

# Academicians and American Athletics: A Decade of Progress

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Roughly a decade ago, the editors of the *Maryland Historian*, assisted by Marvin Eyler, decided to devote an entire issue to sport. They requested that I write an historiographical piece, a task I was more than glad to undertake. My article concentrated on scholarly developments in American sport history.<sup>1</sup> The task proved to be an interesting but not an arduous one as the number of scholarly works on this subject was quite limited. There existed the "classic" works of Paxson, Krout, Dulles and Betts, the histories of baseball by Seymour and Voigt, and a handful of other scholarly articles. Most of the literature was descriptive and a good part of our information derived from dissertations and unpublished papers. While signs of better days already existed, an American sport historian at this time could easily keep abreast of the latest research in his own field, read studies on the history of sport in other countries and stay in touch with the latest developments in sport sociology, sport philosophy and other disciplines. The tremendous explosion in the number of studies on sport from different disciplinary perspectives over the past decade has made it increasingly difficult for sport scholars to keep abreast of the latest research outside of their specialized area. While I lament this loss, it is one of many indicators of the progress made in the study of American sport history.

This article seeks to review the recent scholarship on the history of American sport and provide some suggestions for future research. To facilitate this objective, the material has been divided into three areas: (1) historical sur-

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1. Melvin L. Adelman, "Academicians and Athletics: Historians' View of American Sport," *Maryland Historian*, 4 (Fall, 1973), 123-34. For other review articles, see Benjamin Rader, "Modern Sports: In Search of Interpretations," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (Winter, 1979), 307-21; Allen Guttmann, "Commentary: Who's on First? or, Books on the History of American Sports," *Journal of American History*, 66 (September, 1979), 348-54; Stephen Hardy, "The City and the Rise of American Sport: 1820-1920," *Exercise and Sports Sciences Reviews*, 9 (1981), 183-219; Steven A. Riess, "Sport and the American Dream: A Review Essay," *Journal of Social History*, 14 (December, 1980), 295-301; Melvin L. Adelman, "Neglected Sports in American History: The Rise of Billiards in New York City, 1850-1871," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, 12 (December, 1981), 1-4, 24-28; W. Manning Marble, "Black Athletes in White Men's Games, 1880-1920," *Maryland Historian*, 4 (Fall, 1973), 143-149; David K. Wiggins, "Clio and the Black Athlete in America: Myths, Heroes, and Realities," *Quest*, 32 (1989), 217-25.

veys; (2) themes and methodology; and, (3) writings on different historical periods.<sup>2</sup>

## I

The appearance of several historical surveys of American athletics during the last decade is the clearest expression of the increasing number of academic courses devoted to this subject. The first work was John R. Betts' *America's Sporting Heritage, 1850-1950* published in 1974.<sup>3</sup> The untimely death of this leading sport historian just as the project began required that the work be completed posthumously. The book turned out to be a little more than a rewrite of Betts' 1951 dissertation. The theme of the book remained that the growth of athletics was largely determined by urbanization and industrialization within the framework of America's democratic institutions. Similar to the original work, the book is encyclopedic rather than analytical and uncritically accepts the view that sport is a positive social good. For classroom usage, the work contains little information on the colonial period and leaves out developments of the last thirty years. Almost no new research was added, including even the ideas expressed in Betts' outstanding article "Mind and Body in Early American Thought."<sup>4</sup> Despite its numerous limitations, Betts' work remains the most detailed overview of the multifaceted dimensions of sport.

John Lucas and Ronald Smith's *Saga of American Sport*, published in 1978, is not as comprehensive as Betts' book, but it is better suited for undergraduate students. The authors draw on the latest research in sport history and are particularly innovative in their treatment of blacks, women and the development of intercollegiate athletics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The study provides far more extensive coverage of sport during the colonial period than Betts' did. In fact, it may be suggested that the amount of space devoted to the pre-1800 period was out of proportion to the overall importance this time period had within the scheme of American sporting developments. On the other side of the spectrum, the authors provide too little discussion of sporting developments in the post-1920 period. Similar to earlier historical surveys, Lucas and Smith view sport as an expression of an intrinsic play instinct, a positive social good, and see the transformation of sport as a product of urbanization and industrialization and the declining influence of Puritanism. Unfortunately, these writers do not examine in any detail the relationship between sport and societal changes and their work ignores much of the latest research in social history.<sup>5</sup>

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2. This paper examines only the works of professional historians and focuses almost entirely on published material. I make reference to a small number of doctoral dissertations and unpublished papers because they provide important information and insight that generally cannot be found in published works. I want to emphasize that when I use the term "sport history" in this paper, I am referring solely to the literature relating to development of sport in America.

3. (Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1974).

4. John R. Betts, "Mind and Body in Early American Thought," *Journal of American History*, 54(March, 1968), 787-805.

5. (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1978).

*Sports in Modern America*, published in 1981, is a different type of historical survey. Edited by William J. Baker and John M. Carroll, the work is a collection of original essays written by various sport historians.<sup>6</sup> This approach facilitates a more in-depth examination of certain sporting themes although the quality of the articles varies widely as is often the case in anthologies. The work also explores themes superficially treated in other surveys. Of particular value is Randy Roberts' examination of boxing and Charles Summerlin's treatment of the athletic hero in film and fiction.<sup>7</sup> There are, however, many issues that are not examined at all and none of the articles deal with recreational sports. While each of the authors places sport within its social setting, the work suffers from the absence of a central theme and the rise of sport is explored merely in terms of vague references to societal changes. The collection ignores sport in the pre-Civil War years, but it makes significant advances on the surveys of Lucas and Smith, and Betts in its treatment of recent sporting developments.

The latest and best scholarly survey is Benjamin Rader's *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators*.<sup>8</sup> As the subtitle suggests, the work traces the evolution of sport in America from an informal recreational and participatory activity into an organized, competitive and commercial one. The well-written, well-organized, and well-researched book is suited for classroom use, the scholarly community and the general public. More than any of his counterparts, Rader integrates the latest research in social history into an effective examination of the relationship between sport and society. He offers important insights on the sporting fraternity and the contributions of ethnic groups, especially Irish-Americans, effectively explores the rise of youth sport during the Progressive era and provides a new interpretation of the rise of the modern sporting hero. The major contribution of Rader's work is its extensive examination of sporting developments since World War II. Rader brings together much needed information on, and synthesis of, sport during this time-period. The book contains, however, certain limitations. Only two chapters are devoted to sport in the pre-Civil War period, and most of this material appears more designed to provide a setting for future developments than an attempt to comprehend the meaning sport had during these years. Rader also chooses not to discuss any sports involving animals, with the result that there is no treatment of such popular spectator sports as horse or harness racing. Rader's core theme leads him to explore the sports Americans watched at the expense of how Americans played. By ignoring the recrea-

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6. (St. Louis: River City Publishers, 1981). A large proportion of William Baker's *Sport in the Western World* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowan and Littlefield, 1982), examines sport in America.

7. Randy Roberts, "Boxing and Reform," in Baker and Carroll, eds., *Sports in Modern America*, 27-39. Charles T. Summerlin, "The Athletic Hero in Film and Fiction," in *ibid.*, 77-88. While space does not allow an examination of the history of sporting literature, there have been several studies of this subject. See Christian Messenger, *Sport and the Play Spirit in American Fiction* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1981); Michael V. Oriard, *Dreaming of Heroes: American Sports Fiction, 1869-1980* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982); Robert J. Higgs, *Laurel and Thorn: The Athlete in American Literature* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1981).

8. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1983). While Rader's work has a 1983 publication date, the book appeared in 1982. The work is of significant importance to include in this review.

tional side of American sport, Rader neglects a vital side of this country's sporting scene.<sup>9</sup>

The historical surveys of the past decade vary in quality, style and approach, but they share certain characteristics. These works are mainly chronological, synthesize large amounts of information on sporting developments and examine the changing meaning and patterns of athletics against the broad sweep of the transformation of America from a rural-agricultural society to an urban-industrial one. While these surveys perform an important and useful function for students and scholars, there is a need for a different type of synthesis. Here the emphasis will be placed less on details and specific sporting developments, rather it will seek to integrate and weave the material around an explanatory conceptual framework. This method may facilitate a more comprehensive examination of the interrelationship between economic, demographic, religious and other social change, and sporting behavior, structures and institutions. This undertaking, it must be conceded, will be a difficult but challenging task. It can help establish (at least create new dialogue) more effective generalizations concerning the relationship between sport and society, provide guidelines for future scholarship and create the basis for a cross cultural examination of sport.<sup>10</sup>

## II

Authors of monographs and articles on sport during the past decade have been profoundly influenced by the changing currents within the historical profession and/or by recent developments both on and off the playing field. While sport historians have examined a wide variety of topics, this paper focuses on the new research as it relates to four different themes: (1) sport and social control; (2) new frameworks for the study of sport; (3) sport and the city; and, (4) sport and demographic groups.

9. By recreational sport, I am referring to activities which I differentiate from competitive sport. Recreational sports refers to activities which are not necessarily oriented to outcome as their prime function. Competitive sports, by comparison, are always outcome oriented. These two categories are not mutually exclusive, but there are some important variations in their degree of organization, regulation and purpose. [My thoughts on this subject draw on Richard S. Gruneau's "Sport as an Area of Sociological Study An Introduction to Major Themes and Perspectives," in Richard S. Gruneau and John G. Albinson, eds., *Canadian Sport: Sociological Perspectives* (Don Mills, Ont.: Addison-Wesley, 1976), 19]. In defense of Rader neglect of these activities, it should be noted that he specifically limited his study to "human physical contest which due time enjoyed large audiences, were governed by carefully defined rules enforced by a bureaucracy, and involved high degree of athletic specialization" (Rader, *American Sports*, v). Scholars obviously have the right to limit and define the subject and should be judged, by in large, by whether they fulfill then stated objectives. My criticism of Rader's work, therefore, must be seen solely within the focus of this section—an examination of surveys of American sport. In this context, I believe that Rader's approach limits the understanding of the meaning of the sporting experience and mars an otherwise valuable contribution to sport history. While certain definitions and limitations are obviously necessary in our study of sport. Steve Hardy correctly asks "whether the historian can adequately explain the social context of sport or hope to comprehend its meaning if bound by constricting definitions." (Hardy, "City," 185).

10. Steve Riess is currently working on creating this type of synthesis and survey. Several historians, especially those familiar with the scholarship in Germany, have recommended that students of American sport apply theoretical frameworks and concepts to their investigations. For the benefits and value of the application of theory to the study of sport and play, see Stephen Hardy and Alan G. Ingham, "Games, Structures, and Agency Historians on the American Play Movement." (Unpublished paper presented at the North American Society for Sport History, 1982).

The most influential school of thought in American social history in the 1970s was that of "social order" and "social control" and several sport historians have used this framework to provide new insights into our understanding of the function of sport. The appearance in 1967 of Robert Wiebe's *Search for Order* marked a significant break with historians' view of the Progressive era. Wiebe argues that profound alterations in American society, more specifically the breakdown of community, created the need to establish a new social order and that this effort set the tone and direction of the reform movement of this period.<sup>11</sup> The significance of Wiebe's work, described by one leading historian in 1978 as "perhaps the most influential book published in the past decade," extended beyond how historians thought about the Progressive era. It served as a catalyst for a large number of historical studies on how Americans responded to community dissolution. Wiebe was not the first historian to examine this relationship. Several eminent historians had preceded him, almost all of whom had been trained at Harvard, usually under Oscar Handlin and Bernard Bailyn, or were affiliated with the history department at Columbia. Despite important predecessors, Wiebe's book was the one which sparked a host of graduate students at institutions nationwide to examine numerous facets of American life in terms of a "search for order."<sup>12</sup>

Most of the new research on the impact of the breakdown of community focused on two periods in which reform played a critical part in the American experience, the antebellum and Progressive eras. In examining various aspects of the reform movements of these respective periods, several scholars maintain that the impetus for the reform spirit did not derive from humanitarian and liberal beliefs, but rather from the fear of established groups that changing social conditions were eroding institutions of order. For these people, reform was a means of reestablishing their control.<sup>13</sup>

The popularity that social control theory came to enjoy among sport historians, particularly the younger generation, derived from factors other than its popularity among social historians. Events within the sporting world were equally critical in shaping the orientation of these scholars. The athletic revolution of the 1960s, rooted in the counterculture and led by blacks and women, raised serious questions of sport's popular mythology. Spokespersons for the movement asserted that institutionalized sport did not promote democratic ideals, but rather functioned to preserve conservative interests whether they be white over black, men over women and corporate over hu-

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11. Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

12. Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1978), 47. Bender provides in this book an illuminating discussion of community in American historiography, see *Ibid.*, 45-61.

13. For examples of this type of research, see David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971); Michael Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Education and Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968); Allan Stanley Horlick, *Country Boys and Merchant Princes: The Social Control of Young Men in New York* (Lewisburg, PA.: Bucknell Univ. Press, 1975); Geoffrey Biodgett, "Frederick Law Olmstead Landscape Architecture as Conservative Reform," *Journal of American History*, 62 (March 1976), 869-89. James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900-1918* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968).

manistic values.<sup>14</sup> Spurred by developments within the sporting and scholarly community, historians began to examine how conservative groups sought to promote sport as a means of controlling social order.

Steven A. Riess was the first American historian to apply the new literature on social order to the study of sport. Influenced by Wiebe's work, Riess examines the meaning and function of baseball in the Progressive era. He shows that the prominent place baseball enjoyed in American life stemmed from more than the exciting entertainment it provided spectators, but was equally dependent on the ideology promoted by spokesmen for professional baseball and their journalistic allies which made the sport directly relevant to the needs and aspirations of Middle America during this period of significant social change. According to the baseball creed, the "national pastime" was the embodiment of America's democratic institutions. The widespread public acceptance of this view, despite numerous discrepancies in fact, stemmed from the ability of its promoters to portray the sport in a way that supplied the kinds of symbols, myths and legends society requires to bind its members together. By promoting traditional and modern values, according to Riess, baseball served as a mechanism for controlling and binding the increasingly fragmented society.<sup>15</sup>

Several other historians have linked the promotion of sport to the concern for social order. Almost all these works examine sport either in the antebellum or Progressive eras.<sup>16</sup> Studies of antebellum sport have concentrated on the shifting attitudes towards sport. Levine's examination of this theme draws on the latest research on urban social reform, especially the work of David Rothman. Levine asserts that the proponents of the new and positive view of sport came from individuals who were ambivalent about their society and frightened that rapid social change encouraged social disorder. These apprehensions "encouraged a new meaning for sport as a way of controlling certain tendencies that threatened to undermine the virtues and values of the American republic."<sup>17</sup> Research on the Progressive era has focused on two different, albeit interrelated, movements. Several writers suggest that the concern for social control rather than social uplift was the major reason why reformers supported the park, playground and recreation movements. Finfer asserts that "a movement desiring to release the city's young from the harsher aspects of

14. Don Calhoun, *Sport, Culture and Personality* (West Point, N.Y.: Leisure Press, 1981), 28-42; Burling Lowrey, "The Dehumanization of Sports," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 52 (Autumn, 1976), 545-558.

15. Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1980); idem., "Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era: Myths and Realities, With Special Emphasis on Atlanta, Chicago and New York." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: Univ. of Chicago, 1974) English sport historian Peter C. McIntosh was the first historian to apply the term "social control" to sport. See his "An Historical View of Sport and Social Control," *International Review of Sport Sociology*, 6 (1971), 5-13.

16. For the exception, see Stephen Freedman, "The Baseball Fad in Chicago, 1865-1870: An Exploration of the Role of Sport in the Nineteenth-Century City," *Journal of Sport History*, 5 (Summer, 1978), 42-64.

17. Peter Levine, "The Promise of Sport in Antebellum America," *Journal of American Culture*, 2 (Winter, 1980), 623-34. Also see Stephen Hardy, *How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation, and Community, 1865-1915* (Boston, Northeastern Univ. Press, 1982), 41-62; Melvin L. Adelman, "The Development of Modern Athletics: Sport in New York City, 1820-1970," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: Univ. of Illinois, 1980), 651-705.

urban life became one which seemed to prepare them to accept their fate uncomplainingly.<sup>18</sup> Other historians focus their attention on the rise of interscholastic athletics. O'Hanlon claims that the growth of high school sport was intimately linked to the effort of reformers to make public education more responsive to the needs of an urban-industrial society in general and the desire to establish schooling as an avenue for channeling students into various labor market roles in particular. Education reformers believed that sport would promote a more disciplined and cooperative student body. Moreover, since sport was a meritocratic system, it legitimized social stratification by reinforcing the idea that unequal rewards were the fair results of unequal ability determined through standardized competition. As an arena of socialization, varsity sports were designed to replicate the rationalized competition and institutionalized form of cooperation found in schooling.<sup>19</sup>

The rapid growth of the number of social control studies produced the almost inevitable reaction against this approach within the historical profession. Criticism came from two directions. William A. Muraskin was the chief spokesman for the first group. Muraskin felt that social controllers had simplified a complex process, never clarified precisely who the reformers were and failed to grasp the importance humanitarianism played in shaping the conscience of nineteenth century Americans. As a result, reformers emerge as simple ogres who sought to impose their own values on their social inferiors.<sup>20</sup> The second challenge is less direct and is rooted in the works of the new labor history. These writers accept the premise that reformers were motivated more by the desire to perpetuate the control of their own social class than by the plight of the poor. They point out, however, that the lower class were not passive respondents to the policies advocated by their socially advantaged reformers. Instead, they acted formally and informally to promote policies consistent with their own needs.

The second strain of criticism has already filtered into our literature. Rosenzweig and Hardy both agree that the rhetoric of park planners frequently smacked of social control, but that the lower class did not uncritically accept

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18. Lawrence A. Finfer, "Leisure and Social Work in the Urban Community: The Progressive Recreation Movement, 1890-1920." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: Michigan State Univ., 1974), 143; Cary Goodman, *Choosing Sides: Playground and Street Life on the Lower East Side* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979); Michael McCarthy, "Politics and the Park: Chicago Businessmen and the Recreation Movement," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 65 (Summer, 1972), 158-72; David I. Macleod, "A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Male Adolescents in the United States and Canada, 1870-1920," *Histoire Sociale-Social History*, 11 (May, 1978), 5-25; idem., "Act Your Age: Boyhood, Adolescence and the Rise of the Boy Scouts of America," *Journal of Social History*, 16 (Winter, 1982), 3-20; Steven L. Schlossman, "G. Stanley Hall and the Boys' Clubs: Conservative Applications of Recapitulation Theory," *Journal of History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 9 (April, 1973), 140-47.

19. Timothy P. O'Hanlon, "School Sports as Social Training: The Case of Athletics and the Crisis of World War I," *Journal of Sport History*, 9 (Spring, 1982), 5-29; idem., "Interscholastic Athletics, 1900-1940: Shaping Citizens for Unequal Roles in the Modern Industrial State," *Educational Theory*, 30 (Spring, 1980), 89-103; Joel H. Spring, "Mass Culture and School Sports," *History of Education Quarterly*, 14 (Winter, 1974), 483-500.

20. William A. Muraskin, "The Social-Control Theory in American History: A Critique," *Journal of Social History*, 9 (Summer, 1976), 559-69. Also see Richard Fox, "Beyond 'Social Control': Institutions and Disorder in Bourgeois Society," *History of Education Quarterly*, 16 (Summer, 1976), 203-7; Joseph F. Kett, "On Revisionism," *ibid.*, 19 (Summer, 1979), 229-35; Diane Ravitch, *The Revisionist Ibis: A Critique of the Radical Attack on the Schools* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

the park program as handed down by an omnipotent ruling class. Both writers demonstrate that ethnic and working class groups in Worcester and Boston worked directly and through their political representatives to significantly modify the initial visions of Park designers and proponents. These groups were successful in getting parks where they wished and were able to determine their choice of recreations in the parks and playgrounds.<sup>21</sup>

Dominick Cavallo articulates an anti-social control position in his study of the relationship between organized playgrounds and urban reform. Cavallo concedes that play organizers sought to counter the deliterious influences industrialization had on urban America, but he insists that changing social conditions alone cannot account for the existence of the playground movement. He goes on to show how evolutionary-naturalistic thought, especially as filtered through the recapitulation theory of G. Stanley Hall, profoundly influenced how reformers thought about the relationship between play and the development of children. While Cavallo provides an insightful examination of the ideas of the leaders of the organized play movement, his work reveals, ironically, the presence of strong social control tendencies within the writings of these reformers.<sup>22</sup>

While the number of studies in sport history critical of social control is still quite small, it would not be surprising if these figures increase over the next couple of years given the recent trends within the historical profession. The nature of this research will obviously be determined by a variety of influences, but the imprint social controllers have already made on the literature makes it highly unlikely that historians will ever return to the simple view that proponents of sport were motivated solely by concerns for social betterment. A more centrist position nevertheless can be constructed between those scholars who perceive reformers as rationally calculating social engineers, and those who see them motivated by humanitarian impulses. Don Kirschner has already suggested that while recreational reformers were concerned about urban order, the professionalization of this field did not result in any loss of moral vision on their part.<sup>23</sup> The centrist position integrates the ongoing presence of this moral vision, with the realization that these images were shaped by the class, religious and status backgrounds of the reformers. their genuine belief that they knew what was best for the less fortunate. and that their humanitarian impulses were tempered by their fears about social order, both real and imagined.

Steve Hardy 'has already suggested that a centrist position could be con-

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21. Roy Rosenzweig, "Middle Class Parks and Working-Class Play: The Struggle Over Recreational Space in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1870-1910," *Radical History Review*, 21 (Fall, 1979), 31-46; Stephen Hardy, "Parks for the People' Reforming the Boston Park System, 1870-1915," *Journal of Sport History*, 7 (Winter, 1980), 5-24

22. Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). For the more "social control" side of Cavallo, see his earlier article, "Social Reform and the Movement to Organize Children's Play During the Progressive Era," *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 3 (Spring, 1976), 509-522.

23. Don S. Kuschner, "The Perils of Pleasure: Commercial Recreation, Social Disorder and Moral Reform in the Progressive Era," *American Studies*, 21 (Fall, 1980), 27-42.

structured around the notion of hegemony. He perceptibly notes that it is necessary to examine "the powerful force that an 'ideology' of sport might have wielded in deluding reformers about the humanitarian and progressive motives for their causes and in fostering a ready acceptance by workers and immigrants of the very games that revisionists (social controllers) claim were repressive."<sup>24</sup> Hardy is correct in claiming that Progressive reformers inherited an already existing ideology which linked sport to character development. Whether workers and immigrants shared these values still needs to be substantiated. Even if they did not, both the rulers and the ruled did agree in theory (if not always on meaning or implementation) on certain other cultural principles and it was through these areas of agreement that recreational reformers were able to introduce their programs. The following example, drawn from Mormino's study on Italian immigrants, illustrates this point. Italian immigrants did not bring with them an active sporting heritage and frequently objected to their sons engaging in sport. When one recreational reformer sought to create a program, an angry parent cornered him and demanded to know his intention. The reformer told the parent of his desire to establish a sport program, going on to point out that he wanted "to make them better citizens, good Americans." This was a justification of sport the immigrant parent could accept and he told the youthworker, "that's what we want, we want our boys to be good Americans."<sup>25</sup>

While social controllers sought to understand the function of sport, two historians have examined the creation of America's sporting personality and structures. In doing so, they presented differing frameworks, drawn from different disciplines, for understanding American sport. John Dizikes' examination of the transformation of the American sporting type from a sportsman to a gamesman draws on the type of research found in American Studies programs. He asserts that the characteristics of the gamesman—with his preoccupation with victory, scientific calculations and emphasis on manipulative skills—were consistent with America's democratic traditions, open society and bourgeois mentality. Dizikes' study suffers from several problems not the least of which is his attempt to portray the gamesman as the quintessential American, an expression of the American Adam. Despite this and other weaknesses, Dizikes' examination of sport as an expression of America's bourgeois mentality yields fruitful insights into the development of athletics. The research indicates that significant sporting changes were not solely the by-product of demographic and materialistic alterations, but were also the logical result of America's sporting personality.<sup>26</sup>

While Dizikes' work is more suggestive than conclusive, it indicates that there is a need to understand sporting developments not merely in relationship to their social milieu but also in terms of a broader cultural framework.

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24. Hardy "City," 209.

25. Gary Ross Mormino, "The Playing Fields of St. Louis: Italian Immigrants and Sports, 1925-1941," *Journal of Sport History*, 9 (Summer, 1982), 5-19.

26. John Dizikes, *Sportsmen and Gamesmen* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1981).

Scholars have noted for some time the linkage between modern sport and the rise of capitalism, Protestantism, a scientific-rational orientation and the triumph of the bourgeoisie, yet the historical evolution of this relationship has not been explored. Such research would allow American sport historians to examine more coherently the unique and universal components of America's sporting practices and to explore our cultural ambiguities and tensions as they are expressed in sport.<sup>27</sup>

My own work examines mainly the other side of the spectrum. It explores the beginnings of modern sporting structures and draws on the works of historians who ally themselves more with a social science orientation. I argue that the concept of modernization presents a more effective analytical framework for understanding the changing nature of sport than does the currently popular urban-industrial model. The modernization approach facilitates an examination of sport on two distinct, but interrelated, levels. One level concerns the relationship between sport and the modernization of society in general and/or with any of its component parts. The second level concerns sporting structures and examines how the institutional requirements created by an expanding sporting universe stimulated change. What unifies both levels is the dominant place rationalism and its logical extension, the desire to establish rational order, plays in modern society. The value of this orientation is that it permits historians to avoid one of the major pitfalls of the usage of the urban-industrial model. In our current works, sport emerges as a by-product of changing societal conditions, the too frequent view of sport as a mirror of society. The modernizational framework sees sport not as an extension of society but as a part of a cultural process.<sup>28</sup>

The city remains in one way or another at the forefront of the study of sport. Historians have long recognized the profound impact the city played in the emergence of modern sport, but the appearance in 1972 of Dale Somers' book on sport in New Orleans was the first in-depth examination of the development of athletics in one city. Similar to earlier writers, Somers asserts that the city acted as a catalyst for the creation of organized sport and determined most of the characteristics associated with this leisure activity. In explaining the relationship between sport and the city, Somers places his argument in what Hardy describes as the "product" and "reaction" schools of thought. Somers maintains that the rise of sport was on the one hand a reaction against the negative features of urban life, while on the other hand the product of the blessings of city life. While Somers sought to unite these divergent schools of thought, in the final analysis, he sided more with the reaction school. For him, as for Paxson before him, sport was the urban safety valve.<sup>29</sup>

27. Erich Geldbach, "Protestantism-Capitalism-Sport," *Journal of Sport History*, 4 (Fall, 1977), 285-94; Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1978), 57-90; Heinz Meyer, "Puritanism and Physical Training: Ideological and Political Accents in the Christian Interpretation of Sport," *International Review of Sport Sociology*, 8 (1973), 37-51.

28. Adelman, "Development of Modern Athletics," xv-xx.

29. Dale A. Somers, *The Rise of Sport in New Orleans, 1850-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1972). I decided to include Somers' work in this review even though it was published in 1972. While I took note of this book in my earlier review (Adelman "Academics," 133), the passage of time provides the

Somers provides a more extensive look at sport in the city than any of his predecessors, but his work does not adequately clarify the linkage between these two variables. In this and other studies, scholars discuss urban in the context of "site" rather than "process." The city, therefore, emerges as the setting for the transformation of sport. At best these works illustrate parallel developments—as the city became increasingly complex and organized, so did sport. Missing is the causal relationship.<sup>30</sup>

Two recent studies have sought to clarify the connection between the changing nature of the city and the changing nature of sport. My examination of sport in New York draws on the classic articles of Oscar Handlin and Louis Wirth to establish an analytical framework and to create a methodology. The emergence of the modern city as the economic and communication center of the new productive system required the establishment of order within its boundaries. The need to create this order provided the city with its modern identity and radically transformed the urban way of life. The linkage between order and changing structures and attitudes toward sport can be examined in terms of three components of urban society: physical space, social organization and collective attitudes. The efforts of New Yorkers between 1820 and 1870 to impose rational order on the rapidly changing environment made it increasingly difficult for sport to be carried out on its former informal and spontaneous basis. New usage of urban space, demographic increments and other population changes, shifts within the social structure and changing concepts of class stimulated the emergence of formal structures while at the same time requiring the presence of outsiders to help facilitate the athletic experience. The multitude of changes taking place within the city also required a break with the view of sport as a frivolous and unproductive activity and encouraged the establishment of the view that sport could make important social contributions.<sup>31</sup>

Steve Hardy also examines the relationship between urban order and the rise of sport. His work, the most thoughtful application of social theory (both sociological and historical) to the study of American sport history, takes a different direction than mine. Hardy is concerned with the linkage between sport and the search for community. This interaction occurs on two levels.

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necessary distance to evaluate the contribution this important, though flawed, book makes to sport history. For discussion of the "product" and "reaction" schools of urban sport history, see Hardy, "City," 185-92. For Paxson's work, see "The Rise of Sport," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 4 (September, 1917), 143-68. Also see Robert P. Smith, "Heroes and Hurrahs Sport in Brooklyn, 1890-1898," *Journal of Long Island History*, 11 (Spring, 1975), 7-21; idem., *Brooklyn at Play: The Illusion and the Reality* (New York: Revisionist Press, 1977); Harry Jensen, Jr., "The Public Acceptance of Sport in Dallas, 1880-1930," *Journal of Sport History*, 6 (Winter, 1979), 5-19; Alan Havig, "Mass Commercial Amusements in Kansas City Before World War I," *Missouri Historical Review*, 75 (April, 1981), 316-45.

30. For a discussion of the difference between urban as "site" and "process," within the context of the new urban history, see Theodore Hershberg, ed., *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century, Essays Towards an Interdisciplinary History* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981), 3-35. For the recent literature on urban history, see Michael Ebner, "Urban History: Retrospect and Prospect," *Journal of American History*, 68 (June, 1981), 69-84; Michael Frisch, "American Urban History as an Example of Recent Historiography," *History and Theory*, 18 (October, 1979), 350-77; Theodore Hershberg, "The New Urban History Towards an Interdisciplinary History of the City," *Journal of Urban History*, 5 (November, 1978), 3-40.

31. Adelman, "The Development of Modern Athletics," 706-26.

The first is the part sport played in the attempt to directly control the city so as to create a consciously defined sense of community. The second level deals with the usage of sport as a means of nurturing ties of identity through clubs, commodities and charismatic heroes. Both involved responses by various social groups to perceptions of urban disorder and community dissolution. Hardy insists that the active and receptive patterns of community formation are not rigid categories and that sport intersected with several important themes of urban life such as the notion of escape, reform and association. The process of community formation contained contradictions and illusions, but Hardy maintains that the prevailing sentiment in Boston between 1870 and 1914 “stressed the positive value of sport and recreation as mediums through which Americans could struggle to strengthen themselves and their communities in the face of larger economic and social forces.”<sup>32</sup>

In a similar vein, Rader points out that the rise of sport and the proliferation of sporting clubs in the nineteenth century was intimately linked with the quest for subcommunities, especially among status-conscious and newly arrived ethnic groups. In the increasingly impersonal, changing and heterogeneous city, the sporting club served as a multifaceted social agency and thereby it “assumed some of the traditional functions of the church, state and geographic community.” While the growth of sport was tied to urbanites search for community, Pesavento demonstrates that facilities and encouragement of this activity were built into the experiment to establish Pullman as a model town. The promotion of virtuous sports and recreations as a check on vices was an integral part of Pullman’s effort to create a stable workforce free from social disorder. In addition to promoting sport among company workers and officials, Pullman representatives sponsored professional contests “mainly to showcase the small town to observers of the Pullman experiment and to advertise the products of the manufacturing company.”<sup>33</sup>

Several studies have shown that the linkage between sport and boosterism was hardly unique to Pullman. These works have examined either the relationship between the general development of sport (or a particular sport) and boosterism or have focused on a specific event or promotion and civic pride. Carter’s article on the rise of professional baseball in St. Louis is an example of one type of research on this theme. He shows that the creation of professional baseball emanated from the desire of its citizens to reestablish her status as the most important midwestern city, and particularly to denigrate her chief rival, Chicago. A St. Louis victory over a Chicago team was a source of civic pride and bolstered the belief that she could compete effectively with Chicago in social and economic areas. Northam and Berryman’s examination of the use of sport in the Seattle Exposition of 1909 is an example of the other kind of research on sport and boosterism. The authors demonstrate that promoters

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32. Hardy, *How Boston Played*, esp. pp. 17-20, 195-202.

33. Benjamin G. Rader, “The Quest for Subcommunities and the Rise of American Sport,” *American Quarterly*, 29 (Fall, 1977), 355-69; Wilma J. Pesavento, “Sport and Recreation in the Pullman Experiment, 1880-1900,” *Journal of Sport History*, 9 (Summer, 1982), 38-62.

of this fair, designed to showcase Seattle as the chief port of the northwest, recognized the publicity and promotional value of sporting events. In addition to their entertainment values, sporting activities sought to help establish the identity of local ethnic groups, acknowledge the existence of an upper class and promote the University of Washington as equal to any eastern institution.<sup>34</sup>

Steven Riess' examination of the relationship between boosterism and the construction of the Los Angeles Coliseum adds an important ingredient missing in earlier studies on sport and urban promotion. These works provide virtually no discussion of who the boosters were except vague references to the fact that they were often members of the business community. Riess shows that Los Angeles' power elite were the major supporters of building the Coliseum. This social class did not hold high political office, but wielded considerable political influence as a result of its wealth and access to major institutions of power. Elites promoted the building of an outdoor sports facility because they believed that it would enhance the reputation of the city and encourage tourism, commerce and migration. Riess points out that their motives were not totally altruistic as some members stood to gain financially from the project and that the University of Southern California, an institution which had close ties to the power elite, would be the major beneficiary of the new facility. Confident that they "knew what was in the best interest of their community, especially when the 'public interest' coincided with their own," the power elite were able to implement its will even though the voters had narrowly turned down a bond issue to raise the necessary funds.<sup>35</sup>

Riess also examines the connection between sport and urban politics in an article that appeared in the first issue of this journal. He shows that the owners of major league baseball teams had important political connections, and that this relationship was mutually beneficial to both groups. Despite Riess' innovative study, there have been no other studies on the sport-politics linkage except for Henderson's examination of the political debate surrounding the construction of Chavez Ravine (Dodger Stadium). The neglect of this theme is unfortunate since politics played an important part in the development of certain sports, notably horse racing and boxing, illustrates the presence of the reward system in sport, allows the historian to examine the process by which (and if) rhetoric became reality and provides an important linkage to themes neglected by sport historians, such as the connection between sport, gambling and crime.<sup>36</sup>

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34. Greg Lee Carter, "Baseball in St. Louis, 1867-1875: An Historical Case Study in Civic Pride," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, 34 (July, 1975), 253-63; Janet A. Northam and Jack W. Berryman, "Sport and Urban Boosterism in the Pacific Northwest: Seattle's Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909," *Journal of the West*, 17 (July, 1978), 53-60.

35. Steven A. Riess, "Power Without Authority: Los Angeles' Elites and the Construction of the Coliseum," *Journal of Sport History*, 8 (Spring, 1981), 50-65.

36. Steven A. Riess, "The Baseball Magnate and Urban Politics in the Progressive Era: 1895-1920," *Journal of Sport History*, 1 (Spring, 1974), 41-62; Cary S. Henderson, "Los Angeles and the Dodger War, 1957-1962," *Southern California Quarterly*, 62 (Fall, 1980), 261-89.

Historians have paid increasing attention to the sporting experiences of different demographic groups. While the number of these types of studies has increased, the amount of research on any one group is still small, with the result that only the most limited generalization may be constructed. One theme does run through much, although not all, of the recent literature on the various groups. Whereas earlier writers emphasized that sport reflected America's democratic ideals, the newer scholarship has emphasized that sport reproduces broader discriminatory practices based on class, sex and race.

Research on elites continued to emphasize the use of sport as a means of status confirmation and the important role this group played in the growth of amateur athletics.<sup>37</sup> While accurate, this perspective provides a limited understanding of elite behavior and motivation in sport. References to the status value of sport does not account for differences between elites or explain why Philadelphia gentlemen played cricket and New York's upper crust did not. Historians have also shown that elites often violated their own amateur codes, explaining this discrepancy by simply referring to the American preoccupation with victory.<sup>38</sup> A more sophisticated analysis locates the source of the difference between rhetoric and reality in the class backgrounds and occupations of elites. Since a large majority of the elites were men of new wealth, they brought to sport the same acquisitive values they used in the market place. While elites paid lip service "to the concepts of 'fair play' and amateurism, defeating one's rival by any means within the rules was perfectly consistent with their experiences in the world of commerce and industry."<sup>39</sup> This perspective appears logical, but it contains unsubstantiated assumptions. There is no proof that the *nouveaux riches* were the major supporters of amateurism, or that people bring their work values into play. Dizikes has shown, moreover, that this tension was rooted more in the nature of the American sporting personality than in his social background and class status.<sup>40</sup>

Recent changes in labor history have altered the focus of this field from its traditional emphasis on the rise of the labor movement to its current concern with the culture of working class people both on and off the job. The new literature has not yet filtered into the study of sport even though some of the research has much to tell sport historians. Several writers have shown the persistence of traditional recreational patterns and work-leisure rhythms among workers even after the onset of industrialization, and Faler's distinction be-

37. Richard G. Wettan and Joe D. Willis, "Social Stratification in the New York Athletic Club, A Preliminary Analysis of the Impact of the Club on Amateur Sport in Late Nineteenth Century America," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 7 (May, 1976), 41-53; idem, "Effect of New York's Athletic Club on America's Athletic Governance," *Research Quarterly*, 47 (October, 1976), 499-505; Joe D. Willis and Richard G. Wettan, "Social Stratification in New York City's Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915," *Journal of Sport History*, 3 (Spring, 1975), 45-76; Rader, *American Sports*, 50-68.

38. Wettan and Willis, "Social Stratification," 50-53; J. Thomas Jable, "The Birth of Professional Football Pittsburgh Athletic Clubs Ring in Professionals in 1892," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 62 (April, 1979), 136-47

39. Rader, *American Sports*, 59.

40. Dizikes, *Sportsmen and Gamesmen*, 39-41. It is significant to note that the founders and members of the influential New York Athletic Club during the early years of the club came mainly from well-to-do, respectable families and not from the higher echelon of New York's elite society. See Adelman, "Development of Modern Athletics," 543.

tween different types of working class has important ramifications for the study of the sporting behavior of this group.<sup>41</sup>

While I suspect that an increasing interest in working class sport will take place in the next couple of years, some progress has already been made. Ted Vincent's examination of those sports "which developed through substantial contributions by *both* players and promoters from the struggling class on their way up the social ladder" naturally paid considerable attention to the achievements and contributions workers made to the development of American athletics. He shows that workers actively engaged in baseball, basketball and especially track and held. Vincent's discussion of the picnic games sponsored by various unions and other working organizations adds fresh new insights into an unexplored area of sports history. This work should encourage more research on the sport of the working class, but future scholars will hopefully avoid the pitfalls of this study. Characteristic of a specific genre of writings on the working class, Vincent tends to exaggerate their importance and romanticizes about their rebellion. He makes no effort to differentiate between skilled and unskilled workers and at times appears to make everyone who was not a member of at least the respectable middle class appear as if he were a worker.<sup>42</sup>

There have been only a few studies which deals specifically with the sporting experiences of ethnic groups. Ueberhorst's research shows that the Turner societies helped the preservation of German traditions and community. Gary Mormino asserts that sport played a galvanic role in the acculturation of Italian-American youth, that their sporting association became a major factor in the evolution of the neighborhood, that it channeled forces that divided the community into creative forms and that sporting organizations provided an important symbol of ethnic identity. His study confirms the conclusions reached by Sorrell in his examination of Franco-Americans in Woonsocket. Mormino also shows that sport performed a dual function. On the one hand, it accentuated the Italianate character of the community, thereby retarding assimilation. On the other hand, sport permitted athletes to become America-

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41. Paul Faler, "Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts Shoemakers and Industrial Morality, 1826-1860," *Labor History*, 15 (Summer, 1974), 367-94; Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850* (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1980); idem., "Fire Companies and Gangs in Southwark: The 1840s," in *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940*, ed. by Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1973); idem., "Nothing on Compulsion": Life Styles of Philadelphia Artisans, 1820-1850," *Labor History*, 15 (Summer, 1974), 337-66; Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *American Historical Review*, 78 (June, 1973), 531-87; Susan E. Hirsch, *Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of the Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1978); Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1979); John T. Cumbler, *Working Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930* (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1979).

42. Ted Vincent, *Mudville's Revenge: The Rise and Fall of American Sport* (New York: Seaview Books, 1981). For other studies concerning the working class and sport, see John R. Schleppe. "'It Pays' John H. Patterson and Industrial Recreation at the National Cash Register Company," *Journal of Sport History*, 6 (Winter, 1979), 20-28; Pesavento, "Sport and Recreation," 38-62; Mark Naison, "Righties and Lefties: The Communist Party and Sports During the Great Depression," *Radical America*, 13 (July-August, 1979), 47-59. Also see Steven A. Riess, "Working-Class Sports in Nineteenth-Century America," (Unpublished paper presented at the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 1982).

nized and acculturated them into a larger urban society through participation in intra-city teams. Benjamin Horowitz shows that the arrival in 1926 of Hakoah, an all Jewish soccer club and the national champions of Austria the previous year, imbued New York Jewry "with a hitherto unknown sense of pride and self esteem" and challenged the non-Jew impression that the Hebrew immigrant was a weakling. The Hakoah's ten game tour stimulated considerable interest in soccer and the popularity of the sport did not wane until the Depression, which hit particularly hard its working-class fans. In a different type of study, Riess points out that Eastern European immigrants during the Progressive era did not, to any significant degree, participate in professional baseball or attend major league games even though the rhetoric of the national pastime contended that players were recruited on a democratic basis and that crowds came from all social and ethnic classes.<sup>43</sup>

The tremendous increase in the number of black athletes in professional and amateur athletics and the vital role blacks played in the athletic revolution has led historians to increasingly examine their experiences in sport. These scholars have emphasized the efforts of blacks to engage in sport in the face of severe social, economic and racial discrimination both on and off the playing field. In a series of articles, David Wiggins shows that the dehumanization inherent within the plantation system did not totally curtail slaves from engaging in sport and other recreations and that these creative activities helped them establish their own unique culture.<sup>44</sup> Studies of blacks in the post-bellum period concentrates more on the exploits of leading athletes than on the behavior of the collective group. Influenced by the success and tribulations of Muhammad Ali, scholars have examined the careers of other black heavyweight champions. Gilmore discusses Jack Johnson as the "Bad Nigger," and investigates the ambivalent attitude he evoked in the black community and the response of whites and their desire to find the Great White Hope. Edwards presents Joe Louis as an individual who conformed to the white man's image of a black athlete and hero, although he points out that differences existed between Louis' public and private actions. The comparative studies of Mazuri on Ali and Idi Amin, and Smith on Jackie Robinson and Paul Robeson are insightful examinations of the similarities and differences of the black experience both

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43. Horst Ueberhost, *Turner Untern Sternenbanner: Der Kampf der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turner for Einheit, Freiheit und Sociale Gerechtigkeit, 1848 bis 1918* (Munich, 1978); Mormino, "Playing Fields," 5-19; Richard Sorrell, "Sport and France-Americans in Woonsocket, 1870-1930," *Rhode Island History*, 31 (Fall 1972), 117-26; Benjamin Horowitz, "Hakoah in New York (1926-1932): A New Dimension for American Jewry," *Judaism*, 25 (Summer, 1977), 375-82, (I am indebted to Steven Riess for pointing out this article to me and to Professor George Eisen of California State Polytechnic University for pointing out this article to him). Steven A. Riess, "Race and Ethnicity in America Baseball: 1900-1919," *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 4 (Winter, 1977), 39-55. Also see William M. Kramer and Norton B. Stern, "San Francisco Fighting Jew," *California Historical Quarterly*, 53 (Winter, 1974), 333-46; Robert K. Barney, "German Turners in American Domestic Crisis," *Stadion*, 4 (1978), 344-57.

44. David K. Wiggins, "Good Times on the Old Plantation Popular Recreations of the Black Slave in Antebellum South, 1810-1860," *Journal of Sport History*, 4 (Fall, 1977), 260-84; idem, "The Play of Slave Children in the Plantation Communities of the Old South, 1820-1860," *ibid.*, 7 (Summer, 1980), 21-39; idem., "Sport and Popular Pastimes: Shadow of the Slavequarter," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 11 (May, 1980), 61-88.

at home and abroad.<sup>45</sup> Several studies examine the discriminatory practices confronted by black collegiate athletes or the responses of newspapers to Robinson's introduction into major league baseball.<sup>46</sup> While works on leading athletes facilitate a better understanding of the sporting contributions and problems of blacks, the meaning and role sport played for blacks requires historians to explore more than the careers and exploits of a handful of star performers. As yet there is no historical scholarship on sport in the black community which remotely compares to the perceptive insights of Pete Axthelm in the *City Game*.<sup>47</sup>

The recent scholarship on the history of women in sport shares much in common with the literature dealing with the black experience. This is not surprising since the origins of contemporary feminism lie in the civil rights movement. Both areas of study were also profoundly influenced by recent events both on and off the field. Thematic similarities likewise exist as histories of women in sport have focused largely on the factors of exclusion and the heroic efforts of individual women to overcome the obstacles they faced.

While there has been a marked increase in the number of studies on women and sport, the literature, unfortunately, has remained mainly descriptive, meliorative and too frequently repeats the same theme—that sport mirrors women's societal status—albeit for different time periods.<sup>48</sup> As a result, historians do have more information on women but not many insights. There are important exceptions to this trend. Park provides an in-depth examination of the concerns about the health and physical activities of women during the antebellum period. Gerber examines the debate over competitive sport for women between 1923 and 1936. She shows that educational objectives, social mores, medical opinions and the negative examples of men's sports led

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45. Al-Tony Gilmore, *Bad Nigger: The National Impact of Jack Johnson* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975); Anthony O. Edmonds, *Joe Louis* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1973); Ali A. Mazari, "Boxer Muhammad Ali and Soldier Idi Amin as International Political Symbols: The Bioeconomics of Sports and War," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 19 (April, 1977), 189-215; Ronald A. Smith, "The Paul Robeson-Jackie Robinson Saga and a Political Collision," *Journal of Sport History*, 6 (Summer, 1979), 5-27. Also see Randy Roberts, "Heavyweight Champion Jack Johnson: His Omaha Image, A Public Reaction Study," *Nebraska History*, 57 (Summer, 1976), 226-41; David K. Wiggins, "Isaac Murphy: Black Hero in Nineteenth Century American Sport, 1861-1896," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 10 (May, 1979), 15-32.

46. Don Spivey and Tom Jones, "Intercollegiate Athletic Servitude: A Case Study of the Black Illini Student-Athletes, 1931-1967," *Social Science Quarterly*, 55 (March 1975), 939-47; John Behee, *Hail to the Victors! Black Athletes at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Swenk-Tuttle Press, 1974). Bill L. Weaver, "The Black Press and the Assault on Professional Baseball's 'Color Line,' October 1945-April 1947," *Phylon*, 40 (Winter 1979), 303-17.

47. Peter Axthelm, *The City Game: Basketball in New York from the World Champion Knicks to the World of Playgrounds* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), Ch. 10, 11. For other studies on blacks, see G.B. McKinney, "Negro Professional Baseball Players in the Upper South in the Gilded Age," *Journal of Sport History*, 3 (Winter, 1976), 273-80; Jack W. Berryman, "Early Black Leadership in Collegiate Football: Massachusetts as a Pioneer," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, 9 (June, 1981), 17-28.

48. For examples of studies of women and sport, see Mary L. Remley, "Women and Competitive Athletics," *Maryland Historian*, 4 (Fall, 1973), 88-94; Angela Lumpkin, "The Growth of National Women's Tennis, 1904-1910," *Quest*, 27 (Winter, 1977), 47-53; Laura Robincheaux, "An Analysis of Attitudes Towards Women Athletics in the U.S. in the Early Twentieth Century," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 6 (May, 1975), 12-22. The current status and problems in the historiography on women and sport can be ascertained by examining the narrative-descriptive articles in the anthology edited by Reet Howell. See, *Her Story in Sport: A Historical Anthology of Women in Sports* (West Point, N. Y.: Leisure Press, 1982).

women's athletic associations, dominated by female physical educators, to adopt the play day as a means of controlling competitive sport for women. Stephanie Twin's recent dissertation is the most comprehensive examination of the changing attitudes toward women's participation in sport. She indicates how social and economic conditions combined with physiological and philosophical arguments to inhibit women from participating in sport. Between 1880 and 1920, several factors lifted some, although hardly all, the Victorian constraints on female expression. While certain gains continued to be made in the 1920s, a significant split took place in the women's movement between female physical educators, with their protectionist impulses, and female athletes with their equal rights orientation. In the most severe indictment of female physical educators, Twin contends that their conservative feminism hardly could have succeeded in a highly competitive society. The policies adopted by these educators undermined earlier gains and led to three decades of stagnation after 1940.<sup>49</sup>

Much of the work on women in sport has revolved around attitudes; other issues must be explored if a more comprehensive picture is to be constructed. Power and control is one theme that needs to be investigated. For example, could the stance taken by women's athletic associations and female physical educators have reflected their fears that other agencies would gain control over women's sports?<sup>50</sup> Even more important is the need to have a clearer understanding of the meaning sport had for women. This not only entails an examination of what it meant to be a participant or spectator, but also how the ever expanding sporting universe shaped the image women had of themselves (whether they participated or not) and the image it helped society establish about them. To answer these questions historians might find traditional historical methods inapplicable, but it would encourage experimentation with innovative techniques and approaches.<sup>51</sup>

One area in which sport historians have failed to keep pace with their counterparts in other fields of historical scholarship is in the application of quantifi-

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49. Ellen W. Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women," *Journal of Sport History*, 2 (Spring, 1975), 1-28; Roberta J. Park, "Embodied Selves: The Rise and Development of Concern for Physical Education, Active Games and Recreation for American Women, 1776-1865," *ibid.*, 5 (Summer 1978) 5-41; Stephanie Lee Twin, "Jack and Jill, Aspects of Women's Sports History in America, 1870-1940," (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation; Rutgers Univ., 1978); *idem*, "Introduction," in Stephanie L. Twin, ed., *Out of the Bleaches: Writings on Women and Sport* (Old Westbury, N.Y.; The Feminist Press, 1979), xv-xii. It is significant to note, given Twin's revisionist argument, that she is the first non-physical educator to write on the history of women's sport.

50. Ben Rader insists that women physical educators "found in women's sport an opportunity to advance the professionalization of their occupation. By insisting that only trained women could properly manage women's sport, they carved out for themselves a restricted occupational domain." See his, *American Sports*, 167. While there is merit to this perception, Rader does not distinguish between intent and outcome. It should be further noted that many male physical educators sought to restrict control of sport to "trained" personnel. While further research is still necessary, a starting point for future scholarship is Virginia Hunt, "Governance of Women's Intercollegiate Athletics: An Historical Perspective," (Unpublished Ed. D. dissertation Univ. of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1976).

51. Historians of sport and play have not drawn on the latest research in psychohistory to expand their analysis. The exception is Cavallo's examination of Jane Addams. See his *Muscles and Morals*, Ch. 5. Also see Dorothy Ross, "Woodrow Wilson and the Case for Psychohistory," *American Historical Review*, 69 (December, 1982), 659-68; Richard L. Bushman, "On the Uses of Psychology: Conflict and Conciliation in Benjamin Franklin," *History and Theory*, 5 (No. 3, 1966), 225-40.

cation methods. This is somewhat surprising given the multitude of club records that are readily available and the success a handful of scholars, who have used this methodology, have had in reshaping our views of the development of sport. In his pathbreaking study of baseball during the Progressive era, Riess was the first historian to employ quantification to the study of sport. His work reveals significant discrepancies between the rhetoric and reality of baseball's creed. Riess further demonstrates that baseball was not a source of social mobility. Ballplayers came from lower-middle and middle-class backgrounds, attended high school and college to a far greater extent than the national average, and overwhelmingly held middle-class white-collar positions after their careers ended.<sup>52</sup>

Two other studies demonstrate that middle-class types were initially responsible for organizing baseball and that they constituted the majority of the players on teams in New York, Brooklyn and Chicago in the years prior to 1870. My own research shows, however, that roughly sixty percent of the more competitive and professional players during the early years of baseball came from the artisan class. Professional players from this class were more likely to extend their careers and were more willing to relocate to a new city compared to their middle-class counterparts.<sup>53</sup> In other works, Wettan and Willis confirm that the officers of the prestigious New York Athletic Club came from the upper class, while another study indicates that membership in New York's American Jockey Club in the immediate post-Civil War years reflected the changing social backgrounds of that city's elites.<sup>54</sup>

I cannot urge strongly enough the need for sport historians to apply quantification techniques to the study of social, religious and ethnic backgrounds of sport participants and owners, club members and officials. The importance of incorporating this methodology into our studies is not that it will provide us with all the answers to our questions but that it will provide a far more effective starting point in creating a more comprehensive picture of the meaning of sport. If sport historians remain resistant to this approach I strongly suspect the progress they have made over the past decade will evaporate.

### III

An effort to examine the historical research on sport during different time periods is complicated by the typical problems of periodization including the fact that some works cross certain time periods. While some future scholar might provide his colleagues with a more effective periodization for sport than the one currently drawn mainly from political and social history, I will use this conventional model to examine the research on sport during five periods:

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52. Riess, "Professional Baseball," 239-336; idem., *Touching Base*, 151-219; idem "Baseball and Social Mobility," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 10 (Fall, 1980), 245-60.

53. Freedman, "Baseball Fad," 53-60; Adelman, "Development of Modern Athletics," 324, 329-33, 356-63, 397-403, 443-57.

54. Wettan and Willis, "Social Stratification," 49-53; Adelman, "Development of Modern Athletics," Ch. 4.

(1) colonial and early national; (2) antebellum; (3) Gilded and Progressive eras; (4) inter-war year; (5) WWII to the present.

Recent scholarship has markedly altered our impressions of the Puritan attitude toward sport and recreation. Several historians point out that there was in the first place no monolithic Puritan view and that most Puritan divines were not inextricably opposed to sport and recreation. They present instead a far more accepting albeit ambivalent attitude. Puritans insisted that sporting diversions were both legitimate and necessary as a means of refreshing and restoring the body; however, they point out that such activities should be guided by the spirit of piety, should not be taken in excess, or be disruptive to the community welfare, and particularly should not lead to vices such as gambling and especially idleness. The Puritan distinction between "lawful" and "unlawful" sport necessitated that this activity promote utilitarian benefits and constantly challenged the introspective Puritan with his suspicion of human nature.<sup>55</sup>

Struna and Jable examine how social, economic and demographic changes in colonial Massachusetts and Pennsylvania produced values quite different from those of the first generation. An increase in lawful and unlawful sport was one manifestation of these shifting values, often to the dismay and ever-increasing concern of religious leaders. A leading colonial historian, Timothy Breen, investigates the reasons why the Virginia gentry gambled so passionately, especially on horse racing. Breen draws on the works of cultural anthropologists particularly the studies of Clifford Geertz to examine this question. He shows how the political and social environment cultivated the gentry's interest in these activities and goes on to explain why they were functional for this group. Breen insists that gambling and horse racing provided Virginia elites with a nonviolent outlet for their aggressive and divisive feelings, while providing them with a mechanism for proclaiming and unifying their leadership position.<sup>56</sup>

While historians have reexamined sport during the first century of English colonialization, they have virtually ignored sporting developments during the second century even though earlier scholarship indicated that this was a period of increasing participation in sport. Rhys Isaacs' study of the evangelical revolt in the decade preceding the Revolutionary War shows that the opposition of Virginia Baptists to horse racing and cockfighting was a manifestation of their rejection of the lifestyle of the gentry and the part that display and

55. Peter Wagner, "Puritan Attitudes Towards Physical Recreation in 17th Century New England," *Journal of Sport History*, 3 (Summer, 1976), 139-51; Nancy Struna, "Puritans and Sports: The Irretrievable Tide of Change," *ibid.*, 4 (Spring, 1977), 1-21; *idem.*, "Sport and Societal Values: Massachusetts Bay," *Quest*, 27 (Winter, 1977), 38-45; Winton U. Solberg, *Redeem The Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977), 46-52, 71-78, *passim*.

56. Struna, "Puritans and Sport," 1-21; J. Thomas Jable, "Pennsylvania's Early Blue Laws: A Quaker Experiment in the Suppression of Sport and Amusements, 1682-1740," *Journal of Sport History*, 1 (Fall, 1974), 107-21; Timothy Breen, "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling Among the Gentry of Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 34 (April, 1977), 329-47. Also see Nancy L. Struna, "Sport and Colonial Education: A Cultural Perspective," *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 52 (March 1981), 117-35; C. Robert Barnett, "Recreational Patterns of the Colonial Virginia Aristocrat," *Journal of the West Virginia Historical Association*, 2 (Spring, 1978), 1-11.

convivial excess played in unifying the community. This work suggests that historians should pay more attention to the impact, whether direct or indirect, that the Great Awakening had on sport. In a similar vein, there have been no recent works on sport in the early national period except Jable's investigation of moral reform in Pennsylvania. Concerns for the decline in religion and the mounting secularization led evangelical reformers to believe it was "their duty to reform society by reshaping America in a 'heavenly form.'" These reformers sought to curtail certain sports and amusements, such as horse racing and cockfighting, because these activities ran counter to their social ethic of piety, industry and productivity. Bonnie Ledbetter shows that revolutionary soldiers and officers engaged in a variety of sports and that these activities reflected a premodern sporting pattern.<sup>57</sup>

There has been a marked increase in the number of studies on sport during the antebellum period. The new research indicates this was a period of far more active sporting developments than formerly believed. Dizikes points out that our basic sporting personality emerged during these years, while I claim that modern sporting structures began to develop in this period. A host of historians have examined how the concerns for health, urban order and reform influenced clergymen, physicians, the press and others to advocate a new and more positive view of sport. In several articles, Berryman investigates the beginnings of the sporting press and the important role played by John Stuart Skinner in the encouragement of sport.<sup>58</sup> Several scholars have explored the development and direction several sports took during these years. Struna examines the rise and fall of intersectional horse racing as a manifestation of the erosion of the romantic notion of America's gentry. She notes that the initial supporters of these contests were gentlemen who combined idealistic and pragmatic values. For them, the purpose of the races was not inherent in the nature of the event, but flowed from their support of agricultural developments. The growth of horse racing, the increasing cost of breeding, the commercialization of the sport, acquisitiveness, the rising dependency upon urban mass support, combined with significant social, political and economic changes, to erode the objectives of the initial supporters of intersectional con-

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57. Rhys Isaac, "Evangelical Revolt: The Nature of the Baptist's Challenge to the Traditional Order in Virginia, 1765 to 1775," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 31 (July, 1974), 345-68; Bonnie S. Ledbetter, "Sports and Games of the American Revolution," *Journal of Sport History*, 6 (Winter, 1979), 29-40; J. Thomas Jable "Aspects of Moral Reform in Early Nineteenth-Century Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 102 (July, 1978), 344-63. Also see Douglas L. Good, "Colonials at Play: Leisure in Newport, 1723," *Rhode Island History*, 33 (February, 1974), 8-17.

58. For the changing attitude towards sport and recreation in the antebellum America, see citations in fn. 17. Also see Roberta J. Park, "The Attitudes of Leading New England Transcendentalists Toward Healthful Exercise, Active Recreations and Proper Care of the Body: 1830-1860," *Journal of Sport History*, 4 (Spring, 1977), 34-60; idem., "Harmony and Cooperation: Attitudes Towards Physical Education and Recreation in Utopian Social Thoughts and American Communitarian Experiments, 1825-1865," *Research Quarterly*, 45 (October, 1974), 276-92; idem., "'Embodied Selves,'" 5-41; Ronald G. Walters, *Antebellum Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 145-56; Jack W. Berryman, "The Tenuous Attempts of Americans to 'Catch Up With John Bull': Specialty Magazines and Sporting Journalism, 1800-1835," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 10 (May, 1979), 40-61; idem., "John S. Skinner's *American Farmer*: Breeding and Racing the Maryland 'Blood Horse,' 1819-1829," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (Summer 1981), 159-173; idem., "John Stuart Skinner and the *American Farmer*, 1819-1829. An Early Proponent of Rural Sports." *Associates NAL* (National Agricultural Library) *Today*, 1 (October, 1976), 11-32.

tests. By 1850, North-South races had ended and with it a period in the history of the sport came to a close.<sup>59</sup> In other works, Fielding presents the part sport played in the life of Civil War soldiers, while Wiggins examines the image British travellers had of sport in America.<sup>60</sup>

Historians have long recognized that significant athletic changes took place in the period between the Civil War and World War I. New research on various sporting topics and themes has added new insights and information on sport during the Gilded Age, but no effort has been made to synthesize the meaning of sporting developments during this period. The limited scholarship on this period is not surprising since the Gilded Age has not been one of the "hot" topics in recent American historiography. While historians of sport should relate their works to larger themes, it would be unfortunate if they allow other areas of historical scholarship to dictate the subjects they examine.<sup>61</sup>

Far more recent research exists on sport in the Progressive era. Most of the literature focuses on the influence reform movements (whether from a social control, humanitarian, or other perspective) had on sporting developments.<sup>62</sup> Several works examine the history of specific sports. Riess explores the meaning of baseball and the reasons for its special place in American life. Tobin provided an insightful examination of the impact the bicycle boom of the 1890s had on the beginning of modern tourism. While middle- and upper-class urbanities used the bicycle to escape the city, Tobin notes that they sought a "controlled contact with nature," and "would leave the city only if the same degree of urban comfort were available" throughout most of their trips.<sup>63</sup> A number of historians investigated intercollegiate football developments. Ron Smith's research challenges the view that the existence of football was never seriously threatened during the crisis of 1905-1906. Drawing on the

59. Nancy L. Struna, "The North-South Races: American Thoroughbred Racing in Translation, 1823-1850," *Journal of Sport History*, 8 (Summer, 1981), 28-57. Also see Melvin L. Adelman, "The First Modern Sport in America: Harness Racing in New York City, 1825-1870," *ibid.*, 8 (Spring, 1981), 5-32; *idem.*, "Neglected Sports," 4-24; George Moss, "The Long Distance Runners of Antebellum America," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 8 (Fall, 1974), 370-82; John T. Cunningham, "Queen of the Turf," *New Jersey History*, 96 (Spring-Summer, 1978), 43-48.

60. Lawrence W. Fielding, "War and Trifles: Sport in the Shadows of Civil War Army life," *Journal of Sport History*, 4 (Summer, 1977), 151-68; *idem.*, "Sport as a Training Technique in the Union Army," *Physical Educator*, 34 (October, 1977), 145-52; *idem.*, "Gay and Happy Still: Holiday Sport in the Army of the Potomac," *Maryland Historian*, 7 (Spring, 1976), 19-32. David K. Wiggins, "Work, Leisure and Sport in America: The British Traveler's Image, 1839-1869," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, 13 (May, 1982), 28-60.

61. For a recent examination of the Gilded Age, see Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

62. In addition to works already cited in fn. 18, see Mark A. Kadzielski, "As a Flower Needs Sunshine: The Origins of Organized Children's Recreation in Philadelphia, 1886-1911," *Journal of Sport History*, 4 (Summer, 1977), 168-88; Bernard Mergan, "The Discovery of Children's Play," *American Quarterly*, 27 (October 1975), 399-420; David Glassberg, "Restoring A 'Forgotten Childhood': American Play and the Progressive Era's Elizaabethan Past," *ibid.*, 32 (Fall, 1980), 351-68; Kirshner, "The Perils of Pleasure," 27-42; Rader, *American Sport*, 146-69.

63. Riess, *Touching Base*; Gary A. Tobin, "The Bicycle Boom of the 1890's The Development of Private Transportation and the Birth of Modern Tourism," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 7 (Spring, 1974), 838-49. For other studies on sport during this period, see Eugene Murdock, "The Tragedy of Ban Johnson," *Journal of Sport History*, 1 (Spring, 1974), 26-40. Thomas M. Croack, "The Professionalization of Prize Fighting: Pittsburgh at the Turn of the Century," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 62 (October, 1979), 332-43; Jable, "Birth of Professional Football," 131-47.

experiences at Columbia, which eventually banned the sport, and Harvard, Smith claims that the abolition of football was a distinct and real possibility. The decision at Harvard to support radical reform and the ability of its representatives to implement the rule changes it desired was critical to saving the sport. There is little doubt that the prestige of Harvard enabled it to wield considerable influence, and like E.F. Hutton, when it spoke everybody listened, but Smith does not conclusively show that had it decided to curtail football other institutions would have followed suit. While Smith's work adds new insights into the football crisis, future research on the policies and attitudes at other universities is necessary before the conclusion that Harvard's action was critical to saving the sport can be accepted. John Watterson sheds new light on a different football crisis, one which took place in 1909-1910, and how Harvard, Yale and Princeton, the Eastern "Big Three," responded to it. Watterson shows that their inability to present a uniform stance, along with the institutionalization of control in the Intercollegiate Athletic Association, limited the influence of these schools. "Unable to control the national rules' process," Watterson notes, the Big Three "moved towards creating their own self-contained system, in which isolation could at last become a virtue." Allan Sack, now in conjunction with David Westby, expands his earlier work on football. These scholars continue to insist that class differences were the major reason why the rationalization of football first took place at Yale and not Harvard. While Sack and Westby add new evidence to support their contention, there are too many problems and unanswered questions for the thesis to be convincing. For example, Sack and Westby compare the attitude toward intercollegiate football of Walter Camp and Charles Eliot, hardly equal categories, neglect to explain why major educational innovations took place at Brahmin Harvard and not *nouveau riche* Yale, or why Harvard competed successfully against Yale in certain other sport?<sup>64</sup>

There are numerous important areas of scholarship that need to be investigated if a clearer picture of the development of sport between 1865 and 1920 is to be created. I have already noted that sport scholars have paid little atten-

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64. Ronald A Smith, "Harvard and Columbia and a Reconsideration of the 1905-06 Football Crisis," *Journal of Sport History*, 8 (Winter, 1981), 5-19; John S. Watterson III, "The Football Crisis of 1909-1910: The Response of the Eastern 'Big Three.'" *Ibid.*, 8 (Spring, 1981), 33-49; David L. Westby and Allen Sack, "The Commercialization and Functional Rationalization of College Football: Its Origins," *Journal of Higher Education*, 47 (November-December, 1976), 625-47; Allen L. Sack, "Yale 29-Harvard 4. The Professionalization of College Football," *Quest*, 19 (Winter, 1973), 24-34. For other studies on intercollegiate football, see Mary K. Dains, "University of Missouri Football: The First Decade," *Missouri Historical Review*, 70 (October, 1975) 20-54; John Cunningham, "Not a Coward on Either Side," *New Jersey History* 96 (Autumn-Winter, 1978), 99-104; Marcia G. Synnott, "The 'Big Three' and the Harvard-Princeton Football Break, 1926-1934," *Journal of Sport History*, 3 (Summer, 1976), 188-202. For studies on intercollegiate athletics, see Hal A. Lawson and Alan G. Ingham, "Conflicting Ideologies Concerning the University and Intercollegiate Athletics: Harper and Hutchins at Chicago, 1892-1940," *Ibid.*, 7 (Winter, 1980), 37-67; Bruce Leslie, "The Response of Four Colleges to the Rise of Intercollegiate Athletics, 1865-1915," *Ibid.*, 3 (Winter, 1976), 213-22; Joseph R. DeMartini, "Student Culture as a Change Agent in American Higher Education," *Journal of Social History*, 9 (June, 1976), 526-41. For studies on interscholastic sports, see fn. 17. Also see, J. Thomas Jable, "The Public Schools Athletic League of New York City: Organized Athletics for City School Children, 1903-1914," in Wayne Ladd and Angelia Lumpkin, eds., *Sport in American Education: History and Perspectives* (Washington, D.C.: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1979); Jeffrey Mirel, "From Student Control to Institutional Control of High School Athletics: Three Michigan Cities, 1883-1905," *Journal of Social History*, 16 (Winter, 1982), 83-100.

tion to the influence of politics and urban politicians. Research on sporting entrepreneurs and manufacturers is also virtually nonexistent. Several historians have made reference to the important part the bachelor subculture played in the development of sport, but we still know very little about this group. Two historians have touched on the connection between modernization, changing concepts of masculinity and sport. More research along these lines is still necessary, particularly as it relates to the emergence of the concept of the strenuous life.<sup>65</sup>

Research on sport in the interwar year is quite limited, although Rader, in his recent survey of American athletics, provides a fairly comprehensive overview of sporting developments during this period. The tremendous growth and appeal of spectator sports, Rader suggests, was intimately bound up with the triumph of consumption values by a large portion of the population. At a time when the "cultivation of a life-style based upon fun, luxury and freedom from everyday restraints often replaced a commitment to the work ethic and frugality," spectator sports became part of the "good life" as defined by advertisers in the media.<sup>66</sup>

Marshall Smelser and Randy Roberts have examined the careers and symbolic influence of the two leading sporting heroes of the 1920s, Babe Ruth and Jack Dempsey. Each historian shows how his biographical figure shaped and was shaped by developments within his respective sport. While their emergence as cultural heroes was influenced by changing social conditions, their appeal to the common man derived from the fact that their success represented the continuation and verification of the traditional value of individual achievement in the face of the onset of the corporate mentality. Crepeau investigates the changes in baseball against the background of the emergence of the man in the grey flannel suit. Whereas the gregarious and inner-directed Ruth symbolized baseball during the 1920s, the other-directed, dignified and aloof Joe DiMaggio represented the ballplayer of the 1930s. For Crepeau, DiMaggio "was the new American man-always in control, never showing emotion."<sup>67</sup>

65. Peter Stearns, *Be A Man! Males in Modern Society* (New York: Holmes and Meter, 1979), passim., Joe L. Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 29-30, 111-12, passim. For an examination of the bachelor substructure, see Rader, *American Sport*, 97-8. For other studies relating to sport between 1865 and 1920, see Guy Lewis, "World War I and the Emergence of Sport for the Masses," *Maryland Historian*, 4 (Fall, 1973), 109-22; Karel D. Bicha, "Spring Shooting: An Issue in the Mississippi Flyway, 1887-1913," *Journal of Sport History*, 5 (Summer, 1978), 65-74; Thomas L. Altherr, "The American Hunter-Naturalist and the Development of the Code of Sportsmanship," *ibid.*, 5 (Spring, 1978), 7-22; James C. Whorton, "Muscular Vegetarianism: The Debate Over Diet and Athletic Performance in the Progressive Era," *ibid.*, 8 (Summer, 1981), 58-75; John E. Findling, "The Louisville Grays' Scandal of 1877," *ibid.*, 3 (Summer, 1976), 176-87; David Q. Voigt, "The Misson of America: Baseball Ambassadors," *Quest*, 27 (Winter, 1977), 28-37.

66. Rader, *American Sports*, 171-240.

67. Marshall Smelser, *The Life That Ruth Built* (New York: Quadrangle, 1975); Randy Roberts, *Jack Dempsey The Manassa Mauler* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1979); Richard C. Crepeau, *Baseball: America's Diamond Mind, 1919-1941* (Orlando: Univ. Presses of Florida, 1980). Also see J. Thomas Jable, "Sunday Sports Comes to Pennsylvania: Professional Baseball and Football Triumph Over the Commonwealth's Archaic Blue Laws, 1919-1933," *Research Quarterly*, 47 (October, 1976), 357-65; Steven A. Riess, "Professional Sunday Baseball: A Study in Social Reform, 1892-1934," *Manual Historian*, 4 (Fall, 1973), 95-108.

There is as yet no study which examines the impact the Depression and the New Deal had on the development of sport and recreation. Several studies exist, however, on sport in the 1930s. Mark Naison shows that the American Communist Party had initially attempted to reshape sport and protect workers from "bourgeois" influences of mass spectator sports and organizations such as the AAU. The inability of its own sporting organization to gain popularity among workers necessitated that the Party abandon by the 1930s its exclusive leftist approach and identify with liberal democratizing approaches in sport. The shift in policy won popular support among workers, but Naison argues that accommodation exemplifies the marginality of the American left during these years. Arnd Kruger reexamines the question of American participation at the 1936 Olympics. Utilizing new evidence made available through the opening of the Avery Brundage Collection, he asserts that the decision to attend these Games, despite considerable protest, especially by American Jewry, was an expression of America's anti-Semitism. Brundage personified these attitudes frequently linking Jews to Communism and un-Americanism.<sup>68</sup>

There is, not surprisingly, only a small number of studies on recent sporting developments. The historians desire for distance, so that they may evaluate change, has no doubt been a contributory factor. Rader's recent survey, therefore, provides historians with much needed information and the synthesis of sport during this time-period. Rader views the tremendous growth and expansion of sport as a product of the ongoing strength of the consumption society, the upward spiral of discretionary income and leisure time, and the continued need for compensatory heroes. Yet it was television which had the most direct impact and set the tone for spectator sports. After 1950, Rader notes, television moguls and sport magnates "increasingly 'marketed' sporting spectacles for potential television audience rather than those who attended the live games," and "reshaped sport and the sporting experience to attract television viewers and meet the demands of commercial sponsors." Television's influence and power flowed largely from the part it played in altering the commercial and financial structure of sport. Television dollars further stimulated the movement of franchises, new sporting leagues and players with multi-year, six-digit contracts.<sup>69</sup>

Several works on post World War II sport have already been touched on in other parts of this paper, such as Henderson's examination of the politics of Chavez Ravine or the research on the leading black athletes such as Robinson and Ali. In addition, Lee Lowenfish examines the movement of baseball teams from one city to another in the 1950s. He shows that baseball owners, who cared little for community, responded to shifting population centers to

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68. Naison, "Lefties and Righties," 47-59; Arnd Kruger, "Fair Play for Athletes.' A Study in Anti-Semitism," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, 9 (May, 1978), 42-57. For an outstanding examination of Brundage and the 1936 Olympic Games, which I discovered upon completion of the text, see Carolyn Marvin, "Avery Brundage and American Participation in the 1936 Olympic Games." *Journal of American Studies*, 16 (April, 1982), 81-105.

69. Rader, *American Sports*, 241-360. Rader is expanding the work he did for this survey into a comprehensive examination of the historical relationship between sport and television.

move their franchise to more lucrative markets. In an examination of the history of major league baseball's reserve clause, Lowenfish and Tony Lupien explore how recent cultural and legal changes eventually modified the system which had formerly reduced players to "chattel."<sup>70</sup>

Much useful information on recent sporting developments can be found in the writings of sociologists and economists. Of particular value are the various articles which appear in the book Noll edited for the Brookings Institute. Investigating various aspects of the economics of professional sports over the last thirty years, these articles severely challenge the core arguments owners of professional teams have made about the economic structure of their sport, their need for legal protection, and the impact change would have in destroying the basic structure of their respective sports.<sup>71</sup> The perceptiveness and utility of this work will hopefully encourage historians to pay more attention to the economic side of sport during other periods. While the data available probably will not be as good or as extensive as for the recent years, I am certain that there exists a sufficient amount of material, often in bits and pieces and here and there, to allow sport historians to explore economic issues.

While recent scholarship has added to our information about and our understanding of sport during different time periods, there has been, unfortunately, no attempt to synthesize the meaning of sporting experiences during these various time frames. The result is an all too choppy image of sport, and in the absence of any *gestalt* we emerge merely as the sum total of our literature. What overviews do exist derive from our textbook surveys, and while these works are helpful they are by their design and nature limited. It would be beneficial, therefore, if historians create the types of works found in the Harper and Row Torchbook series. Besides the obvious benefit of creating more effective synthesis, such works can help pinpoint areas of future research and provide new ways to periodize sport in America.<sup>72</sup>

70. Lee E. Lowenfish, "A Tale of Many Cities The Westward Expansion of Major League Baseball in the 1950s," *Journal of the West*, 17 (July, 1978), 71-82; Lee Lowenfish and Tony Lupien. *The Imperfect Diamond: The Story of Baseball's Reserve System and the Men Who Fought to Change It* (New York; Stein and Day, 1980).

71. Roger G. Noll, ed., *Government and Sport Business Studies in the Regulation of an Economic Activity* (Washington, D.C.; Brookings Institute, 1974). For other examples, see George W. Scully, "Pay and Performance in Major League Baseball," *American Economic Review*, 64 (December, 1974), 915-30; Arthur T. Johnson. "Congress and Professional Sports, 1951-1978," *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, 445 (September, 1979), 102-115; idem., "Public Sports Policy' An Introduction," *American Behaviorist*, 21 (1978), 319-44; Richard Espy. *The Politics of the Olympic Games With An Epilogue* (Berkeley Univ. of California Press, 1981); G. Burman, ed., *Proceedings on the Conference on the Economics of Professional Sport* (Washington, D.C.: The National Football League Players' Association, 1974).

72. Unlike historical surveys which draw primarily from secondary sources, the works in the Harper and Row Torchbook series combined primary sources, often drawn from and related to the primary research area of the author, and secondary sources. For examples of the works in this series, see George Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt The Birth of Modern America, 1900-1912* (New York, 1962); George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828* (New York, 1965); William E. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1962); Wallace Notestein, *The English People On The Eve of Colonialization* (New York, 1963). All these works were part of the "New American Nation Series," edited by Henry Commanger Steele and Richard B. Morris. Other publishing houses also had similar types of series on different time-periods in American history.

#### IV

Historians interested in the study of sport as an area of scholarly concern may pause on the tenth anniversary of this journal and take pride in the accomplishments within their field. In my earlier examination, I concluded that the "historiography of sport history makes clear its Janus-like status."<sup>73</sup> Today, I can see a smile emerging. During the past decade there has been a marked increase in the number of studies on sport and, more important, a vast improvement in their quality. Our research no longer describes merely what occurred, but scrutinizes why it occurred, what it meant and how it relates to large societal developments. Articles on sport have appeared in a wide variety of historical journals and sessions devoted to sport frequently take place at leading historical conventions. The growth of NASSH and the success of the *Journal of Sport History* further testifies to the advances made in sport history.

While we may look positively on the direction we have taken, there is still much to be accomplished. I have made some suggestions about the directions I would like to see us take and I am certain that other valid recommendations can be offered. As a still relatively new field with a comparatively small number of scholars it would be unwise to look back and rest on our laurels, but we can take pride in what we have achieved.

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73. Adelman, "Academicsians," 134.