


and release from the mental stress within and without the classroom; many educators believed that physical education would go beyond this, by nurturing a sense of order and discipline. Thus, physical training was incorporated as a compulsory part of the daily experience of Boston's schoolchildren. We should not be surprised that sports and athletics did not figure prominently in the antebellum discussions; after all, few team sports were organized at any level before the 1850s. But why was there such a disregard of sports during the debates over exercise "systems" during the 1880s?

Actually, there had been some recognition of "athletic sports," doubtless because of the increasing popularity of college teams in football, baseball, and, more important, rowing. In fact, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the man who would found the modern Olympic Games, addressing the 1889 Boston Conference, steadfastly asserted that dumbbells, vaulting horses, and light exercises not withstanding, no "system" stood higher than the "English athletic sport system." Of course he meant interschool competition in baseball, football, and the like. Coubertin was politely applauded, and school authorities did recognize the "character-building" values of athletics. Despite this, they preferred to encourage and compel students to participate in gymnastics, which they believed would result in a more "uniform and harmonious development of the entire frame." Besides, gymnastics were cheaper, less time consuming, and lent themselves more readily to the structured, class-based systems necessary in the school curriculum. Thus, students were left to their own athletic devices.¹⁴



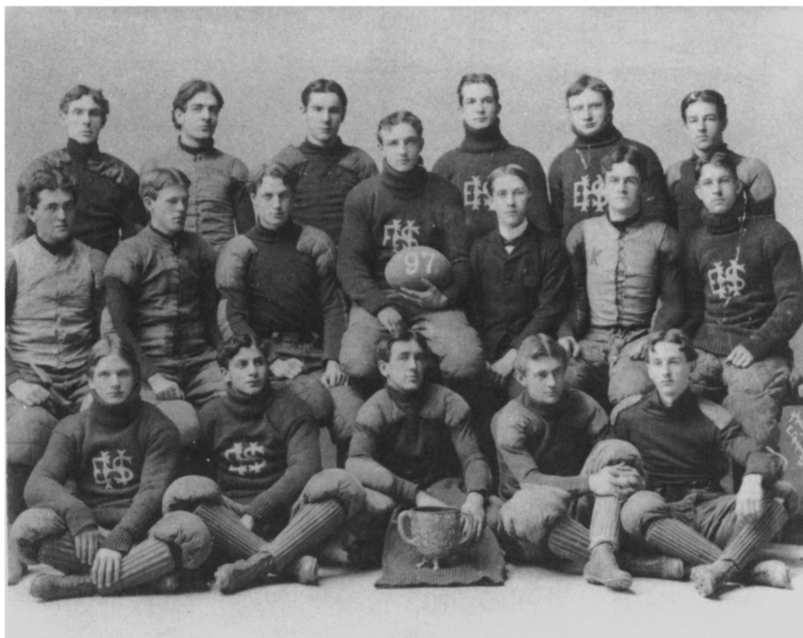
FROM THE BEGINNING, it was football, baseball, and track that captured the enthusiasm of students, not drills with Indian clubs. As an editorial in the student magazine at Boston Latin School concluded, "Surely a baseball game or a tennis match is far more interesting both to participants and spectators, than the efforts of a gymnast to jump half an inch higher than his opponent." Gymnastics were tolerated by these athletic promoters only as a supplement to outdoor sports.¹⁵

Even before the Civil War, schoolboys had competed against each other on their acknowledged playground, the Common. One old-timer recalled, "No policeman or signboard in those days told us to 'keep off the grass' . . . and those who were annoyed by our

games were expected to keep away.”¹⁶ In the fall of 1862, one group of boys, principally from the Dixwell Private Latin School, formed the Oneida Football Club, the first organized football club in the United States. Led by “Gat” Miller and R. Clifford Watson, who frequently labored long into the night planning new formations and strategies, the lineup was dotted with the names of Boston’s most prominent families, including a Bowditch, a Forbes, a Wolcott, a Lawrence, and a Peabody. Inspired by Miller’s motto, “Defeat with Honor Is Better than Victory with Dishonor,” the Oneidas were ever honorable and ever victorious. Their goal line on the Common field was never crossed, as they defeated teams from Latin, English, and Dorchester high schools. The Oneida Club lasted only three years, but informal clubs from public and private secondary schools continued to compete in football and baseball. Doubtless they were emulating the activities of the men at Harvard, for which many of them were “preparing.” Their early competition was not rigidly structured or scheduled, but organized leagues of school teams were not long in coming.¹⁷

In June of 1888, students from Boston Latin, Roxbury Latin, Cambridge High and Latin School, and several smaller preparatory schools formed the Interscholastic Football Association. English High School joined the association the following year. Harvard students acted as team advisors and also donated a “valuable cup,” to be awarded to the championship team. In order to ensure the availability of playing space for their regularly scheduled games, the association successfully petitioned the parks commissioners to reserve a spot on Franklin Park “for schoolboys only.”¹⁸ Within several years, the association had developed a written constitution and had sired an offspring, the Junior Interscholastic Football Association, which included Dorchester High, Cambridge Manual Training School, Newton High, and several private schools.¹⁹

Football had set the stage, but other sports were quickly organized into league competition. Within two decades, baseball, track, basketball, and ice hockey leagues operated among the city’s secondary schools. The enthusiasm quickly spread to the suburban areas, affording successful teams the opportunity to compete for and lay claim to Greater Boston and even New England supremacy. In 1911, more than a hundred thousand people watched the area schoolboys compete in Thanksgiving football. It is worth repeating that these initial leagues were organized by the *students*



English High School Defenders of the Interscholastic Football Association's Challenge Cup, 1897

Courtesy of Boston English High School

themselves, with encouragement and assistance from collegians who were probably school alumni. Like their college counterparts, their efforts were largely ignored by the faculty and administration, at least for the time being.²⁰

The growth of organized leagues and the popularity among both participants and spectators were symptoms of the great value that students placed on sport. Indeed, students were quick to develop a “team” concept which involved the entire school community in the athletic program. Unfortunately, their enthusiasm fueled the excessive demand for victories and championships, which in turn corrupted the original values of their sports. It was only at this point that grownups stepped in.

The editors of the Boston Latin School *Register* quickly saw the importance of sport to the growth of school unity:

The feeling of school unity or school loyalty, so strikingly exhibited in college life, should be developed in the preparatory schools. Especially is it valued in the latter, since most men, on graduating,

break off into business life. . . . Athletics more than anything else, can foster this spirit of unity; for on the campus all class distinctions are done away with, the men gather about actuated by a common motive, cheer with a common impulse, and develop a better and more generous fellowship.²¹

These schoolboys were animated by the school-wide spirit they saw evident at Harvard when its nines or elevens matched brawn with teams from Yale or Princeton. Even at the colleges, "school spirit" was a relatively recent phenomenon, born along with intercollegiate athletics at mid-century. Prior to this, emphasis had revolved around class spirit, nurtured by the hardships of hazing and "class scraps," such as had occurred annually on the Cambridge Delta, when Harvard's sophomores and freshmen squared off in a raucous, shin-splintering version of mass football. But with the advent of intercollegiate competition, school spirit quickly overshadowed class spirit. Schoolboys were fast to follow suit.²²

These students were, in effect, promoting athletic teams as the catalyst for a form of community, a bond that would quickly cement batches of newcomers with upperclassmen and alumni. This could be particularly important for the Latin School or English High, whose students were likely to come from several different sections of the city. But athletics could be equally effective in a new neighborhood high school, like that in South Boston.

South Boston High School had opened its doors only in 1901, yet the athletic virus hit the school immediately. No wonder; for while there were hundreds of years of tradition and glory separating her from the Latin School or English High, a few victories on the football field would provide equal glory for "Old Southie." Athletics could make the difference between the successful school and its "sleepy" counterparts, as the school newspaper readily understood:

There are not many schools, happily, that do not have athletics. Those that do are always superior to those that do not; to a great many this seems strange; they think that so small a matter can not make any great difference. If they compare the two, however, they will see that a school that does not have athletics is always made up of slow, sleepy students. Why? Simply because athletics are the means of quickening the senses. To be a successful athlete, one must be able to see, think, and act quickly and intelligently, and above all, to be able to concentrate the mind on the subject.²³

The *Chandelier's* editors stressed the ethical values of athletics, the strict discipline, unquestioning obedience, and control of temper, which all served to transform the individual schoolboy into a "loyal and valued member of the organization."²⁴

All students were encouraged to join the school athletic associations, which sprang into existence to provide spiritual and, more important, financial assistance to the school's varsity athletes. To some degree, the competition among schools to organize bigger and better athletic associations rivaled the struggles on the field. Individual students paid only a small annual fee (fifty cents to a dollar) to join the athletic association, so it was necessary to enlist as many members as possible.²⁵ While advocates often chided their mates on the need to further the cause, it sometimes became clear that athletics provided the *only* basis for school spirit.

The concept of school unity was quickly linked to the quest for victory. Students were encouraged by their peers to turn out and cheer the team to victory. One of the reasons for organizing a school's contingent of spectators was to assure the tactical advantage of ordered, timely cheering. The cheerleader had not yet been relegated to a glamor-only role, but was rather an important instrument of victory through unity. The fields echoed with school cheers:

Hurrah, hurrah, we'll be the champion yet,
Hurrah, hurrah, for all the boys who sweat,
For we're the boys from the English High
And we'll get there, just you bet,
Rah, rah, rah, boys for High School.²⁶

[sung to chorus of "Marching through Georgia"]

The quest for victory through unity, however, led to abuses. And it was only these abuses that moved school authorities to take an interest in athletics.

By the turn of the century, interscholastic sports had become a fixture. The daily newspapers carried not only regular coverage of the competition, but also feature articles on the prominent schoolboy stars and the prospects of each team for the upcoming season.²⁷ Student editors pressured their peers with continual appeals; the *English High School Record* called for support of all athletic teams because "such support will be the means of furthering the fame of our school; insofar as it will further one institution of it, athletics."²⁸ Woe to the laggard who did not do his part:

There are a number of big fellows in the school who refuse to go out for the team. What is the matter with them? Do they lack school spirit or are they afraid of spoiling their good looks? A first class eleven could be turned out of the school if these fellows would only show up with a determination to make the team and not quit when their nose bleeds or they are scratched.²⁹

This was the tyranny of school unity. It had once been fun to play football with classmates and friends. Then with the growth of organized leagues it became an honor to seek glory for the school. Finally, however, it became an obligation, at least for all those who looked strong and able.

If a team could not find enough players from its own school, it often looked elsewhere, to another school or to a big husky boy with no academic inclination. The “tramp” athlete was a sore in schoolboy sports, a source of irritation and criticism among schools. Upon their inception, the Interscholastic Football Association and the Interscholastic Athletic Association drafted eligibility rules that limited a player’s age and years of competition, and demanded that he be a bona fide student at the school he represented. But the rules were not totally effective. The South Boston High School *Chandelier* printed a homiletic short story about a heroic football captain who resisted the temptation to use “ringers” against an arch-rival which had armed itself with two stars from “Audley Academy.” The hero beat the villains, but the moral fell on deaf ears. A year later, the paper admitted the use of tramp athletes as a matter of course.³⁰

Athletic stars became the demigods of school corridors, as this poem witnesses:

E'er his brief life he'd kicked away,
E'er he had changed to worthless clay,
He had played many a well fought game,
He had been tired, sore and lame,
But death one day to claim him came,
And everlasting is his fame.
Put tombstones at his head and feet,
And on them grave these few words, meet:
“Freely his young life did he offer up,
For the school's glory and the silver cup.”³¹

Though not quite a cavalier attitude toward another's death, the poem suggests the ease with which abuses could overwhelm a

philosophy that exalted victory as the sine qua non of athletic performance.

ADULT EDUCATORS had quite early been concerned about the rapid growth and spread of athleticism in the schools and colleges. In the 1897 report of the United States commissioner of education, Edward Mussey Hartwell lamented that the meteoric rise of school sports had left most adults unqualified in either experience or insight to serve capably as advisors to young athletes:

Hence our athletes have been left in the main to their own crude and boyish devices, which tend, when unchecked, toward extravagance and professionalism. The powerlessness of our educational leaders to originate, and their failure to adopt effectual measures for evolving order out of the athletic and gymnastic chaos over which they nominally preside, constitutes one of the marvels of our time.³²

Earlier in the decade, Hartwell had served as director of physical training for Boston's public schools; he had witnessed firsthand the growth and chaos at which he marveled.

Even critics of school athletics, however, recognized the positive values of team competition. As we have seen in the arguments of urban reformers and playground advocates, this was a social form of the old "muscular Christianity" of Edward Everett Hale and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Emphasis and benefits now focused on the group. The lessons of sport went beyond individual health and endurance to include "the spirit of working together earnestly, enthusiastically, and intelligently for a given end, which is the spirit of our democracy," and "the desire of working for one's institution with one's whole mind and heart and strength, which in the world outside we call Patriotism." At the theoretical level, then, students and adults agreed on the social values of sport.³³

But the question remained: What to do about the obvious problems? And of problems there were many, as Dr. Dudley Sargent, director of Harvard's Hemenway Gymnasium, pointed out to the Massachusetts School Superintendents' Association at its meeting in 1900. Sargent's opinions carried great weight; he had been at Harvard since 1879, and had concurrently directed both the Sargent Normal School of Physical Education and the Harvard Sum-

mer School. A prolific author and organizer, widely recognized in physical education and health circles, Sargent had also devised the gymnastics and training program at the Charlesbank Gymnasium.³⁴

Sargent, too, acknowledged the benefits of school athletics. They provided "a subject of immediate interest to discuss, rally around and enthuse over." They afforded a release of surplus energy in many young boys; they promoted and measured an individual's success on the basis of deeds, not promises. But Sargent stressed that these benefits could exist within a program of intramural games. On the other hand, only danger lurked for the interscholastic program. The desire to win led to excess training that could strain the developing heart and frame. Excess adulation could make the athletic star less likely to concentrate on academics. Coaches, fans, and players were ever tempted to sully sportsmanship and honor for the sake of victory. To Sargent, however, the answer lay not in abolishing interscholastic sports. "Will our secondary school authorities have the good sense," he asked, "to realize that athletics cannot be eliminated from school life, and unite with others in trying to check the abuses and direct the use of this important adjunct in education?"³⁵ This was Sargent's challenge; it did not go unheeded. Strengthened by over a half-century of growing control over health and fitness, the Boston School Department needed only a little prodding before it quickly absorbed the students' games.

In 1903, the director of physical training, James B. Fitzgerald, reported to the superintendent what Sargent and others had long been warning; that high school athletics were in a "generally unsatisfactory condition." Although Fitzgerald had already instituted mandatory physical examinations for all competitors, he urged that the various headmasters organize to create their own code of regulations controlling, among other things, physical, mental, and moral requirements for competition, all other questions of eligibility, financial considerations, the selection of competent officials, and the proper policing of grounds. The School Committee responded by ordering its committee on high schools to consider the formulation of just such a code.³⁶

For the next two years, pressure for adult regulation increased. The superintendent of schools reported that star players who had been disqualified for grievous fouls committed in previous games were, "by agreement," allowed to play in order to "swell" the gate.

He told of headmasters and school officials barely able to hold fast under the lobbying of students and parents who demanded they cover up the ineligibility of certain players, or allow disqualified players to return to action immediately.³⁷ He reported that athletic activities, "modelled after those of the colleges," had become "factors of such magnitude in most of the high schools as to interfere seriously with the regular work." The influence which star athletes exerted among their schoolmates was "vastly out of proportion to their real merit." Although encouraged that the headmasters had enacted a set of rules, the superintendent urged that the state legislature authorize the School Committee to draw athletics into their custody.³⁸

From this point things moved quickly, with little or no opposition. In 1906, the General Court invested the School Committee with the right to "supervise and control all athletic organizations composed of pupils of the public schools and bearing the name of the school." Further, the School Committee could "directly or through an authorized representative determine under what conditions such organizations may enter into competition."³⁹ In 1907, the School Committee appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars for its expanded program of physical training, and in a significant step, directed that all high school athletic coaches be appointed only by the School Committee, from the city's list of certified instructors. Previously coaches had been hired and paid by the student associations. By 1911, the director of physical training had become the director of physical training and athletics, with three assistants. Further, the School Committee had begun to regulate all revenues and expenses for schoolboy athletics. Students were no longer controlling the management of their own contests.⁴⁰

Was this a coup d'état? A plot? Part of a master plan by school administrators which, as one recent article suggests, included school athletics in a program that would "relieve the monotony and tedium of work in an industrial society, end social unrest and crime, provide worthy use of leisure time and build a corporate bureaucracy"?⁴¹ In short, did the School Committee embrace the games of high school students in order to transform them into a vehicle of social control?

In Boston, at least, this was not quite the case. School authorities were hesitant to become involved in the regulation of schoolboy athletics. Only after continued prodding and complaining (some-

times by the students themselves) of the growing evidence of abuses and cheating did the administration enact reform and regulation from above. To be sure, the chance to nurture such values as patience, obedience, self-control, loyalty to leaders, cooperation, and teamwork must have been appealing; and all were stressed to the School Committee by the likes of Dudley Sargent and Joseph Lee.⁴² But one must recall that the students championed these same notions when they promoted sports among their schoolmates. Moreover, the athletic teams gained invaluablely from a more equitable administration of eligibility rules, centralized officiating appointments, better medical supervision, and a more stable financial structure.⁴³

Schoolboy sports were not co-opted by the bureaucracy as part of a grand plan of education for social control. Rather, the philosophy underlying the educational value of athletics was broadened only after school authorities made the choice to assimilate, not abolish, athletics. Two ingredients made this ideological adjustment both possible and necessary. One was the existence of a growing profession—physical education—which was expanding its own horizons to include sports and games with gymnastics. The other was a gradual shift in educational philosophy. Where antebellum educators had sought to preserve an earlier social and moral order, their twentieth-century counterparts tended to accept the new industrial order; they concentrated rather on preparing their charges to fit neatly into productive roles.

By the turn of the century, professional physical education organizations (like the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education) and individual schools of professional training (like the YMCA Training School in Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics) had begun to prepare instructors to direct sports and games as well as gymnastics. Naturally, it was not long before physical educators considered themselves best suited to convey to students the character-building values of sport.⁴⁴ This trend paralleled that of the larger education bureaucracy. Stanley Schultz discerned this sense of “professional” prerogative among Boston’s school administrators even before the Civil War. The professional educator claimed to have indispensable knowledge that was critical for the well-being of the community. “He also demanded a degree of authority,” said Schultz, “for if his knowledge was vital to the community, it was necessary that

he possess control over the application of his skills.”⁴⁵ The director of physical training and athletics had realized expanded control in 1906–7, with the addition of three assistants and as many instructors as he deemed necessary. By 1910, the physical educator’s specialized knowledge included athletics, as sports and games were incorporated as mandatory elements into the physical education curriculum of boys and girls.⁴⁶

At the same time, the visions of education’s broad role in society had changed. No longer secure in the hope of using schools to preserve the social and moral characteristics they felt existed in an earlier period, educators gradually accepted the notion that schools should convey to students the specific skills, behavior, and values necessary to a productive life in the new industrial order. Physical educators could count on reformers and philosophers to support their contributions to these goals of education. In this respect, the lessons of teamwork, self-sacrifice, and discipline were seen to be transferable from the playing field to the business world or the factory. The philosophy was virtually identical to that of playground leaders; the target was an older age group, one on the verge of entering the work force.⁴⁷

But there were even loftier goals for athletics. In 1907, Josiah Royce delivered the quarter-centennial address at the Sargent Normal School. Royce, professor of philosophy at Harvard, believed that “loyalty” and “loyalty to loyalty” were the foundations upon which society must be based. He encouraged the teachers in attendance to believe that their work helped cement the masonry of the “Great Community.” If a man was but loyal to the loyalty he had seen expressed “on the playground, the gymnasium, and the athletic field,” said Royce, he ought to be able to sustain the “loyalty to unseen loyalty” which stood at the core of American business and at the “heart of honor in our national and international enterprises.” Ultimately, Royce reminded the teachers, “you are all working to combine in your pupils, skill, devotion, loyalty of the individual to his community. . . . Whenever you have an opportunity to insist upon fair play in difficult situations, you are teaching loyalty to loyalty.”⁴⁸ The lessons learned in free time on the supervised playground were now a compulsory part of structured education. The “team” was no longer simply the baseball nine or the football eleven, it was the wider community—city, state, or nation.

Never before—or perhaps since—were the goals of physical education so openly embraced by educational reforms. Social activists like Jacob Riis maintained that, through the benefits of athletics, the young man who emerged from the school “does not drop the interest aroused there in manly pursuits for kicking his heels in front of the corner saloons. . . . He has acquired certain principles that help keep him on an even keel.” His colleague Luther Gulick, who helped found the New York Public Schools Athletic League, believed the same spirit of loyalty and morality extended to all students, not just the actual competitors. That wholesome sport would encourage the virtues upon which to build city, state, and country, Riis had no more doubt than he had “that the sun will rise tomorrow.”⁴⁹

The lessons learned on the athletic field fit well into the prevailing belief that public education must provide the moral, social, and vocational talents, which in less turbulent times the family and church had helped instill. By the same token, physical educators were quick to realize the importance of drawing sports and athletics under their aegis. As Boston’s director of physical training and athletics reminded his teachers, they now had “exceptional opportunities for instilling into the minds and the habits of pupils, who come to them for physical exercises, lessons of personal hygiene, self-restraint and moral righteousness.”⁵⁰

BOTH THE STUDENTS and the central school authorities had embraced sports teams as an epoxy with which to bond fragments into wholes. Both groups realized that the process must involve all students, whether they played or not. But there were important differences in the two visions. The students saw interscholastic sports as a vehicle only for school unity and pride. In their view, the team and its supporters would be but an extension of the family or the neighborhood, wherein everyone contributed, albeit in different ways, to a common but localized goal. As the *Latin School Register* reminded its readers, the teams needed assistance in three ways: large numbers for squad tryouts, financial assistance, and massed, organized cheering at games. No one was absolved from helping in one way or another. “Be Patriotic,” urged the *South Boston Chandelier*. “Keep up the standard. It is only by support of the school boys and girls that we can succeed.”⁵¹

When the students could not control the abuses that school spirit bred, administrators took command. At the same time, however,

they broadened the promise of sports. Both on and off the field, the disciplined and unified effort required to produce a winner would help train students for assuming roles *outside* their family, neighborhood, or school networks. As Luther Gulick and Josiah Royce expressed it, the loyalty, social morality, and social conscience that school sports developed were *transferable*. What is more, they were the very qualities upon which rested the greatness of America's cities and corporations, and the nation's indomitable progress. In 1895 a City Council committee requested a nine-hundred-dollar appropriation for an interscholastic trophy, in the hope that competition in athletics and academics might foster civic unity and municipal responsibility by creating bonds of interest among the schools. Seen in this light, school sports were in the same tradition as public parks and playgrounds, since each represented an attempt to control the city's physical, social, or moral environment and thus help integrate individuals into a changing order.⁵²

As with the parks and playgrounds, however, one suspects that the grand vision was never quite realized. Schoolboy teams cemented the schools and neighborhoods they represented. But by the turn of the century, Boston had a dozen secondary schools in her fold; their schedules emphasized *intracity* competition. Boston was not a one high school town, like Muncie, Indiana, where a classic sociological study in the 1920s found the "Bearcat" basketball team to be a principal source of civic unity.⁵³ In Boston, the Thanksgiving gridiron clashes turned Eastie against Southie and Latin against English, sometimes with a vengeance. City-wide spirit developed through sports only when a team or an individual competed as *Boston's* representative against an external challenger. As we shall see, this occurred with regularity only at the professional and top amateur levels.

Students were able to nurture a community bond. Unlike their elders on the school board, however, they were not interested in confronting the urban conditions that surrounded them. Rather, they sought only to establish the ties of association and identity that the city's reality presented to them. In this respect, the school and neighborhood spirit that interscholastic sports could foster represented what we have called a *receptive* mode of community formation. The chapters that follow trace a similar pattern in the history of Boston's sports clubs, bicycle booms, and athletic heroes.

of *Physical Training*, *School Document No. 10*, 1889, p. 10; *School Document No. 15*, 1890, p. 15; *Report of Director of Physical Training*, *School Document No. 8*, 1894, p. 65.

15. *Latin School Register* (hereafter referred to as *Register*) 9 (June 1890): 153.

16. *English High School Record* (hereafter referred to as *Record*) 1 (October 1885).

17. Winthrop Saltonstall Scudder, "An Historical Sketch of the Oneida Football Club of Boston, 1862–1865," Manuscript at Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; idem, "The First Organized Football Club in the United States," *Old-Time New England* 15 (July 1924). Scudder was a member of the Oneidas. His claim for the club's primary was corroborated by Walter Camp and Park Davis. For other school sports, see Lovett, *Old Boston Boys*, pp. 82–90; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 27 May 1878.

18. Parks Minutes, 10 March 1889; *Register* 8 (September 1888): 9; (November 1888): 41; Roger Ernst, "The School in the Nineties," *Forty Years On: The Old Roxbury Latin School on Kearsarge Avenue from the Civil War to the Twenties*, ed. Francis Russell (West Roxbury: Roxbury Latin School, 1970), pp. 35–36.

19. *Wright and Ditson Football Guide* (Boston: Wright and Ditson, 1890), pp. 44–55, contains the league constitutions.

20. *Register* 8 (March 1889): 101, 102; *Record* 11 (November 1895), 11 (January 1896); *South Boston High Chandelier* (hereafter referred to as *Chandelier*) 4 (January 1905); *Spalding's Official Football Guides* (1909), pp. 85–87; (1910), pp. 97–99; (1911), pp. 207–11; *Boston Journal*, 4 April 1895; *Boston Herald*, 7 October 1890, 23 May 1891, 7 November 1891. By 1895, the Interscholastic Athletic Association had 30 member schools. See the association's *Constitution and By-Laws* (Boston, 1895).

21. *Register* 8 (April 1889): 117.

22. *Chandelier* 3 (February 1904). For the antebellum class football scraps, "that awful hour when Sophs met Fresh, power met opposing power," see Morton H. Prince, "Football at Harvard, 1800–1875," *The H Book of Harvard Athletics, 1852–1922*, ed. John A. Blanchard (Cambridge: Harvard University Club, 1923), pp. 311–42; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898), p. 61. For the changes in American college football that occurred as a result of intercollegiate championships, see Guy Lewis, "The American Intercollegiate Football Spectacle, 1869–1917" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1965).

23. *Chandelier* 4 (June 1905): 5.

24. *Chandelier* 3 (February 1904): 7. As was common for the day, even among advocates of women's athletics, schoolgirls were steered away from the "hazards" of interscholastic competition. Therefore, intramural teams were stressed. See also *Chandelier* 3 (April 1904): 5.

25. *Record* 1 (1886): 44, 54; 11 (November 1895): 8–10; *Register* 8 (April 1889): 119; *Chandelier* 1 (April 1902): 10; 2 (October 1902): 9.
26. *Record* 11 (November 1895): 10; *Register* 8 (December 1888): 53.
27. *Boston Journal*, 2 May 1897; 8–10 June 1902. All of the local papers that had any kind of sports page covered the schoolboys.
28. *Record* 8 (October 1902): 25. See also *Register* 8 (September 1888): 8; 10 (March 1891): 85.
29. *Chandelier* 3 (November 1903): 8.
30. *Chandelier* 2 (October 1902): 1–5; 3 (November 1903). For other complaints, see *Record* 1 (1886): 67. League rules appear in *Wright and Ditson Football Guide*, pp. 44, 46; Interscholastic Athletic Association, *Constitution and By-Laws* (Boston, 1895).
31. *Register* 9 (January 1890): 73.
32. *Report of U.S. Commissioner of Education* (1897–98): 558–59.
33. P. D. Boynton, “Athletics and Collateral Activities in Secondary Schools,” *Proceedings of National Education Association*, 1904, pp. 213–14. For similar arguments, see “Athletics in Schools,” *Popular Science Monthly* 16 (March 1880): 677–84; Nathaniel S. Shaler, “The Athletic Problem in Education,” *Atlantic Monthly* 63 (January 1889): 79–88; W. J. S. Bryan, “School Athletics,” *Proceedings of National Education Association*, 1902, pp. 485–88.
34. Dudley Sargent, “The Place for Physical Training in the School and College Curriculum,” reprinted in *The American Physical Education Review* 5 (March 1900). For Sargent’s life, see Bruce Bennett, “The Life of Dudley Allen Sargent, M.D., and His Contributions to Physical Education” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1947). Both Boston University and Harvard University hold collections of Sargent’s papers, articles, and addresses, which include biographical material.
35. “Athletics in Secondary Schools,” *American Physical Education Review* 8 (June 1903): 69; idem, “Place for Physical Training,” 9. See also “The Necessity for the Medical Supervision of Athletics” (typescript, n.d.), in Sargent Papers, Harvard University Archives. The arguments continued into the next decade and beyond; see Dudley Sargent, “Abolish Evils and Games,” *Boston Sunday Herald*, 8 March 1914; John L. Morse, “Athletics in the Schools,” *Harvard Graduates Magazine* 23 (March 1915): 371–74; A. E. Stearns, “Athletics and the School,” *Atlantic Monthly* 113 (February 1914): 145–48; M. K. Gordon, “Reform of School Athletics,” *Century*, new series, 57 (January 1910): 469–71.
36. *Report of the Director of Physical Training, School Document No. 3*, 1903, pp. 196, 203; *School Committee Minutes*, 24 February 1903.
37. This was an age of “slugging” football, when the brutality of the sport called its very survival into question, at the collegiate and scholastic levels. See Lewis, “American Intercollegiate Football Spectacle.”
38. *Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Schools, School Document No. 3*,

1904, pp. 42–44; *School Document No. 7*, 1905, p. 29; *School Committee Minutes*, 23 May 1905.

39. *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, 1906, chapter 251; *Annual Report of School Committee*, *School Document No. 17*, 1906, p. 34; *School Committee Minutes*, 4 June 1906.

40. *School Committee Minutes*, 20 May, 10 June 1907, 22 November 1910, 20 March, 2 October 1911, 15 January 1912; *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, ch. 295, 1907; ch. 314, 1911; *Annual Reports of School Committee and Superintendent of Schools*, *School Documents No. 13, 16*, 1907.

41. Joel Spring, "Mass Culture and School Sports," *History of Education Quarterly* 14 (Winter 1974): 485, 497; Timothy P. O'Hanlon, "Interscholastic Athletics, 1900–1940: Shaping Citizens for Unequal Roles in the Modern Industrial State" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1979). I disagree with Spring and O'Hanlon in terms of timing more than in the ultimate philosophy of school athletics.

42. Dudley Sargent, "Physical Training as a Compulsory Subject," *The School Review* 16 (1908): 53. See also notes 34, 35 above. Sargent stressed that, with proper regulation, these values would emerge. Lee had conducted an experimental league with four grammar schools. See Massachusetts Civic League, *Annual Report*, 1902, pp. 33–35.

43. Thus, a certain consensus existed between the "controllers" and the "controlled." For similar cautions on stark interpretations of social control, see Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 59; William Muraskin, "The Social-Control Theory in American History: A Critique," *Journal of Social History* 9 (June 1976): 559–70.

44. See Guy Lewis, "Adoption of the Sports Program: The Role of Accommodation in the Transformation of Physical Education," *Quest* 12 (May 1969): 34–46; Betty Spears, "Influences on Early Professional Physical Education Curricula in the United States," *Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education*, Windsor, Ontario (May 1–3, 1972), pp. 86–103.

45. Schultz, *Culture Factory*, pp. 141–42; see also Michael Katz, "The Emergence of Bureaucracy in Urban Education: The Boston Case, 1850–1884," *History of Education Quarterly* 8 (Summer–Fall 1968): 155–88, 319–57.

46. *School Document No. 12* (1909); *School Document No. 8* (1910). The purpose of the new curriculum was to expose all students to the benefits of athletics, rather than "to produce a limited number of exceptional performers."

47. Marvin Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870–1915* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. ix; Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School; Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957* (New York: Knopf, 1968); Joel Spring,

Education and the Rise of the Corporate State (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972). These authors differ in their ideological orientations toward education. See Diane Ravitch, *The Revisionists Revised: A Critique of the Radical Attack on the Schools* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

48. "Some Relations of Physical Training to the Present Problems of Moral Education in America," 1 June 1907, at Sanders Theater, reprinted in *Dudley Allen Sargent, Fiftieth Anniversary, 1869–1919* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 63, 76, in the Sargent Papers, Boston University, Mss. File, Box 3.

49. Luther Gulick, "Team Games and Civic Loyalty," *School Review* 14 (1906): 676; Jacob Riis, "Fighting the Gang with Athletics," *Collier's* (11 February 1911): 17. Riis was discussing playgrounds and schoolboy athletic leagues. For similar optimism, see James Naismith, "High School Athletics and Gymnastics as an Expression of the Corporate Life of the High School," in ed. Charles H. Johnston, *The Modern High School* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), pp. 229–63.

50. *School Document No. 8*, 1910, p. 7.

51. *Register* 8 (September 1888): 8; *Chandelier* 1 (April 1902): 10.

52. Royce, "Some Relations of Physical Training"; Gulick, "Team Games and Civic Loyalty"; *Report of the Committee on Interscholastic Trophy, City Document 209*, 1895. For some interesting comments on the overall school program's role in this regard, see Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* pp. 136–42.

53. Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1929; paper reprint edn., Harvest Books, 1956), pp. 484–87.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. This was actually a trial heat. See George Horton, "The Recent Olympian Games," *The Bostonian Magazine* 4 (July 1896): 215–29; Horton was the United States consul in Athens. See also Ellery H. Clark, *Reminiscences of an Athlete: Twenty Years on Track and Field* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), pp. 124–41.

2. Henry Hall, ed., *The Tribune Book of Open Air Sports* (New York: The Tribune Association, 1887), p. 332, quoted in John R. Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage, 1850–1950* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1974), pp. 98–99. For New York clubs, see Melvin Adelman, "The Development of Modern Athletics: Sport in New York City, 1820–1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1980), passim; Joe Willis and Richard G. Wetan, "Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865–1915," *Journal of Sport History* 3 (1976): 45–63.

3. Jack C. Ross, *An Assembly of Good Fellows: Voluntary Associations in History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1976), pp. 255–57.

4. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. George Lawrence, ed. J. P. Mayer (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Anchor edn., 1969),