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# Summer Baseball and the NCAA: The Second “Vexation”

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A boy may be given a “position” for the summer in the town where many ball games are to be played. His position may consist of tending a soda fountain, with his duties confined to the hours when the morning mail comes in, with an emolument of about \$50 a week and expenses. Somehow that seems above the average pay for the time and service required, yet such boys will look you straight in the eye and declare they have never been paid for playing ball. And yet, oddly enough, most of the men who draw these salaries can bat for about .300. Or the boy may play a game traveling seventy-five miles from his home and paying his own expenses both ways, even when it is known he could not afford to go to the county fair, ten miles from his actual summer home. After the game the manager of the nine on which he played may bet him \$50 he cannot jump over a bat held one foot from the ground; strangely enough he can do it, and wins his bet—but he doesn’t play for money.

—*E. H. Nichols, Harvard Baseball Coach (1913)*<sup>1</sup>

National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) secretary Frank Nicolson recounted in 1912 how, of all the major issues before the association at its inaugural meeting, only in summer baseball had the membership failed to achieve satisfactory results. The “standing challenge to the wisdom of the association,” and, in Nicolson’s view, an issue that needed to be resolved in order to justify the NCAA’s existence, centered on college players who had for years turned to baseball as a means of summer employment.<sup>2</sup> The question before college officials, then, was whether college students who accepted pay for playing baseball during the summer, when participation would not interfere with their studies, had thereby become professionals and should suffer the loss of their intercollegiate eligibility. The debate over summer baseball would be fought, however, on a broader basis than just college baseball. Many athletic authorities reasoned that the entire

amateur concept was at stake. Any compromise on professionalism in baseball, they believed, would lead to rapid growth in professionalism in other sports. Compromises were eventually made, and arguably professionalism did encroach upon other sports. More significantly, college baseball stood alone in the latitude its players were granted with regard to adherence to amateur law. If Nicolson's criterion for the assessment of NCAA progressive reform was therefore employed, and the lack of summer baseball reform denoted as a lone measuring stick, the NCAA would have been hard-pressed to extol its collective powers of persuasion.

The purpose of this essay is to investigate the NCAA's summer baseball problem, an issue ranking in importance behind only brutality in football during the NCAA's first decade of existence. Initiated by intercollegiate athletics' Big Three of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, summer baseball practices were then copied by athletes of their lesser but still elite brethren of the northeast and eventually modeled in some manner by virtually all baseball-playing colleges and universities. Under scrutiny was the custom whereby undergraduates engaged in "sordid" professionalism or were employed under the guise of menial hotel jobs to finance their baseball activities. Although the majority of faculty and administrators charged with monitoring and facilitating adherence to amateur codes desired reform, tolerance for this notable exception eventually won out. For even though the consensus among college authorities was that institutions were obligated to follow the rules, that summer baseball was based in deception, and that amateur principles possessed inherent values, after an initially strong surge of opposition to summer baseball a tolerance more pragmatic than philosophical emerged. The eventual outcome of the summer baseball, conflict would include a lesson in the NCAA's part hypocritical, part pragmatic means of "solving" this contentious issue as well as a student victory over amateur constraints in pursuit of self-interest.

## **Summer Baseball Before the NCAA**

When English novelist Anthony Trollope happened upon the White Mountains of New Hampshire, he was impressed with their bucolic wonder. He had no idea that there was a district in New England with mountain scenery superior to the crowded tourist attractions of Europe. Because the stately hotels dotting the resplendent landscape could be reached by rail or by stagecoach, Trollope favored these American retreats even more. For three to five dollars per day during the late 1870s, each of 300-500 guests could be accommodated at any one of nine White Mountain hotels.<sup>3</sup> "A haunt of city luxury in a mountain fastness" drew well-to-do crowds wishing to escape the urban masses. As demand for hotel space grew, so too did the number of hotels. By the first decade of the twentieth century, increasingly more luxurious offerings could be found. At the Mount Washington Hotel, for instance, located just above the Ammonoosuc River, the five-story structure offered guests a ballroom, swimming pool, dining rooms, grill, New York shops, brokerage firms, stock market ticker tape, golf, and hiking trails. Other hotels advertised themselves as places where "thrift,

tidiness, a settled order, strict economy, repose at hand, uninterrupted views afar, peace, quiet, and sobriety, good climate, and good manners and good morals” could be found.<sup>4</sup> What the hotels also provided their visitors was baseball played by some of the best college players in the country.

Summer baseball first gained popularity during the 1880s and 1890s. “In those earlier days,” a New England newspaper reported, “college ball players did not think it at all beneath their dignity to spend the summer in a swell hotel, in exchange for which pleasure they gladly gave their services on the diamond and cared not who knew it.”<sup>5</sup> A purse was collected from among the hotel’s patrons at season’s end and divided among the players. Players were not discouraged from taking the money, nor was any consideration given to the forfeiture of one’s college athletic eligibility. Some players, for certain, did indeed work at the hotels, not because they had to, but because the wages that could be earned in tips were too much to be turned down. Yale baseball captain John Blossom confirmed this point when he stated that “a great many men playing college ball really need the amount they can earn by playing ball during the summer.”<sup>6</sup> The openness with which undergraduate men played on summer nines changed, however, in the latter years of the nineteenth century

Opposition to summer baseball arose among college officials as word spread of how hotels employed college baseball players during the summer months. Men who competed intercollegiately, and who were bound to their institution’s eligibility guidelines, were accused of skirting the amateur code. Such violations occurred, in the view of Yale’s Walter Camp, because athletes had formulated an exaggerated idea of their own importance. After being spoiled during the recruiting process and then indulged with training tables upon arrival on campus, Camp thought it a short step to accepting board and summer expenses for playing on a hotel nine.<sup>7</sup> College players therefore determined to render themselves unimpeachable. Those who wanted to play baseball for money during the summer would no longer earn income as a shortstop or as a pitcher. They were obliged, rather, to acquire employment at a hotel in service as a waiter, bellboy, or clerk. White Mountain hotels, wishing to continue a popular summer amusement that served to enhance the resort’s attractiveness, were quite willing to employ college-bred men in these typically menial positions.<sup>8</sup> College amateurs were, in fact, preferred.

Summer baseball players, although opposed to amateur law if judged on their behavior, arguably capitalized on their status as both collegians and amateurs. The object of every organizer of a summer resort team was to procure a roster of men of marked social traits. In other words, the most preferred players were amateur and came from the most prestigious and highly esteemed colleges and universities; for if baseball skill were the sole criterion for selection, then teams would not have been made up largely of college players. Managers knew well that in the public mind there was more glamour attached to the oldest eastern universities. If the boys were paid openly, they would be published as professionals, lose their right to represent their respective schools, and consequently lose their standing in summer baseball. To be known as baseball hirelings, Caspar Whitney



contribute to his family's earnings after they had suffered a recent financial setback. When, to his surprise, Cobb learned that his financial situation was not so desperate, he regretted his decision and desired to have his athletic eligibility restored. Based on his character and serious educational undertaking, the Harvard Athletic Committee voted in Cobb's favor. The prospective minister was awarded his second varsity letter in baseball two months later.<sup>12</sup>

The case of Frederick Cobb, however, was an exception to the governance of intercollegiate athletics not because news of his eligibility was reinstated, but because his violation of amateurism reached his university's ruling athletic body. This lack of accountability occurred because the affairs of summer baseball players were protected by hotel owners, and oftentimes supported by students on their home campuses. At Brown University, for instance, where the school's baseball roster had traditionally been dotted with players of questionable amateur status, what students did in the summer to earn money was cited as an individual's own business. If players were regularly enrolled and attending recitations, *The Brown Daily Herald* asserted, then they were deemed to be legitimate players.<sup>13</sup>

For noted amateur proponent, journalist Caspar Whitney, these dishonest conditions of summer baseball were offensive, and in his mind, even worse than the state of college football. Whitney knew of the summer baseball protocol. He was certain that collegians summering in the New Hampshire mountains did not do so without the "clink of the shilling sounding somewhere." Legislation prohibiting college players from playing on resort nines was therefore necessary, according to Whitney, in order to prevent "that cursed jingle" from, in time, drowning out the protests of "the best of us if not checked speedily."<sup>14</sup> In order for the "future of honest, pure sport" to be assured, Whitney suggested his own method of intercollegiate athletic eligibility justice. Of the student who played summer baseball but drew a paycheck as a hotel clerk, Whitney concluded, "I answer unhesitatingly—disqualify on suspicion."<sup>15</sup> The journalist's influence was notable because he had a popular following. Institutions failing to heed his private admonitions often found themselves pilloried in a future column. This was particularly true of the nation's most prestigious northeastern colleges, institutions that the archconservative Whitney believed were obligated to serve as paragons of athletic virtue.<sup>16</sup>

The public perception was, for the most part, that this obligation was being fulfilled. It was believed that leading universities—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Penn, Amherst, Dartmouth, Brown, Williams, and Columbia—had committed themselves to playing strictly amateurs in college baseball. Violations of the amateur code were more likely attributed to smaller, less prestigious, institutions that sought to gain for themselves some measure of notoriety through winning athletic teams. Public perception, however, is often formulated on imperfect information. This was particularly true with regard to leading athletic institutions, for when it came to the dodging of eligibility rules, none were better than the athletes of America's oldest colleges and universities. Coaches, athletic committee members, and even faculty athletic representatives, the men consigned to uphold

and direct amateur standards, were oftentimes complicit in the exemption of summer baseball players from amateur law.

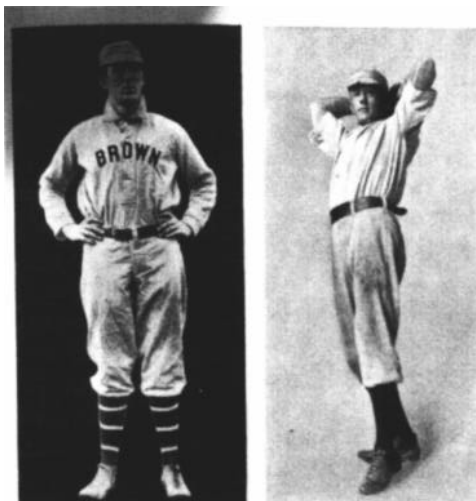
Brown University, for one, was castigated in 1894 as “the culmination of evil” because the majority of its baseball squad had played summer baseball.<sup>17</sup> The amateurism infractions were made more vile because the men had committed the transgressions openly. Brown athletes, of course, were not unique.<sup>18</sup> Princeton quarterback Phil King was said to have drawn a salary during the summer as a member of the Cape May Baseball Club, with no adverse effect to his gridiron status.<sup>19</sup> Penn, in addition, was forced to remove seven players from its baseball roster in 1896 for having played summer ball.<sup>20</sup> What separated Brown from the other schools was its pioneer ruling approving the practice of summer baseball. At the 1903 Brown Athletic Committee meeting, members voted to allow summer baseball and thus spare players from having to be to protect their collegiate eligibility. Influential member Dean Alexander Meiklejohn opposed the committee’s action that seemed, to him, retrogressive, and subsequently won over the majority. A mass committee resignation by members who had sided with the players being able to capitalize financially on their athletic skills followed.<sup>21</sup> During the first two months of 1904, however, the Brown Athletic Committee repealed its opposition to playing baseball for money during the summers. Having found the rule regarding summer baseball to be lacking endorsement from undergraduates and alumni, deficient in enforcement, and evaded through deception and evasion, Brown athletes were free to offer their athletic services for money. The practice, provided it occurred prior to matriculation or during summer vacation, was said to be “perfectly respectable and in many cases may be even commendable.”<sup>22</sup>

At relatively the same time that Brown officials debated their school’s position on summer baseball, Harvard was confronted with a conflict of its own. Walter Clarkson, the Crimson’s star pitcher and loser of only four pitching decisions in almost four seasons, admitted to having signed a contract with the New York Highlanders of the American League.<sup>23</sup> Yale was delighted, for Clarkson had been their nemesis. Although Clarkson had been suspected of having been a salaried summer baseball player for several years, no case could ever be mounted against him, and therefore his participation on the Harvard nine continued. Thus when the Harvard Athletic Committee voted to strip its students of eligibility in all sports for having played summer baseball, Clarkson was unaffected.<sup>24</sup> Yet his acknowledgement of having accepted a signing bonus from the Highlanders resulted in his disqualification. William Reid, Jr., the Harvard football coach for 1905 and 1906, considered the entire affair a shame, and Clarkson “a light headed fellow,” but the action of the athletic committee nonetheless wholesome even if it did potentially cost the Crimson a championship.<sup>25</sup> One might wonder what Reid thought of the Athletic Committee’s ruling just seven months before. Harvard star Oliver G. “Home Run” Frantz was ruled ineligible for the 1904 season after having been found to have received \$36 plus expenses in 1895 for a three-week stint on a summer team in Wellington, Kansas. In a twist of logic,

the committee still deemed Frantz worthy of association with the Harvard nine. He was named head baseball coach instead.<sup>26</sup>

Although Clarkson and Frantz were found out, numerous other students succeeded in evading the reach of amateur law. Some escaped prosecution under a pretext of technicalities, the case of Brown student Roy Clark being illustrative of this reality. Clark, class of 1901, captain of the baseball team, and secretary of the college's YMCA, played summer baseball in the Northern New York League. His participation as an athlete at Brown was governed under the Providence Rules, formulated in 1898 at a conference of the nation's leading athletic institutions, and the first unified pronouncement against summer nines. According to the general edicts of the Providence Rules, which were never in fact ratified by officials of the conference's institutions, athletes were forbidden from accepting payment for their athletic skills. A special provision, in addition, was attached to specifically address summer baseball. After having had his summer athletic experience revealed, Clark testified before the Brown Athletic Committee that he had participated completely within the bounds of the Providence Rules; that is, his father was the man in receipt of the resort's paychecks. Whether Clark had acted dishonestly, the committee was unable to determine. The student whom they agreed had "simply started out to beat the rule, as it was worded" was eventually ruled eligible provided his father repaid Clark's summer earnings to the resort's proprietors.<sup>27</sup>

Clark's case typified the difficulty of arraigning, let alone detecting, transgressors of amateur law. Henry B. Needham, a muckraking journalist whose accusing pen influenced American reform more broadly than just intercollegiate athletics, believed it was "easier to convict a legislator of bribe taking—yes, the attorney for the big corporation of bribe giving"—than to convict a college man of evading the rules he had pledged to live up to.<sup>28</sup> Needham believed this was true because for every Caspar Whitney who abhorred any hint of professionalism, there was an influential college educator who thought baseball played for love or for money could enhance character. Any bad-mouthing of sports professionalism, some believed, therefore ran counter to the principles of the market economy, for in all areas of life, when a man could do something well enough that it could be assigned a monetary value, he was encouraged to do more of it. That professional baseball



Mike Lynch (left), Brown pitching great, and Walter Clarkson, Harvard captain and star pitcher

players were among the highest paid Americans verified the sport's value as a business venture.

That was obviously not the case with summer baseball, which was considered corrupt professionalism. But when summer baseball was held up as "one of the worst crimes of the century," said Principal Alfred E. Stearns of the Phillips Academy in Andover, and young men were stigmatized for life, something was amiss. For Stearns, the sin of summer baseball lay in the athlete's disposition to deceive. "We were getting hysterical over some outward manifestations of an inward rottenness," he stated, "and we were lopping at the branches and leaving the roots to run riot in the wrong kind of soil."<sup>29</sup> One year prior to the creation of the NCAA in 1905, Harvard and Yale seemed content to leave even the so-called branches of amateurism alone.

Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) president James E. Sullivan was distressed when the two standard bearers in the East voted to liberalize their rules of amateurism. No longer would men who had accepted pay for play be ruled terminally ineligible. Rather, the newly adopted rule stated that any athlete who arrived on the Harvard or Yale campus by the age of nineteen, having previously received money for athletic services, would be placed in good standing at the discretion of the college after a lapse of two years. Sullivan immediately denounced the two schools. He charged that had any member of the AAU adopted such laws, they would have been hastily expelled from the ranks. "This baby talk that a man of nineteen does not know that he is doing wrong in accepting money is simply rot," Sullivan declared, "and it is an insult to the intelligence of those that left prep schools and high schools and entered colleges." Although Sullivan called for the Intercollegiate Association of Amateur Athletes of America (IC4A) to expel Harvard and Yale if the schools refused to abide by amateur laws, such an event did not come to pass.<sup>30</sup> Instead, the argument about summer baseball was turned over in 1906 to a product of the Progressive Era and the newest arbiter of intercollegiate sport, the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

## **The NCAA and Summer Baseball**

Despite the risk of the repression that interventions and controls might bring about, college authorities were willing to hazard a course of collective intercession into college athletics. They were willing because of their entrenched belief that harmony and justice were dependent on purposeful social planning. Progressives formed voluntary associations, of which the NCAA was one, to collect data for the purpose of investigating social problems. Proposed solutions were popularized through programs of education and moral suasion. The thinking was that if the facts were properly understood, polarized groups would establish reforms for the benefit of all groups. Intercollegiate athletic leaders attempted this method of reform through oration and debate at annual NCAA conventions. Behind brutality in football, the dilemma of summer baseball, argued primarily on grounds of adherence to amateur law, was at the forefront of these discussions.

At the time of the NCAA's genesis, the ways in which college baseball players were associated with summer nines had expanded. Some players still played for seaside or mountain resorts under the cover of employment. Others in similar resort settings fulfilled their work duties and were paid at the end of the season when a collection was taken up from the guests. With the advent of semi-professional town teams, skilled players could also work regular jobs for a living and then float from place to place on weekends filling roster spots for various sums of cash. Locals who played on the same town teams were considered by many to be soiled with professionalism simply by association, although certainly select town players received some form of remuneration. How players maintained their anonymity remained unchanged, as many opted to compete under an alias lest their college athletic committee learn of their summer income.<sup>31</sup> With this set of circumstances in mind, a journalist wrote in 1907 of what the public could soon expect to hear from college campuses at the close of the summer baseball season: Newspapers could be expected to publish incriminating evidence against college athletes; faculty would then be prompted to debate whether to uphold amateur principles in baseball; idealists would worry about the state of intercollegiate baseball and the moral depravity of the young men involved; students and athletic committees would remain discretely silent; while the general public laughed at the clever player earning an honest dollar.<sup>32</sup> Within this brew of contention, intercollegiate athletic authorities composing the NCAA hoped to achieve some sense of resolution.

The first NCAA district report ever given before the assembled delegates noted the problem of summer baseball and how it related to amateurism.<sup>33</sup> A committee on summer baseball was subsequently created to investigate the issue. No doubt, though, the NCAA's Executive Committee, the group responsible for recommending eligibility rules according to which NCAA member schools were considered duty-bound to adhere, had already established an anti-summer baseball agenda. Article 7 of the inaugural by-laws stated:

No student shall represent a college or university in any intercollegiate game or contest who has at any time received, either directly or indirectly, money, or any other consideration, to play on any team or for his athletic services as a college trainer, athletic or gymnasium instructor, or who has competed for a money prize or portion of gate money in any contest, or who has competed for any prize against a professional."

Article 7 was, of course, an umbrella statute expected to define the general boundaries of amateurism. To be eligible for intercollegiate competition, however, a student was expected to complete and sign an eligibility card according to his "honor as a gentleman. "The card sought answers to questions regarding whether a student had previously accepted money for athletic services, whether he had prior competition with or against professionals, or whether he had received any financial inducement to attend a university. Of the four questions posed, only the last one was devoted to a specific sport: "Have you ever played baseball on a summer team?" If he had, the student had to respond with what team and for how much compensation.<sup>35</sup>

The response to the last question was frequently a lie because student sentiment towards summer baseball had not wavered.<sup>36</sup> Adequate financial offers from summer teams were welcomed. Employment as a baseball player was much preferred when compared to the laborious positions held by his classmates. Students knew, as well, that star football players had for years been given score-card privileges worth hundreds of dollars. To be denied an income during summer vacation seemed irrational to many students. Violations of amateur law to play on a resort or town team, therefore, fit well within "the ordinary undergraduate scheme of morality," according to NCAA delegate Alexander Meiklejohn from Brown. The professor claimed that students skilled in deception, and even the most honorable athletes corrupted by peer pressure, operated on the principle that any faculty rule could be broken and the punishment evaded under two conditions: If the rule lacked adequate enforcement, permitting all to break it, and if the rule seemed unfair and unjust.<sup>37</sup> Summer baseball was certainly notable for its random sanctioning, students found summer baseball codes unreasonable as well.

Amateur law was thus viewed by many students as an unnecessary hindrance. In his district report to the NCAA assembly in 1913, University of the South professor Walter Hullihen announced that the students of his district considered amateur law "preposterously restrictive." Their resultant dishonesty was, therefore, predictable. Rather than viewing professionalism with "horror and aversion," as many reforming college authorities hoped they would, students envied the athlete skillful enough to obtain a salary, no matter how small, for his ability. "Very rarely," Hullihen continued, "does the American undergraduate hear any argument against professionalism stronger than that it is a violation of 'amateur law,'" which in his mind was a "bogey to be classed . . . with the law against chapel cuts, class absences, and other abominations of the oppressors which should be evaded as far as possible."<sup>38</sup> Student opinion, in Hullihen's view, had to be "properly formed" to embrace a conviction that considered professionalism anathema to intercollegiate sport. College men who had "dropped like plums into the apron of the opposition over the college summer baseball controversy" were those to whom it had to be demonstrated that amateur law was "rooted in human nature and social forces." The earnest parents of these students were expected to insist that their boys be protected from the professional; and boys without earnest parents, reformers asserted, had to be paternalistically guarded. Only then, according to progressive educator Clark Hetherington, could athletics achieve its biological and social ends.<sup>39</sup>

Creating such a sentiment would require campaigns of change directed at college campuses; in other words, social engineering conducted largely in the same spirit as that practiced by the founders of urban settlement houses. Places like Hull House, located on south Halsted Street in Chicago, were establishments where poor immigrants were provided social and educational services. The intent of women such as Jane Addams was to assuage the poverty of immigrants and develop in them the means to be productive members of American society. For others, the manipulation of the urban environment was important to lessen the

ill-effects of “immorality” that touched the middle and upper classes. In both cases, the desired behavior was arrived at through a controlled manipulation of the environment.” The NCAA was no different, except the class that needed acculturation was the professional class. NCAA delegates were thus called upon to distribute pamphlets and to promote articles in school newspapers that detailed the evils of professionalism. Athletic officials reasoned that the summer baseball problem could be effectually concluded if students supported the amateur spirit. The reformers desired the consent of the governed, more typical of democratic government. If the question was not resolved, they feared, professionalism would spread throughout every branch of intercollegiate sport.

Amos Alonzo Stagg articulated this ethical “thin edge of the wedge” argument before delegates of the 1908 NCAA Convention; that is, if the blade of a wedge is able to gain a firm position in the smallest of cracks in a doorway, the door can be pried open so that through the larger entry much more can pass. Many like Stagg were alarmed that any measure of professionalism permitted in college baseball would necessarily expand to include football, track and field, and other sports. Anarchy would be the order of the day in intercollegiate athletics. Coaches and players of the various intercollegiate sports could be expected to clamor for equal consideration with respect to the entitlements of baseball. Certainly it would be difficult to convince track athletes, wrestlers, swimmers, or football players, who were just as much in need of summer earnings to defray education expenses, of the justification for one branch of athletics to have its own, less restrictive standards. To be logical and consistent, degrees of professionalism would likewise have to be introduced in other sports.<sup>41</sup> Yet if summer baseball were allowed, Stagg prophesied in the best Dwight Eisenhower domino theory rhetoric, professional football would appear and ultimately thrive. The nation’s largest industrial cities, where the summer baseball problem was the most extreme, could be expected to field teams of ex-college players void of the amateur spirit. What would prevent such an occurrence, Stagg naively believed, was a genuine amateur spirit held among college football players that opposed commercialism.<sup>42</sup>

NCAA leaders thus believed themselves to be charged with protecting the impressionable moral character of students from professional influences. The adoption of an indulgent summer baseball rule, reformers feared, would lead to an abundance of “pollution to the college community.” For Stagg, the passage of a rule permitting summer baseball “would be an unceasing catastrophe which would wreck one of the finest institutions in the whole social structure of our country,” as well as undermine the moral forces at work in college and high school athletics.” Moral conduct of games would recede to take on the characteristics of a former era of foul language, unfair tactics, and brutality. It was considered unthinkable that professionalized baseball players would make the necessary sacrifices for a team, such as swearing off tobacco and liquor, maintaining a strict diet, forgoing social events, and getting to bed early. Their only influence on the collegiate game would be an unseemly one.

The underlying theme of this spirited opposition to professionalism was a stern judgment on the professional’s morality. Professionalized men were thought



Heim and Cook of Princeton are identified.

by many to be a little less ready to admit that a game well lost was better than a game badly won. The infiltration of this mentality into college sport was viewed as a hindrance to college authorities seeking adherence to the letter, as well as the spirit, of amateur law. For Professor E. J. Bartlett of Dartmouth, the professional athlete was:

the admiration of the sensual woman, the coveted prize of the false sport who wants to buy him, the very implement and object of enormous gambling operations, a golden sandwich man to the cigarette maker, a sojourner in strange places where his warmest welcome is in the bar and pool rooms. Naturally he is always looking for his price. He must win to maintain his popularity. His livelihood is at stake and his temptation is a little greater than others' to forget to be generous in sport—even to 'fix things.'<sup>44</sup>

Those with a history of summer baseball, then, fell prey to the loose morals nurtured by professionalism.

Acceptance on college campuses of the men who had been compensated for their baseball abilities by resort and town teams could foreseeably lead to the solicitation of skilled players whose main objective was baseball rather than education. While surely better baseball would result, and some professionals assuredly were men of high ethical and moral standards, the issue was one of fairness. Unfair competition would result if men who played for fun and recreation were forced to compete with men who played for compensation. Collegiate players, formerly involved in a breadth of activities, would be forced to devote more time to baseball in order to win a spot on a professionally dominated collegiate roster, adversely affecting their educational interests. Players would, in addition, naturally drift toward resort teams if no restrictions prevented them from doing so, where they would come in contact with professionals of questionable morality. Even more objectionable for Harvard coach Edward H. Nichols was the potentiality that colleges would be represented by "eminent professionals like Mr. Cobb, without giving a chance to the bona fide student." Although a career in professional

baseball was “right in its way,” according to Nichols, more could be expected in the way of usefulness and productiveness from a man with a college education.<sup>45</sup> Summer baseball players became trained only in the unproductive methods of the resort—sleep late, lounge about, stroll the streets, practice baseball, and eat dinner. Furthermore, Princeton dean Howard McClenahan asserted:

It is always a matter of lively interest to see the number of girls, nice girls, and some not so nice, of the village, who have occasion to pass through the streets on which the players reside or congregate. Glances are exchanged, bandying remarks are often hurled, sometimes leading to clandestine meetings—certainly a most unedifying condition!”

Stagg nevertheless did admit that the permission to participate in summer baseball would relieve athletic committees of a burden. He concluded, however, that “eternal watchfulness is the price of purity in college athletics.”<sup>47</sup> Better that, the Chicago coach warned, than surrendering ground that had been gained in the crusade for amateurism since the creation of the NCAA.

Not all NCAA leaders, however, were as quick to embrace the oft-spoken hyperbole of Stagg. Even among the educated faculty, a common ground of enforcement was not attained. George Ehler of Wisconsin, as chairman of the NCAA Committee on Amateurism, noted that between professionalism and amateurism lay “a considerable ‘twilight zone’ within which the application of the law is not always simple or clear.”<sup>48</sup> Many in favor of a rule permitting summer baseball contested amateur law on the basis of its parallel application to intercollegiate football. How was it possible, they questioned, that a baseball player, earning pay for his athletic abilities for the direct purpose of paying his college tuition, could be ruled ineligible while football players were subsidized by the colleges? Both benefitted equally from their athletic abilities, the summer resort player at a rate of perhaps \$150 per month compared to the football player who received free board at a training table. At least the baseball player was employed outside the college. The rules of amateurism seemingly differentiated between the professional and the amateur in a narrow and arbitrary manner. No doubt a case could be made that both classes of athletes were professionals, if indeed either was. As for the notion that summer baseball players were morally bankrupt, and thus of a lower class, certain athletic representatives claimed the opposite. In the spirited summer baseball debate before the NCAA assembly in 1908, Professor H. G. Chase of Tufts College found play-for-pay baseball players as “high-minded and loyal” as the rest of the student body—the rest of the student body, he might have added, which profited from a vocational double standard.<sup>49</sup>

Other students on college campuses were not restricted from earning money in the same way that athletes were. Rarely, for instance, were students who earned money for singing or playing an instrument considered professional musicians. Nor was the student who was paid for his writing or performance on stage barred from the college debating club, newspaper, or theatricals. Likewise, it was not considered dishonorable to enter the merchant trade and travel to “Vermont or to Idaho and sell stereoscopes, or Bible scrolls to the Swedes of North Dakota.”<sup>50</sup>

It was generally accepted among college faculty that students utilized their specific talents to bankroll tuition expenses for the approaching academic year. Doing so did not necessarily make these men professionals in their chosen occupation. To be fair to the summer baseball players, then, J. P. Welsh of Penn State recommended athletes be judged solely on their status as bona fide students. In other words, Welsh favored removing barriers that precluded professional athletes from representing colleges on the baseball diamond. Professionals would thereby be encouraged to seek college degrees while fulfilling their athletic ambitions as well. Less reliance upon the recognized appeal of the “poor-boy argument,” designed to evoke sympathy for the young man struggling to earn the financial means to an education, could also be expected.<sup>51</sup> That a college student earned money in the summer from his athletic talents did not make him “sick,” nor did it make him in need of treatment in Welsh’s view. Rather, summer baseball men should be left alone in the “full, free, untrammelled exercise of his American citizenship,” which entitled him “to ‘life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,’ which sometimes means money.” More attention should have been paid, instead, to the true “canker sore in college athletics,” the salaried tramp athlete with no interest in school.

Yale’s Walter Camp, for one, was not in favor of paying college athletes, and he opposed the practice of permitting college men to compete in athletics who demonstrated little interest in academics. Camp was not, however, a foe of summer baseball. In response to a circular letter sent to universities requesting copies of their athletic regulations regarding summer baseball, Camp stated that he believed it best that players not be permitted to receive money for playing in the summer. Yet he continued by confirming his agreement with Englishmen who were inclined to criticize the American athletic machinery as “legislation gone mad.” Camp believed revisions were in order when eligibility rules were constructed so as to prevent a college athlete from participating in a sport during the summer when it was particularly appropriate. When, in addition, an athlete landed in trouble with his university athletic committee because he played on a roster that happened to be composed of men not all from the same town, changes were called for.<sup>52</sup> Camp in fact lamented his need to advise top collegiate players not to play baseball during July, August, and September lest their eligibility be called into question. What he called a “ridiculous” set of circumstances had prevented players from improving their skills and caused a deterioration in the collegiate game. The only players inhibited by the restrictions of amateurism, Camp asserted, were the star players. They were, after all, the only athletes skilled enough to be sought after. Therefore, the nation’s top collegiate players were not satisfied with the rules; faculty rulemakers and interpreters of the codes had diverging opinions; and the only ones pleased with the amateur restrictions were the athletes “whose skill is so little that they are not likely to be bid for anyway.”<sup>53</sup>

Increasingly, representatives viewed the summer baseball dilemma the same way that Chancellor Samuel Black McCormick of Pittsburgh did. Writing on how to solve the evils connected with intercollegiate athletics—more specifically

of whether to eliminate, reduce, or endure the practice on college campuses—McCormick offered an analogy:

Even if the patient has cancer, the surgeon tries to do his work by cutting out the growth and not by cutting the patient's throat. Still more, if the disease is only measles or mumps or whooping cough, the physician does not use strychnine or cyanide potassium to effect a remedy. Hit at the defect, not at the thing itself. Go at it as the right kind of a doctor goes at the curing of disease—with all the skill he can command and with all the sympathy for the patient he is capable of exercising . . . If there is professionalism in athletics, strike at professionalism, not at baseball . . . . The thing is worth saving.”

Baseball and crisis-laden football were considered worth saving because of their social value. Intercollegiate athletic programs were treasured or tolerated in direct proportion to the social welfare they generated. In this context, the permissiveness of summer baseball threatened the civic righteousness that many believed had developed during the first decade of the twentieth century. Threats to progressive human advancement, however, did not stop NCAA member institutions from conceding to the realities of summer baseball.

## **The Liberalization of Amateur Principles**

The most acute stage of the summer baseball question passed sometime during the several years following the 1908 NCAA Convention debate. Although criticism of summer baseball continued to ebb and flow throughout the first decade of the NCAA's existence and was highlighted by occasional punctuating events, such as when Jim Thorpe was forced to relinquish his Olympic medals in 1913 for having received a small sum of money for playing summer baseball in North Carolina, institutions by this time had generally given up their efforts to prohibit the playing of summer baseball. Many NCAA delegates had come to view the breaking of summer baseball rules as trivial. They opted instead for guidelines that permitted students to play summer baseball rather than for rules that forced them to “deceive and falsify” their eligibility record. Even NCAA president Palmer Pierce noted that it had become no longer practicable to enforce the amateur rule in college baseball, despite the fact that exhortations against summer baseball still continued, albeit far less frequently. Better, he determined, to permit students to play for money with certain restrictions. Pierce had come to this conclusion when he surrendered to the notion that the demand for quality baseball players in sports-loving America was so great that “the vexed question of summer baseball” was bound to continue.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps not coincidentally, the amount of attention paid to summer baseball at NCAA conventions ran parallel to public and university spectator interest in the sport. As early as 1911, college baseball was being described in contemporary literature as a sport that failed to incite the interest of men and women in the bleachers. No batting or fielding statistics were maintained, so comparisons of the merits of competing teams were problematic. The game was said to be

“needlessly slow and drawn out” and reflected a tediousness not seen in the professional game.<sup>56</sup> Almost forty years after the establishment of the National League in 1876, professional baseball drew most of the country’s best talent, thus causing college exhibitions to suffer in comparison. The college game, in fact, according to University of Minnesota president George Vincent, bored the spectator “to death.”<sup>57</sup> For those spectators interested in the college game, a virtual lack of rivalries created a vacuum of intrigue. Teams tended to play each other just once per year, if at all, and even then, “ringers” were often enlisted to enhance a team’s chances.<sup>58</sup> Later, in 1917, world circumstances added to the decline of intercollegiate baseball. When it became apparent that the United States would send its men to fight in Europe, the fielding of a poor college baseball team was considered a “distinct honor.” In this way colleges and universities could demonstrate that its finest men had joined the army.<sup>59</sup>

With the decline in college baseball’s popularity, and without any sense of a national summer baseball accord, institutions enacted guidelines covering a range of amateur tenets. Numerous faculty, employed at universities founded for scholastic reasons with no concern for the athletic needs of its students, found it increasingly troubling that they were compelled to monitor the summer activities of athletes. “Like the poor,” University of Nebraska NCAA representative R. G. Clapp remarked, “the summer baseball problem is always with us.”<sup>60</sup> et the degree of professionalism a school or district tolerated hinged on its view of reasonable legislation.

Members schools of the Missouri Valley Conference were especially divided on how to administer the summer baseball dilemma. At a 1910 meeting of faculty members of the Missouri Valley Conference, summer baseball was designated as a special order of business. No agreement on regulation, however, could be reached, which led members to vote to reaffirm the conference’s belief in amateur athletics, a move that the NCAA’s district representative S. W. Beyer of Iowa State termed an “irrelevant resolution on the face of it.”<sup>61</sup> Within one year of this resolution, three conference schools abolished baseball as an intercollegiate sport rather than be parties to the “fraud and deception.”<sup>62</sup> As late as 1916, after years of continual examination, though, the conference could agree only that an amateur in baseball was one who had not played organized baseball under a contract recognized by the National Baseball Commission.<sup>63</sup>

On the West Coast, some schools permitted summer baseball; the region’s two primary institutions, California and Stanford, attempted to monitor the game’s practice. “But alas,” professor Frank Angell of Stanford lamented, “baseball maintains its position at the foot of the list of sports in manners and morals with a discouraging persistency.” Everywhere in his district Angell saw the “commercial and muckerish” tendencies of baseball. However, semi-professional baseball flourished over such geographical expanse that control was impossible.<sup>64</sup>

In the southern United States, summer baseball regulations were loosely enforced. The lack of uniformity in amateur law was illustrated in a district report by University of Virginia professor Albert Lefevre. He noted that within his district alone existed 57 varieties of eligibility rules and 114 diverse administrations

of these rules. With respect to summer baseball, some schools reportedly permitted playing ball for money, some permitted students to play on hometown teams, other schools threw up their hands in surrender based on their inability to cope with the situation, while still others permitted the activity so long as the student was not receiving pay from his own institution.<sup>65</sup> With a rationale they deemed to be common-sense thinking, numerous southern schools adopted the position that small towns, many of which fielded a team, were dependent on their college players' return home for the summer. When amateur rules kept college players from their only summer opportunity, it was determined to be unfeasible to enforce amateur law.<sup>66</sup> It was therefore not the evasive ethics of collegiate players that needed adjustment, but rather amateur codes, which could punish a student for an act of professionalism perhaps unknowingly committed. Athletes of the more liberal seventh and eighth NCAA districts had no such concerns.

To the dismay of amateur proponent Clark Hetherington, institutions of the Rocky Mountain and Southwest regions made summer baseball an exception to their otherwise rigid eligibility rules. Whereas non-baseball athletes were restricted from receiving "any substantial return for athletic services," summer baseball players had no such limitations.<sup>67</sup> All of the finer details of amateur law were "not in vogue" among territorial schools, although many did govern themselves on the more general standards of years of eligibility, class load requirements, and one-year of residency prior to competition.<sup>68</sup> The summer baseball exemption, Hetherington believed, was a detriment to the desired perception that intercollegiate athletics were an educational force distinct from the "prevalent specialized, commercialized, record-breaking type of athletics" influenced by spectators.<sup>69</sup> Although noted for dodging amateur law, schools of the Southwest and Rocky Mountain Athletic conferences had tired of the ineffectiveness of summer baseball prohibition. It was better, they concluded, to ensure the scholastic standards of their athletes and by doing so eliminate tramp athletes from their midst.<sup>70</sup> In 1913, district representative O. C. Lester of Colorado noted that professionalism and unruly spectators were the biggest problems in intercollegiate baseball. The ratification of summer baseball made it instead an approved activity.<sup>71</sup> The determination to sanction summer baseball, as the Rocky Mountain and Southern regions had done, increasingly spread as the first decade of the NCAA's existence came to a close.

The Chicago Intercollegiate Conference, for instance, loosened its restrictions on students participating in summer baseball. Whereas league schools formerly required a student to get a written permit from his home institution in order to play, the process proved to be inefficient. Oftentimes students ignorant of their need for the permit were declared ineligible, or were unable to play on teams for which they had been invited because a permit could not be processed quickly enough. The conference therefore omitted the future necessity of a permit to play summer baseball.<sup>72</sup> NCAA reports demonstrate evidence that in the northeast as well, institutions at one time opposed to the pervading standards of professionalism were giving respectful consideration to a liberalization of amateur law.<sup>73</sup>

Although eastern schools typically adhered to the party line in public pronouncements against summer baseball and were consequentially considered the custom's greatest adversaries, institutional regulation of the practice belied the virtuous reputation that schools had formulated for themselves. As early as 1909, 10 of the 16 northeastern district colleges permitted summer baseball. Those who allowed their players to maintain collegiate eligibility typically fell back on the argument that students could be educated "into sympathy with amateurism."<sup>74</sup>

Similar results were found in a 1910 questionnaire sent to NCAA institutions, on which two questions inquired about summer baseball. Schools were asked to respond with information on the enforcement of amateurism in their locality plus their solution to the summer baseball problem. Answers from the 75 responding schools indicated a lack of uniformity with which the problem was dealt.<sup>75</sup> At Penn State, for instance, athletic director W. N. Golden expressed feelings of "unrest, uncertainty, and some lack of confidence" among institutions of his district.<sup>76</sup> Pittsburgh adopted a rule shared by Penn State and Brown that permitted athletes to play summer baseball between June 15 and September 15. Their intent was to make official what was admittedly the common and reasonable practice of allowing the players of their institutions to play for their town teams without fear of banishment. Summer baseball was thus permissible except on teams governed by the national agreement between the professional National and American Leagues. Confidence was, of course, maintained that the intentional fashioning of an amateur spirit in NCAA institutions would at least suppress any excess of professional inclination.<sup>77</sup>

While Penn State leaned toward summer baseball leniency, representatives from some prestigious northeastern schools continued to publicly malign summer baseball as inimical to amateur standards. One of these delegates, Fred Marvel of Brown, although expressing his district's collective distaste for summer baseball, noted the apprehension of athletic representatives about recommending rules that would apply to every NCAA institution. The basis for such a response rested in his district's appreciation for the varying national eligibility conditions.\* Pessimists about reform, in fact, agreed with the notion that colleges would always formulate their policies to fit local conditions and that a sweeping rule against the practice of summer baseball would be ineffective. In a number of America's most prestigious schools, however, the anti-summer baseball posture had been noticeably altered.

Even intercollegiate athletics' Big Three had conceded to the realities of summer baseball, well beyond the scope of their two-year moratorium on intercollegiate baseball participation for 19-year-olds devised in 1905. A violation of summer baseball rules by a group of Yale players brought Harvard, Yale, and Princeton into closer alliance on the dilemma. Five Yale men—captain Arthur Milburn, Harry Legore, Robert Rhett, Spencer Pumpelly, and Bill Easton—were ruled ineligible by the Yale Athletic Committee in the fall of 1915 for having accepted free board the previous summer while playing in Quogue, Long Island. Princeton men were blamed for having blown the whistle on the Yale players,

who, to their credit, had received permission from a Yale coach to play in the league prior to their acceptance of the Quogue offer. It is therefore ironic that a defense of the five collegians would be headed by athletic officials from rivals Princeton and Harvard. Dean Briggs of Harvard and Dean McClenahan of Princeton both requested the Yale men be permitted to play based on similar circumstances occurring with players of their own schools. Because both Harvard and Princeton had reinstated several of their own men under parallel circumstances, their athletic committees, from an attitude of sportsmanship, supported the reinstatement of the Yale players. After all, Walter Camp wrote of the unexpected turn of events, . . . a good sportsman should be like a cat, he won't eat his mouse if it is dead."<sup>79</sup> The entire affair caused Yale Professor Robert Corwin to ask Harvard and Princeton representatives to a conference on eligibility rules.<sup>80</sup> While they waited for their athletic fates to be decided, Milburn was unanimously re-elected captain of the Yale nine by his teammates. Milburn and the other four, in addition, assisted with the development of the team during indoor winter practice. Provisional rules were ultimately formed at the conference that would allow college athletes to play summer ball, provided the players gained prior permission from college authorities who were designated as the sole judges of what constituted "playing for expenses." As a consequence, the five Yale men had their eligibility reinstated.<sup>81</sup>

At Penn and Columbia, a liberalized climate for summer baseball had likewise emerged. Dr. Arthur W. Goodspeed, chairman of the Faculty Committee on Athletics at Penn, advocated early in 1914 that college men be able to play summer baseball without the threat of losing their athletic eligibility. Academic standing was to be the only standard considered.<sup>82</sup> Goodspeed was joined in like-minded spirit by Penn's chairman of its baseball committee, Emlen Hare, who wished to evaluate students only on their academic standing.<sup>83</sup> That President Butler of Columbia, the same man who squashed football on the Columbia campus in 1905, would link himself in athletic ideology to these two men would have seemed highly unlikely a decade before; yet he did. Butler saw no objection to a student playing baseball for money during his vacation rather than waiting tables. Whether he was eligible to compete intercollegiately after having played summer baseball should be settled, he affirmed, on the basis of his academic standing.<sup>84</sup>

This newfound tolerance also affected the fervor for amateurism shared by the NCAA, the AAU, and the IC4A. At a joint conference of the three associations, a defined amateur code was agreed upon. One objection by the NCAA caused Chairman Gustavus Kirby of the AAU to drop the wording "associating with professionals" from the code. The reason for doing so was because the NCAA had rejected this phrase for the adverse effects it would have on collegians playing or having played summer baseball. Although not pleased with the concession to make summer baseball the "singular exceptional condition" in which competition could exist among professionals and amateurs, amateur leaders yielded to the "persistent agitation."<sup>85</sup> They were only recognizing what was well known to the men responsible for the management of intercollegiate athletics: that summer baseball rules were not enforceable, that amateur principles were

embraced in blind faith by neither students nor faculty, and that association with professional athletes did not necessarily correlate into the corruption of a student's malleable character.

Progressives, disturbed by class conflict as it was evidenced in social disintegration, were avowed to reduce, or at least limit, class antagonisms and divisions. Upholding principles of amateurism, however, functioned to distinguish and separate the upper and lower social classes. When NCAA leaders made principles of amateurism part of the association's guidelines by which member schools were duty-bound to adhere, the NCAA sharpened the division between the professional and the amateur. Thus the NCAA, a group that fit well the profile of other bureaucratic organizations of the Progressive Era, formed to foster democratic order in areas of societal chaos and try to erase lines of class division, ironically sharpened those class lines. Without the consensus of support for amateur law they had hoped to fashion, the NCAA consequently failed to prevent the liberalization of summer baseball guidelines after the signal 1908 convention debate. Instead, historian Harold Seymour charged, the association performed "the classic faculty dodge," only recommending more study of the problem. By 1916, when 105 out of 137 surveyed colleges permitted summer baseball for compensation and when public opinion favored summer baseball, professors and athletic directors became caught in "another sludge of irresolution." Rather than come to conclusions, they made pompous pronouncements which "employed catchwords like 'vexatious' and 'inalienable right.'"<sup>86</sup> College baseball players were thus granted a peculiar exemption from amateur law. While other collegiate athletes were bound to uphold standards that precluded the procurement of an income from their athletic talents, summer baseball players recreated for profit. Progressive athletic reform proved difficult to achieve. Athletic reformers, having assumed a majority opinion existed for the abolition of summer baseball, discovered instead what many of their civic counterparts were learning as well. The capacity of progressive influence was limited by a constituency unable or unwilling to alter the status quo.

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1. E. H. Nichols, "Discussion of Summer Baseball," *NCAA Proceedings* (1913), p. 78.
  2. Frank W. Nicolson, "Report of the Secretary," *NCAA Proceedings* (1912), pp. 62-63.
  3. Floyd and Marion Rinhart, *Summertime: Photograph of Americans at Play* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1978), p. 135.
  4. David M. Steele, *Vacation Journeys East and West* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918), pp. 55, 56, 71.
  5. *The White Mountain Echo*, 20 August 1904, as quoted in Henry B. Needham, "The College Athlete. Part II: Summer Ball," *McClure's Magazine* 25 (July 1905), p. 261. Photographs of summer nines can be found in this article on pp. 265-267. See also David Zang, "Summer Baseball—A Turn of the Century Crisis in College Athletics," *North American Society for Sport Historian Proceedings* (1981), pp. 28-29.
  6. Note ca. 1905, based on reference to Christy Mathewson, Walter Camp Papers, Box 46, Folder 222, Yale University Archives.
  7. Walter Camp, "Some Abuses in Athletics," *The Independent* 52 (22 March 1900), p. 715.

8. Noted amateurophile Caspar Whitney found it difficult to reconcile college men working in positions of manual labor for hotel proprietors. He found it objectionable that "in the list given me by this proprietor, every member of the nine, with one exception was a college man; four of them served as bell boys, one as a clerk, two as waiters, one as an elevator boy, and one as a hotel runner." *The Brunonian* (9 October 1897).
9. "The Menace to Amateur Sport," *The Outlook* 109 (24 February 1915), p. 414.
10. Nichols, "Discussion of Summer Baseball," p. 78. Nichols erred, for the note to Harvard pitcher Walter Clarkson promised 575.
11. "Are Football Games Educative or Brutalizing?" *Forum* 17 (January 1894), pp. 650-651.
12. James Barr Ames, Harvard Athletic Committee statement (22 April 1892), Walter Camp Papers, Box 46, Folder 221, Yale University Archives. Cobb was also a substitute player on the football team.
13. "The Amateur Ideal at Brown," *Outing* 24 (May 1894), p. 28, and *The Brown Daily Herald* (16 March 1894), p. 84.
14. Whitney did not limit his condemnation to baseball players only. Track athletes were similarly attacked for competing on club teams other than the school varsity. Caspar Whitney, "Amateur Sport," *Harper's Weekly* 37 (21 January 1893), p. 70. College tennis players had Whitney's scribal venom directed at them as well. He made his readers aware that organizers of tennis tournaments were of the disposition to permit players to compete under assumed names. Caspar Whitney, "The Sportsman's View-Point," *Harper's Weekly* 38 (August 1901), p. 592.
15. Caspar Whitney, "The Sportsman's View-Point," *Outing* 37 (March 1901), p. 727.
16. For example, Whitney telegraphed Walter Camp and asked the Yale athletic advisor to respond to information Whitney had received that Cook, Robinson (captain of the baseball team), and Blagden (captain of the crew) had played summer baseball for a hotel that charged gate receipts. Whitney's query centered on the apparent intention of Yale to allow the men to compete in the spring in violation "of the spirit of college sport." Within one week, the two men corresponded regarding this issue at least two more times. In his second telegram, Whitney clarified his intent. His purpose, he stated, was to supply Yale with information, and if they desired to keep their teams clean, they would do the rest. It seems Whitney would have preferred Camp and Yale to uncover amateur violations by their own efforts, for Whitney added, ". . . really you do not think I am running a private detective bureau for Yale University, do you?" Caspar Whitney letters to Walter Camp, 2 November 1900, 7 November 1900, Walter Camp Papers, Box 19, Folder 521, Yale University Archives.
17. "Baseball," *Outing* 23 (March 1894), p. 110.
18. Baseball historian Harold Seymour cited several instances of known summer baseball participation. For instance, Frank Olin, a three-year letterman for Cornell, paid his way through college by working, among other jobs, as a baseball player for the major leagues; the *Cornell Daily Sun* asserted in 1884 that Hamilton, Hobart, and Union Colleges all used professional players; in 1897, Michigan refused to play Northwestern, whose first baseman, Arthur Sicles, had reportedly played for semi-pro ball for Oak Park the previous summer; and in 1918, future major leaguer Frankie Frisch, while a student at Fordham, played for the New York Athletic Club team. As a benefit, Frisch was permitted to use the club's private athletic facility on Travers Island and was then served a luxurious meal after practice. Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The People's Game* (New York Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 146, 156, 161. With regard to the Michigan protest against Northwestern, the charges were brought by Michigan professor Knowlton, and also included charges against the player Murphy Northwestern was apparently having difficulty scheduling games because of their insistence on playing the two summer baseball veterans. George F. Downer, "Monthly Record: Baseball," *Outing* 30 (June 1897), p. 301. Amherst was confronted by the summer baseball dilemma because of a pitcher named Kane. He had pitched two innings under an assumed name for the Rockland, Maine, team of the Knox County League, made up mostly of professionals, from whom he received \$10 for

his services. For the remainder of the summer Kane played for the Waterville, Maine, team, to whom he went in July when he received word they were in need of a pitcher. Waterville's team, like Rockland's, consisted largely of professionals. Kane was given a clerk's job in an insurance office, where, according to townspeople who frequented the office, he never seemed to be on duty. When the question of his eligibility arose, presidents of both baseball organizations for whom Kane played responded to Amherst with written statements testifying that Kane was not paid for playing baseball and that he was hired as a clerk without regard to his baseball ability. Walter Camp Papers, Box 46, File 222, Yale University Archives.

19. *New York Times*, 29 October 1893, p. 10. The charge against King was made by Penn football captain Mackey in a bit of finger pointing. In newspaper interviews, Yale star Hinckey and Princeton star Trenchard had questioned the amateur status of some members of Penn's football squad. In response, Mackey found others equally indictable, but expanded the net to include summer baseball.
20. Only captain Blakely of the previous year's starters was not barred. Penn players had customarily played for teams at Cape May or Atlantic City. Hastings Holyoke, "Baseball," *Outing* 28 (May 1896), p. 34.
21. Needham, "The College Athlete," (June 1905), p. 26.5.
22. Statement of the Brown University Athletic Association, ca. January or February 1904, A. A. Stagg Papers, Box 77, Folder 7, University of Chicago Archives.
23. For a more in-depth account of the Clarkson affair, see Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 64-65.
24. Harvard Athletic Committee Minutes, 16 March 1904, Harvard University Archives.
25. William Reid, Jr. letter to Christine Reid, 15 July 1904, Thomas Stetson Personal Collection, Harvard University Archives.
26. Harvard Athletic Committee Minutes, 15 January 1903, Harvard University Archives.
27. Needham, "The College Athlete. Part II," pp. 261, 264.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 263. If that were true, then the prospects for snaring civil employees fired for their baseball abilities must have been especially bleak. Such terms of employment existed in both city and federal branches of the United States government. City "employment" was given, for instance, to virtually every player of the New York City Mutuals, of which Tammany Hall boss William Tweed was president. Payrolled as clerks and streetsweepers, these men reportedly cost the city's taxpayers \$30,000 annually. William J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982), p. 144. Baseball was similarly conducted in Washington, D.C., where one critic noted "the real birthplace of professional baseball" was in the U.S. Treasury Department. Department and bureau heads had apparently been employing professional baseball players to strengthen their division nines. Players had been paid from the public treasury, nominally as workers for the government, but in reality for their baseball talents. *New York Times*, 29 June 1905, p. 8.
29. Hall, "Athletic Professionalism and its Remedies," p. 782.
30. *New York Times*, 17 May 1905, p. 11.
31. *Ibid.*, 23 May 1909, IV, p. 2.
32. James H. Moffatt, "Summer Baseball," *The Independent* 63 (26 September 1907), p. 752.
33. H. D. Wild, "First District Report," *NCAA Proceedings* (1906), pp. 14-16.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
36. In the Northeast, for instance, three schools put the summer baseball issue to an undergraduate vote. By wide margins at Amherst (272-65), Williams (237-37), and Wesleyan (118-67), students favored the continuance of summer baseball. Frank W. Nicolson, "First District Report," *Ibid.* (1908), p. 10.

37. Alexander Meiklejohn, "The Evils of College Athletics," *Harper's Weekly* 49 (2 December 1905), p. 1752.
38. Walter Hullahen, "Fourth District Report," *NCAA Proceedings* (1913), p. 17.
39. Clark Hetherington, "The Foundation of Amateurism," *American Physical Education Review* 14 (November 1909), pp. 566, 576-578.
40. Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1983), p. 73.
41. "Should Any Student in Good Collegiate Standing be Permitted to Play in Intercollegiate Baseball Contests?" *NCAA Proceedings* (1908), pp. 63-70; see also C. V. P Young, "Discussion of Summer Baseball," *Ibid.*, (1909), pp. 81-83, and George W. Ehler, "Fourth District Report," *Ibid.*, (1911), p. 17.
42. *New York Times*, 3 January 1909, IV, p. 1.
43. "Should Any Student in Good Collegiate Standing be Permitted to Play in Intercollegiate Baseball Contests?" p. 70.
44. *Ibid.* (1908), p. 59. Leaders of the NCAA, like those of the International Olympic Committee, oftentimes viewed amateur law in terms of a religious ideal, as "a law upheld in all Christendom, and the necessity for which is recorded in the history of Greece, of Rome, and every other civilized country." Lest amateur athletes be driven from the fields of play into the grandstands of spectatorship where their robust lifestyle was discontinued except on a vicarious basis, Palmer Pierce believed "all Anglo-Saxon countries" had to prevent the professional and amateur classes from mingling. *New York Times*, 3 April 1912, p. 11. For reasons of pride, a win at all costs attitude, and bitter rivalry, amateur law was not even upheld in "all of Christendom." The Presbyterian Church of Haddonfield, which fielded a team consisting of Sunday school members, hired a pitcher from outside the region for \$7.50 per game. Although the church admitted the indiscretion, they excused themselves because they claimed they had no other way to field a complete team. John Brown, "The Amateur Problem in Rural Communities," *The American Physical Education Review* 17 (June 1912), pp. 500-502.
45. E. H. Nichols, "Discussion of Summer Baseball," *NCAA Proceedings* (1913), p. 79. Nichols proposed two solutions to the summer baseball controversy: 1) to put the burden of proof on the student to prove his amateur status, for him to be above suspicion "like Caesar's wife;" and 2) to have summer teams made up of players from different colleges to ensure an individual college could not run its own team.
46. Howard J. McClenahan, et al., "Summer Baseball vs. Amateurism," *Outing* 67 (February 1916), p. 456.
47. Should Any Student in Good Collegiate Standing be Permitted to Play in Intercollegiate Baseball Contests?" p. 67.
48. George W. Ehler, "Report of the Committee on Amateurism," *NCAA Proceedings* (1912), pp. 32-35. Ehler concurred with Stagg that the chief controversy resided in the muddle of determining what constituted a violation of ethics. The value placed on winning, the unwillingness of administrators to ensure the regulation of amateur standards, and the fear of fielding teams with depleted talent all caused athletic leaders to act in less than principled manners. Ehler, in addition, stressed the long-recognized antagonism between the spirit of the professional and the amateur. The professional spirit, Ehler claimed, forever changed the nature of a sport, for the ethical and moral values of sport disappeared and, in some states, resulted in the sport being placed under ban. The Wisconsin professor was misleading on the latter charge; for he likely referred to the sport of prize fighting, which had indeed been banned in several states, although probably because many white Americans feared the societal consequences that might result from the crowning of black heavyweight champion Jack Johnson.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 72; *New York Times*, 3 January 1909, IV, p. 3.
50. Guy H. White, "College Men Should Play Professional Ball," *Baseball Magazine* 1 (August 1908), p. 18.

51. "Should Any Student in Good Collegiate Standing be Permitted to Play in Intercollegiate Baseball Contests?" p. 71.
52. Walter Camp letter to Alexander Meiklejohn, 19 December 1903, Walter Camp Papers, Box 17, Folder 472, Yale University Archives.
53. Walter Camp Papers, Box 46, Folder 220, Yale University Archives.
54. Samuel Black McCormick, "College Athletics from the Viewpoint of the President of the University," *NCAA Proceedings* (1911), p. 44.
55. *New York Times*, 27 March 1910, IV, p. 3. See also *New York Tribune*, 24 December 1911, p. 9.
56. Walter Camp, "Progress in American Sport," *Country Life* 21(15 April 1912), p. 29.
57. "President Vincent's Address," *NCAA Proceedings* (1917), p. 69.
58. J. R. Macgowan, "The Failure of College Baseball," *Baseball Magazine* 7 (August 1911), p. 43.
59. H. E. Buchanan, "Fourth District Report," *NCAA Proceedings* (1917), p. 25.
60. R. G. Clapp, "Fifth District Report," *Ibid.* (1911), p. 20.
61. S. W. Beyer, "Fifth District Report," *Ibid.* (1910), p. 17.
62. Clapp, "Fifth District Report," p. 20.
63. J. H. McCurdy, "Some Ethical Problems Surrounding Intercollegiate Athletics," Committee on the Effects of Intercollegiate Athletics, *Ibid.* (1916), pp. 46-51.
64. College authorities heard the familiar argument in favor of summer baseball that said a student should have as much right to earn his way through college by playing baseball as he did by working a harvest. Many faculty leaders did not deny this right but protested the corollary to the proposition: that students were subsequently allowed to play on varsity nines. Faculty feared that a semi-professional influence would "tar" all sports with commercialism, that skilled summer players had an unfair advantage over the amateur, and that an unseemly association with saloons that sponsored western teams would be developed. Frank Angell, "College Athletics on the Pacific Coast," *Ibid.* (1914), p. 48.
65. Albert Lefevre, "Third District Report," *Ibid.* (1914), p. 13.
66. W. C. Riddick, "Third District Report," *Ibid.* (1911), p. 15.
67. The Rocky Mountain Athletic Conference concluded that they should either permit the playing of summer baseball for pay or bar everyone who played summer baseball at all. Seeing no middle ground, the conference elected to permit summer baseball for pay. George Norlin, "Sixth District Report," *Ibid.* (1911), p. 22. In a 1912 survey sent to the 40 schools west of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas, 19 replies were received. Five colleges prohibited summer baseball while the others permitted it on semi-professional or amateur teams. Frank R. Castelman, "Eighth District Report," *Ibid.* (1912), p. 22.
68. Hugo Bezdek, "Seventh District Report," *Ibid.* (1912), p. 20.
69. Clark W. Hetherington, "Sixth District Report," *Ibid.* (1910), p. 20.
70. P. H. Arbuckle, "Seventh District Report," *Ibid.* (1914), p. 23.
71. O. C. Lester, "Eighth District Report," *Ibid.* (1913), p. 26.
72. H. Shindle Wingert, "Fifth District Report," *Ibid.* (1912), p. 14.
73. Nathan P. Stauffer, "Fourth District Report," *Ibid.*, p. 13. At the 1911 NCAA Convention, secretary Frank Nicholson of Wesleyan read replies from institutions surveyed about college baseball. Of the 118 responding colleges and universities, 106 answered that college baseball was a benefit to the institution, 4 said "yes and no," and 8 replied in the negative. Ironically, 101 schools answered that baseball had not become professionalized in their school, yet 56 of the responding schools employed a professional baseball coach; professionalism for one was not necessarily professionalism for the other. Frank W. Nicholson, "College Baseball," *Ibid.* (1911), pp. 8-12.

74. Paul C. Phillips, "First District Report," *Ibid.* (1909), p. 9.
75. "Replies to Questions Submitted to the Colleges by the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States," *Ibid.* (1910), pp. 21-24. Twenty-nine schools reported that they allowed summer baseball, while 23 institutions forbade it.
76. W. N. Golden, "Second District Report," *Ibid.* (1910), p. 11.
77. Watson L. Savage, "Second District Report," *Ibid.* (1912), p. 12, *New York Times*, 16 February 1913, IV, p. 4. A faction of NCAA delegates still wished to "rid college baseball of its objectionable features," namely summer baseball. At an informal evening discussion concerning pressing intercollegiate athletic affairs, Louis Bevier, Jr. made a motion to appoint a committee to do just that. Frank W. Nicolson, "Evening Session," *NCAA Proceedings* (1912), p. 37.
78. Fred W. Marvel, "First District Report," *Ibid.* (1910), p. 9.
79. Walter Camp Papers, Box 46, Folder 222, Yale University Archives. Yale president Arthur Hadley had a different understanding of the Quogue conflict. He was of the opinion that Princeton had a great deal of trouble with summer baseball and wanted Yale to ban its Quogue players. Arthur Hadley letter to A. Lawrence Lowell, 14 February 1916, Lowell Papers, 1914-1917, Folder 262, Harvard University &hives.
80. Harvard Athletic Committee Minutes, 14 October 1915, Harvard University Archives.
81. *New York Times*, 7 December 1915, p. 14; 17 February 1916, p. 12.
82. *Ibid.*, 3 February 1914, p. 9. On the West Coast, the same sentiments were shared. The Athletic Board of the University of Southern California voted to allow summer baseball, as well as permit lifeguarding and playground work, without jeopardizing one's amateur standing. Athletic Board of Control Minutes, 1908-1960, University of Southern California Archives.
83. *New York Times*, 1 February 1914, IV, p. 3.
84. "The Menace to Amateur Sport," *The Outlook* 109 (24 February 1915), p. 414.
85. *New York Times*, 31 December 1915, p. 10.
86. Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The People's Game* (New York Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 166; J. H. McCurdy, "Some Ethical Problems Surrounding Intercollegiate Athletics," p. 39.