

# The Prep Bowl: Football and Religious Acculturation in Chicago, 1927-1963

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Throughout American history, non-Protestant religious groups have struggled with an identity crisis and a dual consciousness. Saddled with a hyphenated identity in American society, their values, motives, and patriotism were questioned. Catholics, in particular, remained suspect well into the twentieth century. Not until the election of John Kennedy to the presidency in 1960 could Catholics convincingly assert their arrival as good and true Americans. Before that time many believers wrestled with the paradox of whether they were Catholic-Americans or American-Catholics.<sup>1</sup> The decades following World War I presented a critical period of change, and sporting practices during that time helped to resolve the dilemma.

During and after World War I, the American church hierarchy made concerted efforts to unify American Catholicism and assimilate it with the mainstream secular culture. Such attempts were often thwarted by Old World clergy in the ethnic parishes, as intensely nationalistic groups were reluctant to unite with other ethnic groups, even within the loosely organized American Catholic bureaucracy.<sup>2</sup> External events compounded the Americanization programs as the Red Scare, Prohibition, immigration laws, the Ku Klux Klan, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the labor unrest of the Depression colored the perception of Catholics as sinister aliens bent on the destruction of American institutions and values.<sup>3</sup> Sport, however, provided an effective means of promoting Catholic identity.

This study examines and analyzes the role of a particular athletic event in the accommodation of cultures in Chicago, the most Catholic city in America. It focuses on the function and meaning of a championship football series that consolidated ethnic factions within the Catholic Church and reconciled Catholicism with the mainstream Protestant culture. It is a story that helps to illuminate the role of sport in the complex process of cultural negotiation.<sup>4</sup>

Begun in 1927, the Prep Bowl football game enabled Catholics to challenge the dominant Protestant hierarchy that had been firmly established in the 1830s.<sup>5</sup> The Prep Bowl spectacle crossed ethnic, class, and racial lines throughout the

city and symbolized American ideals of democracy and opportunity. It allowed Catholics to challenge their ascribed social status in a highly visible format. The series brought greater cohesion to a factionalized Catholic archdiocese by forcing collective attention outward beyond parish enclaves. Athletic competition eventually provided a bridge for competing ideologies and a resolution of cultural and religious differences that had emerged from Chicago's explosive growth.

By 1880 Chicago had become the nation's third largest city with a population of over a half-million, largely Irish and German immigrants who professed the Catholic religion. From 1880 to 1920 this first wave of immigrants was supplanted by other southern and eastern Europeans, mostly Catholics and Jews. By 1890 the population had surpassed a million, almost 80 percent of it foreign-born by 1900. There were twice as many Catholics than Protestants in the city, a trend that increased as Poles and Italians arrived in ever larger numbers after 1900. By 1916 almost two-thirds of the city's Catholics remained non-English speakers. When the Depression hit, one-fourth of Chicago's residents were immigrants, while another 40 percent were second-generation ethnics. Catholics comprised more than a third of the inhabitants.<sup>6</sup>

The city fathers managed the polyglot population that exceeded three million through eight principal and 25 minor governmental agencies with 1,600 independent administrative bodies. Such an overwhelming bureaucracy reflected the residential character of the city. The diverse nationalities clustered in ethnic enclaves, where they replicated their European customs and languages. Neighborhood activities centered around churches and parochial schools that fostered particular ethnic values, communal events, and ties with the European homeland. Such clannishness and the reliance on religious leaders for direction limited perspectives on American life.<sup>7</sup>

Clergy promoted ethnic and religious loyalties through the separate parochial school system. Many Catholics feared the public schools as secular institutions that inculcated materialistic values, fostered respect for authority at the cost of disrespect for parents, and proselytized Protestantism. The public schools enjoyed the particular support of the city's wealthiest businessmen, members of the Commercial Club. In accord with the school board, they introduced vocational education courses in the schools to serve their own needs by circumventing the labor unions' apprenticeship system, and "Americanization" classes that attempted to dilute ethnic cultures.<sup>8</sup> Even before the turn of the century, the school superintendent had stated that American patriotism and United States history stood in opposition to "immigrant thoughts, politics, and beliefs antagonistic to American institutions."<sup>9</sup> The businessmen also allied with the settlement houses, the Moody Bible Institute, the Protestant YMCA, and the Vice Commission to bring their particular brand of morality and culture to the ethnic neighborhoods, workplaces, and commercial amusements.<sup>10</sup>

Catholics countered with a parallel program of instruction and leisure centered in the parishes. Despite the attacks of the *Chicago Tribune*, which characterized Catholic schools as inferior, more than 90 percent of parishes had their own schools by 1930. More than 300 Catholic schools in the metropolitan area

accommodated 168,000 students.<sup>11</sup> Extracurricular activities, primarily sports, allowed for limited relationships between the competing nativist, Protestant culture and the ethnic Catholics. Public school students organized their own athletic league as early as 1885, which was reorganized under adult control in 1913. The Knights of Columbus sponsored athletic events, and ethnic athletic clubs centered in the parishes proliferated by the 1890s, but a formal Catholic interscholastic league provided greater structure by 1910. Sports competition would prove to be a major avenue of cultural interchange thereafter where Catholic communalism encountered Protestant individualism.<sup>12</sup>

Communalism proved especially strong among the southern and eastern European Catholic groups. Leonard Covello, in a study of Italian-American immigrant children, attributed their limited social relationships and strong allegiance to family as the primary cause of maladjustment in American society. Others found a similar adherence to group clannishness among Poles and Irish. Catholics established a host of their own charitable institutions, rather than rely on the settlement houses or secular authorities for aid. Germans, Poles, Czechs, and Irish formed separate social-athletic clubs to retain their cultural differences, and working-class Catholic youth joined in ethnically based gangs to find empowerment.<sup>13</sup>

Such group orientation and solidarity contrasted with the American emphasis on self-reliance or "rugged individualism" espoused by such leaders as Henry David Thoreau or Theodore Roosevelt. One Czech student complained that whereas her family, school, and ethnic club were mutually supportive, American values emphasized striving for material goods and "excelling over the rest."<sup>14</sup>

Early sporting practices sometimes reflected such ideological differences. A turn-of-the-century Polish football team relied on its collective cunning, winning victories and establishing communal pride by confusing opponents who could not decipher their Polish signals. One such win was over the University of Chicago team, headed by coach Amos Alonzo Stagg, the champion of YMCA ideals, and that later featured individual stars such as All-Americans Walter Eckersall, Walter Steffen, and Jay Berwanger, the first Heisman Trophy winner. Athletic confrontations, particularly team sports such as football, eventually allowed for ideological merger as individual efforts advanced a communal team cause.<sup>15</sup>

Catholic isolationism before World War I, however, was characterized by the separate and insular Catholic League, in which its high school teams operated independently of their public league counterparts. While teams occasionally mingled in practice games, the distinct Catholic League united believers under one religious banner, while exacerbating the ethnic rivalries within the association. The class consciousness nourished by the labor disputes of the previous generation gave way as nationalistic parishes opposed each other on the fields of play. Ethnicity superseded class in the quest to field the best teams, but Catholic consensus remained problematic.<sup>16</sup>

The sense of Catholic separation and anti-Catholic sentiments reached national proportions with the success of the nearby Notre Dame football team. When Notre Dame wanted to use the University of Chicago field for a 1914

game with the famous Carlisle Indian team in order to capitalize on the city's Catholic population, Chicago's trustees denied the request as "not desirable...for games of this sort."<sup>17</sup> Despite such rejection Catholics gloried in the team's stellar achievements, resented the National Collegiate Athletic Association's repeated attempts to dismantle Knute Rockne's strategic shift, and bridled at the Big Ten's continual rebuffs. Notre Dame championed the Catholic cause in a national struggle against nonbelievers, and Chicago's Catholics held an especially close bond with the institution.<sup>18</sup>

The university supplied coaches to the Catholic League schools, who dutifully sent their best players to fill the ranks of Coach Rockne, who was a Chicago native. Moreover, Notre Dame exemplified "Catholic" football as opposed to the implicitly Protestant Warner system, devised by Glenn "Pop" Warner at Carlisle, Pitt, and Stanford. Furthermore, Rockne preferred a team concept, such as the famous "Four Horsemen" and their "Seven Mules." Warner's teams were led by brilliant individual stars such as Jim Thorpe and Ernie Nevers. The Catholic schools adopted Rockne's single wing system wholeheartedly, with its shift and intricate timing, which offset weight differences by providing momentum for smaller, faster players. Opponents considered it an attempt to circumvent the rules. When St. Michael, a perennial loser, adopted the Warner system of double wings and unbalanced lines favored by Public League teams, it was criticized by the Catholic newspaper, which chided that they managed to score 19 points but gave up 121.<sup>20</sup>

The resilience of "Catholic" football eventually forced a degree of accommodation between the competing cultures.<sup>21</sup> As an independent team without league affiliation, Notre Dame enjoyed fewer restrictions in its rise to national prominence, and the Chicago Catholic League had grown too big to ignore by the 1920s. Within the city, opponents debated the virtues of each system. Such debates came to a head and the national struggle became local when the *Herald and Examiner* newspaper proposed a long awaited confrontation between the Catholic and Public League champions in a charity game after the 1927 season. The proceeds of the game were to benefit the Christmas Basket Fund, and the Catholic clergy could hardly deny an event so consistent with its own professed works of charity. Moreover, a refusal would only lend fuel to William Hale "Big Bill" Thompson's anti-Catholic mayoral campaign against Irish William Dever. Mt. Carmel, the undefeated Catholic champion, thus seemed a sacrificial lamb as it faced Schurz, a school 10 times its size. Tickets were sold at the schools and downtown department stores. Reserved and box seats for the expected slaughter sold out quickly with 12,000 tickets purchased at Schurz alone. While the Schurz team prepared with a game against the city champion of St. Louis, the Catholic team sought inspiration by witnessing Notre Dame's 7-6 victory over Protestant USC at Soldier Field.<sup>22</sup>

Michael Oriard has argued that newspapers created a national football spectacle by shaping their readers' opinions of the games in the East at the turn of the century.<sup>23</sup> A local examination of media accounts in Chicago suggests that the reports and commentaries of the Catholic and secular press relative to the

Prep Bowl signify that the game was much more than an athletic contest or social event. The *Evening Post* declared that the annual debate over football “supremacy would be settled on the lakefront battlefield.” Other secular accounts described the religious affiliation of the opposing coaches, graduates of Notre Dame and Methodist Northwestern. The Catholic *New World* proudly proclaimed that Mt. Carmel was “the only team in the city with an uncrossed goal line,” and that “There may be a goodly number of backfield men in this city of ours, but the greatest of them all is in the Catholic league,” a reference to Mel Brosseau, a Mt. Carmel star and one of its “Four Horsemen.” The *New World* further requested that all Catholics “unite into one gigantic mass” for the “mighty struggle.” The Catholic archdiocese now had an event with which it could ally its disparate factions against a common foe.<sup>24</sup>

When Schurz lost at St. Louis, the *New World* remarked on its “humiliation” and boldly professed that “there is no doubt” that Mt. Carmel’s Rockne system would overcome Schurz’ Warner tactics and that the Mt. Carmel “lads will follow in the footsteps of the ‘warriors’ of Notre Dame and uphold once again the superiority of Catholic football.” It further opined that “our boys...will romp down the field...against a heavier and supposedly better team.”<sup>25</sup> The game indeed took on the appearance of a crusade. Schurz students filled a rooting section of 7,200, supported by fans, alumni, and public school proponents; while Catholics united behind Mt. Carmel, supplying a band, cheerleaders, and, undoubtedly, prayers. Although the game was broadcast over the radio, 50,000 braved subfreezing weather to witness a 6-0 Mt. Carmel victory.<sup>26</sup>

The *New World* declared that it should have been 18-0, amidst implications of biased officiating. When Mt. Carmel recovered a fumble in the end zone, officials declared it dead at the 7-yard line and allowed a replay. Numerous penalties thwarted Mt. Carmel drives until a 50-yard interception return and Brosseau’s 3-yard touchdown run in the fourth quarter brought victory. The *New World*, the official organ of the Chicago archdiocese, asserted the collective Catholic identity by proclaiming “‘our’ peerless Brosseau...the Flanagan of prep football,” a reference to the Notre Dame hero, who, the year before, scored the winning touchdown over Army, the symbol of nativist power. The *New World* proclaimed it a “decisive” victory in a headline, and even the *Tribune* admitted that the much smaller Catholic school enjoyed the support of a united Catholic League.<sup>27</sup>

Schurz failed to acknowledge the outcome, and promoted its Public League victory as the city title, while Mt. Carmel declared itself “undisputed champion” and “the most powerful and best team in Chicago prep history.” The victory celebration resembled a Catholic holy day. A school holiday preceded a month of banquets and awards capped by a victory dance at the prestigious Palmer House hotel. Such festivities indicate a relief of cultural stress consistent with the anthropological studies of Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner, who assert that this transitional period allowed the socially inferior to flaunt their temporary superiority in a status-reversing ritual, which the dominant group had to accept with good will. While still perceived as outsiders, Catholics gained a measure of

respect and a sense of vindication against the Protestant foe.<sup>28</sup>

Catholics soon faced chastisement and rejection once again when Al Smith, the Catholic presidential candidate, suffered a humiliating defeat in 1928. Buoyed by the previous conquest and tempted by an offer of an all-expenses-paid trip for the winner to play in California, De Paul, the Catholic champ, agreed to meet Tilden Tech of the Public League shortly thereafter. The Catholics did so only after negotiating for Catholic representation on the officiating crew.<sup>29</sup> The opposing factions bickered over differing eligibility regulations until De Paul agreed not to play its 20-year-old center, while Tilden supporters tried in vain to get its overaged player declared eligible.<sup>30</sup> The compromise signaled a thawing of relations between longtime antagonists, but it proved a temporary respite.

Ten thousand saw Tilden defeat the Catholic runner-up, St. Rita, as a tuneup for De Paul, who had already beaten four Public League teams during the season.<sup>31</sup> The 12-0 Tilden win proved anticlimactic before 30,000 fans, and the *New World* rationalized that “the interleague ‘warfare’ is balanced with a victory for each league. In the last two years the Catholic league has won nine of fifteen interleague games...so why worry?”<sup>32</sup>

De Paul, however, admitted that it was “a bitter defeat, which left a desire for revenge.” It rewarded its team with a banquet at the posh Drake Hotel and another game in Brownsville, Texas. A second demoralizing loss on that occasion resurrected the Catholic inferiority complex. The yearbook rationalized the 36-0 beating in Texas as “just a vacation,” while the secular media reminded them, in a headline, that they had been “overwhelmed” and “considerably chastened.”<sup>33</sup>

After the 1929 season, the Catholic League pursued a rematch. Its champion, De Paul, averaged 30 points per game. The Public League, however, determined that it would not engage in the city championship game unless it could bring the Catholic League into line with its own policies on players’ eligibility.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, Lindblom and Schurz, the top teams in the Public League, scheduled out of state games for the 1929 postseason. When Tilden Tech offered to represent the Public League, Father Howard Ahem, Catholic League president, declined with the opinion that such a game would not determine the true champion.<sup>35</sup> Such negotiation, coercion, and rejection between a dominant and a subordinate group is characteristic of the struggle for control in the contest between competing cultures.<sup>36</sup>

When Catholic League rules moved closer to compliance with those of the Public League and Depression hardships necessitated charity events, the series resumed in 1931 when the governor made a plea for the contest. Residual animosities, anti-Catholic sentiments, and suspicion still lingered. Mt. Carmel, the Catholic champ, conducted secret practices in the city, while at the national level, a University of Southern California player, considered a Catholic spy, was arrested when his coaches charged that he betrayed team plays to archrival Notre Dame, despite the 16-14 USC win.<sup>37</sup> Such affairs only heightened tensions and distrust.

Harrison, the public school champ and heavily favored, feted its team with a victory banquet days before the game. Alumni invited Mayor Cermak to be the

guest speaker in the presence of the Board of Education, thereby compromising his close ties to the Catholic community. Both the *Tribune* and *Daily News* stereotyped the game as the Irish against the world, in reference to the multi-ethnic Harrison team. Led by Andy Pilney—ironically, a future Notre Dame star—Harrison crushed Mt. Carmel, 44-6, when it scored six touchdowns from interceptions. Harrison was rewarded with a trip to Miami while the *New World* admitted the Catholics’ “chagrin and humiliation,” and a vow that it would not be repeated.<sup>38</sup>

Vengeance was thwarted in 1932, when parents from Morgan Park, the public champs, refused to let their sons play on a potentially frozen field. Mt. Carmel, the Catholic champ, wanted to avenge its only defeat in a three-year span, and offered to play the game indoors. Still Morgan Park declined, and nearly 60 years later, Catholics still insisted that their adversaries were afraid of the result, as Fenwick, another Catholic League team, had tied them in an earlier practice game.<sup>39</sup> The failure to bring about the event exemplified Catholic frustrations. Their lack of power to force the issue politically and inability to demonstrate their prowess on the field only showcased their marginal position in the society.

Rather than tempt the ire of a largely Catholic city, the series resumed the next year, bringing greater unity to Catholic factions in the process when archrivals St. Rita and Mt. Carmel had to resolve an internecine quarrel. The Catholic League sanctioned a replay of their protested game to determine who would face Harrison for the city title, and the archdiocese used the proceeds to benefit the Americanization efforts of its Catholic Youth Organization (CYO). Similarly, the *New World*, as the official organ of the archdiocese, began to downplay football in favor of CYO coverage. Whereas football revealed social divisions, the CYO promoted integration. When Mt. Carmel beat Harrison, 7-0, the *New World* failed to gloat over the win as it had in the past.<sup>40</sup> Despite the admonition, Mt. Carmel celebrated the victory with a school holiday to honor its “warriors,” who had conquered the “overwhelming favorites.”<sup>41</sup> The *New World’s* stance, however, signaled another step by Catholics into the mainstream culture.

Despite their adherence to alternative religious, educational, and charitable institutions, Catholics increasingly acknowledged the existing political order. They had moved almost en bloc to the Democratic Party behind Catholic presidential candidate Al Smith in 1928. Ethnic Anton Cermak received similar support in his mayoral campaign against nativist “Big Bill” Thompson. Upon Cermak’s assassination, Ed Kelly, a working-class Irish Catholic, consolidated the Democratic machine. One of his first steps in that process included the Prep Bowl.<sup>42</sup>

Although the Public League scheduled no interleague games for the 1934 season, the postseason city championship received official sanction when Mayor Edward Kelly adopted it to raise funds for destitute children. Under civic leadership the contest became known as the mayor’s game, further linking Catholicism with the mainstream civic culture. The structure of the event assumed the characteristics of a spectacle with grandiose pageantry and a festive atmosphere. It also functioned as a ritual that covertly reinforced Catholic submission to the

dominant hierarchy, while overtly emphasizing the ideals of democratic opportunity and a united American patriotism. Catholic isolation and marginality gradually subsided as they assumed a greater and perceptibly more equal role in a civic function that glorified the American state while recognizing its pluralistic character. The organization of the first “official” game, however, maintained the established power structure, a script which was reproduced on an annual basis thereafter.<sup>43</sup>

The regulations for the 1934 game set the stage for all future contests as the informal arrangements of previous years became legitimized. The Public League fans got the west side of the stadium, while Catholics squinted into the sun from the east side. The mayor’s box, where he sat with family, assorted politicians, and public school officials, was in the west stands, despite the Catholicism of Mayor Kelly and his successors. Such positions symbolically represented the subservience to or, at best, the merger of Catholicism with the commonwealth. As many as 14 bands, seven from each league, “battled” in pre-game festivities, only to merge under the leadership of a “neutral” American Legion band for a parade with ROTC units in front of the mayor, symbolically paying homage in a flag-raising ceremony. The bands united in the playing of the national anthem, and opposing captains met at the mayor’s box for pre-game handshakes. Victors received a silver trophy, an historical emblem of supremacy, while all players got a gold watch from the mayor, signifying their inclusion in the American community.<sup>44</sup>

The contest itself provided Catholics with the opportunity promised in a democracy, where a victory might blur the lines between ruler and ruled, albeit temporarily, without actually threatening the established order. Such public acts allowed the symbolic expression of cultural tension while depicting a collective identity that endorsed dominant group norms. Even Catholic mayors had to subordinate their religious preference to the secular seating arrangement. Moreover, by incorporating the game within the political machinery, patronage fostered ticket sales and assured large audiences as witnesses to the ritual. Endeavoring to invent tradition, subsequent official histories failed to list the games before 1934.<sup>45</sup>

Amidst the pomp and ceremony of the first “official” game, controversy ensued. Catholics agreed to the scripted structure of the event, knowing that the outcome could not be preordained, but they soon had their doubts. The underdog, an outweighed Leo team, outplayed their Public League opponents, but failed to gain the victory. Lindblom scored the only touchdown after a long reverse brought the ball to Leo’s 6-yard line. The ensuing goal line stand by Leo was negated when a penalty gave Lindblom an easy score. Bishop Sheil head of the Catholic Youth Organization, represented the archdiocese, while both the mayor and governor witnessed the game for secular authorities, providing official sanction of the event. No official protest was lodged, but the *Daily News* admitted that the Public Leaguers had gotten a break, and the Catholic League insisted on approving the officials for 1935, when both teams repeated as champions of their respective leagues.<sup>46</sup>

The mayor provided each team with new uniforms for the rematch, a symbolic

gesture of largesse during the Depression, but Leo disdained protocol. Thousands of Ohio State fans had recently greeted Notre Dame with cries of "Catholics, go home." Perhaps disturbed by an abuse that reminded Catholics that they were not yet fully acceptable, Leo charged onto the field and through the bands that were still parading on it. Order was restored before the game when opposing players were announced to the 75,000 fans, then met at midfield for a handshake that symbolically restored amity. The scenario of the previous year repeated itself, as Lindblom took a 6-0 triumph. After predicting a Catholic win, the subdued *New World* praised Lindblom and feebly offered "that the Leo eleven was not the raging Lion outfit." In the spirit of reconciliation it even noted that a Leo player apologized for hitting an opponent too hard.<sup>47</sup>

The media pinpointed the ongoing differences between the two systems for the 1936 affair. Fenwick, the Catholic champions, relied on team balance, while Austin was carried by the individual brilliance of Bill De Correvont. Communalism versus individualism were the media themes throughout the series. The *Herald and Examiner* characterized the struggle as the Warner system against Notre Dame, power against speed, and the individual against the team.<sup>48</sup> The Chicago Cardinals pro team ran plays at halftime "to show how a 'team' operates," in a gesture of American unity as European tensions erupted into war.<sup>49</sup> The game proved more exciting for the 75,000 fans. The underdog Fenwick Friars, severely outweighed, held the lead until an Austin touchdown in the waning minutes earned a 19-19 tie. Both teams received a trophy, but the *New World* claimed an advantage for Fenwick, and the *Herald and Examiner* admitted that the Catholics were "handicapped by busy officials," a fact borne out by the statistics.<sup>50</sup>

The series reached its apex in 1937, and the press had a field day in its promotion of individualism and glorification of the Protestant work ethic. Leo's Johnny Galvin led the Catholic League in scoring, only to be overshadowed by the media darling, Bill De Correvont of Austin. An all-around athlete, voted the most popular boy in school and the most publicized prep star in America, the blonde De Correvont personified Frank Merriwell, the idealized fictional hero of youth novels. In the season opener he scored 57 points, accounting for nine touchdowns on only 10 carries. He continued his onslaught on the record books throughout the season, finishing with 204 points in nine games. Newspapers celebrated De Correvont's individual statistics, which overshadowed the nature of a team game. Reporters and photographers even flocked to practice sessions in order to grace their papers with his visage. The *Herald and Examiner* claimed that he had been "lifted to the pedestal of prep idolatry in a blaze of unprecedented publicization [sic]." Consequently, Austin games accounted for one quarter of the total Public League attendance.<sup>51</sup>

Leo also faced a distinct weight disadvantage, and extensive media coverage heightened the pressure. The *Herald and Examiner* called it a "contest for the highest honor in American high school football" and, discounting the pre-1934 games, claimed that the Catholics had never won.<sup>52</sup> The *Tribune* reminded Leo that it had been shut out in two previous games.<sup>53</sup>

Catholic difficulties were compounded when Galvin suffered a shoulder dislocation for the second time that season. Despite the seriousness of the injury, his coach fashioned an 18-pound leather harness to stabilize the joint. The game was that important.<sup>54</sup>

When 120,000 spectators jammed Soldier Field, they stood six deep at the precipice of the stadium, and 10,000 overflowed onto the field where they crowded behind a cordon. The media gave due attention to De Correvont's mother, grandmother, and Catholic girlfriend among the fans, and he did not disappoint them. The game proved anticlimactic as De Correvont ran for three touchdowns and passed for another in an easy 26-0 win. Galvin suffered yet another dislocation stopping De Correvont in the first quarter but continued to play in intense pain until his removal in the second half. His courageous effort was applauded by both sides, but it did not lessen the tears in the Leo locker room nor the jubilation in Austin's, where the winners sent an autographed ball to the mayor as a symbolic relic of their victory. Austin students attempted to tear down the goalposts as souvenirs until chased away by Irish Catholic policemen. That mini-event presented an ironic symbol of a faction of the minority group already incorporated and upholding the values of the dominant power structure, as well as the Catholics' continued frustration.<sup>55</sup>

## The Amalgamation of Cultures

The succeeding weeks signaled the merger of the two cultures within the dominant structure. Bishop Sheil, head of the Catholic Youth Organization, inducted both Galvin and De Correvont into its Club of Champions in a ceremony at Chicago Stadium. After Austin traveled to Tennessee to defend the city's honor against a team in Memphis, a combined team of all-stars from both leagues traveled to Phoenix and Los Angeles for games over the Christmas holidays, thus transferring religious loyalties and pride to civic ones. The merger of Catholicism with the civic polity in a joint venture signaled a triumph for the archdiocese as well as the state. Cardinal Mundelein initiated his "Americanization" program upon his accession in 1916, but he enjoyed little success, particularly in the ethnic parishes, which adhered to strident nationalistic concerns. Such ethnic sentiments lagged behind official pronouncements of unity, but like a marriage in which one desires acceptance by in-laws without losing one's own family, the Catholics embarked on an ongoing and tenuous process.<sup>56</sup>

Football helped the church to consolidate its ethnic factions by focusing attention outward against secular rivals—and sports, in general, had brought Catholics into the mainstream American culture—but as World War II approached, some tensions persisted. Ethnic loyalists once again became suspect, Germans and Italians in particular. Catholics, taking a defensive posture, felt the need to train three million students in the United States against subversive activities to demonstrate their American patriotism. The *New World* emphasized Catholic contributions to America, and Paddy Driscoll extolled the benefits of Catholic football in preparation for war.<sup>57</sup>

As the 1938 championship game approached, both Catholic and secular media still drew attention to religious differences, which drew 80,000 to the game between Mt. Carmel and Fenger. Once again the Catholics were underdogs, as they faced a school of 4,200, whose quarterback, Don Griffin, had scored 28 touchdowns. The advantage of three Catholic referees was clearly offset when Mt. Carmel's star halfback and kicker, Jack McCallum, suffered an emergency appendectomy. Captain Dick Creevy, who had been out for three weeks with a back injury, was rushed back into service, and Catholics banded together. Mt. Carmel organized a pep rally that demonstrated Catholic cohesion. Among the speakers were Coach Tony Lawless of Fenwick, who Mt. Carmel had defeated for the Catholic title, and Andy Pilney, the 1931 Harrison hero, whose religious loyalty superseded league allegiance.<sup>58</sup>

Fans danced and sang in the seats two and a half hours before game time, while Father Theodore Hatton, Mt. Carmel principal, cheered from the team bench. The game proved a fierce struggle, with Mt. Carmel penalized for piling on Griffin, and a Mt. Carmel player ejected for "taking a pop at the Fenger flash."<sup>59</sup> The *New World* applauded the Mt. Carmel players for holding Griffin scoreless in a 13-0 loss.<sup>60</sup> The combined all-star team patched up any differences in time for the return trip to Los Angeles in late December.

Seventy-five thousand sat through rain and snow to witness a rematch in 1939. This time Catholics salvaged their pride with a spectacular fourth-quarter rally. Refusing substitutes, the fatigued Mt. Carmel players made two goal line stands and blocked a field goal attempt, while scoring two fourth-quarter touchdowns. Eugene Dwyer, who had been knocked unconscious, returned to kick the tying extra point as time expired in a 13-13 contest. An exhausted "Ziggy" Czarowski, a future Notre Dame star, had to be helped from the field, and the *Daily News* asserted that "when it was all over, it was eleven Carmelites the crowd hailed, and not Don Griffin, the brilliant Fenger star."<sup>61</sup> As a reward, Mt. Carmel traveled to Florida, where it defeated a team of all-stars in West Palm Beach.<sup>62</sup>

The emergence of Catholics as sports heroes and their service in World War II brought a greater degree of acceptance in the mainstream culture, but the Prep Bowl continued to celebrate pluralism in the succeeding years. The Catholic Youth Organization initiated a grammar school football program in its parishes in 1943, providing seasoned players to its high schools. That year the Catholic championship ended in a scoreless tie. When city officials refused to await another playoff, Catholic clergy stepped in, forcing the feuding coaches to acquiesce in the face of clerical and civic authority. St. George, winner of the resultant coin flip, retaliated with a 19-12 upset victory over Phillips, who enjoyed more than a 30-pound per man advantage in the line, and featured Buddy Young, the state sprint champ, scorer of 140 points and a future All-American and pro star.<sup>63</sup>

One St. George player called the win a "miracle," but Coach Max Bumell stated that "we knew we could beat them after the first touchdown." Brother Julius, the St. George athletic director, perhaps mindful of diocesan assimilation efforts, corrected him by stating that the "result was in doubt until the final whistle."<sup>64</sup> The emendation by Brother Julius exemplified the ongoing differences between laity

and leaders in the Catholic Church. Despite clerical willingness and attempts to assimilate, the rank and file still perceived themselves as peripheral members of the society. John Powers reflected upon his upbringing on Chicago's South Side during the 1940s and 1950s, describing an enduring enclave that had the perception of only two religions analogous to the athletic leagues, "Catholic" and "Public."<sup>65</sup>

During that time the Catholic League continued to whittle away at the victory margin, getting stronger each year. In the 1950s fortunes were reversed and it was the Public League that had to offer excuses. When Mt. Carmel defeated Austin for its third consecutive city title in 1952, Coach Terry Brennan, later of Notre Dame fame, claimed that Austin was inferior to other Catholic League teams. Austin coach Bill Heiland lamented the slippery field that hampered his star, Abe Woodson, but St. George duplicated the feat the following year, despite Austin's seeming advantage in size and speed.<sup>66</sup>

The Prep Bowl remained a major event in Chicago into the 1970s. Under Mayor Richard J. Daley, Prep Bowl proceeds established scholarships for both public and Catholic high school students, further uniting the disparate factions in a common cause. Despite a well-entrenched Irish Catholic Democratic machine, the ethnic nature of the church and city neighborhoods, along with the ethnic revivals of the 1960s, still allowed a sense of "otherness" among some Catholics. The Prep Bowl in itself remained as a lingering reminder of difference. Catholics referred to the game as the "Rose Bowl of prep football," and "the World Series of high school competition."<sup>67</sup> *The Tribune* asserted that it was "more important than the Army-Navy game."<sup>68</sup>

More than 91,000 Chicagoans attended the 1962 contest, as Fenwick routed Schurz, 40-0. When Fenwick's Jim Di Lullo gained 224 yards on only 12 carries and scored five touchdowns, the *Tribune* drew comparisons to the ultimate Public League hero, Bill De Correvont. Disdainful of his own individual accomplishments, Di Lullo attributed his success to Catholic teamwork. His coach, John Jardine, reveling in the Catholic victory, declared it "the happiest and proudest day of my life."<sup>69</sup> After the game, Johnny Lattner, former Fenwick and Notre Dame star, presented a member of each team with Knute Rockne memorial trophies, symbolically solidifying the bonds between the opposing forces. The union remained a fragile one, however. When the *Tribune* assailed the teachings of Catholic schools the day before the 1963 contest, underdog St. Rita retaliated by routing CVS (Chicago Vocational School), 42-7. The Catholic League dominated thereafter, winning 27 of 30 games from 1960 to 1989. After 1974, however, the Prep Bowl lost its significance. With the restructuring of the state playoff system to include both Catholic schools and Chicago's Public League, and the loss of the mayor's sponsorship, a contest between also-rans attracted little attention.<sup>70</sup>

By that time, however, the game had served its social and ritualistic functions. Football represented for Catholics their coming of age in American society. As interleague games acculturated Catholics into the mainstream athletic structure, they also manifested their separate religious identity, and football remained a means to oppose the intrusions of the dominant ideology and glory in Catholic

difference. Catholic victories brought pride, a measure of acceptance, and the reinforcement and celebration of an alternative culture, yet one that came to be more closely aligned with the other in its values, aspirations, and sense of American patriotism. Media accounts recognized the competing concepts of Catholic communalism and Protestant individualism, and extolled both in their tributes to teamwork and individual stars. The Prep Bowl thus democratized sport and allowed the theatrical expression of differences by bridging the competing cultures without threatening the established power structure. While religion in itself could be, and had been, a divisive factor, the combination of sport and religion in the Prep Bowl became part of a popular culture that replaced older class and ethnic cultures based on the European roots of immigrants.<sup>71</sup>

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1. On the concept of double consciousness, see W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990) and David K. Wiggins, "The Notion of Double Consciousness and the Involvement of Black Athletes in American Sports," in George Eisen and David K. Wiggins, eds., *Ethnicity and Sport in North American Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 133-56.

Ethnic and Catholic dilemmas are presented in Eisen and Wiggins, *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*; Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity and Class in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 138-9; Joseph Parot, *Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850-1920* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1981); Louis Magierski, "Polish-American Activities in Chicago, 1919-1939," M.A. Thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1946; John J. Reichman, *Czechoslovaks of Chicago* (Chicago: Czechoslovak Historical Society of Illinois, 1937); James W. Sanders, *The Education of an Urban Minority: Catholics in Chicago, 1833-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); David J. Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 283; Ronald H. Bayor, *Neighbors in Conflict: The Irish, German, Jews, and Italians of New York City, 1929-1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); and Peter d'A. Jones and Melvin G. Holli eds., *Ethnic Chicago* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1981).

2. On Catholic Americanization efforts, see Edward R. Kantowicz, *Corporation Sole: Cardinal Mundelein and Chicago Catholicism* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), 100, which states that Chicago was the largest archdiocese in the United States with more than a million Catholics by 1916; Gerald R. Gems, "Sport, Religion and Americanization: Bishop Sheil and the Catholic Youth Organization," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 10:2 (August 1993), 233-241; *St. Augustine's Parish Golden Jubilee Program and Chronological History* (Chicago: 1936), 227; *Diamond Jubilee, Immaculate Conception B.V.M. Parish* (Chicago: 1957), 40-5; *St. Wenceslaus Church, Silver Jubilee, 1912-1937* (Chicago: 1937), 19; Lawrence J. McCaffrey, et al., *The Irish in Chicago* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Charles H. Shanabruch, "The Catholic Church's Role in the Americanization of Chicago's Immigrants, 1833-1928," University of Chicago, Ph.D. dissertation, 1975; and Roger L. Treat, *Bishop Sheil and the CYO* (New York: Julian Messner, 1951).

Ethnic and working-class opposition movements are covered in Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 125-31; Edward R. Kantowicz, *Polish-American Politics in Chicago, 1888-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Robert A. Slayton, *Back of the Yards*, 131-38; and John D. Buenker and Lorman A. Ratner, *Multiculturalism in the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), 75, 78-84, 140-41, 182-3.

3. William Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963); Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Dawley, *Struggles for Justice*, 151-55, 188-90, 238, 243-50, 277-82; *Chicago Tribune*, July 13, 1918, 1; July 14, 1918, 1:3; July 15, 1918, 17, 17; July 23, 1918, 13; *Chicago American*, July 12, 1981; July 13, 1918, 1; July 15, 1918, 3.

Thomas M. Coffey, *The Long Thirst: Prohibition in America, 1920-1933* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1975); James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963).

Dawley, *Struggle for Justice*, 277-85, 290-92, on immigration laws.

Stanley Coben, *Rebellion Against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America* (New York Oxford University Press, 1991), 136-56; Dawley, *Struggles for Justice*, 260-61, on the KKK.

Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Franklin Folsom, *Impatient Armies of the Poor* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1991), 231-431; Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) on labor issues.

4. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey N. Smith, eds., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (New York: International Publishers, 1971) and William J. Morgan, *Leftist Theories of Sport: A Critique and Reconstruction* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 60-127, on the cultural negotiation process of hegemony theory.

Andrew Doyle, "'Causes Won, Not Lost': College Football and the Modernization of the American South," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11:2 (August 1994), 231-251, examines the role of football in cultural change and finds distinct parallels at a regional level during the same period.

5. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 1 (1937), 173-79, 416; Frederic Cople Jaher and Jocelyn M. Grant, "Chicago Business Elite, 1830-1930," *Business History Review*, 50 (Autumn 1976), 288-328. Steven J. Diner, *A City and Its Universities: Public Policy in Chicago, 1892-1919* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980) and Helen Leiflowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1890s to 1917* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1976), describes the interlocking networks of power and culture—some, like the Twentieth Century Club, reserved for the wealthy native-born only.
6. Pierce, *A History of Chicago*, 2 (1940), 13, 17:3 (1957), 425; Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 3.
7. Paul F. Cressey, "The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930, 68-73.

Ethnic cultures and the conflicts of assimilation in Chicago are examined in Gerald R. Gems, "Sport and the Americanization of Ethnic Women in Chicago," in Eisen and Wiggins, eds., *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Cultures*, 177-200; Robert A. Slayton, *Back of the Yards: The Making of a Local Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 53-98, William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1984 (1918 reprint); and James R. Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 72-8.

8. Foreign language papers criticized the public schools on such counts in *Svornort*, January 8, 1890; *Zgodna*, November 14, 1894, 4; January 19, 1899, 6; and *Dziennik Chicagoski*, July 22, 1892, 4; August 27, 1892; June 6, 1896, and September 1, 1908 (from the Foreign Language Press Survey, Works Progress Administration, 1942).

The vocational education controversy is covered in Chicago Board of Education, 23rd Annual Report, 1877, 51-53, 55-56, 63-S, cited in Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 138; W.E. Mellinger, ed., *High School Journal*, 1:4 (July 1884), 3; and 10:7 (March 1897), 102; Charles H. Thurber, 'Is the Present High School Course a Satisfactory Preparation for

Business? If Not, How Should it be Modified?" *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, National Education Association* (Chicago: 1897) 808-18, in Sigmund Diamond, ed., *The Nation Transformed: The Creation of an Industrial Society* (New York: George Braziller, 1963); *55th Annual Report of The Board of Education 1908-1909*, 12-20; and Stanley Aronowitz, *False Promises: The Shaping of the American Working Class Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 72-5.

9. Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 60.
10. The YMCA had been granted a thousand-year charter and tax-exempt status during the 1860s. Edwin B. Smith, John C. Grant, and Horace M. Starkey, *Historical Sketch of the Young Men's Christian Association, 1858-1898* (Chicago: YMCA, 1898); and Elizabeth Halsey, *The Development of Public Recreation in Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago: Recreation Commission, 1942), cover the interrelationships of the city's commercial leaders with the YMCA movement. Catholics particularly differed with the YMCA over the temperance issue.
11. Sanders, *The Education of an Urban Minority*, 37, on Catholic schools.
12. The formation of the public schools' league is described in W.E. Mellinger, ed., *High School Journal*, 4:2 (November 1885), 5; and 4:3 (December 1885), 4-5, 8; and Chicago Public School Archives, Interscholastic Athletics Championships file.  
*Svornost*, April 8, 1890; June 2, 1890, March 31, 1901, July 2, 1901, April 2, 1910; and Casimir Wronski, "Early Days of Sport Among Polish-Americans in Chicago," in D.M. Krzywonos, ed., *Poles of Chicago, 1837-1937* (Chicago: Polish Pageant, 1937), 145-8.
13. Leonard Covello, *The Social Background of the Italo-American School Child* (Totowa, NJ: Rowan & Littlefield, 1972), xxv, 149-53, 279; Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 89-90, Slayton, *Back of the Yards*, 13, 23, 50, 177-8; Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963; 1927 reprint); and Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 83-97.  
Witold Rybczynski, *City Life: Urban Expectations in a New World* (New York: Scribner's, 1995), 82-3, identified such differences as early as the colonial period in the private houses of the Protestant British and Dutch as opposed to the shared, communal living arrangements of French and Spanish Catholics.
14. Dominic A. Pacyga, *Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991); Helen Hrachovska, "Sokol Gymnastic Organization in Czechoslovakia," 1931, 9-11, 14-15, Box 144, folder 1, Ernest W. Burgess Papers, University of Chicago, Special Collections, (quote); and Jeffrey C. Alexander and Steven Seidman, eds., *Culture and Society: Contemporary Debates* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992) describe the dilemma of ethnic communal and religious values versus the individualism of American culture.  
See William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), 18, 99, 103, 145, 273, for ethnic reliance on community as a means of adaptation to a Protestant middle-class culture.
15. Krzywonos, *Poles of Chicago*, 145-8.  
See Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 137-152, for a different conclusion about the individual/team sport tendencies and cultural differences.
16. *New World*, Nov. 16, 1934, 7, states that 87 new Catholic parishes were established from 1916-34; Lawrence J. McCaffrey, et al., *The Irish in Chicago*, 41; Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 126-7, describes the ethnic nature of Chicago's Catholic schools by 1930.  
*New World*, April 23, 1910, 8, and June 17, 1911, 8, on the formation of separate Catholic athletic associations. See Andrew W. Miracle, "Functions of School Athletics: Boundary Maintenance and System Integration," in Michael A. Salter, ed., *Play: Anthropological Perspectives* (West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 1978), 176-84, on sport as both an integrating

and isolating factor.

17. Robin Lester, *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995) 261: fn.16; Murray Sperber, *Shake Down the Thunder: The Creation of Notre Dame Football* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1993). 44, 132, 134-5, 137, 140, 148, 159-62, 185, 273-4, 344-5, 435-7.
18. Sperber, *Shake Down the Thunder*, 207-12, 426.
19. *Ibid.*, 228-9, 340-45; Allison Danzig, *The History of American Football* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), 28, 65, 222-3, on the difference in systems.  
Rockne is erroneously attributed with the shift initiated by his predecessor, Jess Harper. Mark Purcell, "1940 Boston vs. Georgetown," *College Football Historical Society*, 8:4 (August 1995), 10-13, indicates that other Catholic colleges adhered to Rockne's system at least a decade after his death.  
  
On Notre Dame-Chicago ties, see *Chicago Evening American*, Nov. 26, 1927, 16; *New World*, Nov. 18, 1927, 10; Nov. 25, 1927, 10; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 30, 1963, 2:2; *The Oriflamme*, 1939 (Mt. Carmel High School), n.p.; Roger Kane, ed., *The Oriflamme of 1953* (Chicago: Mt. Carmel High School), 85; Mike Bynum, ed., *Many Autumns Ago: The Frank Leahy Era at Boston College and Notre Dame* (Chicago: October Football Corp., 1988), 80, 116.
20. *New World*, Dec. 13, 1935, 17.
21. Peter Donnelly, "Subculture in Sport: Resilience and Transformation," in Alan G. Ingham and John W. Loy, eds., *Sport in Social Development: Tradition, Transitions, and Transformations* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1993), 119-45.
22. Catholics had issued a challenge to the Public League as early as 1913, in the *Chicago Record-Herald* Nov. 24, 1913, 11. *Chicago Evening American*, Nov. 21, 1927, 19; Nov. 26, 1927, 16; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 2, 1927, 27; Dec. 3, 1927, 23; *Chicago Evening Post*, Nov. 28, 1927, 10; Marshall E. Lusk, ed., *The Oriflamme of 1928* (Chicago: Mt. Carmel High School), 69. Laurence Bergreen, *Capone* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 219-21, on Thompson. See Ed Gilleran, "Battle of the Bronx," *College Football Historical Society*, 6:2 (Feb. 1993), 1-5, for a similar series in New York.
23. Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).
24. *Chicago Evening Post*, Nov. 28, 1927, 10, *Chicago Evening American*, Nov. 26, 1927, 16; *New World*, Nov. 25, 1927, 10; Nov. 28, 1927, 10; Dec. 2, 1927, 10.
25. *New World*, Dec. 2, 1927, 10; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1927, 23.
26. *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Dec. 2, 1927, 25; Dec. 3, 1927, 15; Dec. 4, 1927, 1; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 3, 1927, 23. Schurz reached an enrollment of 13,000 by 1932.
27. *New World*, Dec. 9, 1927, 1; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Dec. 4, 1927, 1; *Chicago Tribune*, December 3, 1927, 23. Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 423, fn.159, indicates that 85,031 attended public high schools, and 20,212 students went to Catholic high schools in 1930.
28. Shurzzone, 1928 *Yearbook*, 87, 92, 104-105; Lusk, *Oriflamme of 1928*, 89, 114-15; Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1969), 94-5, 167-69; Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101 (1972), 1-37. The perception of the Public League and its schools as a Protestant entity persisted throughout the twentieth century despite the fact that Catholic players unable to afford private school tuition appeared on public school teams. Catholics later recruited African American Protestants to sustain their athletic success.
29. *Chicago Evening American*, Dec. 6, 1928, 35; Third Meeting of Executive Committee, City Championship Football Game, Nov. 22, 1928, Chicago Board of Education Archives.
30. *Chicago Evening American*, Dec. 7, 1928, 38; *New World*, Dec. 7, 1928, 10.
31. *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Nov. 30, 1928, 20; *New World*, Nov. 23, 1928, 10.

32. *New World*, Dec. 14, 1928, 10.
33. Edward Burke and Raymond Griffin, eds., *The De Paulian*, 1929, 295, 299. In addition to the heat of the Southwest, the yearbook blamed the devastating loss on a “phantom” player known as “Tequila.” *Chicago American*, Dec. 18, 1928, 27; Dec. 22, 1928, 20; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Dec. 22, 1928, 19.
34. *New World*, Nov. 15, 1929, 10; Nov. 22, 1929, 10; Nov. 29, 1929, 10; 1928 Football Committee Recommendations, Board of Education Archives.
35. *Chicago Evening American*, Nov. 25, 1929, 25.
36. Hoare and Smith, eds., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, 170, 181-185.
37. *New World*, Nov. 22, 1929, 10, indicates that the Catholic League had already adopted an eight semester eligibility rule, although age restrictions on players remained an issue. *Chicago Evening American*, Nov. 24, 1931, 21, on the role of Governor Emmerson and the charitable benefits derived from football games.  
*Chicago Daily News*, Dec. 5, 1931, 15, on the arrest of William Hawkins; Bert R. Sugar, ed., *The SEC: A Pictorial History of Southeastern Conference Football* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1979), 42, indicates a hiring ban on Catholics in the South.
38. *Chicago American*, Dec. 1, 1931, 17; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 4, 1931, 27; Dec. 4, 1936, 33; *Chicago Daily News*, Dec. 4, 1931, 29, Dec. 5, 1931, 15; David O. McDearmon, ed., *The Oriflame of 1932* (Chicago: Mt. Carmel High School), 133; *New World*, Dec. 11, 1931, 11; Nov. 25, 1932, 9; Dec. 4, 1936, 35; Alex Gottfried, *Boss Cermak of Chicago* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), 46. Although nonreligious himself, Cermak’s wife and children were practicing Catholics and he maintained close political ties to the Catholic community.
39. *New World*, Dec. 2, 1932, 9; *Chicago American*, Nov. 26, 1932, 13; Frank Seiter, ed., *The Oriflame of 1934* (Chicago: Mt. Carmel High School), 82; Father Leander Troy, phone interview, June 19, 1991; H.R. Crook, Report of the Football Season, 1932, Chicago Board of Education Archives.
40. The Chicago Archdiocese counted 1,250,000 Catholics among the 3,300,000 Chicagoans in 1930. *New World*, Dec. 1, 1933, 11; Dec. 15, 1933, 20. The *New World* had no qualms about utilizing football for commercial purposes, however. See Oct. 22, 1933, 9; and Dec. 8, 1933, 11, on the use of football imagery to increase subscriptions. Seiter, *Oriflame of 1934*, 85-86, details the use of football games as Catholic fundraising events.
41. Seiter, *Oriflame of 1934*, 87, 106.
42. John M. Allswang, *A House for All Peoples: Ethnic Politics in Chicago, 1890-1936* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1971), 56, 101-106, 197-206; Cohen, *Making a New Deaf*, 255-58. Thomas B. Littlewood, *Arch: A Promotor, Not a Poet* (Ames: Iowa State University, 1990), 66-7, 90, 95, 120, indicates Kelly’s hand in the first college all-star football game, held in Chicago in 1934, and his close ties to the church.
43. August H. Pritzlaff, 1934 Football Schedule, Feb. 2, 1934, Chicago Board of Education Archives; Roger Biles, *Big City Boss in Depression and War: Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984); Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 94-5, 125-31, 172; John J. MacAloon, “American Sports: Said and Unsaid,” University of Chicago, Midwest Faculty Seminar, Oct. 29-31, 1992; see Richard Gruneau, ed., *Popular Cultures and Political Practices* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988), on the transformation and reproduction of culture.
44. *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1934, 17; Dec. 2, 1934, 2:1; Nov. 26, 1935, 25; Nov. 26, 1937, 19; Nov. 28, 1937, 2:1; Nov. 27, 1938, 2:1, 3; *New World*, Nov. 16, 1934, 17; Dec. 7, 1934, 9; *Chicago Daily News*, Nov. 29, 1935, 38; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Nov. 28, 1936, 18-19; Nov. 27, 1937, 17; Nov. 26, 1938, 32.
45. Elvin Hatch, “Theories of Social Honor,” *American Anthropologist*, 91:2 (June 1989), 341-53; Edgar Friedenberg, “The Adolescent and High School Athletics,” in John J.

- Talamini and Charles H. Page, *Sport and Society: An Anthology* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973), 182-88; Mari Womack, "Why Athletes Need Ritual," in Shirl Hoffman, ed., *Sport and Religion* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1992), 191-202; Michael R. Olneck, "Americanization and the Education of Immigrants, 1900-1925: An Analysis of Symbolic Action," *American Journal of Education*, 97:4 (August 1989), 399-423; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1937, 2:l; Dec. 1, 1962, pt. 4:l.
- Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 290; Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
46. *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 2, 1934, 2:1-2; Nov. 26, 1935, 25; *New World*, Dec. 7, 1934, 9; *Chicago Daily News*, Nov. 29, 1935, 38.
  47. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 30, 1935, 1; *New World*, Dec. 6, 1935, 10; Dec. 13, 1935, 17, Nov. 29, 1935, 5; Sperber, *Shake Down the Thunder*, 435; Miles Aiken and Peter Rowe, *American Football* (London: Guinness Books, 1985), 76. The 1995 Notre Dame-Ohio State rematch stirred similar emotions and accounts of the 1935 affair in Chicago area newspapers. See the *Beacon News*, Sept. 29, 1995, F 15, 18, for an example.
  48. *Chicago Herald and Examiner*; Nov. 28, 1936, 18; Nov. 29, 1936, pt. 2:l; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 26, 1937, p. 19; Mary Jo Deegan, *American Ritual Dramas: Social Rules and Cultural Meanings* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989), 78, 80-1, 86.
  49. *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Nov. 28, 1936, 18. The Spanish Civil War began with a Moroccan revolt earlier in the year.
  50. *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1936, pt. 2:1-2; *New World*, Dec. 4, 1936, 12. Austin enjoyed a 19-pound advantage per man in the line, and more than 80 pounds at one guard, where Fenwick's Herb Redding (131 lbs.) faced Austin's 212-pound Roy Schwerdtman.
  51. De Correvont hit as high as .480 as a baseball player. He declined a professional offer to pursue football at Northwestern and with the Chicago Bears. Austin High School, *Maroon and White*, 1937, 19, 93, 101; *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 17, 1937, pt. 2:8; Nov. 20, 1937, 22; Nov. 28, 1937, pt. 2: 1,3; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Nov. 27, 1937, 15; 1937 Football Attendance, Chicago Board of Education Archives; A.H. Pritzlaff to Lloyd Lewis, Dec. 6, 1940, letter in Chicago Board of Education Archives, football file, 1936 to 1940.
  52. *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Nov. 24, 1937, 15; Nov. 27, 1937, 15.
  53. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1937, 19.
  54. *New World*, Dec. 3, 1937, 1, 12; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*; Nov. 27, 1937, 17; pt. 2:5.
  55. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1937, 1, pt. 2:l; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Nov. 27, 1937, pt. 2:1,3,5. The crowd of 120,000 was the largest ever to see a football game of any type, including college and pro games.
  56. *New World*, Dec. 3, 1937, 1; Dec. 10, 1937, 1; *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, Nov. 27, 1937, pt.2:5; Dec. 12, 1937, pt.2:1; Los Angeles versus Chicago All-Star Game program, Dec. 30, 1938, Chicago Board of Education Archives, states that the al-stars were selected in a Chicago Evening American contest which generated more than 9,000,000 ballots. Kantowicz, Corporation Sole; and Shanabruch, "The Catholic Church's role on the Americanization of Chicago's Immigrants."
  57. *Chicago Daily Timer*, Nov. 23, 1938, 13; *New World*, Nov. 29, 1935, 5; Jan. 14, 1938, 10; Nov. 10, 1939, 12.
  58. *New World* Nov. 25, 1938, 12; Dec. 2, 1938, 12; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 24, 1938, 37; Nov. 26, 1938, 17; Nov. 27, 1938, pt. 2:l; *Chicago Daily Times*, Nov. 25, 1938, 66. Undoubtedly, many Catholics played on Public League teams by the 1930s, yet the perception remained that public schools were representative of a Protestant culture.
  59. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1938, pt. 2:1,3.
  60. *New World*, Dec. 2, 1938, 12.

61. *Chicago Daily News*, Dec. 1, 1939, 33; Dec. 2, 1939, 22, (quote); *New World*, Dec. 8, 1939, 12.
62. John C. O'Rourke, ed., *The Oriflamme*, 1940 (Chicago: Mt. Carmel High School), 112.
63. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 19, 1943, 28; Nov. 22, 1943, 25; Nov. 23, 1943, 21; Nov. 28, 1943, pt. 2:1; Dec. 1, 1963, pt. 2:2.
64. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1943, pt. 2:1.
65. John Powers, *The Last Catholic in America* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1973), 7.  
A questionnaire administered to former Weber High School football players, Catholic champs in 1944, 1946, and 1955, verified continuing ethnic patterns, perceptions of marginality, underdog status, and the importance of the game. Fifty years later players still recalled minute details of the game, the crowd, and the weather. *Chicago Sun-Times*, Nov. 13, 1994, 34-5 B, recalls similar reminiscences of players through the 1960s.
66. Kane, *Oriflamme of 1953*, 83-5, also states that the Notre Dame team sent a telegram expressing its best wishes before the game. *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 3, 1953, 6; Dec. 6, 1953, pt. 2:1.
67. *Chicago Sun-Times*, Nov. 20, 1994, 34-5 A. Ray Terhizzi, *Oriflamme of 1952* (Chicago: Mt. Carmel High School), 85. Chicago continues to celebrate its pluralistic character with a summer series of ethnic festivals.
68. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 26, 1963, pt. 3:1.
69. *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 2, 1962, pt. 2:1, 2, 4; *Chicago Sun-Timer*, Nov. 13, 1994, 35 B.
70. *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 30, 1963, 16, pt. 2:1; Dec. 1, 1963, pt. 2:1. The CVS team featured a 250-pound fullback and a 260-pound tackle. St. Rita's line averaged 176 pounds.  
William J. Harden to Mayor Richard M. Daley, Nov. 24, 1993, Chicago Board of Education Archives.  
Subsequent Catholic success in the state playoffs sparked a movement to ban private schools from the Illinois High School Association in 1995. See the *Beacon-News*, Nov. 3, 1995, B3.
71. Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 205, charges that Catholics are particularly susceptible to such rituals due to the nature of their religious services.  
Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 167-72; Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon, eds., *Not Just a Game* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), 1-6.  
The 1995 upset of Notre Dame by Northwestern demonstrated a continuing pluralistic perspective. *The Chicago Sun-Times*, Sept. 3, 1995, 21, recorded a Northwestern fan's claim that "We will always be intellectually superior to Notre Dame, and as far as their athletic relationship to God, now we've proven we are morally equal."