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Steven W. Pope

Between 1917 and 1919 the armed services made sports and athletics central components of military life. Millions of enlisted men participated in organized sport at domestic training camps and behind the front lines in France. On playing fields at home and in Europe, “narrow-chested clerks made three base hits on the same ball teams with college athletes and lean-visaged philosophers learned how to use their fists,” marveled a *Scientific American* editor. At Camp Devens, one could see Walter R. Agard, a former Amherst College Greek instructor, spar with light-heavy-weight champion “Battling” Levinsky. “Uncle Sam has created not only an army of soldiers,” one writer observed, but “an army of athletes.” Sports-writer Albert Britt suggested that every high school and college construct memorial lists alongside the playing fields bearing the names of the soldier athletes for their ultimate sacrifice. “Let their memory be an inspiration,” Britt declared, “to bodily fitness and clean, hard sportsmanship for every boy who comes after.”¹

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1. Edward M. Coffman, *The War to End All Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 79; “How Uncle Sam Has Created an Army of Athletes,” *Scientific American* 126 (1919): 114–15; Albert Britt, “From Playing Field to Battle Field,” *Outing* 73 (1919): 3. See William Haynes, “In Fighting Trim: Canada Teaching Her Soldiers to Play in Order to Fit Them for Fighting,” *Outing* 69 (1916): 277–88, for a comparative example north of the border.

This vision linking sport and the military was a newly invented early-twentieth-century tradition. The goals, ideology, and organization of the modern American military were profoundly transformed by the Spanish-American War experience, when a younger, reformist generation of uniformed officers assumed a moral commitment to the soldiers' welfare and used sport initially to combat desertion, alcohol, and the lure of prostitution. Immediately after the Spanish-American War, the Navy pursued "all proper means to preserve the health of the crew" as one of the central departmental policies. As one officer explained, this new orientation represented more than merely a growing awareness of physical fitness, but of how to achieve it. "There is no better way to make a good sailor," he explained, "and at the same time a loyal and true man to ship and country, than [through] these athletic contests."² Civilian military officials embraced sport and athletics as the most efficient means to cultivate national vitality, citizenship, and the martial spirit. Military training, infused with a heavy dose of sport and athletics, would not only train American men in the "soldierly values" of obedience, citizenship, and combat, but would also usefully repair class schisms and restore social order and patriotism to the nation.

The success of military sport during World War I surpassed all expectations. The war experience accelerated the development of a national sports culture. As a visible, respected state institution, the military was ideally suited to popularize the causes of physical vitality and the American sporting spirit. Millions of men were introduced to sports for the first time and became converts to the cult of strenuousness. Rather than destroy America's sporting spirit, as many had speculated would happen,³ the war did much to legitimize it in the public mind, both at home and abroad. The War Camp Community Service recreation programs, initiated during the war, multiplied thereafter and focused national attention on government-funded sport for the masses. The war experience brought sports into high school and college curriculums. Between 1919 and 1921, seventeen

Frederick Harris recorded seventy-five million "participations" in military sport between 1917 and 1919 in *Service With Fighting Men: An Account of the Work of the American Young Men's Christian Association in the World War* (New York: Association Press, 1922), 1: 320.

2. *New York Times*, 8 March 1903, 11.

3. Mack Whelan, "Will the War Kill Athletics?: Ways in Which Army Life is Making Physical Fitness Faster Than Fighting Destroys It," *Outing* 68 (1916): 278-88. Guy Lewis was the first sports historian to argue that World War I led to widespread national interest in sports in the 1920s in "World War I and the Emergence of Sport for the Masses," *Maryland Historian* 2 (1973): 109-22. Timothy O'Hanlon took Lewis's thesis a step further by suggesting that the wartime emphasis on sports in military training stimulated postwar high school sports and fitness programs in "School Sports as Social Training: The Case of Athletics and the Crisis of World War I," *Journal of Sport History* 9 (1982): 1-24.

states passed physical education legislation. More importantly, the military legitimized boxing (illegal in most states before the war) and football (an overwhelmingly collegiate sport before the war) as bona fide "American" spectator sports.⁴

Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Military Sport and Fitness

The American armed forces had traditionally tolerated sports as a useful diversion from the arduous rigors of military life. In 1777 George Washington had urged his officers to promote exercise and vigorous amusements among the troops. As an heir to Protestant suspicions of play, as a believer in republican self-restraint, and as a leader of the revolutionary struggle, Washington insisted that recreations be useful. During the Civil War, soldiers had competed in baseball, boxing, wrestling, horse racing, shooting matches, and foot races on holiday reprieves.⁵ Some battalions held gala sport days. Troops embraced the young game of baseball with particular enthusiasm, playing both previously arranged and pick-up games. According to baseball lore, a game between two New York infantry squads at Hilton, South Carolina, attracted forty thousand spectators. In truth, the attendance figures were probably closer to several thousand. Nevertheless, such exhibitions popularized the game and sparked a post-war explosion which made the sport the national pastime.⁶

Camp and field rewarded toughness, punished squeamishness, and created "working" conditions that freed distinct periods for leisure time. If baseball was the most popular sport among American soldiers, boxing was the second sport of choice. American men rushed to war in 1861 with vivid memories of the Thomas Sayers and John Heenan prizefights and, within a military context, began to make explicit connections between boxing and warfare.⁷ Cultural historian Elliott Gorn astutely captures the ring's symbolism behind Civil War battlelines. "Just as the ring brought

4. Newton Fuessle, "America's Boss-Ridden Athletics," *Outlook* 130 (1922): 643.

5. John R. Betts, "Home Front, Battlefield and Sport During the Civil War," *Research Quarterly* 42 (1971): 113-32. Lawrence W. Fielding has ably documented this episode in American sport history in three articles derived from his doctoral dissertation (University of Maryland, 1974): "Reflections From the Sport Mirror: Selected Treatments of Civil War Sport," *Journal of Sport History* 2 (1975): 132-44; "War and Trifles: Sport in the Shadow of Civil War Army Life," *Journal of Sport History* 4 (1977): 151-68; and "Gay and Happy Still: Holiday Sport in the Army of the Potomac," *Maryland Historian* 7 (1976): 19-32. Harold Seymour documents the place of baseball among Union troops in *Baseball: The People's Game* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 291-309.

6. Benjamin G. Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 13.

7. For an excellent, well-documented history of the nineteenth-century army, see Edward M. Coffman's *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime*,

momentary symbolic order to the chaos of working-class streets," Gorn writes, "so the drama of fistfighting between equals presented a poignant if fleeting alternative to the ghastliness of battle." Sports like boxing became more than just the "moral equivalent to war"—they supplanted it because, according to Gorn, "the violence of play offered meaning denied by the anarchy of war."⁸

Yet, the American military establishment did not embrace sport and athletics in any serious way until the 1890s. During these years the Army was fighting the Indian wars in the west. Men stationed at remote posts relaxed through such improvised amusements as conversation, card playing, and drinking. The diary entries of Private B. C. Goodin, C Troop, First Cavalry stationed at Fort Grant, Arizona, illustrate how he was on mounted pass for half a day, and spent the rest of his off-duty time reading in quarters, "strolling," playing cribbage, singing and dancing, and playing jokes on his comrades in the barracks. But daily mounted drills, sabre exercises, revolver practice, and line skirmishes exacted a heavy physical toll on the enlisted men.

Most cavalry men were avid horse racers and often staged competitions against rival companies, civilians, and Indians. In regions where wild game was plentiful, the men sometimes went on extended hunting trips, and a few were ardent anglers. In some companies, athletically minded officers organized baseball games, track and field contests, and boxing matches. But as one historian of the nineteenth-century U.S. Regular Army explains, without any sort of service-wide athletic policy, few post commanders were personally interested in promoting an athletic program.⁹

Military attitudes toward sport shifted from toleration as a diversion to experimentation during the 1890s when some officers tentatively integrated athletics into the daily regimen of the lives of soldiers and sailors.¹⁰ In 1890 Lieutenant C. D. Parkhurst argued in a series of essays on "The Practical Education of the Soldier" that physical training should precede all specifically military activities with the exception of battle itself. Fusing vitalism, traditional deference, and republican virtue, Parkhurst argued that exercise in the gymnasium and on the playing fields would bring the

1784–1898 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. 215–86, 328–99; Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 160.

8. Gorn, *The Manly Art*, 164.

9. Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 186–88.

10. Coffman, *The Old Army*, 359. Donald Mrozek sketches a cogent summary of the initial establishment of military sport during the late nineteenth century in "Sport and the American Military: Diversion and Duty," *Research Quarterly* (Centennial Issue, 1985), 38–45.

soldier in “quick and unthinking obedience to orders.”¹¹ Lieutenant Colonel A. A. Woodhull claimed that the James Corbett–John L. Sullivan prizefight demonstrated the importance of speed and agility and argued further that boxing elevated “primitive force” which could be harnessed to military ends.¹² Like their progressive physical educator peers, military officials believed that if applied rationally, physical fitness programs would achieve specific, desirable results, underscoring, in the words of historian Donald Mrozek, sport’s “entry into the duty-day and into the obligation of ‘service’ of the American soldier.”¹³

The growth of American military sport was closely tied to its introduction into the military academies during the 1890s.¹⁴ Prior to 1890, stringent restrictions, dismissive official attitudes, and a fundamental lack of functional organization prevented the growth of sports programs at the academies. Tennis had to be played by cadets in dress coats, and a cadet was punished for having two buttons of his coat unbuttoned while playing baseball. But the first Army-Navy football game, played 1 December 1890, was a watershed in military athletic history. On that memorable day an impromptu gridiron was roped off on the quad. The midshipmen’s quarterback used nautical terms for signals, like “clear deck for action,” while the cadets employed military commands such as “right front into double line.”¹⁵ By 1895 the Military Academy’s sports program had become competitive with established eastern colleges such as Harvard, Yale, and Brown. Renowned sports authority Caspar Whitney proclaimed his unabashed admiration of the West Point and Annapolis football programs just six years after their initiation when he wrote that “no other institution in the United States more thoroughly demonstrates the *mens sana in corpore sano* in college sport than these two.” Army Captain Richard Davis received letters from Alaska, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines

11. C. D. Parkhurst, “The Practical Education of the Soldier,” *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States*, 1890, 946.

12. Quoted in Donald Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880–1920* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 56.

13. Mrozek, “Sport and the American Military.” Mrozek cites the War Department Special Regulation No. 23: “Field Physical Training of the Soldier” (Washington: GPO, 1917), 7–10. See also R. D. Evans, “Why Athletics Should be Fostered in the Navy,” *Illustrated Sporting News* 5 (1905): 5.

14. Seymour, *Baseball*, 297–98.

15. Fuessle, “America’s Boss-Ridden Athletics,” 642–43. Early football practices were limited. Only about two hours per week were allotted during cadets’ “liberty time” for preseason practice. Typically only nine hours of actual preseason work preceded the first game, and only a total of fifty-six hours were spent during the entire football season in practice. See Captain Richmond P. Davis, “Athletics at the United States Military Academy,” *Outing* 39 (1901–2): 384–85; and H. Irving Hancock, *Life at West Point: The Making of the American Army Officer: His Studies, Discipline, and Amusements* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1902), 135–36.

about the annual Army and Navy game that brought together the brotherhood of both services to a fuller appreciation of the good old song: "May the service united ne'er sever; But hold to their colors so true; The Army and Navy forever; Three cheers for the Red, White, and Blue."

The military academies' sport programs were buttressed by a mandatory system of physical training. Conceived by Lieutenant H. J. Koehler, physical director at West Point for seventeen years, the program developed muscular fitness, but more importantly, produced "the heroic spirit." For forty-five minutes each day, cadets systematically performed a battery of stretching and strengthening exercises. Nobody promoted this new approach more passionately than Edmund L. "Billy" Butts, the best all-around athlete in West Point's Class of 1888. After graduation he published articles in the *Journal of the Military Service*, *Outing*, and *Army and Navy Journal* maintaining that athletic training would transform fighting men into "hardened veterans, upon whom the safety of the nation could depend." Such provocative sporting bombast earned him the respect of the Army, which dispatched Butts in the mid-1890s to various posts to initiate athletics and physical training programs. By the turn of the century, just a decade after the legitimization of sport in the military academies, one-half of the cadets took active part in at least one sport; and the other half were enthusiastic spectators and "rooters."¹⁶ The popularity of military sport between the Spanish-American War and World War I owed much to the deepening inroads of baseball at West Point.¹⁷ As the battle fleet continued to expand, so too did baseball at the Naval Academy. The highlight of each baseball season at Annapolis was the final game with West Point, staged alternatively at each academy beginning in 1901—a series dominated by the Annapolis team.¹⁸

Military veterans sometimes worked to spread their newfound sporting gospel and combative exercise programs in civilian society. During the 1890s, for instance, General George A. Wingate promoted military training in New York City public schools—an effort which culminated in the creation of the New York Public School Athletic League in the early years

16. Davis, "Athletics at the United States Military Academy," 390–91, and Hancock, *Life at West Point*, 77–81, 85–95. Military sport was not the sole preserve of the Army. Naval ships were also furnished with a substantial and wide variety of sporting goods, and frequent summertime baseball games were held between naval teams. Regattas, swim meets, and boxing were immensely popular on Sunday evenings after parade. Football men relished the opportunity of having their ship at New York during the fall. See, for instance, Martin E. Trench, "Athletics Among Enlisted Men in the Navy," *Outing* 39 (1902): 436–41. The early support for football in the Navy is documented by Park Benjamin, "Public Football vs. Naval Education: In Defense of the Naval Academy," *Independent* 55 (1903): 2777–80.

17. Seymour, *Baseball*, 321.

18. *Ibid.*, 315.

of the twentieth century.¹⁹ With one hundred thousand members, the League claimed to be the “largest athletic body in the world.” The League won more recruits, however, when Wingate’s training program of musket swinging, marching, and fencing were supplanted by running, jumping, basketball, and a wide range of other athletic activities. The *Illustrated Sporting News* speculated that “the patriotic idea will not be in the least minimized” by such a change. Through athletics, it claimed, the students would acquire basic military combative virtues which would usefully complement civilian virtues.²⁰

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the American armed forces moved from tentative experimentation with sport and athletics to its unqualified acceptance of them as essential elements of soldier training. A new generation of West Point and Annapolis graduates chafed at the prospect of suppressing labor disputes and fighting Indians after the Spanish-American War, and campaigned for a modern, national, and much enlarged military.²¹ The new military professionals used organized sports and athletics to combat the endemic rate of desertions, widespread vice among the enlisted troops, and, in general, took steps to make military life more attractive. They assured doubters that sport and fitness activities made good military sense in developing needed physical endurance.²² Early twentieth-century discussions of military sport stressed the importance of building “physical manhood.” Such efforts found support in the burgeoning mass media. One writer for *Harper’s Weekly* maintained that the governmental sports sponsorship was designed to “turn sergeants and privates into all-round men,” and that the spirit of military sport “meant more than merely improving the physique of the soldier.” The writer suggested that “Uncle Sam has not encouraged athletics for amusement,” but for the way in which it produced esprit de corps among both officers and

19. Luther H. Gulick is credited with founding the New York Public School Athletic League. As one of the pioneers of American athletics, he collaborated with James Naismith in devising basketball, headed the child hygiene department at the Russell Sage Foundation, served on the American Olympic Committee and American Physical Education Association, and was called by the National War Council to make a survey of the American Expeditionary Force to write a report on proposals for physical training. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8: 47–48, and *American Physical Education Review* 23 (October 1918): 413–26.

20. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 61.

21. Graham Cosmas, “Military Reform after the Spanish-American War: The Army Reorganization Fight of 1898–1899,” *Military Affairs* 35 (1971): 12–17.

22. Harrod, *Manning the New Navy*, 198; Lieutenant A. B. Donworth, “Gymnasium Training in the Army,” *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 21 (1897): 508–14.

enlisted men—a “rebuilding process which begins when the soldier puts on the blue or khaki.”²³

World War I and the Maturation of Military Sport and Athletics

The military moved to systematic application of sport during the 1916 border crisis sparked by the Mexican Revolution. Anticipating full-scale war, the United States twice invaded Mexico and twice more mobilized the National Guard along the border. Without recreational facilities, there was nothing to compete with the saloons and red-light districts for the 100,000 American troops. When reports of widespread venereal disease reached Washington, D.C., in early 1917, Secretary of War Newton Baker sent Raymond Fosdick of the Rockefeller Foundation to investigate the situation.²⁴ Fosdick's report confirmed Army leaders' worst suspicions. Shortly thereafter he was appointed as head of the War Department Commission of Training Camp Activities designed to coordinate activities of other welfare organizations, such as the Y.M.C.A., Knights of Columbus, and Jewish Welfare Board, to ensure a wholesome environment for the enlisted men.²⁵ Secretary Baker later admitted that military athletics were “an attempt to occupy the minds of the soldiers and to keep their bodies busy with wholesome, healthful, and attractive things . . . to free [the body] from temptations which come to those who are idle.”²⁶

General John J. Pershing summoned Y.M.C.A. expertise to manage Army cantonments shortly after the 6 April 1917 declaration of war. The “Y” combated vices with sport and leisure activities. As one Y.M.C.A. worker put it, “whether men found themselves in populous cantonments or in lonely guard posts, in city or in forest lumber camp,” the Y's “right to service was unquestioned.” Seventy-five percent of American troops spent time in one of thirty-two training camps managed by the Y.²⁷ The Y war efforts were organized by Dr. John McCurdy of the Y.M.C.A. College at Springfield, a leader in the field of physical education, who had been chairman of the National Commission on Secondary Education and was a

23. Day Allen Willey, “The Spirit of Sport in the Army,” *Harper's Weekly* 50 (1906): 1100–1101.

24. See C. M. Cramer, *Newton D. Baker: A Biography* (New York: World Publishing Co., 1961); and M. J. Exner, “Prostitution in Its Relation to the Army on the Mexican Border,” *Social Hygiene* 3 (1917). Ronald Schaffer surveys the social purity crusades which arose in this context and which proliferated throughout the War Camp Community Service as well as behind the lines in France in his *America in the Great War: The Rise of the Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 98–108.

25. For a list of members, see *Playground* 9 (1917): 347.

26. Seymour, *Baseball*, 331.

27. Harris, *Service with Fighting Men*, 197–212.

former editor of the *American Physical Education Review*.²⁸ As the official representative in France of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, McCurdy also undertook the duties of Y.M.C.A. athletic director for the American Expeditionary Forces (A.E.F.) in September 1917. Shortly thereafter, McCurdy hired Dr. James Naismith, University of Kansas physical educator, inventor of basketball, and former National Guard chaplain, to head the Hygiene Department. Naismith prepared literature and lectures, infused with Christian principles, on the importance of clean living, social hygiene, fighting efficiency, and the sporting spirit. National organizations, like the American Library Association and the Recreation Association of America, along with churches, social clubs, and fraternal lodges supported the Y's mission with patriotic fervor.²⁹

The Y assigned physical directors to each of the thirty-two military camps to coordinate their sports mission. Physical directors sought to develop the abilities of average soldiers rather than polishing the skill of star athletes.³⁰ Comprehensive sporting programs were established featuring intercompany and barracks baseball and basketball leagues. Y.M.C.A. sponsorship of athletic programs emphasized those activities of military significance, including cross-country runs, obstacle races, military dispatch relays—all done in military uniform.³¹ According to an official spokesman, the first important promotional event for military mass athletics was a pentathlon held on Memorial Day 1917 at an officers' training camp at Fort Niagara. Twenty-five men from each company, 375 in all, competed in the standing broad jump, relay races, medicine ball putting, 100-yard dashes, and a tug-of-war. This spectacle awakened thousands of mostly college men to the value of mass athletics. The Y's muscular Christian mission was enthusiastically endorsed by the military brass and a host of sports commentators as well.³²

28. Between June 1918 and April 1919, the YMCA handled in France alone over two million cigarettes, thirty-two million candy bars, eighteen million cans of smoking tobacco, fifty million cigars, sixty million cans of jam, and twenty-nine million packages of chewing gum. The Y distributed five million bound volumes of reading material, four million pieces of religious literature, two million magazines, ten million newspapers, and one million copies of an approved songbook. Between August 1917 and April 1919, ninety thousand movies were shown to audiences totaling fifty million men. And, between 1918 and 1919, the Y provided 2.25 million athletic items. See George W. Perkins, *Report on Activities of the Y.M.C.A. with the A.E.F., 1919*.

29. Edward Frank Allen, *Keeping Our Fighters Fit for War and After* (New York: Century Co., 1918). A concise version of Allen's first chapter was published as "Athletics for the Army," *Century* 96 (1918): 367–74.

30. Harris, *Service with Fighting Men*, 2: 27–29.

31. George J. Fisher, "Physical Training in the Army," *American Physical Education Review* 23 (1918): 65–76.

32. Harris, *Service with Fighting Men*, 1: 320–24.



Y.M.C.A. war-work secretaries in training, ca. 1917. (Courtesy Y.M.C.A. of the U.S.A. Archives, University of Minnesota Libraries.)

Many observers feared that United States involvement in the European war would wreak disaster on the American sports scene. Collegiate and professional athletics, the argument ran, would fall into entropy, as promising stars would be whisked off to the European front to fight the Hun. Such doomsday prognoses foundered, however, on the successful incorporation of sport into the military. During the summer of 1917, Secretary of the War Newton Baker publicized his support for military sport in numerous newspaper and magazine articles. When approached by Verne Lacy, chairman of the Western Association of the American Athletic Union (A.A.U.), regarding track and field championships to be held at St. Louis in August 1917, Baker demonstrated his support by granting furlough privileges to participating athletes in an event whose proceeds went to the Red Cross.³³ In October the War Department and YMCA radioed the result of the World Series between Chicago and New York to the enlisted men in Honolulu, Manila, the Panama Canal Zone, and Paris; the endeavor was repeated in 1918 and 1919 to additional American audiences in such places as Coblenz, Vladivostok, and Constantinople. Baker, like many other contemporaries, understood the connections between sport and Americanism.

The official actions of the military brass were bolstered by confident appeals in the popular media. When some colleges and universities considered discontinuing athletics due to the war, Washington and Jefferson football coach Sol Metzger presented evidence that not only did athletes exceed the regular student body in military enlistments, but that athletic programs usefully trained students for the war effort. "I regard participating in athletics now the patriotic duty of the student," Metzger wrote in the *New York Times*, "in that training and preparation make him of far

33. "Baker Supports Games," *New York Times*, 17 August 1917, 10.

greater value to the country than if he did not have them.”³⁴ Optimistic predictions by sport insiders, like Princeton University professor Dr. Joseph Raycroft, did much to inspire public confidence in the compatibility of sport and military involvement. Quoted in the *Sporting Goods Trade Journal*, Raycroft estimated that “there will be more real and widespread athletic activity in this country during the next twelve months than ever before in our lifetime.”³⁵

Equally reassuring to the American sports public were the efforts of Walter Camp, the dean of American football. Camp believed strongly in the complementary value of sport for military preparation, a belief that underlay his Naval Training Station athletic program designed to teach sailors discipline, teamwork, fellowship, leadership, physical fitness, and toughness.³⁶ Standardized rules for boxing and wrestling were central components of Camp’s naval training regimen. A *New York Times* sports-writer noted that “Uncle Sam’s army of stay-at-homes is behind the army of gone-to-war and has organized a system of athletics which is far better systematized than the athletics of the leading eastern universities since the date of the war’s beginning.”³⁷ Moreover, in addition to organizing a physical fitness program for President Woodrow Wilson’s cabinet, which Camp supervised behind the Treasury Building every morning, the single most popular event of Camp’s wartime sporting activism was the development of his “Daily Dozen” exercise routine for all Americans concerned about their physical fitness.³⁸

In early March, two weeks before Germany’s mighty spring offensive, the idea of sport for fighting efficiency had made sufficient progress among officers and enlisted men alike to warrant a comprehensive proposal written by the Commander-in-Chief regarding compulsory mass athletics in the army. Mass athletics were designed to raise the physical efficiency of troops who could neither jump over six-foot-wide trenches, nor run 220 yards in thirty seconds, leading the Commander to assert that “such men could neither catch a Hun nor get away from one.” Clearly, an army of ath-

34. Sol Metzger, “Regards Athletics as Patriotic Duty,” *New York Times*, 22 July 1917, sec. III, 4. For a similar position, see, for instance, Ewald O. Stiehm, “Athletics in War Time,” *Outing* 70 (1917).

35. “Great Year Ahead in Army Athletics,” *New York Times*, 26 August 1917, sec. III, 4.

36. Walter Camp, *Athletics All: Training, Organization and Play* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1927): 16, 67.

37. “Sport Flourishing in Naval Stations,” and “Walter Camp Has Systematized Athletic Activities of the Nation’s Soldiers,” *New York Times*, 3 February 1918, sec. III, 8.

38. Camp, “Our Government Plant,” *Outlook* 117 (1917): 12–13; “Review of the Football Service and the All-America Team,” *Collier’s* 63 (1919): 13; “Keeping the Nation Fit,” *Independent* 96 (1918): 400–401; and “What I Am Trying to Do,” *World’s Work* 46 (1923): 600–604.

letes had to be made. Led by Luther Gulick, a spirited campaign recruited sixteen hundred men, who were subsequently trained at the Y.M.C.A. Training Schools at Springfield or Chicago, and by September, three hundred new physical directors had sailed to France.³⁹ To improve physical efficiency among enlisted men, the Y.M.C.A. appropriated over \$300,000 worth of athletic goods and increased its staff of eighty-six trained physical directors to three hundred by the fall of 1918.⁴⁰ In a short time, the Y had created an athletic structure which catered to the exigencies of various military regions. Ports of entry, Service of Supply areas, aviation camps, training camps, combat zones, convalescent camps, and leave areas all featured mass games, calisthenics, competitive sports, and boxing instruction.⁴¹

Organized athletic activities were designed to train enlisted men in the necessary survival skills for life on the front. Combative exercises, particularly wrestling maneuvers, trained recruits for hand-to-hand combat. Baseball throwing fundamentals were emphasized in grenade tossing exercises. Scaling, balancing, jumping, and vaulting exercises incorporated gymnastic skills for daily trench maneuvers and basic survival skills for front-line combat. The greatest attention, however, was given to boxing as training for bayonet fighting.⁴² Prior to 1917, boxing was mostly illegal in the United States, and "then came the war to dwarf the miniature battles of the squared circle," wrote *Outing* correspondent Thomas Foster. The result, he contended, was that "the duels of the fighters and their promoters became absurdly small alongside the greater duel and four-ounce gloves were puny weapons as compared with bayonets." Before the American military intervened in Europe, a U.S. sergeant had been teaching Canadian recruits the use of the bayonet, and discovered that the essen-

39. Harris, *Service with Fighting Men*, 2: 34–37.

40. *Ibid.*, 2: 30–32.

41. Katherine Mayo, *"That Damn Y": A Record of Overseas Service* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920): 256.

42. Retired University of Wisconsin professor Walter Agard, who served as an athletics and recreation noncommissioned officer, told Edward Coffman that boxing was the only sport readily comprehended by most soldiers—many of whom had never competed in organized team sport—hence the "game" concept was novel. The author thanks Coffman who shared this insight in a letter (in author's possession). For a representative "how-to" guide to military sports drills, see F. L. Kleeberger, "War Sports Embracing Grenade Throwing, Boxing, and Athletic Drills, Arranged in Accord with Military Procedure," *American Physical Education Review* 23 (1918): 383–98. Luther Gulick could not emphasize enough the tactical importance of bayonet fighting in a speech to the American Physical Education Association shortly after his return from the French front. Lamenting the lack of effective training, Gulick recommended one hour a day be appropriated for bayonet practice. See his "Physical Fitness in the Fighting Armies," *American Physical Education Review* 24 (1919): 341–54, especially 342–46.



Soldiers playing Y.M.C.A.-sponsored basketball at Camp Gordon (Atlanta, Georgia), ca. 1917. (Courtesy Y.M.C.A. of the U.S.A. Archives, University of Minnesota Libraries.)

tial movements of feet, hands, and body in bayonet fighting are the same as those of boxing. After 1917, according to Thomas, “Uncle Sam dragged the padded gloves out of discard and has tied them on the hands of boys that they may better cope with the Boche when they meet him with steel against steel.” To this effort, the military assigned professional boxers like Mike Gibbons, Johnny Kilbane, Benny Leonard, Packy McFarland, and “Battling” Levinsky, as instructors at training camps under the direction of the Commission on Training Camp Activities. Boxing not only trained soldiers in hand-to-hand combat, it effectively relieved the monotony of military drilling. American soldiers learned to use the steel and at the same time became avid converts to what would become a principal spectator sport at home after the war.⁴³

Official integration of sport into military training sparked a wave of competitive team sports competition. Not surprisingly, the principal organized sports were baseball, football, and basketball—the big three “American” sports on the domestic front. Baseball, the national pastime, caught on like wildfire everywhere American troops were stationed on the French front. The *New York Times* marveled that the widespread enthusiasm for

43. Thomas Foster, “Why Our Soldiers Learn to Box,” *Outing* 72 (1918): 114–16.

baseball in the military marked “a Utopia in athletic endeavor that pioneers in physical education have dreamed of, but never believed would be realized”—particularly the way in which “every bare space behind the battle lines in France will be converted into a baseball diamond.” In early March the *New York Times* announced the spring training of “Uncle Sam’s League.” “Greater by far than all the major and minor leagues, together with the semiprofessional and amateur baseball organizations” in the United States, a baseball league “vaster than any athletic movement in the history of sport” numbered over two million players.⁴⁴

Equally impressive strides were made on the football field. Initially bypassed because of the considerable expenses necessary for outfitting teams with pads and helmets, football was quickly recognized as the popular sport it was among soldiers and sailors, many of whom were former college players and coaches. Service football found favorable opportunities to battle colleges and intracamp teams in major stadiums. The game proved a quick, unexpected success during the 1917 season when training camp teams turned out to be competitive with college teams. *Outing* magazine noted that never before had so many American men played football. “In every army cantonment,” the editor wrote, “footballs were as thick as pumpkins in an autumn cornfield.”⁴⁵ Sport historian James Mennell suggests that service football significantly popularized the collegiate game. For those athletically inclined, service football was more accessible than the selective collegiate game. The nonplaying soldiers experienced the music, color, drama, and spirit of the game, previously limited to the collegiate crowd.⁴⁶ By the war’s end, a *New York Times* sports journalist was confident that “football owes more to the war in the way of the spread of the spirit of the game than it does to ten or twenty years of development in the period before the war.”⁴⁷

Between February 1918 and June 1919, American soldiers followed service sports through the pages of *Stars and Stripes*, a weekly paper whose circulation grew from 30,000 to more than 526,000. Created as an internal organ of propaganda “to stimulate a healthy morale among troops of the A.E.F. by giving them the news of the War and of America attractively and interestingly presented,” the paper became the best-known

44. “2,000,000 Men Join Uncle Sam’s League,” *New York Times*, 11 March 1918, 8.

45. *Outing* 71 (1918): 279.

46. James Mennell, “The Service Football Program of World War I: Its Impact on the Popularity of the Game,” *Journal of Sport History* 16 (1989): 259.

47. “War Football,” *New York Times*, 23 November 1919, sec. 3, 1. See also, Lucian Swift Kirtland, “Chasing the Pigskin with the A.E.F.,” *Leslie’s Weekly*, 25 January 1919, 128.

army newspaper in history.⁴⁸ Next to *Stars and Stripes*, the *Sporting News* was the most popular publication among the troops. Editor Taylor Spink persuaded baseball's American League owners to buy copies of the paper and send them to the soldiers at the league's expense. *Stars and Stripes* accepted the fact that any worthy American newspaper must have a respectable sports page. The editors soon realized that the American sporting experience could help the soldier relate to the war pressures. As an early editorial claimed, "the 'game of war' should hold no terrors for the average American soldier already trained in sports—the familiar experience of the playing field was a framework for war experiences."⁴⁹

Occasionally *Stars and Stripes* contributors waxed poetic on the nationalistic character of American sport. During the 1918 spring training season, a soldier penned the following doggerel:

He's tossed the horsehide far away to plug the hand grenade.
What matter if on muddy grounds this game of war is played?
He'll last through extra innings and he'll hit as well as pitch.
His smoking Texas Leaguers'll make the Fritzie's seek the ditch!

Using familiar metaphor language, another contributor likened the war experience to "Uncle Sammy in the Box":

Oh, just watch me when its Springtime
and the sun shines on the bleachers.
When the Big Game starts, my laddie,
on the di'mond Over Here
See the grin of joyous rapture
sneaking o'er my classic features
As I'm thinking how Our boys will win
the bacon and the beer.
Tho' the Gothas play a savage game
and lately they've been winning
From some pitchers not in training
and who couldn't stand the knocks
You will hear 'em shouting "Kamerad"
about the second inning
when Uncle Sammy dances to the box.⁵⁰

48. Alfred E. Cornebise, *The Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984), 3–6.

49. Ibid. For a trans-Atlantic discussion of British military sports journalism, see John M. Osborne, "'To Keep the Life of the Nation on the Old Line': The Athletic News and the First World War," *Journal of Sport History* 14 (1987): 137–50.

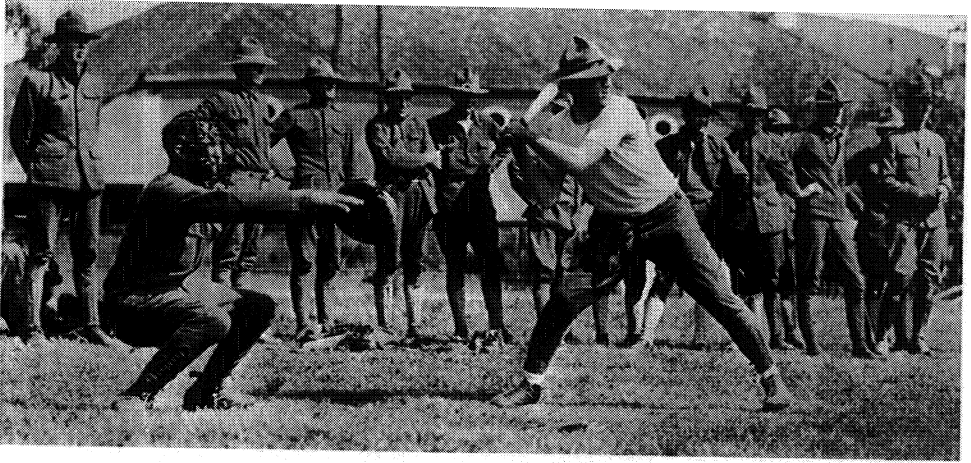
50. Cornebise, *The Stars and Stripes*, 139–40.

Postwar Developments

The United States military proselytized Europe with the athletic cause after the Armistice. Although a vibrant sport scene had existed there for many centuries, *American* sports had steadily won the hearts and minds of Europeans during the war. The United States military saw themselves as international missionaries of the American sporting life. "Thanks to the American doughboy, and his confreres, the marine and the blue jacket, sport, the world over, is about to have its greatest revival," wrote sports-writer Edwin Goewey in early 1919. Noting that baseball had always "followed the flag" to places in Latin America and the Far East, Goewey surmised that it took "the big war" to introduce the game throughout Europe. The widespread popularity of American sport in Europe, accordingly, signaled "a new era for sport" reflecting the "increased interest and general feeling of good will toward the people of this country." Y.M.C.A. spokesman Fletcher Brockman made the case in even more explicit political terms. Speaking to the Physical Directors Society in Detroit, Michigan, Brockman surmised that "to teach half a billion people the true meaning of democracy and train them in its wise use" was the "supreme and urgent task before the world today." Under the able tutelage of western capitalist societies, particularly the United States, Eastern European and Far Eastern countries could successfully be brought within the respectable, democratic fold through Y.M.C.A.-sponsored athletic programs. As an antidote to the wave of "radical democracy" emanating from Petrograd like a "cloud of poisonous gas," Association athletics provided the "practical outworking of some of the most difficult problems in democracy."⁵¹

Nowhere were the American athletic missionaries' efforts more dramatically successful at converting unbelievers to sport than during the Inter-Allied Games of 1919. The Games were designed to provide "constructive and interesting bodily activity" to soldiers awaiting return to the States. Military and Y.M.C.A. officials feared that peace would provoke "moral temptations" and "disorderly physical expressions" among

51. Edwin A. Goewey, "Fewer Fans and More Athletes," *Leslie's Weekly*, 1 February 1919, 168; and for a complementary statement on the spread of American sport in Europe, due to the military efforts and the Inter-Allied Games in particular, see "Europe Welcomes American Athletes," *Leslie's Weekly*, 6 September 1919, 372. Fletcher S. Brockman, "Association Athletics as a Training in Democracy," *Physical Training* 17 (1919): 71-76. Special efforts were made to promote sports among the Asiatic and African troops serving in the Allied forces. The Chinese Labour Corps and Indian troops serving in the British Army, the Arabs, Senegalese, Tunisians, and other soldiers within the French forces were exposed to "western" team sport. For information about the spread of baseball in postwar Europe, see Seymour, *Baseball*, 346-63.



U.S. soldiers playing Y.M.C.A.-sponsored baseball in France during World War I. (Courtesy Y.M.C.A. of the U.S.A. Archives, University of Minnesota Libraries.)

enlisted men. A grand military Olympiad would be a safety-valve and a reinforcement of the military sporting message.⁵²

An Army of Athletes

forthcoming Games. The *New York Herald*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the London *Daily Mail* published 190 items on the games, and French newspapers followed suit. Once the Games began, the United States Committee on Public Information arranged for international transmission by wireless of daily news on the games.⁵⁸

On opening day 30,000 spectators rose to their feet during the military parade headed by the Garde Republicaine Band, and followed by representatives of the most famous fighting contingents of the war. Tattered blood-stained regimental flags, national ensigns of all participating nations; uniforms of equal national diversity, and the presence of thousands of spectators in uniform were reminders of the world-wide character of the long and bitter struggle now brought to a victorious close. Indeed, the partisan Games' Committee interpreted the contests in unmistakably ideological terms, namely to show how "wholeheartedly the nations that had striven shoulder to shoulder on the battlefield could turn to friendly rivalry in the stadium," one advocate claimed. The Games effectively spread the cause of the sporting life to countries that "came into being in the travail of world war and which in the future will take part in the improvement of athletics."⁵⁹

Throughout the two weeks of athletic festivities, nearly fifteen hundred athletes representing eighteen Allied nations or dominions participated in the Games. The United States was the least handicapped of the nations competing, since most of the best American athletes remained alive after the war to compete. The United States squad laid claim to

Stadium was officially dedicated by distinguished guests from all Allied nations, military delegations, and numerous eloquent speeches to the cause of international sport. Before a standing-room-only crowd of 90,000, Y.M.C.A. Chief Secretary Edward G. Carter proclaimed that the larger meaning of the A.E.F. championships "lies not in a few hundred final competitors, but in the hundreds of thousands of soldiers of average skill who unconsciously have established play for play's sake, and sport as the possession of all."⁵⁴

The democratic rhetoric of international sport was not entirely invented. The A.E.F. elimination contests held between January and June 1919 in football, basketball, boxing, wrestling, baseball, golf, shooting, soccer, swimming, tennis, and track and field constituted the most extensive athletic program hitherto executed under one management.⁵⁵ The A.E.F. championships in football and boxing were a huge success. According to a Y.M.C.A. spokesman, "no season in the history of sport ever developed better matched teams or more exciting contests" than the preliminary American football games—in which 75,000 officers and men participated—held to decide the supremacy of the Second Army, which was ultimately won by the Seventh Division. The finals held at Colombes Stadium near Paris were watched by the Army with all the interest ever called forth by a Yale-Harvard game or a professional baseball World Series. Thousands of enlisted men competed in the boxing elimination bouts, although the majority of the finalists had been professionals before the war. "To witness or take part in a boxing match was, next to a good feed and baseball, the most enjoyment in the Army," Frederick Harris observed, citing the over six million total spectators as evidence enough for his assertion. Much of the credit for the success of boxing derived from the active involvement of American welfare organizations, like the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, and the Red Cross.⁵⁶

American athletes took the Games very seriously. Soldier-athletes trained during the rainy French spring in 150 airplane hangars. The 400 ft. x 150 ft. facilities were ample enough for football scrimmages, a dozen simultaneous basketball games, and about twice that for volleyball practice.⁵⁷ American and European newspapers dutifully popularized the

54. Harris, *Service with Fighting Men*, 2: 39–49.

55. Jim Thorpe, *Jim Thorpe's History of the Olympics*, 230. Harris calculated the participation "in all sports for the first five months of 1919" as over 31 million; *Service with Fighting Men*, 2: 44.

56. Harris, *Service with Fighting Men*, 2: 46–47. For several months after the Armistice was signed, the Y.M.C.A. staged weekly bouts at the Cirque de Paris, which accommodated a standing crowd of eight thousand, where professional boxers like Carpentier, Jeannette, and McVey battled and soldiers were admitted free of charge.

57. Edwin A. Goewey, "The Doughboys' Great Olympics," *Leslie's Weekly*, 5 April 1919, 487, 496.

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Throughout the two weeks of athletic festivities, nearly fifteen hundred athletes representing eighteen Allied nations or dominions participated in the Games. The United States was the least handicapped of the nations competing, since most of the best American athletes remained alive after the war to compete. The United States squad laid claim to twelve firsts and seven seconds out of a total twenty-four separate events. The A.E.F. proudly excelled in the rifle and pistol competitions, and took firsts in baseball, basketball, boxing, equestrian contests, swimming, tug-of-war, and catch-as-catch-can wrestling. American F. C. Thompson, a former baseball player, surpassed all other competitors with a remarkable 246-foot grenade toss.⁶⁰

The Inter-Allied Games were an impressive dress rehearsal for the Antwerp Olympics of 1920. The military olympics of 1919 made believers of the doubters who wryly wrote doomsday epithets for postwar international sporting contests. In one sense the Inter-Allied Games were, as Elwood Brown suggested, a testimony to "the interest of the athletic world both in Europe and in America." More realistically, the Games represented a divided Europe. They were the victors' games, celebrations of Allied unity. Athletes from the defeated nations of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria were not welcome; nor were the Russians, who had

58. *The Inter-Allied Games*, 154. The description of the ceremonies that follows is largely taken from this source.

59. *Ibid.*, 159–60.

60. *Ibid.*, 177.

waged a communist revolution in 1917. As historian William Baker explains, the games were “an athletic adjunct to the Treaty of Versailles, in which war-guilt and reparations clauses treated Germany and her allies as scapegoats, lepers to be excluded from the family of nations.”⁶¹

The cultural bonds established between France and the United States during the Allied war effort took ritualistic form in New Haven, Connecticut, on a November day in 1921. The fusion of sport, nationalism, and the military found dramatic expression for 75,000 spectators who flocked to New Haven, to watch Yale host Princeton in football. “For the first time in the history of Big Three football,” the *New York Times* reported, “the greatest acclaim of the day was not for the hero of the game,” but for another hero of “other and distant battlefields.” Just before the opening kick-off, Marshal Ferdinand Foch, commander of the Allied forces in World War I, marched gallantly into the stadium and across the gridiron, while he was enthusiastically greeted by the roaring crowd. Foch’s appearance was no less than a “triumphal procession,” according to one journalist who compared it to Lafayette’s tour of America. Foch’s visit coincided with an elaborate “melting-pot” pageantry in New York City, amidst front-page rumors of bolshevist demonstrations in America. Athletics, Americanization, and the brotherhood of western democracies proved potent antidotes for a nation in the throes of economic and social transformation.⁶²

Conclusion

The American sporting tradition was profoundly transformed by the military’s widespread incorporation of sport into the war effort. World War I revealed the utility of physical education to the armed services and to the masses of Americans—many of whom had never been adequately exposed to athletic activity. “We should hang our heads in shame,” claimed Dr. Thomas Storey, head of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, because of the ill-prepared state of the nation’s pre-war citizenry. Citing statistics that showed that one-third of military recruits were physically “unfit,” and even larger numbers of people were ignorant of protective hygiene, Storey applauded the war effort for heightening national consciousness about physical education. Physical education that begins in infancy and continues throughout life, Storey maintained, constituted the “necessary preparation for citizenship, whether that citizenship serves in peace or in war.”⁶³ Riding the postwar

61. William J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982): 210.

62. *New York Times*, 13 November 1921, sec. VIII, 1; sec. VII, 2; sec. I, 23.

63. Thomas A. Storey, “War-Time Revelations in Physical Education,” *American Physical Education Review* 25 (1920): 1–5, quote on 5.

patriotic fervor, many physical educators linked mass athletic activity with the democratic ideal. Thousands of schools nationwide were converted to the cult of strenuousness, and municipalities during the 1920s increased expenditures for public recreation programs six-fold. Certainly on one level at least sporting experience was becoming more widely accessible to the American public.⁶⁴

Boxing was the most publicized postwar sport. Illegal in many states before the war, boxing became a legal sport as the military campaigned against state laws prohibiting prize fighting. State legislatures by 1920 began to reverse the laws prohibiting the sport. Although the battle for Sunday baseball probably garnered more newspaper space during 1919, the baseball controversy was only a skirmish compared to the fight against the rising popularity of boxing. The rebuke of the religious establishment and influential pockets of middle-class respectability were met by fierce resistance from the Army, Navy, American Legion, and civilian board of boxing. Even conservative newspapers like the *New York Times* weighed in on the side of boxing, characterizing the sport's opponents as a "half a century behind the times."⁶⁵ Thus, boxing became a commercial success during the 1920s, and New York City regained its position as the national center of boxing. Important bouts staged in Madison Square Garden became major social events attracting celebrities, politicians, and thousands of avid women boxing spectators.⁶⁶

In sum, the Spanish-American War and World War I proved to be ripe contexts for the invention and perfection of a distinctly American sporting tradition. The two conflicts marked fundamental watersheds in the

64. James H. McCurdy, "Physical Efficiency As a National Asset," *American Physical Education Review* 25 (1920): 101-6; Richard Kraus, *Recreation and Leisure in Modern Society* (New York, 1971); Jesse F. Steiner, *America at Play: Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time Activities* (New York, 1933); Coffman, *The War to End All Wars*, 78-79.

65. *New York Times*, 28 May 1919, 13.

66. For a succinct study of boxing in the early twentieth century, see Steven A. Riess, "In the Ring and Out: Professional Boxing in New York, 1896-1920," in Donald Spivey, ed., *Sport in America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 95-128. Other useful references which document boxing's popularity after 1920 include: Randy Roberts, *Jack Dempsey: The Manassa Mauler* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Jeffrey T. Sammons, *Beyond the Ring: The Role of Boxing in American Society* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Elliott J. Gorn, "The Manassa Mauler and the Fighting Marine: An Interpretation of the Dempsey-Tunney Fights," *Journal of American Studies* 19 (1985): 20-42; Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989): 175-80, 206-8; Riess, "A Fighting Chance: The Jewish-American Boxing Experience, 1890-1940," *American Jewish History* 74 (1985): 230-52; and Peter Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992): 144-69.

development of a sports-oriented military establishment. Several contemporary intellectuals explained the importance of war in modern society. "War is the health of the State," Randolph Bourne declared in 1919. A wartime nation attains "a uniformity of feeling, a hierarchy of values culminating at the undisputed apex of the State ideal," so that distinctions between society and the individual, he said, are all but eliminated. War and military service became powerful mechanisms, as historian Eric Hobsbawm writes, for "inculcating proper civic behavior, and, not least, for turning the inhabitant of a village into the patriotic citizen of a nation."⁶⁷

These civics lessons were not lost on the majority of Americans, who overwhelmingly acknowledged the legitimacy of military institutions. For them, military enthusiasm for organized sport was cause enough for popular acceptance and appreciation. For the unconverted, powerful commentaries emphasized the way in which military athletics transformed the morality of modern sport. Respected Protestant sport advocates like Luther Gulick acknowledged that physical prowess and competitiveness, which were previously associated with "lower-class immorality and crass professionalism," had been recently harnessed by the military for "more powerful social devotions" and patriotic ends.⁶⁸ Such views were popularized by a bevy of respected journalists and social commentators. A feature writer for *National Geographic* concurred. Noting the paradox that the "maddest" war ever fought had "turn[ed] the world to simple, wholesome play," the writer characterized sports as a "gazetteer of the habits and histories of their peoples." Writing from the Allied vantage point, he concluded that countries adopted national pastimes and modified them so as "to foster and fortify the peoples who play them."⁶⁹ Sports both "fortified" American participants and enabled the United States military to create an "army of athletes."

67. Randolph Bourne, "War as the Health of the State," in James Oppenheim, ed., *Untimely Papers*, reprinted in *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1968), 14: 135–39; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 304–5. For a recent engagement of masculinity and militarism, see E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993): 233–39.

68. Gulick, "Physical Fitness for the Fighting Armies," 350–51, 348–49.

69. J. R. Hildebrand, "The Geography of Games: How the Sports of Nations Form a Gazetteer of the Habits and Histories of Their Peoples," *National Geographic* 36 (1919): 89–144, quotes on 89 and 91.