rowing, then, appears to have been, in the United States, the first sport in which intercollegiate competition took place.

B. DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLAND

Organized athletics appeared in English schools and colleges somewhat earlier than in the United States. The first Eton-Harrow cricket match was played as early as 1822, to be followed five years later by the first match between Oxford and Cambridge. The game had been a schoolboys' pastime since the middle of the seventeenth century. Of course, the genesis of Rugby football is definitely marked by the iconoclastic run of William Webb Ellis in 1823. In 1829, Eton and Westminster rowed their first race, and records of boating exist at both institutions beginning with 1811 and 1813, respectively. The first Oxford-Cambridge eight-oared race took place at Henley in 1829.

Notwithstanding the priority of dates, the statement frequently heard that American school and college games had their roots in English university and school sports must be regarded as "not proven" in its entirety. It is true that cricket and Rugby football reached an early popularity in the United States at such colleges as Princeton and Harvard, and it is probable that American football would be to-day an entirely different game were it not for the influence of English Rugby, as played in this country. Nevertheless, the inclination toward outdoor sports among the people of the United States, in the early nineteenth century, referable in part to the decline of pioneer life, was of sufficient force to have developed college athletic pastimes without the modifying influence of English university contests.

C. ATHLETICS AND FACULTIES

The attitude of the American undergraduate toward college athletics during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the earlier years of the nineteenth has been outlined. The attitude of faculties may be summarized as on the whole tolerant of undergraduate pastimes, except when they became either rowdy or dangerous to life or college property. Only in such circumstances do repressive measures appear to have been exerted. At Princeton in 1787 the faculty, after first stating its *locus parentis*, remarked that "there are many amusements both more honorable and more useful" for undergraduates than shinny. The later refusal of the Amherst faculty to sanction the laying out of bowling alleys reflects somewhat the same notion. On the other hand, the Princeton faculty of 1849 permitted the building of a handball court. This fact and the early introduction of gymnasiums at Amherst, Harvard, and Yale may be taken as an

indication that not all college faculties opposed exercise by undergraduates, provided it was conducted with decorum and in a manner in keeping with the scholarly life which the young gentlemen were supposed to lead.

II. THE INTENSIFICATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGE ATHLETICS (1853-1885)

The years between 1853 and 1885 were characterized by a comparatively slow growth in college athletics up to about 1870, by a more rapid growth thereafter, and by an increasing tendency in the direction of organization. By 1870 athletics had taken their place in American college life. Thereafter the influence of the older English universities becomes direct. The closing years of the period are marked by an intensification of interest, by the growth of an intercollegiate rivalry which had manifested itself previously in a far milder form, and by attempts to abolish football about 1885.

A. INTRAMURAL CONTESTS

The influence of the English college system coupled with English rowing is probably responsible for the division, in 1859, of the Yale undergraduate body into twelve intramural boating clubs of twenty men each. These persisted for some nine years, at the end of which the clubs were superseded by a system of inter-class crews and the Yale University Boat Club. At about this time bumping races were rowed at more than one Eastern college. American inter-class baseball began with the Princeton competitions of 1864, which have been accepted as the origin of most of the organized intramural baseball series of the country. Although a Princeton football club may have been organized in 1857, nevertheless Princeton football of 1858, if good authority is to be credited, was a rough-and-tumble affair played with an inflated bladder by sides of indeterminate number in the quadrangle formed by college buildings. The game had many resemblances to soccer, which, by 1860, a dozen Eastern colleges were playing with some regularity. It was six years before the resuscitated Princeton Football Club became the most popular undergraduate activity. Meanwhile a similar development was under way at Harvard. After a gradual increase in the popularity of class football teams and games, in 1872 the Harvard Football Association was organized to supplement them. Field days for many branches of track and field sports came to be held at the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Yale. The intramural contests of the earlier portion of the period, although intense with class and club rivalry, were informal and comparatively disorganized affairs conducted principally for the amusement of the undergraduates.

B. EXTRAMURAL MATCHES

Respecting extramural matches, it will be well to enquire in what sports they first

developed and then to note the comparatively rapid growth of formal associations and rules for games.

1. Formal Contests

Professor Stagg tells the story of the first organized football clubs, from information furnished to him by Gerrit Smith Miller, Esq., whose experience at football began in 1856. From the playground games at the Epes Sargent Dixwell Private Latin School, Boston, and the Boston Public Latin School, Boston English High School, Roxbury High School, and Dorchester High School, apparently sprang the first interscholastic football contests. The game was certainly soccer, the rules for which were codified in England by the Football Association in 1863. From twelve players at the Dixwell school, two from the English High School, and one from the Boston Latin School, was formed the Oneida Club during the summer of 1862. Although in 1867 a Princeton all-college team defeated Princeton Seminary at football, it was not until the following year that the first Princeton Varsity Football Club was constituted. During the spring of 1869 Princeton defeated Rutgers at baseball, and, spurred on by the loss of this contest, the Rutgers Varsity Football Club challenged the Princeton organization to a game which is generally considered to have been the first American intercollegiate football match. Rutgers won. This game also was soccer. The influence of the English public schools upon American college football is to be noted in the revival at Yale, about 1870, of football under the tutelage of D. F. Scharf, an old Rugbyan. From about 1869 to about 1877, intercollegiate soccer games were played intermittently under local rules by Columbia, the College of the City of New York, Harvard, Haverford, New York University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale.

During the eight years following 1852, Harvard and Yale rowed some six races under varying conditions on three different courses. At last, in 1864, boat races between the two universities under standardized conditions were inaugurated on Lake Quinsigamond, near Worcester. This regatta, which was the occasion for the first sensational newspaper accounts of intercollegiate competition, marked also the beginning of a series of five successive annual Harvard victories culminating in the sending, 1869, of a Harvard crew to England, where it was defeated by Oxford. Thus, rowing provides a second connection between sport at the older English universities and American college athletics. At a number of colleges, rowing attained very great importance, and there was much discussion of the advisability of mitigating the rigors of races.

It would appear that organized college baseball began at Princeton in 1858, when an unusually expert group of players entered the freshman class. The nine was called the Nassaus, and the first match outside of Princeton was played in 1860. One year earlier Amherst had organized her first baseball team. It was not until 1865, however, that undergraduates at Yale took a similar step, possibly influenced thereto by the success

of Princeton in the field. Eighteen sixty-eight witnessed the first baseball game in the annual Harvard-Yale series. During the eight years following 1860, college baseball reached a definite status in intercollegiate competition, — indeed, by 1870 baseball was played in all of the more prominent Eastern colleges. The years following 1870 were characterized by a number of attempts to codify and regularize competition in many sports.

2. Rules and Associations for College Matches

This development can be sketched only in the briefest terms. In 1871, rules for the game of football are said to have been first written down. One year later the Yale Football Association was organized. In 1873, the first Oxford-Cambridge 'varsity Rugby match took place, and in the following year Harvard adopted Rugby Union football rules and played her first football game against the University of California, at Cambridge. As regards the rules for football matches, not alone in the East but in other parts of the United States, the confused conditions of the day were productive of little intercollegiate good will. It is, therefore, not astonishing to find that in 1876 at a convention of representatives of American colleges held at New York, an intercollegiate football association was organized and the Rugby Union rules were adopted officially to govern matches, with a few slight modifications. Those modifications, however, in time expanded into a corpus of playing usage that has definitely severed American football from English Rugby, from its offshoot, the Canadian game, and from soccer.

Intercollegiate rowing continued to advance apace. In 1870, there was organized the Rowing Association of American Colleges, which included most of the institutions in New England and three or four in New Jersey and New York State. Under the auspices of the Association six annual races were held, the first three on the Connecticut River at Springfield, the remaining three at Lake Saratoga. Participation in these regattas was variable and the membership of the Association changed rapidly. To one regatta as many as seventeen colleges sent their crews; to the next, only seven. The long standing rivalry between Harvard and Yale disrupted the membership of the Association. Feeling ran high and contests among the spectators were not infrequently more bitter than those between the crews. Finally, in 1876, both Yale and Harvard withdrew from the organization. Bowdoin, Brown, Dartmouth, and Trinity endeavored unsuccessfully to continue it.

Apparently track athletics was one of the branches that developed more slowly. The Intercollegiate Association of Amateur Athletes of America was founded in 1875, and in the following year its first intercollegiate track and field meeting was held at Saratoga. The first college baseball league of 1879 included Amherst, Brown, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Princeton. Yale joined in 1880.

Thus the conditions engendered and fostered by intercollegiate competition led to

the formation of associations to the end that teams and crews might meet each other in athletic competition on a uniform and accepted basis. At the same time, the rivalries which grew out of one such association in the course of years proved to be its undoing, for partisanship replaced sportsmanship, and organization broke under the stress of rivalry.

C. TRAINING, COACHING, AND MANAGEMENT

Up to about 1880 neither training nor coaching in American college athletics had become specialized. Training tables were unknown; uniforms were of the simplest. What coaching existed was done by members of faculties, by graduates, and by those undergraduates whose schools had provided them with sufficient experience to justify their being chosen for the work and its responsibilities. Management appears to have been entirely in the hands of undergraduates. Usually participants in matches away from home grounds or waters paid their own expenses, although it is possible that some of the college athletic clubs received from their members subscriptions to help defray the costs of travel. Consciously or unconsciously, the athletic usages and customs of the period regarding such matters bear many resemblances to those of Oxford and Cambridge. The doctrine of equal opportunity for competition among all undergraduates regardless of means had not yet been invoked to enable the impecunious student to participate in intercollegiate contests. To these observations a few individual exceptions may be taken, but as far as information serves they represent with fair accuracy the situation in the United States during this earlier period of athletic development.

D. THE FACULTIES; THE PRESS

The year 1880 has been set as a dividing line between the old régime and the new. After this date the attention devoted to sports increased rapidly and coincidentally with the rise of their popularity in the universities of England. For a time American faculties tolerated with a few rather ineffectual protests the development of pursuits which many of their members already regarded as inimical to the best scholarly interests of the colleges. In 1871 both the Harvard and the Yale faculties prohibited intercollegiate soccer contests, and it has been suggested that the agreement of 1878 between twelve colleges for contests in public speaking, essay writing, and exercises in Greek, Latin, mathematics, and mental science marked an attempt on the part of their faculties to abate some of the enthusiasm that athletics aroused. There may also have been some resentment of the intrusion of newspapers into the field of college sports. For instance, in 1874, the New York *Herald* Olympian Games were inaugurated. These constituted an intercollegiate championship meeting in which athletes from Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale competed, and they continued for several years. Be these suppositions as they may, there is little doubt that the football

of the 1880's amply justified President Eliot's epithet "brutal." In 1884, after repeated protests against the roughness of the game, the Harvard faculty by formal vote abolished football at Cambridge. The prohibition lasted for two years. Similar but less drastic attempts to control football were made at other colleges. The attitude of most faculties toward athletics appears to have been not opposition but tolerance or *laissez-faire*. There was a general lack of comprehension respecting the implications of college sport and a complete failure to foresee the development that it was destined to undergo.

III. THE EXPANSION OF COLLEGE ATHLETICS AND ITS RESULTS (1886-1906)

The third period of American college athletics is marked by a sudden break with the past and by a rapid development of many of the characteristics of the period that was to follow. The informality of the earlier day had been superseded by organization and elaboration. Some of the commentators became as optimistic as their present-day successors over the moral and physical benefits to be derived from well-regulated athletics. Indeed, later writers in support of college athletics have added very few if any important arguments to those of their predecessors. But there were other comments of a warning nature. The tendencies noted as having been initiated about 1880, which gave rise to a gathering alarm over the expansion of athletics and the flock of evils that beset their progress, resemble in kind those which characterize certain aspects of the present day. It is far from a pleasure to note that a part of this third period was darkened by a sinister influence that proceeds from college alumni, — who of all men should have been scrupulous in keeping untarnished those sports to which they as undergraduates had been devoted. This is not to imply that college teachers then were or now are the only true repositories of athletic righteousness or ethical standards; it is merely an attempt to present facts which our college history has come to accept as valid. By 1890, all or practically all English public schools had adhered to either the Rugby Union code or the Association code for football. Had a similar choice been possible in the United States during the period under consideration, the future of American college football and other branches of athletics might have been less variegated.

A. CONTROL, 1887-1906

During most of what we have called the second period of American college athletics, the direction and management of sports and games rested, in general, with the undergraduates. About 1880, expansion began. More branches of athletics were introduced. Training was intensified and elaborated, and trainers were employed. Coaching began to be a progressively technical task, and paid coaches grew to be rather the rule than the exception. Not a few of the leaders of the present who demand that athletics be ad-

ministered by faculty members alone, began their careers as hired coaches of teams before 1906. Equipment ashore and afloat grew in amount, in complexity, and, above all, in cost. All of these factors were reflected in a rapidly rising expenditure for athletics, which called for increased funds for their support, whether from subscriptions or from gate receipts or from both. Charges for admission to football contests, the origin of which is obscure, advanced in some instances to \$1.50. Special financial support began to be solicited from alumni. One result was that alumni who made generous contributions to college athletics received, openly or covertly, in return, a generous share in their control; and alumni who became active in that control gained or retained their power and prestige by their own contributions of money and by subscriptions which they solicited from other alumni and from friends of the college. The reciprocity that underlay this situation was generally regarded as a fair exchange.

The motives among alumni that led to their acquisition of influence and, in many instances, their domination of college athletics, have been unjustly impugned. There was betting on college contests in the 1880's and '90's, and there is betting to-day; but it is doubtful if the amounts of money that the rank and file of graduates wager on college games have ever bulked very large in the personal economics of most individuals. Although a winning team at football or baseball always will be pleasing to a graduate, only a very small proportion of men wager such large sums that a bet makes any real difference to them, whatever its issue. Motives in the struggle for athletic control must be sought in other aspects of personality. For the most part they are to be found, on the one hand, in college loyalty, which is akin emotionally to patriotism, and on the other in that flattering sense of power, of consequence, and even of social prominence in certain circles, which comes from a connection with large affairs, or affairs that are much in the public eye, — an enjoyment which may lead either to a comparatively innocent feeling of self-gratification, or to an insatiable and offensive lust for power. Nor must the motive of service to youth be overlooked. As yet comparatively rare, it is of the highest value.

Meanwhile, most members of faculties appear to have played the rôle of the traditional pedant in holding aloof from athletics and their administration, in maintaining their attitude of *laissez-faire*, and in concerning themselves with the study and the lamp, rather than with all the affairs of college life. Attempts were made to "control" athletics, but at most institutions their results were negligible. Dr. Hartwell was moved to write in the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1897-98, "The powerlessness of our educational leaders to originate, and their failure to adopt, effectual measures for evolving order out of the athletic and gymnastic chaos over which they nominally preside, constitutes one of the marvels of our time." In consequence, there was scarcely a struggle for the control of college athletics; the alumni, or such of them as concerned themselves actively with the matter, achieved

dominion almost by default. The importance of undergraduates to college athletics began to diminish. From the point of view of the extravagances into which their administration had fallen, their loss of power is not to be regretted. On the other hand, new abuses sprang up to crowd the old. The reputation of a college came to be regarded as uncomfortably low unless its teams won more than a fair share of victories.

A few college administrative officers, however, saw the dangers into which athletics had been permitted to drift. The revival of football at Harvard was followed (1887-90) by the inauguration of what later became known as the "central committee plan," whereby alumni, undergraduates, and faculty united in one body for the regulation of athletics. Some of the principles underlying this plan are embodied in the present-day methods of control at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, and from them much good has flowed at more than one other institution.

At the end of the century, Professor Sheldon discerned three sorts of athletic government: First, Harvard's highly centralized tripartite type, in which faculty, alumni, and undergraduates coöperated, had spread to Amherst, Bates, Bowdoin, the University of Maine, Wesleyan, and, in the South, Tulane. Second, in the West and South, a dual plan was common, under which faculties and undergraduates shared the burden. Finally, at Princeton, the University of Virginia, and Yale, all of which were "noted for the strength of their student traditions," the management of athletics was in the hands of students, "faculty interference" being almost eliminated, although graduate influence was "sometimes present in great force." It is interesting that the sections of the country in which the demand for the "faculty control" of athletics has been loudest in recent years are those in which faculties have had, nominally at least, most responsibility for athletics since about 1900.

B. THE OPPOSITION DURING THE 1890's

As early as five years after the inauguration of the committee plan at Harvard, President Eliot, in his annual report for 1892-93, first set forth both the benefits and the disadvantages of college athletics. The fact is usually lost sight of that he referred these disadvantages not necessarily to the sports themselves, but to their "wanton exaggeration." A flock of do-or-die defenders of college athletics rose up, but there were also those who, like Walter Camp, pleaded for moderation and reproved extravagance in training, playing, and press reporting. It was not long before the controversy became general. The attackers were led by E. L. Godkin and other editors, especially of church and religious periodicals. The defenders found that without serious danger to their cause they could divide their efforts between repelling the charges of their opponents and consolidating their own positions. Recruited principally from the ranks of college graduates and former players, the champions of athletics found their materials of war ready to their hands in the convictions which had grown from their own experience. In

general, the bitterness of the attack and the vigor of the defense have not been surpassed in even the most heated of subsequent athletic controversies.

The accusations against athletics current in the last decade of the century might easily have served as a source-book for their later opponents. They included charges of "over-exaggeration," demoralization of the college and of academic work, dishonesty, betting and gambling, professionalism, recruiting and subsidizing, the employment and payment of the wrong kind of men as coaches, the evil effects of college athletics upon school athletics, the roughness and brutality of football, extravagant expenditures of money, and the general corruption of youth by the monster of athleticism. The defense denied the accusations, one and all, pointed to the bodily vigor and mental alertness of athletes, their manly character, their loyalty, and the qualities of leadership that their own participation in athletics had engendered; scoffed at the notion that any college athlete could be recruited or paid; and generally sought by assertion to deny all appearance of evil.

In the midst of the tumult stood the college teacher. The year 1905 found him exerting his disciplinary power to abolish American football at Columbia, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of California, Nevada, Stanford, and a few other institutions. Apparently only at the Institute did intramural contests gain permanently by this measure. At the three Western institutions Rugby football was substituted for the American game. To judge from what the college teacher published over his own signature, his perception of the province and uses of athletics, their merits and their defects, was keener than that of any detractor or enthusiast. Second to him stand a few alumni, whose reasoning leads one to believe that they had profited as much from their studies as from their games. However keenly the college teacher analyzed the athletic problems of that day, he seems to have done comparatively little about them, except to abolish football at the institutions just indicated. Upon many regulatory committees he stood among the minority, and not infrequently his faculty colleagues who were members of college athletic committees and alumni as well, sided in close votes with the groups of their older allegiance. Only in the West and South did the faculty member tend to claim on nominally equal terms with undergraduates his share of the control of athletics.

In Canada, the situation during the period 1886-1900 was vastly different. At the English-speaking Canadian universities, such as Dalhousie, McGill, Queen's, and Toronto, and even at the newly opened University of British Columbia (1894), a natural adherence to the English tradition of games and sports, the recollection, on the part of members of the staff, of undergraduate days at Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, or some other of the older British universities, and, apparently, a predilection for scholarship on the part of undergraduates, all served to keep athletics in a position different from that which they were coming to occupy in the United States. The Eng-

lish controversy over the merits of the Rugby Union and Association codes and the bitterness of the struggle against professionalism in Rugby had their reflections in Canadian university athletics. On the whole, the results of these disputes were beneficial, if only because they kept before Canadian eyes the necessity of frankness and openness in all matters bearing upon university sport.

C. CENTRALIZING ORGANIZATIONS

The period under examination is characterized also by a growing recognition of common interests among colleges and universities of the United States. In the absence of any central agency to deal with the relationships between college and school, interest in common problems on the part of administrators led first to the formation of associations to deal with or at least to consider such matters, and later to a recognition of the value of discussing other phases of mutual concern, including athletic competition.

1. Associations of Colleges

Although by 1880 a body of practice respecting the accrediting of schools for college entrance after the Prussian method had spread somewhat among the universities of the West, beginning with Michigan in 1870, nevertheless the Eastern usage in such matters was most disparate. A recognition of the need of a somewhat more regularized procedure led in 1879 to a conference of New England colleges at Trinity College, Hartford, at which entrance requirements were examined and discussed. So fruitful was this conference that the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools was formed to continue its activities. This body was followed in 1887 by the formation among some fifteen colleges of the College Association of Pennsylvania, in 1888 by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, in 1892 by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and in 1895 by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States. By 1905, a distinct tendency toward nominal uniformity in requirements for admission and for the granting of degrees is discernible among the strongest colleges and universities of the country. This movement had importance for college athletics in two aspects: first, and directly, as demonstrating the advantages of free discussion of common interests; secondly, and rather more indirectly, as affecting standards of eligibility for intercollegiate competition.

2. Athletic Conferences and Associations

The last decade of the century was marked by the founding of three organizations among colleges and universities that furthered mutual interests and facilitated intercollegiate competition. The first of these bodies were regional in membership and extent; and of the first three, two were deliberative assemblies rather than organizations to promote competition. These differed materially from the Intercollegiate Association of

Amateur Athletes of America, which had been founded by undergraduates in 1875. The Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference was formed in 1894, in the Mid-West the Intercollegiate Conference, colloquially known as the "Western Conference" or "Big Ten," in the following year, and the Maine Intercollegiate Track and Field Association in 1896. The advantages of such organizations, which are discussed more fully in subsequent pages, were soon felt. After the turn of the century, came the Northwest Conference (1904), and in 1905 the first nation-wide attempt to unite in one body all of the reputable colleges and universities supporting intercollegiate competition, resulted in the formation of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association, with thirty-nine member colleges, which in 1910 became the National Collegiate Athletic Association. Almost at once the good results of informal, open discussion of problems were so apparent that to many it seemed as if the athletic millennium had come. The Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union was founded in 1906.

D. PROBLEMS OF ELIGIBILITY

About the matter of eligibility for intercollegiate competition during the 1890's clustered many of the abuses which have persisted even to the present day. Then, as now, they bulked largest in connection with football. The origins of recruiting and subsidizing, the bestowal of nominal jobs, the relaxation of standards, and the granting of favors of all sorts to athletes are referable in part to the laxity of college standards for entrance, attendance, and graduation. For such requirements during the 1890's as well as at the present time, college and university faculties under the leadership of presidents and deans have been responsible. Between 1890 and 1929 the requirements appertaining to these matters have been materially strengthened. Even as early as 1898 the eligibility codes for athletics at Columbia, Harvard, and Pennsylvania included requirements respecting academic status and an intention to remain in college throughout the year, minimum programs of work, a one-year residence transfer rule, and a four-year eligibility rule. At Harvard many of these features were adopted through the influence of faculty members serving on the Committee for the Regulation of Athletic Sports. At Columbia, undergraduate dissatisfaction with conditions had had much to do with recent changes. At both Columbia and Pennsylvania the influence of faculty members was considerable, and apparently it was felt at a number of other Eastern institutions. Yet a great portion of the current improvement is to be ascribed to the work of the college associations and athletic organizations and conferences which had their inceptions before 1906.

In this respect, then, the influence of college teachers has been productive of good. The reasons it has not more generally eliminated the abuses in question are to be referred to at least three general causes: first, a certain softening and sentimentalization of college education in the United States, which happily, as these words are written,

appears to be abating; secondly, the usurpation of athletic control by alumni, whose studied intent too often has been to depreciate the scholastic values of our college education and disproportionately to exalt the benefits to be gained by undergraduates through participation in "outside activities," whatever their nature; and thirdly, on the part of college teachers themselves, a lack of concern with the true value and functions of study and scholarship, and a lack of ability to make clear and binding upon others their own convictions through action. In short, the control of college athletics would probably have followed naturally a suitable directing of college life and standards of value on the part of faculties. This matter is now past history, and it is comparatively easy to say what might have been. College athletics assumed Gargantuan proportions before faculty members in general understood, much less considered, the implications of their exaggerated growth. Apparently the first causes contained less of educational insincerity than of general inattention, preoccupation with other matters, and administrative unsteadiness.

1. Recruiting in the 1890's

The soliciting of impecunious but skilled athletes, especially football players, in the '90's was conducted openly by captains or managers. At least, little successful attempt was made to conceal it. Apparently, there were comparatively few direct offers of money, but nominal employment, promises of social favor and athletic success, and the allurements of college life, dangled before the naïve recruit, seem to have been even more powerful in their attraction. The practice of dressing up the butcher's boy, the iron molder, the boiler maker, or even a bond salesman, in football clothing, which in those days concealed from partisan and opponent alike almost every distinguishing feature, was more than merely scandalous. Over such practices American humor shed its mellowing ray to obscure the fundamental issues, and the deception was so common and so amusing that at this distance it is almost impossible to appraise its viciousness. Probably this abuse was less prevalent at the great universities. At less widely known institutions, which by the lights of the time seemed to have all to gain and nothing to lose, it was flagrant. Such dishonesty was practiced as much by undergraduates as by coaches or trainers or alumni.

2. Proselyting and Tramp Athletes

One phase of the progress of American college athletics toward decency during the past forty years may be gauged by the disappearance of the tramp athlete. From 1890 to 1905 he was to be found upon most college football teams. It was common practice for partisans of certain larger institutions to make almost regular annual campaigns for drawing players away from smaller colleges. The ease with which an undergraduate at one institution might transfer to another, following an importation of the principle

of migration among European universities, was furthered by the fact that registration of special students in a single subject was common practice. Fortunately, to-day a just appreciation of the functions of migration on the part of administrative officers, the strengthening of college standards, the adherence of conferences to the one-year and three-year rules, and, above all, the enlightenment of college opinion have practically eliminated the tramp athlete and his cousin the "ringer."

3. The Effects upon School Athletics

These abuses placed upon school athletics a blight from which they are only to-day recovering. It would be difficult to overestimate the handicaps from which they suffered through facile and almost universal imitation on the part of schoolboys, whether in public or in private schools, of the more spectacular and generally the least beneficial aspects of college life, not alone as regards games, but also in respect of secret societies (pale shadows of the college fraternity), social pursuits, and dissipation, as accompaniments or influences in athletics. From the blight of such troubles, it has taken school athletics a full quarter-century to emerge.

E. SUMMARY

The twenty years between 1886 and 1906 contain the origins of those defects which are to be traced in our college athletics of the present day. The exuberance of the development at that time supplied a large part of the momentum which actuates modern college sports and games. It must be remembered that athletics of that period harbored the possibilities of both beneficent and harmful development in later years. That so many of their evils persisted beyond the first quarter of the twentieth century is due to the rankness of growth which they were permitted to attain during the time of their most rapid expansion. On the other hand, since 1906 the merits of athletics, their value, and their place in college life have come to be better understood. Apparently, to attempt to kill any branch of athletics by prohibiting it will not cure it or the whole body of the troubles that afflict them.

IV. THE FACULTIES TAKE A STRONGER HAND (1907-1928)

The most recent period of college athletics in the United States reflects the preoccupations and the changes of interest of the men who have exerted most influence in the councils of the National Collegiate Athletic Association. For the present, our concern is less with those changes and preoccupations than with their manifestations in athletics. It would be too sweeping to say that the Association has dominated athletics in American colleges, but it is entirely just to say that the changes that have taken place in college sports have had their counterparts in the proceedings of the Association.

A. THE DECLINE OF FORMAL GYMNASTICS

With the spread of the practice of requiring physical exercise or gymnasium work for a degree, which had begun before 1900, the popularity of formal gymnastics waned rapidly. Their vogue among undergraduates had never been very great. A few attained a proficiency that lent enjoyment to their pursuit, but the great majority of students were mildly diverted by them during periods of exercise and endured them as one necessary step toward a degree. The gymnasiums of that day were dirty and unsanitary. The teachers were in some cases ill-equipped for their posts. Again, the use of corrective exercises for remedying physical defects doubtless had something to do with the rising unpopularity of gymnastics for all. Moreover, an absence of the competitive motive, the rise of basketball, handball, fencing, boxing, and other indoor sports, and the development of intramural athletics, all united to deprive gymnastics of their former place among the beneficial diversions of college life.

B. THE RISE OF INTRAMURAL ATHLETICS

Even during the periods when the expansion of intercollegiate competition threatened to absorb all of the interest and the energies of college athletes, less formal contests between teams representing fraternities, clubs, and classes went on apace to produce their leaven of healthful diversion in college life. The fact that the intenseness and bitterness of the inter-college rivalry of the day did little to abate interest in those games and contests which undergraduates organized for their own immediate pleasure, testifies to the vitality of such pastimes. It should be clearly understood that the undergraduate and not the director of physical education, the coach, or the faculty member, was the founder of intramural athletics.

When, however, interest in gymnastics fell rapidly, and a means had to be found of introducing the competitive element into physical training, a rather highly developed structure of inter-club, inter-class, and inter-fraternity baseball, bowling, handball, and basketball games was ready to hand. What the masters in English secondary schools were forced to devise anew through the adaptation of the "house system" from the structure of the English public school, the American teacher of physical training found awaiting his needs. About 1907 the notion began to spread that participation in some branch of intramural competition could be made possible for any healthy undergraduate, and those in charge of physical training were not slow to seize upon the opportunity thus afforded. Between 1900 and 1910 at the University of Missouri, Professor Clark W. Hetherington carried forward work in physical education which had been begun as early as 1894 at Stanford University and continued in 1896 at the Whittier State School, through a "department organization which controlled all the physical activities, inter-collegiate and intra-collegiate, of both men and women students." A department of intramural athletics was established by the athletic association at

the University of Michigan in 1913-14, and Ohio State University followed closely after. "In these early steps toward intramural athletics," as Professor Elmer D. Mitchell has written in his *Intramural Athletics*, "the athletic association had a more or less selfish idea that intramural athletics would furnish a recruiting ground for future 'varsity material.'" To this process many directors of physical training, anxious that their adaptation of intramural athletics should succeed, gave willing acquiescence.

The West and the Middle West were the sections of the country in which intramural athletics, thus formalized, prospered best. In the East and Northeast a tradition of undergraduate independence stood somewhat in the way of rapid and full development under the supervision of teachers of physical training and others appointed to the work. When, a little later, the values of "athletics for all" became recognized, the good results of such programs provided a fruitful source of persuasion and advertising. From the studies of two competent historians of college athletics, Professor Sheldon and Professor Meylan, it appears that undergraduate participation increased from about twenty per cent in 1900 to thirty-two per cent in 1910. This decade witnessed the expansion of athletics from the essentially intercollegiate basis to the combination of intercollegiate and intramural competition.

C. THE FACULTIES ASSERT THEMSELVES

The somewhat scattered but constantly growing attempts on the part of faculties to secure over college athletics a control which in some sections of the country they had apparently never exercised have grown out of a number of causes, of which probably the most commendable is the conviction that a college or university should be an institution of learning. Into the matter enter other considerations, the relative importance of which will vary according to the individual judgment.

In the first place, the advancement of coaches or teachers of physical training to faculty appointment or directorships of physical education at a number of institutions led to a natural feeling on the part of less favored colleagues at other colleges that their work should be similarly dignified. To this conviction the interchange of sentiments at meetings of conferences and other bodies and the strength manifested by various groups and associations lent force. In the West, especially, the number of conferences and associations increased rapidly after 1906, owing to emulation of the Intercollegiate Conference and its success, and the power of the National Collegiate Athletic Association grew steadily because of the injection of a kind of crusading spirit directed to the spreading of the gospel of "faculty control." Some of the origins of this spirit are to be traced in the professional training which certain schools of physical education dispense; others, in the intrinsic attractiveness of the new conception of the purposes of college athletics and the honor and power which it promised to men who hitherto had enjoyed less than what they and many others considered their fair share of both.

In the second place, the widening conception of education as a process having at least two-fold bearings, on mind and on body, gave currency to a definition of physical education that includes all bodily activity, — even sport itself. From these premises, nothing was more logical than that those charged with the oversight of the mental phases of education should be charged also with the oversight of its physical phases. The importance of this concept in its most extreme aspects is its implied exaltation of things physical to a theoretical parity with the things of the mind and of the spirit.

These and other factors operating in varying force at large numbers of colleges and universities have had their effects upon every aspect of college athletics. Above all, they have lent force to the rallying-cry that athletics are “educational.”

D. ATHLETICS CONTINUE TO EXPAND

With the control of athletics nominally in the hands of faculty members at numbers of universities and colleges, it might be expected that by some means their expansion would be diminished or at least regulated with a degree of strictness. Such has not proved to be the case. Since 1906 their intensity has not abated, intercollegiate rivalry has not grown appreciably kinder, and specialization has much increased; costs have mounted amazingly. A part of the growing expenditure has been due to improvements in buildings, playing-fields, and equipment of all kinds, and a portion of the money thus paid out has benefited the building investments of universities. Popular interest has been deliberately stimulated by many types of newspapers and periodicals, including the college press. At the same time, at some institutions problems of student discipline have apparently become less acute, and at many others they have become different in character. More young men and women are being led to health-giving diversions. There can be little doubt that since 1924 a number of changes for the better have come into college athletics.

E. ABUSES AND SECRECY

Whatever the reason, it is certain that the seriousness with which college athletics are nowadays taken has driven certain well-recognized abuses under cover, but at the same time has propagated and intensified them. As a consequence, the observer is confronted, on the one hand, with the most lofty ideals and, on the other, by rumors and even well-authenticated statements of questionable practices, deception, and hypocrisy which constitute the very antithesis of the exalted sentiments in whose light they multiply. This paradox is less puzzling if examined in the perspective of years. The abuses which reached open crises about 1890, 1900, and 1905 have not by any means been eliminated even by the guarded publicity that they have recently received; they are probably more deliberately practiced but more carefully covered than they have been at any previous period.

CONCLUSION

The competitions and contests, the delight in bodily activity, the loyalties, and the honor that form a part of that vast organism called college athletics are the reflections in our college life of characteristics that are common to the youth of the world. In the pages that follow, these and other less pleasing phenomena of college athletics will be examined in the hope that those aspects which are good may in course of time achieve an unassailable predominance over those which are less worthy to survive. There can be no question of abolishing college athletics, nor should there be. What can be looked for is a gradual establishment through concrete action of a few general principles, to which all men would agree in the abstract. Even this slow change will be impossible without the sanction of an enlightened college and public opinion.

After some account of the development of the amateur status which, although it applies to all competitive games and sports, pertains especially to college athletics, it is purposed, first, to treat rather generally of athletics in schools, next, to discuss in detail a number of aspects of college athletics, and, finally, to enquire concerning the values that now inhere or could be brought to inhere in this aspect of American college life.